



ARIS & PHILLIPS CLASSICAL TEXTS

OVID

Fasti

Books I–III

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY BY

A. Everett Beek

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Cover image: the 'Tellus panel' on the rear facade of the *Ara Pacis*, illustrating the fecundity of earth through allegorical figures.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AWC Alton, E. H., D. E. W. Wormell and E. Courtney. *P. Ovidi Nasonis Fastorum Libri Sex*. 4th edn. Leipzig: Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1997.
- Bömer Bömer, Franz. *P. Ovidius Naso: Die Fasten*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1958.
- B&W Boyle, A. J. and R. D. Woodard. *Ovid: Fasti*. London: Penguin Books, 2000.
- CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
- Coarelli Coarelli, Filippo. *Rome and Environs: An Archaeological Guide*. James J. Clauss and Daniel P. Harmon, trans. Updated edn. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014.
- Frazer Frazer, James George. *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum Libri Sex*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1929.
- Green Green, Steven J. *Ovid, Fasti I: a Commentary*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Heyworth Heyworth, S. J. *Ovid: Fasti Book III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- L&S Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*.
- LSJ Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*.
- LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*.
- Nagle Nagle, Betty Rose. *Ovid's Fasti: Roman Holidays*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Robinson Robinson, Matthew. *Ovid Fasti Book 2*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- TLL *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.
- W&W Wiseman, Anne and Peter Wiseman. *Ovid: Fasti*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

N.b. Abbreviations for ancient authors and works follow the conventions of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, with the exception of Augustus' *Res Gestae*, which is here abbreviated *RG* rather than *Mon. Anc.*

INTRODUCTION

§1. Ovid's Life and the Composition of the *Fasti*

What is known of Ovid's life is primarily gathered from his own works. He gives a sketch of his life at *Tristia* 4.10, and at various other points in his works, he includes stray comments about his (or his narrator's) background or lifestyle. Beyond these autobiographical claims, very little attention is given to Ovid in surviving contemporary sources. He is not mentioned by the historians or biographers of the early Augustan years; although Suetonius wrote biographies of several prominent poets (including Vergil and Horace), a biography of Ovid is not included in the collection.¹ Some have speculated that Lygdamus, a few of whose poems are preserved in the *Appendix Tibulliana*,² is a pseudonym under which Ovid released some of his early work,³ but this identification is based on the style and subject of the poetry, in addition to the coincidence of some autobiographical lines in the two poets' corpora, rather than a statement from any contemporary source. In short, although certain biographical details are generally attributed to Ovid, it is difficult to treat these unconfirmed claims as meaningfully factual. Regardless, they provide a basis of historical and social context for Ovid's work; in absence of evidence to the contrary, we can provisionally accept them as 'Ovid' – if not the real historical person, a consistent persona that the author himself built up.

1 Ovid is mentioned as a poet by later authors: Mart. 1.61.6, 3.38.10, 5.10.10, 12.44.6, 14.192; Plin. *HN* 32.11–3, 152–3; Quint. *Inst.* 8.5.6, 10.1.93, 98; Tac. *Dial.* 12, Sen. *Suas.* 3.6–7. Sen. *Controv.* 2.2, Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.254–5. Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 2.5 quotes the *Met.* without mentioning Ovid's name. Though such references attest to the fact that later authors were familiar with Ovid's work, these authors cannot confirm any details of Ovid's life firsthand. His influence is also detectable in the works of Macrobius (whose description of Romulus' ten-month calendar at 1.12.3–16 includes many details that concord with Ovid's *Fasti*) and Plutarch (see 3.151n). Mart. 5.10.10 comments on Ovid's obscurity during Ovid's lifetime.

2 Tib. 3.1–6.

3 See Antolín (1996) for a thorough discussion of this question.

In *Tristia* 4.10, Ovid gives his birthdate as 43 BCE, incidentally the same year the emperor Tiberius was born. He states that he came from an equestrian family, that is, a family wealthy enough to enjoy leisure and enter politics. He grew up in the Italian town of Sulmo (now Sulmona, ninety miles from Rome), and had a brother born a year apart from him on the same date. He was sent to Rome to study law, but abandoned that career in favor of writing poetry. His early works include the *Amores* (an account of a love affair with a woman he calls Corinna), the *Heroides* (a collection of letters from mythological characters to their lovers), the *Ars Amatoria* (advice to inexperienced lovers on how to conduct an affair), the *Remedia Amoris* (advice on how to recover from heartbreak), and the *Medicamina Faciei Femineae* (advice to women on how to apply makeup). Later authors tell us he wrote a tragedy called *Medea*, which has not survived, except for two fragments quoted by Seneca and Quintilian.⁴ A few minor works are attributed to him by some scholars, with varying degrees of confidence: the *Halieutica* (on sea-fishing), the *Ibis* (in which the narrator curses his enemies and imagines gruesome fates for them), the *Consolatio ad Liviam* (a consolation poem addressed to Augustus' wife Livia on the death of her son Drusus),⁵ and the *Nux* (in which a walnut tree complains of its treatment by passers-by).⁶

Ovid's longest and best-known work, the *Metamorphoses*, consists of fifteen books of mythological stories, woven together to form a narrative history of the world. It begins with the origins of the universe and the creation of humans, and from there continues into a series of narratives of gods, humans, demi-gods, and monsters freely interacting in a mythical Greek setting. Near the end, the *Metamorphoses* transitions into Roman myth and legend, describing the early heroes of Rome, with a long digression on Pythagorean cosmology. It concludes with the catasterism of Julius Caesar and the anticipated immortality of

4 For a discussion of what is known of the *Medea*, see Nikolaidis (1985).

5 The *Consolatio* has been thoroughly discussed by Schoonhoven (1992), although Schoonhoven advocates a post-Ovidian date for the *Consolatio*, which is later than is generally accepted (see e.g. Jenkins (2009)).

6 The *Halieutica*, the *Nux*, and the *Consolatio* all are included in the *Appendix Ovidiana* (Hexter et al. (2020)) as pseudo-Ovidian works, possibly of medieval date.

Augustus and of the author himself. The work opens with a promise to describe “shapes changed into new forms”, and bodily transformation is a continuous motif in the *Metamorphoses*: humans transform into plants and animals, animals transform into humans, humans transform into gods, and there are many more outlandish physical changes. The *Metamorphoses* is significant not only because it compiles a vast quantity of Greek and Roman myth, but also because it integrates all these disparate stories into one cohesive narrative, while providing context for and connections between the stories. It is also the only one of his surviving works composed in the epic meter of dactylic hexameter; all the rest are composed in elegiac couplets.

As reported in Ovid’s works, his career was disrupted in 8 CE, when he was sent into exile. Again, Ovid’s exile is not discussed by other contemporary sources, and we are left with Ovid’s meagre statement that a *carmen et error*⁷ – “a poem and a mistake” – motivated Augustus to relegate him to the distant and inhospitable outpost of Tomi (or Tomis) on the Black Sea, from which he was never allowed to return. Despite his prolonged petitions to Augustus, Tiberius, and others in power, he died at Tomi in 18 CE. He describes his life in exile extensively in the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*: the *Tristia* is presented as autobiographical vignettes and the *Ex Ponto* as letters to friends and family in Rome. (He also claims to have written poetry, which is not preserved, in the local language of Tomi.⁸) These are the source of most of the information that Ovid provides about his own life, including his memories of Rome and the circumstances of his exile. This exile, he says,⁹ interrupted his progress on his calendar poem the *Fasti*.

The *Fasti*’s purpose (as stated in its first lines) is to describe *tempora cum causis*, times and reasons. The word *tempora* has a wide semantic range and encompasses the seasons of the year, specific dates of religious and civic significance (both past dates of historic events and recurring annual holidays and events), the intervals marked by the

7 *Tr.* 2.207.

8 *Pont.* 4.13.19.

9 *Tr.* 2.549–552.

movement of stars and planets, and the cycles of day and night. In living up to this programmatic statement, the *Fasti* weaves together material on the progression of seasons, Roman civic life, religious observances, and aetiologies (or origin stories) for seasonal events governed both by nature (e.g. the setting of constellations) and by convention (e.g. holidays). The didactic voice of the narrator evokes the *praeceptor* persona used in Ovid's earlier didactic works: the *Ars Amatoria*, the *Medicamina*, and the *Remedia Amoris*. In telling stories of the gods and their interactions with mortals, many of the narratives strongly recall episodes from the *Metamorphoses* (but see §4 below for a more thorough examination of this idea). What most clearly distinguishes the *Fasti* from the *Metamorphoses* is the *Fasti*'s structure: it is organized like an almanac, passing sequentially through the calendar and describing noteworthy events or commemorations observed on different days. It is apparently unfinished, insofar as the work is divided into six books, one per month (January through June), with no space provided for the last six months of the year.

However, the question of the *Fasti*'s composition is complicated. Ovid claimed that his calendar poem described twelve months in twelve books,¹⁰ though the extant copies of the *Fasti* preserve only six books. Were the final six books, covering the second half of the year, lost? Or, contrary to Ovid's claim, were they never completed? Is the surviving edition an incomplete draft of a work that was later completed and published? Did Ovid create the last six books, but only in draft or outline form? No other ancient works reference the second half of the *Fasti*.¹¹ The work as we have it is unevenly edited; the style grows more disjointed and cursory in the later books, with repetitions (or close variations) of material from earlier books.¹² The work also appears to be partially revised, insofar as the first book (but not the later ones) addresses Tiberius, his mother Livia (Julia

10 Ibid.

11 See Robinson 526–27 on some faint and doubtful allusions to the second half of the *Fasti* in e.g. Servius.

12 The *locus classicus* of this phenomenon is the repetition of the story of Priapus' attempted rape of Lotis or Vesta (1.383–440 and 6.321–348), and many speculate that in a final draft, one or the other would have been removed.

Augusta), and his adopted son Germanicus as the seat of imperial authority. The later books of the *Fasti* address Augustus as *Caesar*, and the conventional conclusion is that the first book was revised after the death of Augustus and the succession of Tiberius in 14 CE.¹³

It is also worth noting the current critical consensus that Ovid was probably working on the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti* at the same time, between approximately 1 and 8 CE, and when he was sent into exile, the *Metamorphoses* was in a much more finished state – although in the *Tristia* he called it unfinished, and in fact claimed that he had destroyed his manuscript.¹⁴ The existing version of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid claims, was reassembled after he was ordered into exile, and there is some suspicion among modern scholars that, like the *Fasti*, the *Metamorphoses* was edited and altered post-exile for political reasons.¹⁵

Ovid's exile to Tomi had an enormous effect on his poetic works. To begin, the subject of exile is foregrounded in the *Fasti* through several intensely sympathetic depictions of characters who are forced to leave their homes and resettle elsewhere (see §5 below). More broadly, Ovid's earlier works tend to project a casual, satirical attitude toward the political world and power structures in general. In the *Ars Amatoria* and the *Amores*, Ovid's narrator makes light of social mores and laws (especially regarding adultery) and presents himself as unencumbered by conventional morality. Even the *Metamorphoses* (straddling the boundary between pre- and post-exilic works), which cumulates in a narrative of Julius' Caesar's apotheosis and an ecstatic prophecy of Augustus' impending divine transformation, contains numerous jabs at the existing power structure (thinly veiled in mythological metaphors). By contrast, the narrator of the *Fasti* (also on the boundary between pre- and post-exilic, but more decidedly exilic in many aspects), pours out praise for the imperial family throughout the work, as in the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. It is easy to read this ostentatious support for the regime as a means of seeking recall from exile. Even then,

13 For a detailed discussion of the *Fasti* revisions, see Green 15–24, Robinson Appendix 1.

14 *Tr.* 1.7, 2.555–556, 3.14.19–24.

15 Kovacs (1987).

his satirical side has not entirely disappeared:¹⁶ Carole E. Newlands' book *Playing with Time* explores how the *Fasti*'s superficial praise of the Caesars is undermined by the juxtaposition of important dates with infelicitous stories, as well as the omission of dates crucial to the Julio-Claudian political narrative.¹⁷ The overall effect, Newlands argues, is to resist the Julio-Claudian attempts to assert control over time. Matthew Robinson builds on this idea in his discussion of what he calls "supportive versus suspicious readings", ways in which the *Fasti*'s superficial praise of the imperial family allows for ambiguity in interpretation; it can be read sincerely by a 'supportive' reader, or with less flattering intentions by a 'suspicious' reader.¹⁸

While the *Fasti* leans heavily on the experience of exile, it also intensely evokes the experience of being in Rome. First of all, the work is an almanac of Roman holidays, civic events, and seasonal transitions that guide the reader through the temporal experience of the Roman year. Moreover, it is heavily invested in Roman geography: the narrator frequently references landmarks in Rome and leads the audience from site to site through the city. As described in §2 below, the Roman calendar included local variations wherever it was observed, and the *fasti* as observed in the city of Rome is not the same as the *fasti* anywhere else. Ovid's *Fasti* is at once a work of being in Rome and being away from Rome, simultaneously present and absent.

In any case, we have no evidence that the *Fasti* was completed before Ovid's death. Little is known about reactions to and repercussions of Ovid's death, since Ovid outlived most of the authors of the Augustan era. He was the last surviving of the Augustan Latin poets: Gallus died in 26 BCE, Vergil in 19 BCE, Tibullus shortly after that, Propertius sometime after 15 BCE, and Horace in 8 BCE. According to Jerome, Livy died in the same year as Ovid, 18 CE. From the twenty-five years between the death of Horace and the death of Ovid, we have little contemporary discussion of the Roman social milieu. This is perhaps due to the fact that Tiberius did not encourage literary and intellectual

16 See 1.191–192n.

17 Newlands (1995).

18 Robinson 9–11. See also Hinds (1992).

culture as much as Augustus did. While Augustus patronized poets and encouraged other patrons such as Maecenas, Tiberius was reported to have a repressive and vindictive attitude toward perceived criticism from authors.¹⁹ If Ovid was exiled under Augustus, it seems unlikely that Tiberius would be more forgiving, and it is unsurprising that Ovid was not recalled under Tiberius. Ovid predeceased Tiberius, who lived until 37 CE, and even his mother Livia, who lived until 29 CE, dying at the age of 85. Germanicus died not long after Ovid, in 19 CE at the age of 33. It is not until the mid-first century that we hear anything of Ovid's life (Seneca the Elder, Pliny the Elder and Martial being the first to mention him), and then only brief scraps.

While Martial comments on Ovid's lack of fame during Ovid's lifetime, the works of Ovid have had, and still have, a robust tradition of reception. Starting in the mid-first century (when Tacitus and Quintilian praised the *Medea* as well-written and popular), Ovid's works continued to be read and adapted in later centuries. From the Roman empire through late antiquity, the renaissance and the modern era, they were a major influence on such poets as Dante and Petrarch, Shakespeare and Milton. It is hard to know where to begin in describing Ovidian reception; the book *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid* gives a healthy introduction to the best-known landmarks of the field.²⁰ In the European middle ages and renaissance, the *Amores* and his other amatory works were widely read, and deeply influenced not only poetry but also social conventions and behavior among Ovid's readers. The recent Dumbarton Oaks volume *Appendix Ovidiana* compiles a large collection of pseudo-Ovidian Latin poetry from the middle ages, attesting to Ovid's popularity and influence (and includes pseudo-Ovidian works as early as the first century *Consolatio ad Liviam*).²¹ The *Metamorphoses* has been, and still is, studied as a compendium of classical myth, and the myths therein have been adapted as painting, sculpture, drama, and endless other arts. Insofar as

19 Cowan (2009).

20 Miller and Newlands (2014). See also Part 3 of Hardie (2002), Part V of Knox (2009), and chapters 12 and 13 of Boyd (2002).

21 Hexter *et al.* (2020).

the *Fasti* includes many similar mythological stories, it has often been read, analyzed, and adapted alongside the *Metamorphoses*, although it is very much its own work; see further below in §4.

In comparison to this extensive tradition of adapting and referencing the works of Ovid, the academic study of Ovid's works was a minor field until the end of the twentieth century. This was especially true regarding the *Fasti* in its cumbersome, unfinished state. Beyond the monumental commentaries by Bömer and Frazer, very little study was done on the *Fasti* until the 1980s. Today (as will be evident from the commentary in this volume) scholarship on the *Fasti* has blossomed; books, articles, and monographs on the subject are coming out every year, and there is a deep appreciation for the *Fasti*, its stories, its poetry, its place in the Ovidian canon, and its significance within the Augustan milieu.

§2. The Various Roman Calendars

The republican Roman calendar is an unwieldy system and difficult to understand, partly because it is so badly designed for tracking celestial cycles. Further difficulty arises from the fact that the calendar was altered a number of times; some of the alterations are reliably attested by sources contemporary (or near-contemporary) to the alteration in question, whereas other alterations are vaguely attributed to a nebulous past. It is difficult to understand Ovid's calendar poem without a grounding in how the Roman calendar worked, so here I will provide an overview of the basics. It is worth pointing out from the beginning that, as Denis Feeney has explored in his book *Caesar's Calendar*, the experience of time and the conception of the past, present, and future in the ancient world was substantially influenced by the calendars in use, particularly the lack of concord between calendars in competing states.²² In short, the concept of a calendar entails much more cognitive and social complexity than is apparent on the surface, but we can approach the Roman calendar as one system among others in use at the time.

I will begin with an outline of the Roman civic calendar as it was observed in the late republic, the earliest Roman calendar whose

22 Feeney (2007).

conventions are fully understood today.²³ Prior to the reform of Julius Caesar, the civic year consisted of 355 days, divided into twelve months. Although the calendar was intended to track the solar year (a 355-day system does not do this accurately, but we will return to that), one finds vestiges of a lunar calendar built into the system, the organization into months being the most prominent lunar feature. (One month should amount to one lunar cycle, although with the lunar cycle lasting 29.5 days, the early Roman calendar (with months of 29, 31, or 28 days) did not track this accurately either). Another vestige of the lunar system embedded in this primarily solar calendar is the three named days, (which Michels calls ‘dividing days’²⁴), in each month (the Kalends, the Ides, and the Nones) that were used as signposts from which dates were calculated: dates were stated by counting the number of days until the next dividing day. March 13th, for example, would be *ante diem tertium Idus Martias*, “three days before the Ides of March.” These dividing days were created to mark the phases of the moon,²⁵ although they do not mark them accurately. The pre-Julian calendar is attested by a surviving (fragmentary) late republican calendar, the *Fasti Antiates*,²⁶ which lists the days of each month, including the

23 For full detail, Michels (1967) is the classic reference on how the Roman calendar worked and how it changed over time. Michels calls the Roman calendar “not a fossil embedded in the structure of Rome, but ... a part of the living organism of Roman society” (Michels p. 94). See also Hannah (2005), ch. 5 ‘The Calendars of Rome’.

24 Michels (1967) 19n26.

25 That is, the dividing days were intended to mark the new moon, the half moon waxing, and the full moon; the half moon waning not being marked by a dividing day, Michels (1967) 21.

26 The *Fasti Antiates Maiores*, found at Antium, is the only known copy of the Roman calendar created before the Julian reform. By contrast, there are over forty inscribed versions of the Julian calendar, which are collected in Degraffi (1963). These ancient *fasti* are generally fragmentary and incomplete, and the assemblage of all of them gives informative background for Ovid’s *Fasti* regarding what dates are marked as significant on posted *fasti* and how the narrator interprets these dates in his poem. However, of these inscriptions, the *Fasti Praenestini* are most relevant to the study of Ovid’s *Fasti* because of the extent of the annotations provided for each date, and the fact that Augustus commissioned and promoted the *Fasti Praenestini* and its text as an important public monument. All of the inscribed versions of the

following information: the dividing days (Kalends, Ides, Nones), the *dies fasti* and *nefasti* (days when legal business is permitted versus forbidden), the eight-day cycle of market days (*dies nundinae*), and the names of certain holidays.

In effort to keep the 355-day calendar aligned to the solar year (365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 46 seconds), the republican calendar also allowed for an intercalary month (called Mercedinus or Mercedonius by Plutarch²⁷) that could be added at the discretion of the Pontifex Maximus, if sufficient drift were deemed to have accumulated. Because the observance or non-observance of the intercalary month was a matter of the Pontifex's discretion, the length of the year was subject to political manipulation (that is, the Pontifex might choose to lengthen the year if his allies were in power, or refuse to do so otherwise) and hence not reliably aligned to the solar year.

This system came to an end in 46 BCE, when Julius Caesar as dictator imposed a new calendar: 365 days over twelve months, with one intercalary day every four years.²⁸ This reform permanently aligned the civic calendar to the solar year; the intercalary month was no longer used, and the length of the year was no longer a political question. The new system was adopted throughout the Roman state, and Augustus later commissioned a marble inscribed version (the *Fasti Praenestini*), which was erected at Praeneste. It included annotations by Verrius Flaccus, a Roman scholar most famous as the teacher of Augustus' grandsons Gaius and Lucius.²⁹ This calendar was a major influence on Ovid in composing the *Fasti*: the poem not only elaborates many of the same holidays that are annotated in the *Fasti Praenestini*, but also sometimes echoes its language. Today the surviving fragments of the *Fasti Praenestini* are on display at Rome's Museo Nazionale

Julian calendar date from the early empire; Rüpke (2011) 140–45 speculates on why inscribed marble calendars are scarce after this period.

27 'Mercedinus' in *Num.* 18.2, 'Mercedonius' in *Caes.* 59.2.

28 Plin. *HN* 18.211–4, Suet. *Iul.* 40, Plut. *Caes.* 59, Censorinus *DN* 20.7–11, Macrobian *Sat.* 1.14. Pliny claims that Caesar made his changes on the advice of the astronomer Sosigenes of Alexandria; Macrobius mentions the assistance of one Marcus Flavius, otherwise unknown.

29 Suet. *Gram.* 17.

al Palazzo Massimo.³⁰ The *Fasti Praenestini* served as a monument to the Julio-Claudians' understanding of and dominance over time, bolstered by other public works of art in Rome such as the *Horologium Augusti*, a colossal sundial in the *Campus Martius*.³¹ Such works of art, in conjunction with the Julian calendar reform, contributed to a prevailing idea during the reigns of Julius Caesar and Augustus that the Caesars were inaugurating a new era in which they would operate the state more precisely, with a better understanding of the universe. Ovid's *Fasti* decisively adopts the Julian calendar rather than any previous calendar for its structure, and in doing so supports and promotes the idea of Julian dominance over time.³²

Tracing the Roman calendar back further than the late republic is an extremely difficult and speculative process. We have only scattered references to calendrical systems or reforms that predate the *Fasti Antiates*; Agnes Michels has analyzed what evidence there is.³³ Various authors mention calendars from the nebulous past, especially the monarchy, that had to be revised or superseded, but there is very little direct evidence for this. In the *Fasti* the narrator often references a ten-month calendar (March to December) instituted by Romulus. The fact that the last month of the twelve-month year is called 'December' (alongside the numerical names of the preceding months) may be a relic of a superseded ten-month calendar, but if a ten-month calendar was ever in use, it was soon emended: the misalignment between a ten-month calendar and a complete solar year quickly becomes obvious.³⁴

Unexpectedly, there are indications in the *Fasti* that Ovid was

30 CIL i² 233. The surviving inscription preserves substantial fragments of January and March, but February is reduced to a single date (5, the Nones). The fragments also substantially preserve the months of April and December, though they are not directly relevant to this volume.

31 Coarelli 298–99, Green (2004). The *Horologium's* gnomon is an Egyptian obelisk, today located in the *Piazza Montecitorio* and identifiable in the depiction of the apotheosis of Antoninus Pius on his column.

32 See 3.155–166.

33 Michels (1967).

34 See 3.149n. Frazer (1929) 2:8–29 lays out the evidence for a ten-month year in early Rome, and some possibilities for the practical aspects of how it could have functioned.

not familiar with the republican calendar. Born in 43 BCE, three years after the change to the Julian calendar, Ovid would have no personal experience of the pre-Julian calendar. As noted above, the *Fasti* refers several times to changes made to the number and order of the months, particularly stressing Romulus' ten-month year and its reported expansion to twelve months under Numa. This purported alteration to the calendar in the days of early Rome is not supported by any contemporary evidence. By contrast, the *Fasti* never mentions the one change to the number of months that is well-authenticated by contemporary evidence, namely the elimination of the intercalary month. The words *Mercedinus* or *intercalaris* never appear in the *Fasti*, and in the *Tristia* Ovid claims to have written his calendar poem in twelve books for twelve months (that is, with no space allotted to a thirteenth).³⁵ The *Fasti* describes Caesar studying astronomical phenomena, changing the number of days in the year, and including an intercalary day (although Ovid misstates the number of years between leap years, 3.155–166).³⁶ The Julian changes to the number of months and number of days per month are not mentioned. Ovid has so totally excluded the superseded calendar from the *Fasti* that his familiarity with it is called into question.

In discussing the Roman calendar (and Ovid's calendar poem), it is important to understand how many different calendars were in use in the ancient Mediterranean. For example, in Greece it was typical

35 Compare the *Fasti Antiaties*, where the intercalary month was given its own column alongside the other months, and not visibly differentiated from the others.

36 Ovid may not have been the first to misinterpret the new leap cycle, however: Macrobian *Sat.* 1.14.13–14 reports that Caesar's instructions for the four-year leap cycle were understood to mean a three-year leap cycle (via the Roman practice of inclusive counting), and the misconception was not fully corrected until 8 CE, that is, the year of Ovid's exile. Cf. Solin. 1.45. Suet. *Aug.* 31.2 seems to confirm this by stating that, under Augustus, the Julian calendar was *neglegentia conturbatum atque confusum*, and Augustus restored it *ad pristinam rationem*.

Another change to the Roman calendar during the reigns of Caesar and Augustus was the name change for the months of July and August: Quintilis was changed to Iulius in 44 BCE, and Sextilis was changed to Augustus in 8 BCE (Censorinus *DN* 22.16; see also Suet. *Iul.* 76 on Quintilis, and Suet. *Aug.* 31 on Sextilis). *Fasti* 3.149 uses the name Quintilis to refer to July, failing to acknowledge the change.

for each city to have its own calendar, and even basic information (such as the date of the new year or the names of the months) varied considerably between Greek calendars.³⁷ Even within the Roman state, which ostensibly imposed the same civic calendar across the full extent of its territory, there was variation in how the calendar was observed in different polities. We have over forty early imperial inscribed copies of the Roman civic calendar, and these calendars do not all include the same information: they come from different places and mark different annual observances, tailored to local priorities. A vast array of systems for mapping time were used by other municipalities, religions, and ethnic groups in the ancient world.³⁸ Beyond the informal lack of coordination between civic or religious calendars across the Roman empire, there is evidence that the Roman republic at one point operated under religious and secular calendars that were formally distinct from one another.³⁹ Such a system is attested for Athens,⁴⁰ and Johannes Lydus states that the Romans followed a *ιερατική* (religious) calendar beginning in January as well as a *πάτριος* (civic) calendar beginning in March.⁴¹

Up to this point I have primarily discussed civic or religious calendars: calendars organized for a group of people to schedule important events. These calendars are essentially arbitrary. They do not necessarily need to model the solar calendar or other astronomical cycles (although they are usually designed to), and even if they are modeled on the solar or lunar cycle they do not need to mirror it perfectly. For this reason, in the ancient world astronomical cycles

37 Hannah (2005) explains the Greek calendars in detail. Ancient Greek calendars are very poorly attested (there are no surviving Greek inscriptions that show a calendar like the Roman *fasti*, although there are a number of Greek ritual calendars that list annual sacrifices in chronological order; see Hannah 71–72) and consequently poorly understood.

38 Blackburn and Holford-Strevens (1999) provide an overview of various ancient calendar systems, including ‘The Greek Calendar’ (712–16), ‘The Jewish Calendar’ (722–33), ‘The Egyptian Calendar’ (708–11), and ‘The Roman Calendar’ (669–76).

39 Michels (1967) 99.

40 Michels (1967) 15.

41 *Mens.* 3.22.

were considered a scientific phenomenon independent of any civic or religious calendar. They were precisely measured and understood by the experts of the day, as is reflected in the works of Aratus, Eratosthenes, and Hyginus, among others. Related to the astronomical calendar, but not completely determined by it,⁴² is the agricultural calendar, the set of seasonal signals that farmers used to determine when to plant and harvest different crops. The annual agricultural cycle is discussed in the many works on farming in Greek and Roman literature, including Hesiod's *Works and Days*, Vergil's *Georgics*, Varro's *de Re Rustica*, Columella's *de Re Rustica*, Cato's *de Agri Cultura*, and Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*.⁴³ Especially in the late republic, the Roman civic calendar drifted so much from the astronomical calendar that it was not practical for farmers to schedule their work according to civic observances.⁴⁴ Ovid's *Fasti* is innovative because it adopts the civic/religious calendar – the Julian calendar (now reliably synchronized to the solar year) – as a base structure, and incorporates observances from the astronomical and agricultural calendars into it, harmonizing the three into one comprehensive calendar. In fact, the *Fasti* emphasizes its use of astronomical material, calling attention to the fact that such a subject would not normally be included in a work on the calendar, and praises the astronomers of the past who painstakingly studied the movement of heavenly bodies and its significance on earth.⁴⁵ Caesar in his role as calendar reformer falls into this category. In this way, Ovid's *Fasti* celebrates Caesar's calendar reform, showing civic observances reliably tied to the risings and settings of constellations, and demonstrating Caesar's understanding of the universe.

42 Aside from the solar cycle, the decision of when to plant or harvest crops may be affected by (among other factors) irregularities of the year's weather, ongoing or anticipated conflicts with neighbors, or the presence or absence of animals, insects, weeds, fungus, and other pests.

43 Book 18 of Plin. *HN* also discusses the practical aspects of agriculture, but Pliny (unlike these other authors) postdates Ovid and would not have influenced him.

44 As a signal that it was not practical for agricultural events to be governed by the civic calendar, it is stated at *Fasti* 1.657–658 that the Sementiva Dies, sowing day, is not marked on the *fasti*.

45 1.295–310.

§3. The Literary Background

In creating the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid established a reputation for defying generic expectations. The *Metamorphoses* superficially follows epic conventions (it is a long narrative poem in epic meter describing larger-than-life heroes and events of the mythic past), while it notably lacks many essential elements of an epic. The narrative is not unified around the exploits of one hero, or the scope of a single event. Alongside the conventionally epic battles of Lapiths and Centaurs or Trojans and Greeks, the audience sees humble and sometimes comic domestic scenes: Baucis and Philemon entertaining gods in their hut, the daughters of Minyas spitefully refusing to attend a festival, the slave Galanthis outwitting the goddess Lucina in Alcmena's childbirth. While Ovid's earlier work the *Amores* hews tightly to the conventions of his predecessors in erotic poetry, the *Metamorphoses* breaks free of epic conventions and becomes something unexpectedly new.

The *Fasti* pursues a similar campaign of unconventionality. The work is difficult to classify generically, due to its wide variety of literary influences. On a basic level, it can be labeled a didactic elegy, following the tradition of Callimachus' *Aetia*, a Hellenistic work (surviving only in fragments) explaining the origins behind various customs and rites.⁴⁶ Among Latin authors Ovid had Propertius as a model: Propertius opens his fourth book of elegies with a programmatic declaration to describe the Roman *sacra diesque* as a 'Roman Callimachus'.⁴⁷ From there, his fourth book presents various episodes from Roman history and legend (while incorporating episodes from the continuing story of the narrator's affair with Cynthia). Many of the legends from Propertius' fourth book (such as Tarpeia or the Ara Maxima) are reworked in the *Fasti*.⁴⁸ Ovid had written previous works of didactic elegy (the *Ars Amatoria*, *Remedia Amoris*, and *Medicamina*), but the *Fasti* aspires

46 See 1.1n.

47 Prop. 4.1.64, 69.

48 On the *Fasti*'s references to Propertius 4, see Green 29–30, Heyworth (2009) 274–78, Miller (1978). Cato's *Origines* (which does not survive) is also said to follow the tradition of Callimachus' *Aetia*, and may have been another influence on the *Fasti*.

to be something grander and more meaningful than those light works. Ovid incorporates material on astronomy, Roman religion, festivals and customs, military commemorations, and important people and edifices from the city of Rome. The resulting work draws influence from a broad scope of sources beyond didactic poets.

In explaining the calendar, the *Fasti* narrator uses stories from Roman history and legend as the backbone of his project. He includes many such stories throughout the work, building up and fleshing out the annual observances with narrative background. His information on Roman history is heavily influenced not only by Propertius but also by Livy's *ab Urbe Condita*.⁴⁹ In particular, the Regifugium at the end of *Fasti* book 2 provides a condensed version of several stories from the end of the monarchy as discussed in Livy's first book. One sees Livy's influence on the *Fasti* particularly in certain episodes that appear in both the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses* (such as the apotheosis of Romulus), in which the *Fasti* version shows much stronger influence from Livy than the *Metamorphoses* version. It is easy to find influence from Roman poets who present episodes from Roman history and legend, such as Vergil and Ennius; additionally, the narrator often draws explanations for religious customs or etymologies from Varro's works, although the influence of Varro is more difficult to trace since his works are incompletely preserved.

As a poem of the Roman calendar, Ovid's *Fasti* contains frequent references to posted *fasti*, especially the *Fasti Praenestini* and its annotations by Verrius Flaccus.⁵⁰ The influence of the *Fasti Praenestini* on Ovid's work calls attention to the larger significance of publicly-posted *fasti* in Roman life. Roman historians claim that the *fasti* were for a long time kept sequestered from the public and restricted to the use of magistrates and priests. It was not until 304 BCE that the aedile Gnaeus Flavius publicly posted a copy of the *fasti* and made it much easier for members of the public to conduct legal business and

49 See Murgatroyd (2005) chapter 6, 'Ovid and Livy', Chiu (2016) chapter 1, '(Up)setting Examples: Vying with Livy'. N.b. 3.153, where the narrator suggests a historical narrative at variance with Livy's (and see note on which).

50 E.g. 1.46n, 3.429n, 3.883–4n.

participate in civic life.⁵¹ Ovid never mentions Gnaeus Flavius, but the accessibility of calendrical information to Ovid and his audience is an essential element of the poem; Carole Newlands highlights the democratic spirit of the *Fasti*, in which “the Ovidian narrator democratically invites [his readers] to share in his ongoing researches and indeed to make their own judgments.”⁵² Beyond posted *fasti*, the poem draws other information from sources accessible in the city. It is deeply engaged with the experience of living in Rome, and uses knowledge of local landmarks, expecting the audience to recognize the sites in question. The narrator also speaks of interviewing individuals in Rome for information on religious customs.⁵³

Ovid’s references to annual cycles are not restricted to the civic calendar. In fitting the civic calendar to the solar year, the *Fasti* makes frequent references to the agricultural cycles and incorporates many agricultural or rustic episodes, especially as signposts for changes of season. Here Ovid leans on his predecessors who wrote on agricultural subjects: Hesiod’s *Works and Days* is the classic of this genre, but alongside it there are Vergil’s *Georgics*, Cato’s *de Agricultura*, Varro’s *de Re Rustica*, and Columella’s *de Re Rustica*, and Xenophon’s *Oeconomicus*. Additionally, in incorporating astronomical information, Ovid draws on astronomical authorities such as Eratosthenes’ *Catasterismoi*, Hyginus’ *Poetica Astronomica*, and Aratus’ *Phaenomena* (and its Latin translations, especially the one ascribed to Germanicus).⁵⁴

The *Fasti*’s references to astronomical texts require some further comment. Although Ovid’s work evokes the influence of these

51 See e.g. Cic. *Att.* 6.1.8, Livy 9.46.5, Plin. *HN* 33.17.

52 Newlands (1992) 33–34.

53 E.g. his interview with the Flaminica at 6.219–234.

54 Aratus’ *Phaen.* was a very influential work in the late republic/early empire, and was adapted into Latin several times: by Germanicus, Cicero, Varro Atacinus, and (in the post-classical period) Avienus. It is also cited as a major influence on Verg. *G.* and Lucr. Aratus’ version is available in a Loeb volume, Mair (1921); the fragments of Germanicus’ *Aratea* are available as Breysig (1967); Cicero’s version (quoted at length in *Nat. D.* 2.104–114) is available in Soubiran’s (1972) collection of Cicero’s poetic fragments; Avienus’ version is available in a Teubner edition, Breysig (1882); and a fragment of Varro Atacinus’ version is included in Hollis (2007) 170–71.

astronomers, Ovid does not seem to have been a scholar of astronomy in his own right. Many modern scholars point out the *Fasti*'s mistakes in reporting astronomical phenomena, especially the dates reported for the rising and setting of constellations.⁵⁵ Some of these mistakes may have arisen because Ovid drew his information from various sources that were based in different locations: his sources did not reflect the data observable in his area because geography has an effect on the observed movement of stars. Different stars are visible depending on one's latitude, local sources of light pollution, and obstructions of the horizon; and of course the date of a star's rising or setting may vary depending on how closely the astronomer's calendar is aligned to the solar year. Astronomical observations in Egypt or Boeotia are not necessarily equivalent to those in Rome. The *Fasti* frequently describes constellations as "sinking into the sea" or "rising out of the sea", implying that the observer is stationed somewhere where the sea occupies the horizon⁵⁶ – that is, not in Rome. In short, the *Fasti* clearly draws on the work of astronomers, but that work is not necessarily carefully checked.

Generically, the *Fasti* is most clearly defined by what it is not, specifically not epic. The narrator invokes the tradition of *recusatio* numerous times, pleading that he is not qualified to write the epic that is worthy of the Caesars.⁵⁷ In choosing elegiac meter, Ovid makes a clear statement that the *Fasti* is not epic, not even a loose epic that plays with generic expectations like the *Metamorphoses*. It discusses dates and stars, rituals and festivals, seasons and stories. While epic elements may surface in the poem (which includes warlike figures such as Mars or Romulus, or military episodes like the defeat of the Fabii), Ovid steers clear of epic conventions such as larger-than-life heroes, gruesome details of battle, and irresolvable conflicts that endure for generations. It is light, it is episodic, it is full of minor embarrassments and small concerns like how to treat a beesting; it is unquestionably elegiac.

55 See 2.245n.

56 Or perhaps evoking a cosmic model in which the earth is flat and bounded by Ocean on the edges; see 1.314n.

57 See 1.13n.

§4. The *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses*

The *Fasti* has many clear connections to the *Metamorphoses*. Both works present episodes from Greek and Roman mythology; stories with similar characters, settings, and narrative elements are prominently featured in both works. In fact, some of the stories from the *Metamorphoses* are entirely retold in the *Fasti*, prominent examples being the stories of Callisto, Ino, and Persephone.⁵⁸ The stories, however, are not repeated verbatim; in each case, the narratives are reshaped to emphasize new elements and give a different aspect to the story.

Although details of Roman geography are essential to the *Fasti* stories set in the contemporary city, the *Fasti* stories set in the mythic past inhabit the quasi-Arcadian setting typical of the mythic stories in the *Metamorphoses*. In the landscape of Ovid's mythic past, one finds inviting forests with glades, pools, caves, and flowery meadows. This landscape is populated by nymphs, wild animals, monsters, and minor deities; it is occasionally visited by Olympian gods. Such landscapes are punctuated by vaguely Mycenaean citadels populated by (usually high-status) humans; one also finds humans traveling the seas on ships. Occasionally humans wander into those inviting forest spaces and suffer terrible consequences.⁵⁹

Despite the superficial resemblance between the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*, the two works are not consistent in structure and purpose, and one should bear in mind the differences between the two works' program and scope. The *Metamorphoses* is constructed as a history of the universe, with a broad, sweeping narrative in which discrete episodes are linked in sequence by transitions and framing devices. The narrative builds continuously from the formless chaos of prehistory to the crowning achievements of Rome, the grand

58 Murgatroyd (2005) chapter 8 'Ovid and Ovid' identifies eight such doublets (Lotis, Hippolytus, Europa, Ino, Romulus' deification, Marsyas, Callisto, and Persephone) and has explored the doubled stories between the two works in detail. See also Hinds (1987), which concentrates on the Persephone story doublets and stresses the generic differences between the two works.

59 See Segal (1971).

conclusion of everything that went before. By contrast, the *Fasti*'s almanac-style structure jumps from one day to the next, without any network of transitions and nested narratives to link story to story. In the *Fasti*, the narrative vignettes, instead of being conscientiously tied together (as in the *Metamorphoses*), are distinctly separated by temporal cues: the narrator states that a certain number of days pass between episodes, or adds some details from the natural world to signal a change of season. This creates an interesting contrast between the chronological arrangement of the two works. While the *Metamorphoses* stories are placed in the chronological order in which these events ostensibly occurred within a long-running historical narrative, the *Fasti* stories are placed in the chronological order in which the events are commemorated within the Roman calendar. The reader witnesses the stories not from the perspective of some hypothetical (immortal) viewer who has seen the entire span of history unroll in sequence, but rather from the perspective of a (mortal) Roman living at the time of Ovid and being reminded of the stories in question as they are commemorated throughout the year. The *Fasti* is not only more episodic, but it also does not build toward any definite conclusion; time is presented as an ongoing progression in which the reader is embedded. In sum, the *Fasti* is self-conscious of its construction as a calendar, and of the fact that its perspective is grounded among humans living in Rome in Ovid's time. It is, moreover, self-conscious of its *Romanitas*: it emphasizes stories set in Italy and stories that provide aetiologies for Roman religious practices.

The *Fasti*'s substantial engagement with Roman myths (in preference to the Greek myths favored in the *Metamorphoses*) highlights further difference between the two works regarding the personalities of the narrators. In the *Fasti* the narrator as *vates* (a poet with strong links to the religious establishment, and even to the gods themselves),⁶⁰ occupies a major role within the narrative. He describes his interviews with gods, professing a level of personal familiarity with exalted figures who elevate his own status by association. The narrator of the *Metamorphoses* has little personal agency in the stories he narrates,

60 For discussion of the word *vates*, see 1.25n.

and, although he predicts immortality for himself via his work, he does not affect acquaintance with Venus and Mars. By contrast, the narrator of the *Fasti* does so, and in so doing implicitly compares himself with Numa, the revered priest-king who obtains an audience with Jupiter to negotiate terms of religious rituals. To an extent, the *Fasti*'s narrator is a reemergence of the *praeceptor* persona established in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* and his earlier didactic works (though Carole Newlands differentiates between the self-important, overconfident *praeceptor* of the *Amores* in contrast to the "much more tentative" narrator of the *Fasti*).⁶¹ In fact, the *Fasti*'s narrator promotes himself to a higher level of praeceptorial authority, asserting that his information on Roman religion was obtained from personal interviews with the gods (whereas the narrator of the *Metamorphoses* makes no special claims to authority in reporting his stories).⁶² Despite these claims of access to exalted sources, the *Fasti* narrator shies away from asserting his authority in aetiological matters, as illustrated by the phenomenon of 'multiple aetiologies', in which the narrator presents several competing aetiologies for a phenomenon and declines to assert which one is the genuine one.⁶³ The *Metamorphoses* narrator does not invite doubt in his narrative by presenting conflicting stories and refusing to judge between them. This should be considered in conjunction with the idea, as described above in §1, that the narrator's tone shifts substantially between the two works. While the *Metamorphoses* narrator adopts an attitude of entertaining his audience with amusing or dramatic stories, often irreverent toward the gods or other power figures and careless of the consequences, the *Fasti* narrator is more wary of authority figures, praising the Caesars more ostentatiously and more frequently than in the *Metamorphoses*.

The focus on Roman religion in the *Fasti* also manifests itself in the transformation narratives: in the *Fasti*, transformations are almost

61 Newlands (1992).

62 The narrator of the *Amores* does have interviews with gods (*Am.* 3.1), but this is not so didactic: the subject is the narrator's personal life and career. Cf. also *Ars am.* 1.25–30, in which the narrator claims that his information comes from personal experience, and is not transmitted from a divine source.

63 See 3.543n.

invariably apotheoses, in which a human becomes a divine or immortal being, such as a god, nymph, or constellation. By contrast, in the *Metamorphoses* the transformations are most often punitive, in which a person is transformed into an animal, plant, or stone.⁶⁴ Insofar as the *Fasti* focuses on (among other things) Roman religion, its transformation stories tend to be transformations of characters important to Roman religion, namely the gods. The astronomical aspect of the *Fasti* also prompts narratives of catasterisms; although a few catasterisms appear in the *Metamorphoses* (prominent examples being Callisto and Arcas, and of course Julius Caesar), they are overshadowed by the much more frequent transformations into subhuman forms. Within the *Fasti*, the idea of divine agency is more foregrounded: some of the catasterism stories specify that the gods elect to place a character among the stars as a reward⁶⁵ (or, occasionally, a punishment⁶⁶) for some exceptional action. This process also draws attention to astronomical phenomena and attributes a level of life and animation to the sky.

§5. Greece and Rome

The *Fasti* includes many stories that describe the colonization of Italy from the Greek world and other eastern civilizations, emphasizing Rome's cultural heritage and building up Rome's national mythology as a continuance of venerable traditions. Featured prominently in book one, Evander is presented as a cultural hero, banished from Greece through no fault of his own, and arriving in Italy to share his traditions with a new people. He is one of many colonists who will arrive in Italy throughout the *Fasti* to share the legacies of a more ancient culture, including Aeneas, Anna of Carthage, Ino, Oebalus (the ancestor of Titus Tatius), Hippolytus/Virbius, and an unnamed Etruscan augur.⁶⁷ By and large, these colonists make a success of their

64 I have addressed the differences between supernatural transformation stories in the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses* more thoroughly in Beek (2015), especially chapter 1.

65 E.g. the Kite, 3.793–808.

66 E.g. the Raven, 2.243–266.

67 Catalogues of colonists are presented at *Fasti* 1.489–492, 4.65–82.

colonies, illustrating not only the power of their native culture (which will persist in Italy down to Ovid's time), but also the robustness of the practice of colonization.

Beyond the arrival of colonists in Italy, the *Fasti* shows Italy colonized by gods as well. The narrator describes the importation of foreign gods to Italy, including the Magna Mater and Aesculapius. Moreover, several of the human colonists (such as Aeneas, Anna Perenna, Hippolytus, and Ino) who come to Italy eventually achieve divinity; these stories give the reader the sense that Italy not only preserves traditions of distant cultures, but also is blessed by the gods, with many connections to divinities.

§6. Meter

The *Fasti*, like every surviving work of Ovid except the *Metamorphoses*, is written in elegiac couplets.⁶⁸ Although this meter is strongly associated with Roman erotic poetry of the late republic and early empire (Catullus, Gallus, Propertius, and Tibullus being notable predecessors of Ovid who wrote in elegiac meter), it has a long history prior to that. Elegiac meter was used by Greek lyric poets for poems that were shorter and more personal than epic (including short, pithy poems such as epigrams or epitaphs). Many of Callimachus' works are in elegiac couplets, including the *Aetia*, which was a major influence on the *Fasti*.

The meter is composed of single verses of dactylic hexameter alternating with single verses of so-called pentameter (two and a half feet plus two and a half feet). The hexameter line is composed of five dactyls (a long syllable followed by two short syllables (— —)), followed by a spondee (two long syllables (— —)). Any of the first four dactyls in the line may be replaced by a spondee. The fifth dactyl may be replaced by a spondee to make a 'spondaic line', but this is generally avoided; exceptions (e.g. 3.105) generally involve Greek vocabulary. The last syllable in a line (x) may be either short or long.

68 This is a cursory introduction to Ovidian elegiacs; for a more detailed study, see Platnauer (1951), Wilkinson 1963) 133–34, 202–204.

The pentameter line is composed of two halves with a caesura, or break (||), in the middle. The first half is composed of two dactyls (either of which may be replaced by a spondee) followed by a single long syllable. The second half is the same as the first, except that the dactyls cannot be replaced bypondees. The pentameter line always ends in a disyllabic word. A word may not continue across the caesura. The hexameter line also has a principal caesura, most often in the same place as in the pentameter line (after the first syllable of the third foot), although the principal caesura may also fall in other places (such as the second or fourth foot). Shown schematically, the elegiac couplet looks like this:

$$\begin{array}{cccccc} - & \cup & \cup & | & - & \cup & \cup & | & - & \cup & \cup & | & - & \cup & \cup & | & - & \cup & \cup & | & - & x \\ - & \cup & \cup & | & - & \cup & \cup & | & - & || & - & \cup & \cup & | & - & \cup & \cup & | & - & \cup & \cup & | & x \end{array}$$

The first couplet in the *Fasti* scans thus:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccccc} - & \cup & \cup & - & - & - & \cup & \cup & - & - & - & \cup & \cup & - & x \\ \text{tempora} & | & \text{cum cau} & | & \text{sis} & || & \text{Lati} & | & \text{um di} & | & \text{gesta per} & | & \text{annum} \\ - & \cup & \cup & - & - & - & - & \cup & \cup & - & \cup & \cup & \cup & x \\ \text{lapsaque} & | & \text{sub ter} & | & \text{ras} & || & \text{ortaque} & | & \text{signa ca} & | & \text{nam.} \end{array}$$

Latin poetry includes the feature of elision, in which a word ending in a vowel (or *m*) followed by a word beginning with a vowel (or *h*) blend together, with the final syllable of the first word and the initial syllable of the second word becoming a single syllable. Ovid uses elision throughout his poetry, but to a lesser degree than his predecessors; he especially tends to avoid eliding long vowels. The first foot of the line in Ovid's work is usually a dactyl, not a spondee, and monosyllabic words are usually not used as the final word in a line (unless it is a form of the word *esse* elided to the preceding word).

A single couplet in the *Fasti* generally represents a coherent sentence or idea (or two related sentences or ideas); it is unusual for a sentence in one couplet to run over into the following couplet. See 2.599–601 for an exception.

§7. Text and Translation

The Latin text of this edition follows the text of AWC, the standard edition of Ovid's *Fasti*.⁶⁹ In the notes I have discussed major points in the text where variant readings have led to divergent translations. There are over 170 medieval and renaissance manuscripts of the *Fasti*⁷⁰ and, without explicating the manuscript tradition in detail, I will summarize by saying that five manuscripts are the center of the *Fasti*'s manuscript tradition. The oldest (incomplete) surviving manuscript (A) dates from the tenth century, a second important manuscript (U) dates from the eleventh century, and a group of three closely-related manuscripts (I, G, M; collectively known as Z; two from the eleventh century, one from the fifteenth) complete the basis for the *Fasti*'s text tradition. The AWC edition favors the readings of the oldest text, which has been correspondingly influential in this edition.

Although the *Metamorphoses* has been translated into English dozens of times over the centuries, the *Fasti* has a considerably smaller translation tradition.⁷¹ Early translations were created by John Gower (*Festivals*, 1640), William Massey (1757), Isaac Butt (1833), John Taylor (1839, first four books), Henry T. Riley (1851), and J. B. Rose (1866), all of which are today rather obscure. Moving into the twentieth century, James Frazer published a translation in 1929 which is very well-known, in spite of its archaic language. Frazer's translation is still in print as the current Loeb edition, but the original Macmillan edition included an extensive anthropological commentary, comparing the rituals and legends reported in the *Fasti* to (sometimes

69 Steven Heyworth's forthcoming OCT edition, which he promises (Heyworth 43) will include some "attractive readings" of medieval manuscripts which are not reported in AWC, is much anticipated.

70 For full discussion of the manuscript tradition see AWC vii–xiv and Alton *et al.* (1977).

71 Note that the articles on Ovid's works in translation by Lyne (2002) and Martin (2009) both focus on translations of the *Met.*, with little discussion of Ovid's other works. Martin's (1998) anthology of translations of Ovid's works, *Ovid in English*, has a more balanced selection of all the works of Ovid, without focusing on the works that have been translated most often (i.e., the *Met.* and the erotic works).

dubious) information on cultural traditions in then-obscure parts of the world. For more recent translations of the *Fasti*, we have Betty Rose Nagle's 1995 verse edition in modern idiom (in a very loose meter based on the number of stresses in a line). There is also the 2000 Penguin edition by A. J. Boyle and R. D. Woodard, in slightly stricter meter and slightly more formal language, with extensive notes and impressive supplementary materials. The 2011 Oxford World's Classics edition by Anne and Peter Wiseman forgoes meter in favor of prose that hews very close to the Latin idiom.

The content in this edition is centered on the Latin text, beginning from the perspective of someone reading the Latin for the first time. Beyond the Latin text, the materials included (the translation and commentary) are intended to explain the text, to provide context for it and aid the reader's interpretation. The commentary provides explanatory notes for Roman literature, history, and customs; the translation is meant to give a sense of what the text means, especially where the Latin is abstruse. The intended result is a fuller understanding for the reader of what the Latin text signified in ancient Rome, both to the author and to the audience, and how those ideas have carried forward into modern times. From there, the reader is well placed to formulate an informed response.

I have included below a list of editions and commentaries of the *Fasti*. Of these, the largest and most informative are those of Bömer (1958) on the entire work, Green (2004) on book 1, Robinson (2011) on book 2, Heyworth (2019) on book 3, Ursini (2008) on the first half of book 3, Fantham (1998) on book 4, and Littlewood (2006) on book 6. John F. Miller's forthcoming commentary on book 5 is highly anticipated.

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OVID

***FASTI* BOOKS 1–3**

FASTORVM LIBER PRIMVS

tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum
lapsaque sub terras ortaue signa canam.
excipe pacato, Caesar Germanice, voltu
hoc opus et timidæ derige navis iter,
officioque, levem non aversatus honorem, 5
en tibi devoto numine dexter ades.
sacra recognosces annalibus eruta priscis
et quo sit merito quaeque notata dies.
invenies illic et festa domestica vobis;
saepe tibi pater est, saepe legendus avus, 10
quaeque ferunt illi, pictos signantia fastos,
tu quoque cum Druso praemia fratre feres.
Caesaris arma canant alii: nos Caesaris aras
et quoscumque sacris addidit ille dies.
adnue conanti per laudes ire tuorum 15
deque meo pavidos excute corde metus.
da mihi te placidum, dederis in carmina vires:
ingenium voltu statque caditque tuo.
pagina iudicium docti subitura movetur
principis, ut Clario missa legenda deo. 20
quae sit enim culti facundia sensimus oris,
civica pro trepidis cum tulit arma reis.
scimus et, ad nostras cum se tulit impetus artes,
ingenii currant flumina quanta tui.
si licet et fas est, vates rege vatis habenas, 25
auspice te felix totus ut annus eat.
tempora digereret cum conditor Urbis, in anno
constituit menses quinque bis esse suo.
scilicet arma magis quam sidera, Romule, noras,
curaque finitimos vincere maior erat. 30
est tamen et ratio, Caesar, quae moverit illum,
erroremque suum quo tueatur habet.
quod satis est, utero matris dum prodeat infans,
hoc anno statuit temporis esse satis;

BOOK 1

1.1

[1] I will sing the seasons and their stories, commemorated throughout the Latian year, and the constellations as they rise and fall beyond the horizon. Caesar Germanicus, accept this work with a serene expression, and guide the journey of my uncertain ship. Please do not reject this honor, however paltry; stand at my right hand, lending divine aid to an endeavor dedicated (here it comes) to you. Here you will rediscover sacred rites unearthed from the earliest annals, and learn how each special day earned its annotations. You will also find here the domestic celebrations of your family, and often read about your father, as well as your grandfather. [11] And you will carry off the same honors they do, the ones marked on the painted fasti, alongside your brother Drusus. Other poets will sing Caesar's battles; I will sing his altars, and the celebrations he added to the sacred calendar. Bless my attempt to enumerate the praises of your family, and dispel fear from my trembling heart. Be benevolent toward me to give power to my song; my ability lives or dies at your discretion. My manuscript, submitted to the judgement of the discerning prince, shakes like a message sent to the Clarian god. [21] I have witnessed what ability you have with speechcraft, when you engaged in civil conflict on behalf of anxious defendants. I know as well what great rivers of inspiration flow when you feel an impulse toward my arts. If it is permitted by you and by the gods, govern a poet's reins (you are a poet yourself!), and under your protection, let the whole year run prosperously.

1.27

When the founder of the city devised the calendar, he set down a ten-month year. Clearly, Romulus, you understood warfare better than astronomy, and your main preoccupation was conquering your neighbors. [31] Even so, there was a rationale that guided him, Caesar, and he has the means to defend his mistake. He decided that what was enough time for a baby to emerge from its mother's womb was also enough for a year. This is

per totidem menses a funere coniugis uxor 35
 sustinet in vidua tristia signa domo.
 haec igitur vidit trabeati cura Quirini,
 cum rudibus populis annua iura daret.
 Martis erat primus mensis, Venerisque secundus;
 haec generis princeps, ipsius ille pater: 40
 tertius a senibus, iuvenum de nomine quartus,
 quae sequitur, numero turba notata fuit.
 at Numa nec Ianum nec avitas praeterit umbras,
 mensibus antiquis praeposuitque duos.
 ne tamen ignores variorum iura dierum, 45
 non habet officii Lucifer omnis idem.
 ille nefastus erit, per quem tria verba silentur:
 fastus erit, per quem lege licebit agi.
 nec toto perstare die sua iura putaris:
 qui iam fastus erit, mane nefastus erat; 50
 nam simul exta deo data sunt, licet omnia fari,
 verbaque honoratus libera praetor habet.
 est quoque, quo populum ius est includere saeptis;
 est quoque, qui nono semper ab orbe redit.
 vindicat Ausonias Iunonis cura Kalendas; 55
 Idibus alba Iovi grandior agna cadit;
 Nonarum tutela deo caret. omnibus istis
 (ne fallare cave) proximus ater erit.
 omen ab eventu est: illis nam Roma diebus
 damna sub averso tristia Marte tulit. 60
 haec mihi dicta semel, totis haerentia fastis,
 ne seriem rerum scindere cogar, erunt.

1. A K : IAN : F¹

ecce tibi faustum, Germanice, nuntiat annum
 inque meo primum carmine Ianus adest.

1 These notations indicate the following information: the number of day of the month, the nundinal letter (A–H), the dividing day if applicable (K/NON/EID for Kalends, Nones, Ides), the name of any holidays that fall on the day (see e.g. AGON at 1.317), and F/N/C/EN/NP to indicate whether the day is fastus, nefastus, comitalis, endotercisus, etc. See 1.47–54n. Notations in parentheses (see e.g. 1.295) are dates Ovid does not discuss.

the number of months a woman, after the death of her husband, keeps a display of mourning in her widowed home. Therefore Quirinus in his kingly attire had these things in mind when he ordained the calendar conventions for his unsophisticated populace. For Romulus the month of Mars was first, followed by that of Venus, since Venus was the origin of his people, and Mars was his own father. [41] The third month he named for the elders, the fourth for the youth, and the set that follows was named numerically. But Numa did not neglect either Janus or the ancestral shades, and added two months before the established ones.

1.45

So you will not be ignorant of the rules governing the various days, not every day encompasses the same functions. There will be *nefastus* days, when the three words are not spoken, and *fastus* days, when it is permitted to conduct legal business. Moreover, you should not assume that these rules are immutable for the entire day: a day that was *nefastus* in the morning may be *fastus* later on. [51] Once the sacrifice has been given to the god, all speech is permitted, and the honored praetor has free access to the formulas. There are also certain days when it is permissible to pen the people in election booths, and the days that always come around in a nine-day cycle. The worship of Juno claims the Ausonian Kalends, while a large white lamb is sacrificed to Jupiter on the Ides. No god watches over the Nones, and the day following each of these is a dark day, make no mistake. This omen arises from past events, for on those days the Romans suffered devastating losses when Mars opposed them. [61] These notes hold true throughout the entire calendar, but I will explain them only once, so that I will not be compelled to interrupt the flow of my work.

1.63

Look, Germanicus, Janus heralds an auspicious year for you, and he is present in my poem from the start. Double-faced Janus, source of the

Iane biceps, anni tacite labentis origo, 65
 solus de superis qui tua terga vides,
 dexter ades ducibus, quorum securo labore
 otia terra ferax, otia pontus habet:
 dexter ades patribusque tuis populoque Quirini,
 et resera nutu candida templa tuo. 70
 prospera lux oritur: linguis animisque favete;
 nunc dicenda bona sunt bona verba die.
 lite vacent aures, insanaque protinus absint
 iurgia: differ opus, livida turba, tuum. 75
 cernis odoratis ut luceat ignibus aether,
 et sonet accensis spica Cilissa focus?
 flamma nitore suo templorum verberat aurum,
 et tremulum summa spargit in aede iubar.
 vestibus intactis Tarpeias itur in arces,
 et populus festo concolor ipse suo est, 80
 iamque novi praeceunt fasces, nova purpura fulget,
 et nova conspicuum pondera sentit ebur.
 colla rudes operum praebent ferienda iuveni,
 quos aluit campis herba Falisca suis.
 Iuppiter arce sua totum cum spectet in orbem, 85
 nil nisi Romanum quod tueatur habet.
 salve, laeta dies, meliorque revertere semper,
 a populo rerum digna potente coli.
 quem tamen esse deum te dicam, Iane biformis?
 nam tibi par nullum Graecia numen habet. 90
 ede simul causam, cur de caelestibus unus
 sitque quod a tergo sitque quod ante vides.
 haec ego cum sumptis agitare mentis tabellis,
 lucidior visa est quam fuit ante domus.
 tum sacer ancipiti mirandus imagine Ianus 95
 bina repens oculis obtulit ora meis.
 extimui sensique metu riguisse capillos,
 et gelidum subito frigore pectus erat.
 ille tenens baculum dextra clavemque sinistra
 edidit hos nobis ore priore sonos: 100
 ‘disce metu posito, vates operose dierum,
 quod petis, et voces percipe mente meas.

silent-flowing year, you alone of the gods look backward. Stand staunchly by our leaders, whose labors have secured peace across the bountiful earth and sea. Stand also by your Senators, and people of Quirinus, and open up the shining temples with your signal. [71] A propitious day dawns, so do what is right both in your words and your attitude. Now, on this favorable day, we should speak favorable words. Let legal cases not be heard today, and let there be no violent arguments; let the malicious mob postpone their fights. Do you see how the sky shines with scented fires, and the Cilician saffron crackles on the kindled altars? The flame flashes off the gold of the temples, and stretches its flickering beam to the temple ceiling. There is a procession to the top of the Tarpeian citadel, people in spotless clothes, decked out in a color that matches the festivities. [81] The new *fascēs* lead the way, and the new purple shines, and the bright ivory supports new weight. Bulls that have never been made to work, which were nurtured in fields of Faliscan grass, hold out their necks to be struck. When Jupiter looks out over the whole world from his high fortress, he sees nothing but Roman territory. Welcome, joyful day, and may you be ever better each time you return, since you are worthy to be celebrated by a powerful people.

1.89

Twin-faced Janus, which god should I say you are? For Greece has no god equivalent to you. [91] Likewise, tell me the reason why you alone of the gods see what is before and behind you. When my mind was thus engaged, and my tablets were in hand, my home seemed to grow brighter than before, and venerable Janus, with his awe-inspiring geminated figure, suddenly revealed his double face before my eyes. I panicked; I felt my hair stand on end, and my chest suddenly shuddered with cold. Holding a staff in his right hand and a key in his left, Janus spoke to me (with his front-facing mouth): [101] “Dismiss your fear, hardworking poet of the calendar. Learn from me what you seek, and

me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant:
 aspice quam longi temporis acta canam.
 lucidus hic aer et quae tria corpora restant, 105
 ignis, aquae, tellus, unus acervus erat.
 ut semel haec rerum secessit lite suarum
 inque novas abiit massa soluta domos,
 flamma petit altum, propior locus aera cepit,
 sederunt medio terra fretumque solo. 110
 tunc ego, qui fueram globus et sine imagine moles,
 in faciem redii dignaque membra deo.
 nunc quoque, confusae quondam nota parva figurae,
 ante quod est in me postque videtur idem.
 accipe quaesitae quae causa sit altera formae, 115
 hanc simul ut noris officiumque meum.
 quicquid ubique vides, caelum, mare, nubila, terras,
 omnia sunt nostra clausa patentque manu.
 me penes est unum vasti custodia mundi,
 et ius vertendi cardinis omne meum est. 120
 cum libuit Pacem placidis emittere tectis,
 libera perpetuas ambulat illa vias:
 sanguine letifero totus miscabitur orbis,
 ni teneant rigidae condita Bella serae.
 praesideo foribus caeli cum mitibus Horis 125
 (it, redit officio Iuppiter ipse meo):
 inde vocor Ianus; cui cum Ceriale sacerdos
 imponit libum farraque mixta sale,
 nomina ridebis: modo namque Patulcius idem
 et modo sacrificio Clusius ore vocor. 130
 scilicet alterno voluit rudis illa vetustas
 nomine diversas significare vices.
 vis mea narrata est; causam nunc disce figurae:
 iam tamen hanc aliqua tu quoque parte vides.
 omnis habet geminas, hinc atque hinc, ianua frontes, 135
 e quibus haec populum spectat, at illa Larem,
 utque sedens primi vester prope limina tecti
 ianitor egressus introitusque videt,

learn it by heart. The ancients called me Chaos – I am a primeval force. Pay attention as I recite events so long past. At that time, the clear air and the three remaining elements – fire, water, and earth – were all one mass. Due to the conflict between its components, this mass soon separated, and differentiated, and was distributed into new homes. Fire leaps up high, air takes a lower position, and the land and sea settle in the middle space. [111] Then I, who had been a bulging, shapeless form, regained a face and form worthy of a god. Even now, as a small vestige of my once mixed-up form, I show the same face both front and back. Since you asked, consider also this other reason for my appearance (when you know the answer, you will immediately understand my divine responsibilities): whatever you see anywhere – sky, sea, clouds, land – it is all closed or opened by my hand. The security of the entire world is under my control alone, and the right to turn a hinge is uniquely mine. [121] When I decide to send out Peace from her serene dwelling, she walks the roads free forever. Unless wars are shut away and restrained by sturdy bars, the entire world will be a cyclone of deadly blood. I rule the celestial gates along with the gentle seasons – Jupiter himself comes and goes under my administration – for which reason I am called Janus. When the priest dedicates to me a wheat cake and grain mixed with salt, you will laugh at my names, for sometimes that priest calls me Patulcius, and sometimes he calls me, still the same god, Clusius. [131] Clearly those primitive ancients wanted to signify different aspects of me with different names. My powers have been described; now I will explain my appearance, although you already partly understand this. Every door has a double face, the one and the other, of which one views the public, and the other the private life. Sitting at the threshold at the front of the house, a doorman sees every entrance and exit. Likewise I am the doorman of

sic ego perspicio caelestis ianitor aulae
 Eoas partes Hesperiasque simul. 140
 ora vides Hecates in tres vertentia partes,
 servet ut in ternas compita secta vias:
 et mihi, ne flexu cervicis tempora perdam,
 cernere non moto corpore bina licet.
 dixerat: et voltu, si plura requirere vellem, 145
 difficilem mihi se non fore pactus erat.
 sumpsi animum, gratesque deo non territus egi,
 verbaque sum spectans plura locutus humum:
 ‘dic, age, frigoribus quare novus incipit annus,
 qui melius per ver incipiendus erat? 150
 omnia tunc florent, tunc est nova temporis aetas,
 et nova de gravido palmite gemma tumet,
 et modo formatis operitur frondibus arbor,
 prodit et in summum seminis herba solum,
 et tepidum volucres concentibus aera mulcent, 155
 ludit et in pratis luxuriatque pecus.
 tum blandi soles, ignotaque prodit hirundo
 et luteum celsa sub trabe figit opus:
 tum patitur cultus ager et renovatur aratro.
 haec anni novitas iure vocanda fuit.’ 160
 quaesieram multis; non multis ille moratus
 contulit in versus sic sua verba duos:
 ‘bruma novi prima est veterisque novissima solis:
 principium capiunt Phoebus et annus idem.’
 post ea mirabar cur non sine litibus esset 165
 prima dies. ‘causam percipe’ Ianus ait.
 ‘tempora commisi nascentia rebus agendis,
 totus ab auspicio ne foret annus iners.
 quisque suas artes ob idem delibat agendo,
 nec plus quam solitum testificatur opus.’ 170
 mox ego, ‘cur, quamvis aliorum numina placem,
 Iane, tibi primum tura merumque fero?’
 ‘ut possis aditum per me, qui limina servo,
 ad quoscumque voles’ inquit ‘habere deos.’

the celestial threshold, and I watch the east and the west at the same time. [141] You see the faces of Hecate facing three directions as she guards the intersection of three roads. I am also able to see in two directions without moving, so I never lose time turning my head.

1.145

He finished, but his expression promised that he would not be uncooperative if I wanted to question him further. I mustered my courage, and I thanked the god (I was not completely terrified), and I addressed him further, keeping my eyes on the ground. “So tell me, why does the new year begin in winter, when it would be better to begin in spring? [151] At that time of year everything is in flower, the seasons get a fresh start, new buds grow on flourishing vines, and trees are covered with new-grown leaves. Sprouting seeds emerge from the topsoil, birds caress the warm air with their harmonies, the cattle scamper and play in the fields. In that season there is inviting sunshine, and a new swallow arrives, and builds its muddy masterwork underneath a high roofbeam. Then the field undergoes cultivation, and is restored by plowing. This season by right should be called the ‘renewal of the year.’”

[161] I asked a longwinded question, but he in turn did not hesitate to compress his reply into only two verses. “The winter solstice is the dawning of the new sun and the end of the old sun; Phoebus and the year have the same beginning.” After that I wondered why the first day of the year is not closed to legal business. Janus said, “Here is the reason. I designated the first day of the year for conducting business so that the entire year would be busy from the beginning. For the same reason, each person potters around their work, only enough to give a sample of their usual profession.” [171] Then I said, “Janus, when I propitiate other gods, why must I offer wine and incense to you first of all?” He replied, “So that through me you can access whatever gods you wish, since I guard all their doors.” “And why are cheerful words spoken

‘at cur laeta tuis dicuntur verba Kalendis, 175
 et damus alternas accipimusque preces?’
 tum deus incumbens baculo, quod dextra gerebat,
 ‘omina principiis’ inquit ‘inesse solent.
 ad primam vocem timidas advertitis aures,
 et visam primum consulit augur avem. 180
 templa patent auresque deum, nec lingua caducas
 concipit ulla preces, dictaque pondus habent.’
 desierat Ianus. nec longa silentia feci,
 sed tetigi verbis ultima verba meis:
 ‘quid volt palma sibi rugosaque carica’ dixi 185
 ‘et data sub niveo candida mella cado?’
 ‘omen’ ait ‘causa est, ut res sapor ille sequatur
 et peragat coeptum dulcis ut annus iter.’
 ‘dulcia cur dentur video: stipis adice causam,
 pars mihi de festo ne labet ulla tuo.’ 190
 risit, et ‘o quam te fallunt tua saecula’ dixit,
 ‘qui stipe mel sumpta dulcius esse putas!
 vix ego Saturno quemquam regnante videbam
 cuius non animo dulcia lucra forent.
 tempore crevit amor, qui nunc est summus, habendi: 195
 vix ultra quo iam progrediatur habet.
 pluris opes nunc sunt quam prisca temporis annis,
 dum populus pauper, dum nova Roma fuit,
 dum casa Martigenam capiebat parva Quirinum,
 et dabat exiguum fluminis ulva torum. 200
 Iuppiter angusta vix totus stabat in aede,
 inque Iovis dextra fictile fulmen erat.
 frondibus ornabant quae nunc Capitolia gemmis,
 pascebatque suas ipse senator oves:
 nec pudor in stipula placidam cepisse quietem 205
 et fenum capiti subposuisse fuit.
 iura dabat populis posito modo praetor aratro,
 et levis argenti lammina crimen erat.
 at postquam fortuna loci caput extulit huius
 et tetigit summo vertice Roma deos, 210

on the Kalends of January, and why do we exchange good wishes and receive them in turn?" Then the god, leaning on the staff held in his right hand, said, "Omens usually reside in beginnings. You turn your uncertain ears to the first sound, and the augur takes account of the first bird seen. [181] At the beginning of the year the temples – as well as the ears – of the gods stand open, so no prayers are pointless, and words are loaded with weight." Janus fell silent. I, however, did not let the silence stand long, but pursued his words with words of my own. "What about the dates, or the furrowed figs, or the shining honey presented in a gleaming white jar – what do they mean?" He said, "It's for good luck, so that the gifts' flavor will persist, and a sweet year will follow the course already set." "I see why sweets are given, but explain the cash gifts, so I fully understand every part of your celebration." [191] He laughed and said, "That's a good one! They've taken you in completely, if you think honey is sweeter than gold – in this day and age! Even in the reign of Saturn, I scarcely saw a soul who found money unwelcome. Over time it grew, this lust of acquisitiveness, which is now at its zenith; it scarcely has capacity to grow further. Riches mean more now than in the good old days, when everyone was still poor, when Rome was still young, when Mars' son Quirinus was still living in a humble hut, and the river-sedge provided him a tiny bed. [201] Jupiter could hardly stand up straight in his cramped shrine, and in his hand he held a thunderbolt of earthenware. They decorated the Capitoline with leaves where there are now gems, and even senators would pasture their own sheep. And they slept on straw, without a care and unashamed, and pillowed their heads on hay. The praetors would set down their plows to judge court cases, and it was a scandal to have even a thin silver plate. But after the fortunes of this place mounted up, and Rome's highest summits touched

creverunt et opes et opum furiosa cupido,
 et, cum possideant plurima, plura petunt.
 quaerere ut absument, absumpta requirere certant,
 atque ipsae vitiis sunt alimenta vices:
 sic quibus intumuit suffusa venter ab unda, 215
 quo plus sunt potae, plus sitiuntur aquae.
 in pretio pretium nunc est: dat census honores,
 census amicitias; pauper ubique iacet.
 tu tamen auspiciam si sit stipis utile quaeris,
 curque iuvent nostras aera vetusta manus, 220
 aera dabant olim: melius nunc omen in auro est,
 victaque concessit prisca moneta novae.
 nos quoque templa iuvant, quamvis antiqua probemus,
 aurea: maiestas convenit ipsa deo.
 laudamus veteres, sed nostris utimur annis: 225
 mos tamen est aequae dignus uterque coli.
 finierat monitus. placidis ita rursus, ut ante,
 clavigerum verbis adloquor ipse deum:
 ‘multa quidem didici: sed cur navalis in aere
 altera signata est, altera forma biceps?’ 230
 ‘noscere me duplici posses ut imagine’ dixit,
 ‘ni vetus ipsa dies extenuasset opus.
 causa ratis superest: Tuscum rate venit ad amnem
 ante pererrato falcifer orbe deus.
 hac ego Saturnum memini tellure receptum 235
 (caelitibus regnis a Iove pulsus erat).
 inde diu genti mansit Saturnia nomen;
 dicta quoque est Latium terra latente deo.
 at bona posteritas puppem formavit in aere,
 hospitis adventum testificata dei. 240
 ipse solum colui, cuius placidissima laevum
 radit harenosi Thybridis unda latus.
 hic, ubi nunc Roma est, incaedua silva virebat,
 tantaque res paucis pascua bubus erat.
 arx mea collis erat, quem volgo nomine nostro 245
 nuncupat haec aetas Ianiculumque vocat.

the gods, [211] everything escalated, not just the city's wealth but also the violent desire for wealth, and those who possessed the most went after even more. They competed in accumulating so to spend, and in regaining what they had spent, and this alternation fed their vices. It was just like someone whose belly is swollen with excessive fluid: the more water is drunk, the more water is desired. Now they value the total for its own sake; magistracies and friendship are awarded based on bank balance, and the poor are left out in the cold. And you, now, you want to know if money is effective as a good luck charm, and why our hands are eager for well-worn coins. [221] At one time people gave bronze, but now gold is considered luckier, and those outdated coins surrendered to the new. We also adore golden temples – though we offer lip service to the old ones – because the grandeur suits the gods. We praise the bygone years, but we can't escape modern times; either fashion is equally worthy to be followed." He brought his lecture to an end. And so, as before, I addressed the gatekeeper god with a steady voice: "You have taught me much. But on a bronze coin, why is one side two-headed, and the other side marked with a ship?" [231] He said: "You would be able to recognize me in the two-headed picture, if time itself had not faded the vintage design. As for the ship: long ago, the god with the sickle arrived at the Tuscan river in a ship, having wandered the entire world. I remember when Saturn was received into this land, after he had been exiled from the celestial kingdom by Jupiter. For this reason, the people here were long called Saturnians, although the land is also called Latium because the god 'lay hidden' here. But the good people of subsequent generations put the ship on their coins, testifying to the god's arrival as a guest. [241] Even I called this land home, where the still waters of the sandy Tiber skirt this region on the left. Here, where Rome stands now, a virgin forest was thriving, and the entire city center was pasture land for a few cows. My stronghold was the hill that is now commonly known by my name, the Janiculum. In those days I was king, back when earth was worthy

tunc ego regnabam, patiens cum terra deorum
 esset, et humanis numina mixta locis.
 nondum Iustitiam facinus mortale fugarat
 (ultima de superis illa reliquit humum), 250
 proque metu populum sine vi pudor ipse regebat;
 nullus erat iustis reddere iura labor.
 nil mihi cum bello: pacem postesque tuebar,
 et', clavem ostendens, 'haec' ait 'arma gero.'
 presserat ora deus. tunc sic ego nostra resolvi, 255
 voce mea voces elicente dei:
 'cum tot sint iani, cur stas sacratus in uno,
 hic ubi iuncta foris templa duobus habes?'
 ille, manu mulcens propexam ad pectora barbam,
 protinus Oebalii rettulit arma Tati, 260
 utque levis custos, armillis capta, Sabinos
 ad summae tacitos duxerit arcis iter.
 'inde, velut nunc est, per quem descenditis', inquit
 'arduus in valles per fora clivus erat.
 et iam contigerat portam, Saturnia cuius 265
 dempserat oppositas invidiosa seras;
 cum tanto veritus committere numine pugnam,
 ipse meae movi callidus artis opus,
 oraque, qua pollens ope sum, fontana reclusi,
 sumque repentinas eiaculatus aquas. 270
 ante tamen madidis subieci sulphura venis,
 clauderet ut Tatio fervidus umor iter.
 cuius ut utilitas pulsus percepta Sabinis,
 quae fuerat, tuto reddita forma loco est;
 ara mihi posita est parvo coniuncta sacello: 275
 haec adolet flammis cum strue farra suis.'
 'at cur pace lates, motisque recluderis armis?'
 nec mora, quaesiti reddita causa mihi est:
 'ut populo reditus pateant ad bella profecto,
 tota patet dempta ianua nostra sera. 280
 pace fores obdo, ne qua discedere possit;
 Caesareoque diu numine clausus ero.'

to support gods, and divinities came and went in the mortal world. At this point human corruption had not yet driven Justice from the earth (she was the last of the gods to abandon the world), [251] and society was harmoniously governed by conscience rather than fear; it takes no effort to administer justice to the just. I had nothing to do with war; I presided over peace and doorposts, and this – ” he declared, flourishing his key, “was the only weapon I needed.” The god shut his mouth, and in response I opened mine, using my voice to elicit a response from the god. “Since there are so many arcades (*iani*), why is only one consecrated to you, here where you have a temple connecting two fora? The god, stroking his long beard down toward his chest, described the war with Oebalian Tatius, [261] and how an inadequate guardian clandestinely led the Sabines up the path to the citadel, bribed with bracelets. Janus said: “As now, there was then a steep slope to the top of the hill, by which you descend to the valleys via the fora. They had already reached the gate that jealous Saturnia had unbolted, when I myself, afraid to directly combat so great a goddess, made clever use of my skills. I opened up (this is what I do best) the spout of a fountain and shot out jets of water. [271] First, however, I added sulfur to the springs, so that Tatius’ attack would be cut off by boiling water. Once the Sabines were repulsed, the scalding jets had exhausted their usefulness, and the place, now safe, regained its former beauty. They dedicated an altar for me there, connected to a small shrine, where they burn heaps of grain and offering-cakes.” “And why are you shut away during peacetime, but open your doors when soldiers are in action?” He immediately returned an answer to my question: “When the people have set out for war, my doors stand open and unbolted so that their return journey is unobstructed. [281] In peace I close my doors, so that peace is not able to depart – they will be closed for a long time, with the Caesars in power.” After he said this, he lifted

dixit, et attollens oculos diversa videntes
 aspexit toto quicquid in orbe fuit:
 pax erat, et vestri, Germanice, causa triumphi, 285
 tradiderat famulas iam tibi Rhenus aquas.
 Iane, fac aeternos pacem pacisque ministros,
 neve suum praesta deserat auctor opus.
 quod tamen ex ipsis licuit mihi discere fastis,
 sacravere patres hac duo templa die. 290
 accepit Phoebos nymphaque Coronide natum
 insula, dividua quam premit amnis aqua.
 Iuppiter in parte est: cepit locus unus utrumque
 iunctaque sunt magno templa nepotis avo.

(2. B F) 3. C C (4. D C)

quid vetat et stellas, ut quaeque oriturque caditque, 295
 dicere? promissi pars sit et ista mei.
 felices animae, quibus haec cognoscere primis
 inque domos superas scandere cura fuit!
 credibile est illos pariter vitiisque locisque
 altius humanis exseruisse caput. 300
 non Venus et vinum sublimia pectora fregit
 officiumque fori militiaeve labor;
 nec levis ambitio perfusaque gloria fuco
 magnarumque fames sollicitavit opum.
 admovere oculis distantia sidera mentis
 aetheraque ingenio subposuere suo. 305
 sic petitur caelum, non ut ferat Ossan Olympus
 summaque Peliacus sidera tangat apex.
 nos quoque sub ducibus caelum metabimur illis,
 ponemusque suos ad vaga signa dies. 310
 ergo ubi nox aderit venturis tertia Nonis,
 sparsaque caelesti rore madebit humus,
 octipedis frustra quaerentur brachia Cancri:
 praeceps occiduas ille subibit aquas.

5. E NON · F

institerint Nonae, missi tibi nubibus atris 315
 signa dabunt imbres exoriente Lyra.

his eyes, looking in both directions at once, so that he was able to see everything in the world. There was peace. Germanicus, even the Rhine had enslaved its waters to you and become a victim of your triumph. Janus, preserve that peace forever, as well as those who work for peace, and keep the peacemaker engaged in his work.

The senators dedicated two temples on this day, as I was able to ascertain from the calendar itself. [291] The island that the river's divided waters surround accepted the son of Phoebus and the nymph Coronis, and Jupiter shares with him; one place holds two gods, and the temple of the grandson neighbors his august grandfather.

1.295

Why shouldn't I describe the stars as they rise and fall? This should be part of my promised work. They were fortunate souls, who first undertook to study the stars, and to ascend to the celestial realms! I could believe that these people rose above human shortcomings as much as they rose above human dwellings. [301] Neither lust nor libations distracted their sublime intellect, nor forensic disputes, nor military service; they were not interested in petty politicking, nor dubious glory, nor the insatiable appetite for wealth. They fixed their eyes on distant stars, and they subdued the heavens beneath their ingenuity. This is the right way to reach heaven, not by piling Ossa on Olympus so that the peak of Pelion brushes the highest stars. We also will map the skies under their guidance, and fix the wandering constellations to the relevant days.

1.311

[311] Therefore, on the third night before the imminent Nones, when the ground is damp from the sprinkling of celestial dew, you may look for, but you will not find, the eight arms of the crab, since it will have dived beneath the western horizon. When the Nones arrive, rains sent from dark clouds will signal the rising of the Lyre. Then count out four days

(6. F F) (7. G C) (8. H C) 9. A AGON · (? NP)

quattuor adde dies ductos ex ordine Nonis,
 Ianus Agonali luce piandus erit.
 nominis esse potest succinctus causa minister,
 hostia caelitibus quo feriente cadit, 320
 qui calido strictos tincturus sanguine cultros
 semper agatne rogat nec nisi iussus agit.
 pars, quia non veniant pecudes, sed agantur, ab actu
 nomen Agonalem credit habere diem.
 pars putat hoc festum priscis Agnalia dictum, 325
 una sit ut proprio littera dempta loco.
 an, quia praevisos in aqua timet hostia cultros,
 a pecoris lux est ipsa notata metu?
 fas etiam fieri solitis aetate priorum
 nomina de ludis Graeca tulisse diem. 330
 et pecus antiquus dicebat agonia sermo;
 veraque iudicio est ultima causa meo.
 utque ea non certa est, ita rex placare sacrorum
 numina lanigerae coniuge debet ovis.
 victima quae dextra cecidit victrice vocatur; 335
 hostibus a domitis hostia nomen habet.
 ante, deos homini quod conciliare valeret,
 far erat et puri lucida mica salis.
 nondum pertulerat lacrimatas cortice murras
 acta per aequoreas hospita navis aquas, 340
 tura nec Euphrates nec miserat India costum,
 nec fuerant rubri cognita fila croci.
 ara dabat fumos herbis contenta Sabinis,
 et non exiguo laurus adusta sono;
 siquis erat factis prati de flore coronis 345
 qui posset violas addere, dives erat.
 hic, qui nunc aperit percussi viscera tauri,
 in sacris nullum culter habebat opus.
 prima Ceres avidae gavisae est sanguine porcae,
 ulta suas merita caede nocentis opes: 350
 nam sata vere novo teneris lactentia sucis
 eruta saetigerae comperit ore suis.

after the Nones, and it will be the morning of the Agonalia, time to make offerings to Janus. The priest in the girded-up robe may be the reason behind the name, the one who slays the victim for the gods. [321] When he draws the knife and is about to stain it with warm blood, he always asks whether he should go on, and he does not go on unless ordered to do so. Some people claim the Agonalia gets its name from *actus*, since the victims do not come freely, but are driven. And some think this festival was called Agnalia in ancient times, that one letter was removed from its place. Or is the day named from the sheep's apprehension, because the victims recoil from the advancing knives when they see them reflected in water? It also may be right that the day bears a Greek name from the customary games played in the old days. [331] Moreover, in an antiquated dialect, livestock was called *agonia*, and in my opinion, this reason is the correct one. But this is not certain, and the Rex Sacrorum still needs to appease the gods with the mate of the soft-coated sheep. The 'victim' is so called from the 'victorious' hand that fells him, and the *hostia* ('victim') is so called from the defeated *hostes* ('enemies'). Long ago, grain and glittering specks of pure salt were enough for humans to appease the gods. No visiting traders had yet shipped myrrh, the tears of tree bark, across the ocean waves. [341] India had never sent *costum*, nor the Euphrates incense, and the stamens of purple crocus were unknown. Altars were satisfactory if they smoked with Sabine juniper and burned crackling laurel. If anyone could include violets in their crowns of wildflowers, they were considered wealthy. The knife that cut open the entrails of the sacrificed bull was superfluous to sacred duties. Ceres was the first to savor the blood of a greedy piglet, avenging her crops with the well-deserved destruction of their destroyer. [351] For in the early spring, she discovered that the new crops, flowing with milky sap, had been

sus dederat poenas: exemplo territus huius
 palmitē debueras abstinuisse, caper.
 quem spectans aliquis dentes in vite prementem, 355
 talia non tacito dicta dolore dedit:
 ‘rode, caper, vitem: tamen hinc, cum stabis ad aram,
 in tua quod spargi cornua possit erit.’
 verba fides sequitur: noxae tibi deditus hostis
 spargitur adfuso cornua, Bacche, mero. 360
 culpa sui nocuit, nocuit quoque culpa capellae:
 quid bos, quid placidae commeruistis oves?
 flebat Aristaeus, quod apes cum stirpe necatas
 viderat inceptos destituisse favos;
 caerulea quem genetrix aegre solata dolentem 365
 addidit haec dictis ultima verba suis:
 ‘siste, puer, lacrimas: Proteus tua damna levabit
 quoque modo repares quae periere dabit.
 decipiat ne te versis tamen ille figuris,
 impediānt geminas vincula firma manus.’ 370
 pervenit ad vatem iuvenis, resolutaque somno
 alligat aequorei brachia capta senis.
 ille sua faciem transformis adulterat arte;
 mox domitus vinculis in sua membra redit,
 oraque caerulea tollens rorantia barba 375
 ‘qua’ dixit ‘repare arte requiris apes?
 obrue mactati corpus tellure iuveni:
 quod petis a nobis, obrutus ille dabit.’
 iussa facit pastor; fervent examina putri
 de bove: mille animas una necata dedit. 380
 poscit ovem fatum: verbenas improba carpsit,
 quas pia dis ruris ferre solebat anus.
 quid tuti superest, animam cum ponat in aris
 lanigerumque pecus ruricolaeque boves?
 placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum, 385
 ne detur celeri victima tarda deo.
 quod semel est geminae pro virgine caesa Dianae,
 nunc quoque pro nulla virgine cerva cadit.

rooted up by the jaws of a bristly sow. The sow paid the penalty. And you, goat, should have been warned by this example to stay away from the vine. Someone saw a goat taking grapevine in its teeth, and cried out in anguish: “Goat! If you chew the vines, their product will be sprinkled on your horns when you are brought to the sacrificial altar.” The threat was carried out. Your enemy, Bacchus, was splashed with wine between the horns, and surrendered to you because of the harm it did. [361] The pig was punished for its misdeed, as was the kid, but what did the cow or the gentle sheep do to deserve this? Aristaeus was in mourning after his bees and their offspring had been killed; he wept at the sight of the honeycomb abandoned unfinished. His deep-blue mother could scarcely console his desolation. Finally she spoke these words: “Son, you must stop weeping. Proteus will mitigate your losses, and he will show you how to get back what perished. But do not be deceived by his transformations; restrain both his hands with strong bonds.” [371] The young man approached the magician as he slept and bound the old salt hand and foot. The shape-shifter changed his appearance by magic, but soon he returned, defeated, to his own shape. Lifting his sea-washed face with its sapphire beard, he said, “You want to know how to recover your bees? Bury the body of a sacrificed bull. What you ask from me, the buried bull will give you.” The shepherd carried out the orders. Swarms of bees rose out of the decomposing bull. One creature killed created a thousand new ones. [381] A sheep must die because a wicked sheep once ate sacred boughs that a worthy old woman used to offer her rustic gods. What animal remains safe, when soft-coated sheep and rustic cows give up their lives on the altar? The Persians appease the radiant Hyperion with a horse, because a sluggish animal should not be given to a swift god. Because his twin Diana once accepted a deer in place of a young woman, a deer is still sacrificed to her now, though no young woman is

exta canum vidi Triviae libare Sapaeos
 et quicumque tuas accolit, Haeme, nives. 390
 caeditur et rigido custodi ruris asellus;
 causa pudenda quidem, sed tamen apta deo.
 festa corymbiferi celebrabas, Graecia, Bacchi,
 tertia quae solito tempore bruma refert.
 di quoque cultores in idem venerere Lyaei 395
 et quicumque iocis non alienus erat,
 Panes et in Venerem Satyrorum prona iuventus
 quaeque colunt amnes solaque rura deae.
 venerat et senior pando Silenus asello,
 quique ruber pavidas inguine terret aves. 400
 dulcia qui dignum nemus in convivia nacti
 gramine vestitis accubuere toris:
 vina dabat Liber, tulerat sibi quisque coronam,
 miscendas parce rivus agebat aquas.
 Naides effusis aliae sine pectinis usu, 405
 pars aderant positis arte manuque comis;
 illa super suras tunicam collecta ministrat,
 altera dissuto pectus aperta sinu;
 exserit haec umerum, vestes trahit illa per herbas,
 impediunt teneros vincula nulla pedes. 410
 hinc aliae Satyris incendia mitia praebent,
 pars tibi, qui pinu tempora nexa geris:
 te quoque, inextinctae Silene libidinis, urunt:
 nequitia est quae te non sinit esse senem.
 at ruber, hortorum decus et tutela, Priapus 415
 omnibus ex illis Lotide captus erat:
 hanc cupit, hanc optat, sola suspirat in illa,
 signaque dat nutu sollicitatque notis.
 fastus inest pulchris sequiturque superbia formam:
 inrisum voltu despicit illa suo. 420
 nox erat, et vino somnum faciente iacebant
 corpora diversis victa sopore locis;
 Lotis in herbosa sub acernis ultima ramis,
 sicut erat lusu fessa, quievit humo.

in danger. I have seen the Sapaei offer dogs' entrails to Trivia, as do the people who live among your snows, Mount Haemus. [391] A donkey is sacrificed to the 'upstanding' guardian of rustic homes. The story is not fit for polite company, but well suited to the god himself. The Greeks were celebrating the festival of ivy-crowned Bacchus, observed every other winter. Many gods were also there, the followers of Lyaeus, and whoever loves a good party. There were Pans, and sex-crazed young satyrs, and all the nymphs who inhabit rivers and lonely countryside. Decrepit Silenus also came on a crook-backed donkey, along with the god who scares off timid birds with his blood-red rod. [401] They assembled in a grove just right for a merry festival, and lay down on grass-covered banks. Liber poured the drinks, each guest brought their own crown, and a spring provided water to dilute the wine – sparingly. Some of the naiads had their hair wild and uncombed, while others had theirs elaborately arranged. One serving maid gathers her skirt above her calves; another lets her unfastened neckline reveal her décolletage; another bares her shoulder; another lets her hem trail through the grass; their tender feet are not hindered by shoes. [411] Some of these women kindle lust in the satyrs, and some do so in the pine-garlanded god. They also enflame you, Silenus, in your endless lechery; it's a disgrace how you can't act your age. But cherry-stained Priapus, the backyard star and garden guardian, was enraptured by Lotis above all. He desired her, he hoped for her, he panted for her. He signaled her with nods and bothered her with gestures. But that lovely lady was full of disdain; good looks make people conceited. She mocked him and looked down on him. [421] At night, bodies were strewn around at random; they were overcome with exhaustion, and wine had induced sleep. Lotis lay far from the others, on the turf under a canopy of maple branches. She rested on the ground just

surgit amans animamque tenens vestigia furtim 425
 suspenso digitis fert taciturna gradu.
 ut tetigit niveae secreta cubilia nymphae,
 ipsa sui flatus ne sonet aura cavet;
 et iam finitima corpus librabat in herba:
 illa tamen multi plena soporis erat. 430
 gaudet et a pedibus tracto velamine vota
 ad sua felici coeperat ire via.
 ecce rudens rauco Sileni vector asellus
 intempestivos edidit ore sonos.
 territa consurgit nymphe, manibusque Priapum 435
 reicit, et fugiens concitat omne nemus.
 at deus, obscena nimium quoque parte paratus,
 omnibus ad lunae lumina risus erat.
 morte dedit poenas auctor clamoris; et haec est
 Hellespontiaco victima grata deo. 440
 intactae fueratis aves, solacia ruris,
 adsuetum silvis innocuumque genus,
 quae facitis nidos et plumis ova fovetis,
 et facili dulces editis ore modos;
 sed nihil ista iuvant, quia linguae crimen habetis, 445
 dique putant mentes vos aperire suas.
 (nec tamen hoc falsum: nam, dis ut proxima quaeque,
 nunc pinna veras, nunc datis ore notas.)
 tuta diu volucrum proles tum denique caesa est,
 iuveruntque deos indicis exta sui. 450
 ergo saepe suo coniunx abducta marito
 uritur Idaliis alba columba focus.
 nec defensa iuvant Capitolia, quo minus anser
 det iecur in lances, Inachioti, tuas.
 nocte deae Nocti cristatus caeditur ales, 455
 quod tepidum vigili provocet ore diem.
 interea Delphin clarum super aequora sidus
 tollitur et patriis exserit ora vadis.

10. B EN

postera lux hiemem medio discrimine signat,
 aequaque praeteritae quae superabit erit. 460

as she was, worn out from partying. That lothario got up, holding his breath, and tiptoed over with stealthy, silent steps. When he reached the den where the snow white nymph was sheltered, he tried to suppress the slightest sound, even of his own breathing. Finally, his body was poised on the grass next to her; she was still fast asleep. [431] He got excited as he lifted her skirt from her feet and started on the pleasurable path to his desires. But then! The donkey, the crude vehicle of Silenus, sounded its harsh voice at the wrong time. The nymph jumped up in terror, and bashed Priapus with her hands, and in her escape she woke up the entire party. Everyone laughed at the god Priapus, whose unmentionable parts were ready for action, as they could see by the moonlight. The donkey who started the racket was punished with death, and now the Hellespontine god relishes this type of victim. [441] But you birds should have been safe from sacrifice. You birds are the comfort of the countryside, a harmless crowd dwelling in forests, the ones who build nests and cushion your eggs with feathers, and effortlessly air sweet songs from your throats. But none of this will save you, because you speak out unlawfully and the gods think you reveal their intentions. In fact, it is true, since, being close to the gods, you give reliable signals from them – sometimes with your flight patterns, other times with your cries. Generations of birds remained safe for a long time, but then at last came to be sacrificed, and the gods savored the innards of their informants. [451] For this reason, a white dove – a female who is separated from her mate – is often burned on Idalian hearths. Nor does their defense of the Capitoline save geese from offering their livers in your dishes, Inachiotis. A crested bird is killed at night for the goddess Night, in order to summon a warm day with its midnight cry.

Meanwhile that bright constellation, the Dolphin, rises above the sea, and it shows its face over the waters it calls home.

1.459

Tomorrow's dawn marks the midway point of winter, when the part

11. C CAR · NP (12. D C)

proxima prospiciet Tithono nupta relicto
 Arcadiae sacrum pontificale deae.
 te quoque lux eadem, Turni soror, aede recepit,
 hic ubi Virginea Campus obitur aqua.
 unde petam causas horum moremque sacrorum? 465
 deriget in medio quis mea vela freto?
 ipsa mone, quae nomen habes a carmine ductum,
 propositoque fave, ne tuus erret honor.
 orta prior luna, de se si creditur ipsi,
 a magno tellus Arcade nomen habet. 470
 hinc fuit Euander, qui, quamquam clarus utroque,
 nobilior sacrae sanguine matris erat;
 quae, simul aetherios animo conceperat ignes,
 ore dabat vero carmina plena dei.
 dixerat haec nato motus instare sibique, 475
 multaque praeterea tempore nacta fidem.
 nam iuvenis nimium vera cum matre fugatus
 deserit Arcadium Parrhasiumque larem.
 cui genetrix flenti 'fortuna viriliter' inquit
 '(siste, precor, lacrimas) ista ferenda tibi est. 480
 sic erat in fatis, nec te tua culpa fugavit,
 sed deus: offenso pulsus es urbe deo.
 non meriti poenam pateris, sed numinis iram:
 est aliquid magnis crimen abesse malis.
 conscia mens ut cuique sua est, ita concipit intra 485
 pectora pro facto spemque metumque suo.
 nec tamen ut primus maere mala talia passus:
 obruit ingentes ista procella viros.
 passus idem est Tyriis qui quondam pulsus ab oris
 Cadmus in Aonia constitit exul humo; 490
 passus idem Tydeus et idem Pagasaeus Iason,
 et quos praeterea longa referre mora est.
 omne solum forti patria est, ut piscibus aequor,
 ut volucris vacuo quicquid in orbe patet.
 nec fera tempestas toto tamen horret in anno: 495
 et tibi, crede mihi, tempora veris erunt.'

still to come will be equal to the part already past. [461] The following Dawn, once she has departed from her husband Tithonus, will observe the pontifex's sacrifice to the Arcadian goddess. On that same day, you were established in your temple, sister of Turnus, here where the Campus Martius is inundated by the Aqua Virgo. Where should I look for an explanation for these sacred customs? In the middle of the crossing, who will steer my sails? Teach me in person, musically-named goddess, and aid my endeavor, so that your glory will also thrive. The land named after the hero Arcas was created before the moon, if you believe its account of itself. [471] Evander originated there. Both sides of his family were illustrious, although his mother's side was the nobler one – in fact, divine. She sang infallible prophecies full of divine power from the moment the ethereal fire kindled in her mind. She had declared that disturbances were coming for them, herself and her son, and many other predictions confirmed by later events. For as a young man Evander left Arcadia and his Parrhasian gods, exiled along with his too-knowlegeable mother. As he grieved, his mother said, "Please stop weeping. Even a life like this must be borne bravely. [481] This was predestined. It was not any transgression of yours that drove you away; it was a god: you were cast out of the city because a god was offended. You do not suffer a deserved punishment, but a god's wrath; it is some consolation that your great misfortunes are so far removed from wrongdoing. As each person has their own conscience, so their heart suffers hope or fear in response to their actions. And do not despair, as if you are the first to endure such hardships: similar storms have laid low towering heroes. For example, Cadmus likewise suffered when he was exiled from the Tyrian shores and established himself on Aonian ground. [491] Tydeus suffered the same experience, as did Pagasaeon Jason, and many others; it would take too long to name them all. But if you have courage, all the world is home, like the sea to a fish, or the open sky to a bird. Wild storms do not rage endlessly throughout the year; believe me, springtime will return for you as well." Thus encouraged by his

vocibus Euander firmata mente parentis
 nave secat fluctus Hesperiamque tenet.
 iamque ratem doctae monitu Carmentis in amnem
 egerat et Tuscis obvius ibat aquis: 500
 fluminis illa latus, cui sunt vada iuncta Tarenti,
 aspicit et sparsas per loca sola casas;
 utque erat, immissis puppem stetit ante capillis,
 continuitque manum torva regentis iter,
 et procul in dextram tendens sua bracchia ripam 505
 pinea non sano ter pede texta ferit,
 neve daret saltum properans insistere terrae
 vix est Euandri vixque retenta manu;
 ‘di’ que ‘petitorum’ dixit ‘salvete locorum,
 tuque, novos caelo terra datura deos, 510
 fluminaque et fontes, quibus utitur hospita tellus,
 et nemorum silvae Naiadumque chori,
 este bonis avibus visi natoque mihique,
 ripaque felici tacta sit ista pede.
 fallor, an hi fient ingentia moenia colles, 515
 iuraque ab hac terra cetera terra petet?
 montibus his olim totus promittitur orbis.
 quis tantum fati credat habere locum?
 et iam Dardaniae tangent haec litora pinus:
 hic quoque causa novi femina Martis erit. 520
 care nepos Palla, funesta quid induis arma?
 indue: non humili vindice caesus eris.
 victa tamen vinces eversa que, Troia, resurges:
 obruit hostiles ista ruina domos.
 urite victrices Neptunia Pergama flammae: 525
 num minus hic toto est altior orbe cinis?
 iam pius Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem
 adferet: Iliacos accipe, Vesta, deos.
 tempus erit cum vos orbemque tuebitur idem,
 et fient ipso sacra colente deo, 530
 et penes Augustos patriae tutela manebit:
 hanc fas imperii frena tenere domum.

mother's words, Evander sliced the waves with his ship and navigated to Hesperia. Soon he was guiding his ship up a river under the direction of wise Carmentis, sailing into Tuscan waves. [501] Carmentis scanned the riverbank where it met the shallows near the Tarentum, and the huts scattered across lonely locales. Then she stood before the ship, just as she was, with her hair flying loose. That formidable woman arrested her son's progress in leading his band. She stretched out her arms toward the distant right bank and frantically stamped the pine-plank deck three times. Evander could scarcely hold her back from leaping overboard as she hurried to establish herself on the shore. She said, "Greetings to the gods of this place we've been searching for, and to you, the land that will raise new gods to the sky, [511] and to the rivers and springs with which this welcoming land abounds, and the forest groves, and the choruses of Naiads. Let us – my son and I – gaze on you, graced with good omens, and let my foot be fortunate in reaching the riverbank. If I am not mistaken, these hills will become immense defenses, and the rest of the world will look to this place for justice. In fact, it has been promised that these hills will one day own the world. Who would believe that this place bears such a ponderous fate? Soon the Dardanian pines will reach these shores, and here also a woman will be the cause of another war. [521] Pallas, my dear grandchild, why are you donning that fatal armor? But put it on anyway: you will be killed, but you will have a worthy avenger. And you, Troy, you will conquer even after you are conquered, and rise again after you are laid low; your own destruction will destroy the homes of your enemies. Conquering flames, burn down Neptunian Pergamum; but isn't the ash still loftier than anything on earth? Already pious Aeneas is on his way here, bringing the sacred objects, and that other sacred thing, his father. Vesta, welcome these Trojan gods. There will be a time when one guardian will protect both you and the whole world, and a god will preside over the sacred rites, [531] and the safety of the fatherland will prevail under the protection of the Caesars. It is right for the house of Augustus to hold the reins of the empire. From then

inde nepos natusque dei, licet ipse recuset,
 pondera caelesti mente paterna feret,
 utque ego perpetuis olim sacrabor in aris, 535
 sic Augusta novum Iulia numen erit.
 talibus ut dictis nostros descendit in annos,
 substitit in medio praescia lingua sono.
 puppibus egressus Latia stetit exul in herba:
 felix, exilium cui locus ille fuit! 540
 nec mora longa fuit: stabant nova tecta, nec alter
 montibus Ausoniis Arcade maior erat.
 ecce boves illuc Erytheidas adplicat heros
 emensus longi claviger orbis iter,
 dumque huic hospitium domus est Tegeaea, vagantur 545
 incustoditae lata per arva boves.
 mane erat: excussus somno Tiryntius actor
 de numero tauros sentit abesse duos.
 nulla videt quaerens taciti vestigia furti:
 traxerat aversos Cacus in antra ferox, 550
 Cacus, Aventinae timor atque infamia silvae,
 non leve finitimis hospitibusque malum.
 dira viro facies, vires pro corpore, corpus
 grande (pater monstri Mulciber huius erat),
 proque domo longis spelunca recessibus ingens, 555
 abdita, vix ipsis invenienda feris;
 ora super postes adfixaque bracchia pendent,
 squalidaque humanis ossibus albet humus.
 servata male parte boum Iove natus abibat:
 mugitum rauco furta dedere sono. 560
 ‘accipio revocamen’ ait, vocemque secutus
 impia per silvas ultor ad antra venit.
 ille aditum fracti praestruxerat obice montis;
 vix iuga movissent quinque bis illud opus.
 nititur hic umeris (caelum quoque sederat illis), 565
 et vastum motu conlabefactat onus.
 quod simul eversum est, fragor aethera terruit ipsum,
 ictaque subsedit pondere molis humus.

on, the son and grandson of a god will bear his paternal obligations with godlike understanding, though he himself protests, and just as I will one day be honored on perpetual altars, so will Julia Augusta one day become a goddess.” With these words she prophesied the future all the way up to our time, and her prescient voice halted in the middle of her speech. The exile Evander disembarked and stood on the Latian turf – how lucky he was, to have been exiled to Latium! [541] Before long they had had their barn-raising, and no one in the Ausonian hills outshone that Arcadian. Look, now the club-carrying hero drives the Erythean cattle, having measured the width of the world with his own footsteps. And while he enjoyed hospitality at this Tegean house, the cattle roamed unguarded throughout the wide fields. It was morning; the Tirynthian cattle-driver, once awakened from sleep, noticed that two bulls were missing from his herd. Searching the area, he saw no clues to the cunning theft: vicious Cacus had dragged the cows backward into his den. [551] Cacus was the terror and disgrace of the Aventine forests, a grievous threat to his neighbors and their guests. He had a horrific face and an enormous body with enormous strength: Mulciber was the father of this monster. His home was a huge cave with deep hollows, so secret that even wild animals could scarcely find it. Severed heads and limbs were impaled above his doorway, and the filthy ground was white with human bones. Jupiter’s son was departing with the remainder of his poorly guarded herd, when the goods gave themselves away with harsh bellowing. [561] “They need me back,” he declared. He followed the sound, intent on vengeance, pushing through the forest toward that evil lair. Cacus had blocked the entrance with a cliff split off a mountain; ten teams of oxen could scarcely have moved that boulder. Hercules set his shoulders (on which the heavens themselves had rested) against it, and brought that immense boulder crashing down. When the boulder was overturned, the crash frightened even the distant skies, and the ground, once struck, sank

prima movet Cacus conlata proelia dextra
 remque ferox saxis stipitibusque gerit. 570
 quis ubi nil agitur, patrias male fortis ad artes
 confugit, et flammam ore sonante vomit;
 quas quotiens proflat, spirare Typhoea credas
 et rapidum Aetnaeo fulgur ab igne iaci.
 occupat Alcides, adductaque clava trinodis 575
 ter quater adverso sedit in ore viri.
 ille cadit mixtosque vomit cum sanguine fumos
 et lato moriens pectore plangit humum.
 immolat ex illis taurum tibi, Iuppiter, unum
 victor et Euandrum ruricolamque vocat, 580
 constituitque sibi, quae Maxima dicitur, aram,
 hic ubi pars Urbis de bove nomen habet.
 nec tacet Euandri mater prope tempus adesse
 Hercule quo tellus sit satis usa suo.
 at felix vates, ut dis gratissima vixit, 585
 possidet hunc Iani sic dea mense diem.

13. E EID · NP (14. F EN)

Idibus in magni castus Iovis aede sacerdos
 semimaris flammis viscera libat ovis;
 redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro
 et tuus Augusto nomine dictus avus. 590
 perlege dispositas generosa per atria ceras:
 contigerunt nulli nomina tanta viro.
 Africa victorem de se vocat, alter Isauras
 aut Cretum domitas testificatur opes;
 hunc Numidae faciunt, illum Messana superbum; 595
 ille Numantina traxit ab urbe notam:
 et mortem et nomen Druso Germania fecit;
 me miserum, virtus quam brevis illa fuit!
 si petat a victis, tot sumet nomina Caesar
 quot numero gentes maximus orbis habet. 600
 ex uno quidam celebres aut torquis adempti
 aut corvi titulos auxiliaris habent.
 Magne, tuum nomen rerum est mensura tuarum:
 sed qui te vicit nomine maior erat.

under the weight of the pile. First Cacus attacked with his clenched fists, then wildly waged war with rocks and tree trunks. [571] When these had no effect, he gutlessly resorted to his father's tactics, and released an inferno from his roaring maw. Whenever he breathed flame, you would have thought it was swift firestorms hurled from the forge of Etna, or the breath of Typhon. Alcides attacked, and his triple-knotted club, held at the ready, landed three times – four times – on his opponent's face. Cacus fell, and coughed out smoke mixed with blood, and, dying, struck the ground with his broad chest. Victorious Hercules sacrificed one of the bulls to you, Jupiter, and summoned Evander and the locals. [581] He dedicated an altar for himself, the Ara Maxima, in the part of the city that takes its name from cattle. And Evander's mother warned that the time was fast approaching when Hercules would move on from the mortal world. But this fortunate seer, just as she was most dear to the gods while she lived, now as a goddess holds this day in the month of Janus.

1.587

On the Ides, the pure priest in the temple of great Jupiter offers a castrated sheep's innards to the flames. On that day, all the provinces were restored to our people, and your grandfather was styled Augustus. [591] Examine the wax images on display in noble houses: no man has achieved such an exalted title. Africa gave its name to its conqueror; others by their titles advertise their subjugation of the Isauri or the Cretans. One person is honored by Messana, another by the Numidians, and yet another derives fame from a Numantian city. Germany, for Drusus, both provided his name and caused his death – I am devastated by how short-lived his virtues were! Caesar, for his part – if he wanted a cognomen for every tribe he conquered, he would accumulate as many names as the wide world has nations! [601] Certain men who are famous for only one reason adopt titles from plundered jewelry, or from the raven that helped them. Magnus, your name measures your accomplishments, but the one who defeated you was greater than your name. There is no rank above the

nec gradus est supra Fabios cognominis ullus: 605
 illa domus meritis Maxima dicta suis.
 sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus omnes,
 hic socium summo cum Iove nomen habet.
 sancta vocant augusta patres, augusta vocantur
 templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu: 610
 huius et augurium dependet origine verbi
 et quodcumque sua Iuppiter auget ope.
 augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos,
 protegat et vestras querna corona fores:
 auspicibusque deis tanti cognominis heres 615
 omine suscipiat, quo pater, orbis onus.

15. G CAR · NP

respiciet Titan actas ubi tertius Idus,
 fient Parrhasiae sacra relata deae.
 nam prius Ausonias matres carpenta vehebant
 (haec quoque ab Euandri dicta parente reor); 620
 mox honor eripitur, matronaque destinat omnis
 ingratos nulla prole novare viros,
 neve daret partus, ictu temeraria caeco
 visceribus crescens excutiebat onus.
 corripuisse patres ausas immitia nuptas, 625
 ius tamen exemptum restituuisse ferunt,
 binaque nunc pariter Tegeaeae sacra parenti
 pro pueris fieri virginibusque iubent.
 scortea non illi fas est inferre sacello,
 ne violent pueros exanimata focos. 630
 siquis amas veteres ritus, adsiste precanti;
 nomina percipies non tibi nota prius.
 Porrima placatur Postvertaque, sive sorores,
 sive fugae comites, Maenali diva, tuae;
 altera quod porro fuerat cecinisse putatur, 635
 altera venturum postmodo quicquid erat.

16. H C (NP inde ab anno 10 p. C.)

candida, te niveo posuit lux proxima templo,
 qua fert sublimes alta Moneta gradus,

cognomen of the Fabii; that family has earned the name Maximus. Even so, all of them are honored with mortal distinctions, while one man has a name in common with supreme Jupiter. Our forefathers called sacred things ‘august’, and temples are called ‘august’ when priests properly consecrate them with their own hands. [611] ‘Augury’ also is derived from the word ‘august’, as is whatever Jupiter personally augments. May he augment the power, and the lifespan, of our leader, and may the oak crown grace your doors. Let the heir of so great a name shoulder the weight of the world under the same good omens and divine auspices as his father did.

1.617

When Titan sees that the third day after the Ides is behind him, the rites of the Parrhasian goddess will come around again. In the past, Ausonian matrons were transported in carriages (and I deduce that these carriages are so called after Evander’s mother). [621] But soon this privilege was taken away, and all the matrons resolved to deny their ungrateful husbands any new children. To prevent giving birth, the enraged women expelled their growing burdens with blind blows to the stomach. They say that the women who dared these ruthless acts were punished by the Senate, but they reinstated the privilege that was taken away. Today they require two equal sacrifices to the Tegean mother, in gratitude for the birth of boys and girls. It is forbidden to bring leather into her shrine, so that the remains of corpses will not defile her pure hearths. [631] If you love archaic rites, stand beside the person offering prayers, and you will hear names heretofore unknown to you. Porrina is propitiated, as is Postverta, whether they are your sisters, or companions in your flight, Maenalian goddess. It is thought that the one sang what happened in the past; the other prophesied what was to come in the future.

1.637

On the following day, shining Concordia, you were established in your gleaming white temple, where lofty Moneta’s steps lead steeply upward.

nunc bene prospiciens Latiam Concordia turbam,
 †nunc† te sacratae constituere manus. 640
 Furius antiquam, populi superator Etrusci,
 voverat et voti solverat ille fidem.
 causa, quod a patribus sumptis secesserat armis
 volgus, et ipsa suas Roma timebat opes.
 causa recens melior: passos Germania crines 645
 porrigit auspiciis, dux venerande, tuis.
 inde triumphatae libasti munera gentis
 templaque fecisti, quam colis ipse, deae.
 hanc tua constituit genetrix et rebus et ara,
 sola toro magni digna reperta Iovis. 650

17. A C, postea NP (18. B C) (19. C C) (20. D C) (21. E C) (22. F C) 23. G C
 haec ubi transierint, Capricorno, Phoebe, relicto
 per iuvenis cures signa regentis aquam.
 septimus hinc Oriens cum se demiserit undis,
 fulgebit toto iam Lyra nulla polo.

24. H C (25. A C) (26. B C) 655
 sidere ab hoc ignis venienti nocte, Leonis
 qui micat in medio pectore, mersus erit.
 ter quater evolvi signantes tempora fastos,
 nec Sementiva est ulla reperta dies;
 cum mihi (sensit enim) ‘lux haec indicitur’ inquit
 Musa, ‘quid a fastis non stata sacra petis? 660
 utque dies incerta sacri, sic tempora certa,
 seminibus iactis est ubi fetus ager.’
 state coronati plenum ad praesepe, iuveni:
 cum tepido vestrum vere redibit opus.
 rusticus emeritum palo suspendat aratrum: 665
 omne reformidat frigore volnus humus.
 vilice, da requiem terrae semente peracta;
 da requiem, terram qui coluere, viris.
 pagus agat festum: pagum lustrate, coloni,
 et date paganis annua liba focus. 670
 placentur frugum matres, Tellusque Ceresque,
 farre suo gravidae visceribusque suis:

Now you carefully watch over the people of Latium, now that sanctified hands have set you in place. [641] Furius, who subjugated the Etruscan people, vowed this temple long ago, and fulfilled his vow. The reason was that the plebs took up arms and seceded from the ruling class, and Rome was held in terror of its own power. The more recent cause was less worrisome: Germania bows its head of unbound hair to you, revered leader. After that, you made your offerings from the triumphed people, and you built the temple for the goddess that you personally honor. Your mother, the only woman found worthy of Jupiter's bed, honored her with an altar and with her actions.

1.651

[651] When these days have passed, Phoebus, you will leave Capricorn behind and pass into the water-carrier's sign. When the seventh subsequent sun has risen and set below the sea, the Lyre will no longer shine anywhere in the sky. On the night following this signal, the star that shines at the Lion's heart will be submerged.

Three or four times I examined the calendars that record the seasons, but I found no Planting Day. Then the Muse (she noticed) said to me: "This is the one you want. Why do you search the calendar for holidays without a fixed date? [661] Still, the time of year is invariable, even if the day is not: it is when the fields are planted with scattered seed." Wreathed oxen, stay in your well-stocked stalls; your work will return in the spring thaw. The farmers must hang up their veteran plows; in cold weather the earth shudders at every gash. Overseer, give the earth a break when the sowing is complete, and also give your men a break from tilling the soil. The village can have a holiday. Farmers, purify your village, and offer annual cakes on your rustic hearths. [671] Tellus and Ceres, the mothers of crops, must be propitiated with their own grain and the innards of a

- officium commune Ceres et Terra tuentur;
 haec praebet causam frugibus, illa locum.
 consortes operis, per quas correcta vetustas
 quernaque glans victa est utiliore cibo, 675
 frugibus immensis avidos satiate colonos,
 ut capiant cultus praemia digna sui.
 vos date perpetuos teneris sementibus auctus,
 nec nova per gelidas herba sit usta nives. 680
 cum serimus, caelum ventis aperite serenis;
 cum latet, aetheria spargite semen aqua.
 neve graves cultis Cerialia rura cavete
 agmine laesuro depopulentur aves.
 vos quoque, formicae, subiectis parcite granis: 685
 post messem praedae copia maior erit.
 interea crescat scabrae robiginis expers
 nec vitio caeli palleat ulla seges,
 et neque deficiat macie nec pinguior aequo
 divitiis pereat luxuriosa suis; 690
 et careant loliis oculos vitiantibus agri,
 nec sterilis culto surgat avena solo;
 triticeos fetus passuraque farra bis ignem
 hordeaque ingenti fenore reddat ager.
 haec ego pro vobis, haec vos optate coloni, 695
 efficiatque ratas utraque diva preces.
 bella diu tenere viros: erat aptior ensis
 vomere, cedebat taurus arator equo;
 sarcula cessabant, versique in pila ligones, 700
 factaque de rastro pondere cassis erat.
 gratia dis domuique tuae: religata catenis
 iampridem vestro sub pede Bella iacent.
 sub iuga bos veniat, sub terras semen aratas:
 Pax Cererem nutrit, Pacis alumna Ceres.
27. C C (28. D C) (29. E F [? NP])
 at quae venturas praecedat sexta Kalendas, 705
 hac sunt Ledaeis templa dicata deis:
 fratribus illa deis fratres de gente deorum
 circa Iturnae composuere lacus.

pregnant sow. Ceres and Terra watch over a shared obligation; the one is the source of grain, the other is its home. You goddesses, collaborators in this endeavor, under whose guidance antiquated practices were improved, and the oak tree's acorn was superseded by a more nutritious food, satisfy the hungry farmers with plentiful harvests, so that they obtain repayment equal to their work. Grant us perpetual increases in our small plantings, and let the young shoots not be harmed by freezing snows. [681] When we sow, clear the sky with gentle winds; when the seed is sown, sprinkle it with rain from heaven. And make sure that ravaging battalions of birds (a plague on farms) do not despoil the fields of grain. And you too, ants, leave the planted grain alone. After the harvest there will be a larger bounty to plunder. In the meantime, let it grow without scaly rust, and let no stalks grow pale through some mischance of weather. Let it not be thin and weak, nor so excessively fat that it perishes through its own profusion. [691] Let the fields be free of dandel that offends the eye, and let no fruitless wild oats colonize the cultivated soil. Let the field produce, with immense increase, wheat, and barley, and hulled wheat which must endure the fire twice. Farmers, I pray for these things on your behalf, as you also must pray for them. May the two goddesses make our prayers come true. For a long time war kept men in its clutches. They were more adept with the sword than the plow, and the tilling bull was second to the warhorse. They abandoned their hoes, converted their mattocks into javelins, and melted down their rakes for helmets. [701] Thanks to the gods and to your house: now for a long time War has lain beneath your feet in chains. Lead the oxen under the yoke, and cast the seed into the plowed earth: Peace nurtures Ceres, as Ceres is the nursling of Peace.

1.705

The sixth day before the coming Kalends is when the temple was dedicated to the Dioscuri, born from Leda. Near the lake of Juturna, this temple was built for brother gods, by brothers descended from gods.

30. F NP (31. G C)

ipsum nos carmen deduxit Pacis ad aram:
 haec erit a mensis fine secunda dies. 710
 frondibus Actiacis comptos redimita capillos,
 Pax, ades et toto mitis in orbe mane.
 dum desint hostes, desit quoque causa triumphi:
 tu ducibus bello gloria maior eris.
 sola gerat miles, quibus arma coerceat, arma, 715
 canteturque fera nil nisi pompa tuba.
 horreat Aeneadas et primus et ultimus orbis:
 siqua parum Romam terra timebat, amet.
 tura, sacerdotes, Pacalibus addite flammis,
 albaque perfusa victima fronte cadat; 720
 utque domus, quae praestat eam, cum pace perennet
 ad pia propensos vota rogate deos.
 sed iam prima mei pars est exacta laboris,
 cumque suo finem mense libellus habet.

1.709

The song itself has brought us to the Altar of Peace. This will be the second day from the end of the month. [711] Peace, stand by us here, your perfect hair wreathed with Actian leaves, and infuse your gentle spirit throughout the world. Since our enemies are scarce, our motives for triumphs are also scarce, but for our leaders, you will be a greater glory than war. Let soldiers carry weapons only for the sake of restraining weapons, and let the raucous trumpet never sound except in parades. From our nearest neighbors to the farthest ends of the world, let people fear the heirs of Aeneas, and if any land does not fear Rome, let them admire us. Priests, burn more incense on the altars of Peace, and sacrifice a snow white animal, its forehead soaked with wine. [721] Beg the gods, who are benevolent toward honorable prayers, that the worthiest house, the one most valuable to Peace, should endure in peace forever.

But now the first book of my work is complete, and the book and the month will have a common ending.

LIBER SECVNDVS

Ianus habet finem. cum carmine crescit et annus:
alter ut hic mensis, sic liber alter eat.
nunc primum velis, elegi, maioribus itis:
exiguum, memini, nuper eratis opus. 5
ipse ego vos habui faciles in amore ministros,
cum lusit numeris prima iuventa suis.
idem sacra cano signataque tempora fastis:
ecquis ad haec illinc crederet esse viam?
haec mea militia est; ferimus quae possumus arma, 10
dextraque non omni munere nostra vacat.
si mihi non valido torquentur pila lacerto
nec bellatoris terga premuntur equi,
nec galea tegimur, nec acuto cingimur ense
(his habilis telis quilibet esse potest),
at tua prosequimur studioso pectore, Caesar, 15
nomina, per titulos ingredimurque tuos.
ergo ades et placido paulum mea munera voltu
respice, pacando siquid ab hoste vacat.
februa Romani dixere piamina patres:
nunc quoque dant verbo plurima signa fidem. 20
pontifices ab rege petunt et flamine lanas,
quis veterum lingua februa nomen erat;
quaeque capit lictor domibus purgamina certis,
torrida cum mica farra, vocantur idem;
nomen idem ramo, qui caesus ab arbore pura 25
casta sacerdotum tempora fronde tegit.
ipse ego flaminicam poscentem februa vidi;
februa poscenti pinea virga data est.
denique quodcumque est quo corpora nostra piantur,
hoc apud intonsos nomen habebat avos. 30
mensis ab his dictus, secta quia pelle Luperci
omne solum lustrant, idque piamen habent;
aut quia placatis sunt tempora pura sepulcris,
tum cum ferales praeteriere dies.

BOOK 2

2.1

[1] January is ended, and my poem expands along with the year. As the second month begins, let my second book begin. Now, my elegies, you will begin to adventure with full sail. Just recently, I remember, you verses were a miniscule matter. I considered you trifling tools for the game of love, when, as a young man, I played with love's meter. Now I sing of sacred rites and the times marked in the calendar; given my starting point, who would have believed my path would lead me here? This is my military service. I bear what gear I can manage, and my right hand is not entirely unarmed. [11] If I do not hurl javelins with a burly arm, nor ride on the back of a war horse, nor equip myself with a helmet and a sharpened sword – anyone can learn to use this equipment – nevertheless, Caesar, I praise your name unfailingly, and I enumerate your honors. Therefore, stand by me, and look on my gifts in a kindly light, whenever you take a rest from subduing your enemies.

2.19

The ancient Romans called expiations *februa*, and many signs now confirm the origin of this word. [21] The pontifices request wool from the Rex Sacrorum and from the Flamen, and, in the language of the ancients, the name for the wool was *februa*. Likewise, the purifier that a lictor delivers for the sake of cleansing homes, toasted wheat mixed with salt, is also called *februa*. The same name is given to the branch which, cut from an undefiled tree, wreathes the holy heads of priests. I myself saw the Flaminica requesting *februa*, and a sprig of pine was given in response to her request. Finally, the elders with their long beards give this name to whatever purifies our bodies. [31] The month is named after these things, either because the Luperci purify all the earth with their slices of goatskin, and they consider it a purification, or because they have cleared the air after the tombs have been appeased, after the days of the dead

omne nefas omnemque mali purgamina causam credebant nostri tollere posse senes.	35
Graecia principium moris dedit: illa nocentes impia lustratos ponere facta putat.	
Actoriden Peleus, ipsum quoque Pelea Phoci caede per Haemonias solvit Acastus aquas;	40
vectam frenatis per inane draconibus Aegeus credulus immerita Phasida fovit ope;	
Amphiareiades Naupactoo Acheloo 'solve nefas' dixit, solvit et ille nefas.	
ah nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina caedis fluminea tolli posse putatis aqua!	45
sed tamen, antiqui ne nescius ordinis erres, primus, ut est, Iani mensis et ante fuit;	
qui sequitur Ianum, veteris fuit ultimus anni: tu quoque sacrorum, Termine, finis eras.	50
primus enim Iani mensis, quia ianua prima est: qui sacer est imis manibus, imus erat.	
postmodo creduntur spatio distantia longo tempora bis quini continuasse viri.	
 1. H · K · FEB · N	
principio mensis Phrygiae contermina Matri Sospita delubris dicitur aucta novis.	55
nunc ubi sunt, illis quae sunt sacrata Kalendis templa deae? longa procubere die.	
cetera ne simili caderent labefacta ruina cavit sacrati provida cura ducis,	60
sub quo delubris sentitur nulla senectus; nec satis est homines, obligat ille deos.	
templorum positor, templorum sancte repostor, sit superis opto mutua cura tui.	
dent tibi caelestes, quos tu caelestibus, annos, proque tua maneat in statione domo.	65
tum quoque vicini lucus celebratur Alerni, qua petit aequoreas advena Thybris aquas.	
ad penetrale Numae Capitolinumque Tonantem inque Iovis summa caeditur arce bidens.	70

have passed. Our elders believed that purification was able to remove all sacrilege and every evil deed. The custom originated in Greece: the Greeks believe that wrongdoers can put their evil deeds behind them, once they are purified. Acastus absolved Peleus of the murder of Phocus using the Haemonian waters, and Peleus likewise absolved the son of Actor. [41] Trustful Aegeus bestowed undeserved aid on that Phasian who traveled through the sky with a team of dragons. And the son of Amphiaraus said “Purge my guilt” to Naupactian Achelous, who did as requested. You are a fool, if you think that grievous crimes of slaughter can be purged by river water!

2.47

However, so you should not be misled due to ignorance of ancient customs, the month of Janus used to be, as it is now, first. The month that follows January used to be last of the old year. Terminus, you also were at the end of the holy rites. [51] The month of Janus came first because doors come first, and the one that is sacred to the lowest shades was placed at the bottom. Afterwards, they say, the Decemvirs joined together those months that were previously separated by a wide interval.

2.55

Juno the Savior, whose temple adjoins that of the Phrygian Mother, is said to have gained new shrines at the beginning of the month. Now where are they, the temples that were dedicated to the goddess on those Kalends? They collapsed over a long span of days. Our revered leader providently took care so that other temples, rendered unstable over time, would not fall into similar ruins. [61] Under his care, there is no dilapidation to be seen in our temples. It was not enough to grant favors to humans; he grants favors to gods as well. Founder of temples, holy restorer of temples, I pray the gods repay your benevolence in equal measure. May the gods give you as many years as you have given them, and may they remain stationed in front of your house. Also on this day, the grove of nearby Alernus is crowded, which the traveling Tiber passes on its way to the sea. A sheep is sacrificed at Numa’s sanctuary, and at

saepe graves pluvias adopertus nubibus aether
 concitat, aut posita sub nive terra latet.

2. A N

proximus Hesperias Titan abiturus in undas
 gemmea purpureis cum iuga demet equis,
 illa nocte aliquis, tollens ad sidera voltum, 75
 dicet ‘ubi est hodie quae Lyra fulsit heri?’
 dumque Lynam quaeret, medii quoque terga Leonis
 in liquidas subito mersa notabit aquas.

3. B N

quem modo caelatum stellis Delphina videbas,
 is fugiet visus nocte sequente tuos, 80
 seu fuit occultis felix in amoribus index,
 Lesbida cum domino seu tulit ille lynam.
 quod mare non novit, quae nescit Ariona tellus?
 carmine currentes ille tenebat aquas.
 saepe sequens agnam lupus est a voce retentus, 85
 saepe avidum fugiens restitit agna lupum;
 saepe canes leporesque umbra iacuerunt sub una,
 et stetit in saxo proxima cerva leae,
 et sine lite loquax cum Palladis alite cornix 90
 sedit, et accipitri iuncta columba fuit.
 Cynthia saepe tuis fertur, vocalis Arion,
 tamquam fraternis obstipuisse modis.
 nomen Arionium Siculas impleverat urbes
 captaeque erat lyricis Ausonis ora sonis;
 inde domum repetens puppem conscendit Arion, 95
 atque ita quaesitas arte ferebat opes.
 forsitan, infelix, ventos undasque timebas:
 at tibi nave tua tutius aequor erat.
 namque gubernator dextris constitit ense
 ceteraque armata conscia turba manu. 100
 quid tibi cum gladio? dubiam rege, navita, puppem:
 non haec sunt digitis arma tenenda tuis.
 ille, metu pavidus, ‘mortem non deprecor’ inquit,
 ‘sed liceat sumpta pauca referre lynam.’

the Thunderer's Capitoline temple, and in Jupiter's highest citadel. [71] Often the clouded sky pours down dangerous rains, or the land is buried under snow.

2.73

The following day, when Titan is about to depart into the western waves, he will take the jeweled harness off his purple horses. That night someone will say, lifting their eyes to the stars, "Lyra was shining yesterday, but where is it today?" And while they look for Lyra, they will notice that the middle of the Lion's back has also just sunk beneath the waters.

2.79

On the following night, the Dolphin, which you recently saw studded with stars, will retreat from sight. [81] The Dolphin may have been the lucky one who revealed a hidden love, or may have been the one who carried the Lesbian lyre and its master. Where on land or sea is Arion not known? With his songs he could even stop water from running. Often a wolf pursuing a lamb was stopped short by his voice; often the lamb as well stood still instead of fleeing the hungry wolf. Often dogs and hares lay down together in the shade, and a deer halted on rocks next to a lioness. The loquacious crow sits next to Pallas' bird without any argument, and the dove sits next to the hawk. [91] Golden-voiced Arion, they say that Cynthia often marveled at your songs as if they were her brother's.

Arion's fame had spread through the cities of Sicily, and the shores of Italy were enthralled by his music. From there, Arion boarded a ship bound for home, carrying the profits won by his artistry. Unlucky man, you may have had apprehensions of the winds and waters, but the sea itself would have been safer for you than this ship. The helmsman stood at the ready, his sword drawn, and the rest of the crew were armed accomplices. [101] What do you want with a sword? Captain, concentrate on steering the unsteady vessel; your hands should not be occupied with weapons. The terrified poet said, "I know I must die, but at least let me play a short song on my lyre first." They granted this concession (while mocking his

dant veniam ridentque moram: capit ille coronam, 105
 quae possit crines, Phoebe, decere tuos;
 induerat Tyrio bis tinctam murice pallam:
 reddidit icta suos pollice chorda sonos,
 flebilibus numeris veluti canentia dura
 traiectus penna tempora cantat olor. 110
 protinus in medias ornatus desilit undas;
 spargitur impulsu caerulea puppis aqua.
 inde (fide maius) tergo delphina recurvo
 se memorant oneri subposuisse novo.
 ille, sedens citharamque tenens, pretiumque vehendi 115
 cantat et aequoreas carmine mulcet aquas.
 di pia facta vident: astris delphina recepit
 Iuppiter et stellas iussit habere novem.

(4. C N) 5. D NON · NP

nunc mihi mille sonos quoque est memoratus Achilles 120
 vellem, Maeonide, pectus inesse tuum,
 dum canimus sacras alterno carmine Nonas.
 maximus hic fastis accumulatur honor.
 deficit ingenium, maioraque viribus urgent:
 haec mihi praecipuo est ore canenda dies.
 quid volui demens elegis imponere tantum 125
 ponderis? heroi res erat ista pedis.
 sancte pater patriae, tibi plebs, tibi curia nomen
 hoc dedit, hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen, eques.
 res tamen ante dedit: sero quoque vera tulisti
 nomina, iam pridem tu pater orbis eras. 130
 hoc tu per terras, quod in aethere Iuppiter alto,
 nomen habes: hominum tu pater, ille deum.
 Romule, concedes: facit hic tua magna tuendo
 moenia, tu dederas transilienda Remo.
 te Tatius parvique Cures Caeninaque sensit, 135
 hoc duce Romanum est solis utrumque latus;
 tu breve nescioquid victae telluris habebas,
 quodcumque est alto sub Iove, Caesar habet.
 tu rapis, hic castas duce se iubet esse maritas;
 tu recipis luco, reppulit ille nefas; 140

foot-dragging), and he donned his crown, which would have flattered your hair, Phoebus. He put on his robe, dyed twice in Tyrian purple, and when he struck the lyre with his thumb, it responded with music, with such pitiable strains as a swan sings when an unforgiving arrow has pierced through its white temples. [111] Then he leapt into the water in all his fancy get-up, and the blue stern was splashed by water from where he fell. From there – it defies belief! – they say that the Dolphin took up that extraordinary burden on its curved back. Arion, sitting and holding his lyre, pays his fare by singing, and smooths the ocean waves with his song. The gods witnessed this benevolent act, and Jupiter placed the Dolphin in the heavens and arranged for the constellation to have nine stars.

2.119

Now I would wish to have a thousand voices, and to have your spirit within me, Maeonides, the one that told Achilles' story, [121] while my couplets sing the sacred Nones. Out of the whole calendar, here the greatest honor is accrued. My ingenuity falls short, and I am overpowered by a subject that exceeds my talents. I must sing this day with an extraordinary voice. What was I thinking, to irrationally overburden my elegies with such a weight? This is a subject for heroic meter. Revered Father of the Fatherland, the plebeians and the Curia gave this title to you, and we equestrians also endorsed it. Even so, your deeds conferred the title long beforehand; you only acquired your true name late in the day, when you had already been the Father of the World for a long time. [131] Throughout the world, you have the same name that Jupiter has in high heaven, for you are the father of humanity as he is of gods. Romulus, you must give way: Augustus makes your city walls formidable by defending them, whereas you only provided walls so small that Remus could jump over them. Tatius and Caenina and insignificant Cures felt your influence, Romulus, whereas with Augustus our leader, there are Roman lands on both sides of the sun. You controlled a small sliver of conquered land, while Caesar controls whatever lies beneath the soaring sky. You rape women, whereas under his leadership, he commands women to be chaste wives. You received criminals into your Asylum, whereas he rejects

vis tibi grata fuit, florent sub Caesare leges;
 tu domini nomen, principis ille tenet;
 te Remus incusat, veniam dedit hostibus ille;
 caelestem fecit te pater, ille patrem.
 iam puer Idaeus media tenus eminent alvo, 145
 et liquidas mixto nectare fundit aquas.
 en etiam, siquis Borean horrere solebat,
 gaudeat: a Zephyris mollior aura venit.

(6. E N) (7. F N) (8. G N) (9. H N vel NP) 10. A N
 quintus ab aequoreis nitidum iubar extulit undis
 Lucifer, et primi tempora veris erunt. 150
 ne fallare tamen, restant tibi frigora, restant,
 magnaue discedens signa reliquit hiems.

(11. B N) 12. C N
 tertia nox veniat, Custodem protinus Ursae
 aspicias geminos exseruisse pedes.
 inter hamadryadas iaculatricemque Dianam 155
 Callisto sacri pars fuit una chori.
 illa, deae tangens arcus, 'quos tangimus arcus,
 este meae testes virginitatis' ait.
 Cynthia laudavit, 'promissa' que 'foedera serva,
 et comitum princeps tu mihi' dixit 'eris.' 160
 foedera servasset, si non formosa fuisset:
 cavit mortales, de Iove crimen habet.
 mille feras Phoebe silvis venata redibat
 aut plus aut medium sole tenente diem;
 ut tetigit lucum (densa niger ilice lucus, 165
 in medio gelidae fons erat altus aquae),
 'hic' ait 'in silva, virgo Tegeaea, lavemur';
 erubuit falso virginis illa sono.
 dixerat et nymphis. nymphae velamina ponunt;
 hanc pudet, et tardae dat mala signa morae. 170
 exuerat tunicas; uteri manifesta tumore
 proditur indicio ponderis ipsa suo.
 cui dea 'virgineos, periura Lycaoni, coetus
 desere, nec castas pollue' dixit 'aquas.'

crime. [141] You welcome violence, whereas the rule of law flourishes under Caesar. And while you hold the title ‘Overlord’, he holds the title ‘Lead Citizen’. Remus accuses you, whereas he grants mercy to his enemies, and while your father made you a god, he made his father a god.

Now the Idaean boy is visible up to the middle of his belly, and he pours liquid water mixed with nectar. And take note, whoever shudders at the winter wind should rejoice: a milder wind is arriving from the west.

2.149

When the fifth subsequent morning star sends its shining beam over the ocean, the first spring weather will be here. [151] But do not be deceived: frosts still linger, and winter, though departing, leaves behind ample detritus.

2.153

On the third night after this, you will see that the Bear’s Guardian has suddenly shown both his feet. Callisto was a member of the sacred band of hamadryads and the huntress Diana. She swore on the goddess’ bow: “Let the bow on which I lay my hand be witness to my virginity.” Cynthia praised her and said, “Maintain your vow, and you will be the leader of my followers.” [161] She would have maintained her vow, if she had not been beautiful. She kept her distance from people, but the crime came from Jupiter. After hunting a thousand animals in the forest, Phoebe was returning home, at midday or a little later. She reached a grove, a dark grove of dense oaks, with a deep spring of cold water running through it. “Tegean virgin,” she said, “let’s bathe here in the wood,” and Callisto blushed at the misnomer ‘virgin’. Diana had said this to the nymphs as well, and the nymphs removed their clothing, but Callisto was ashamed to do so, and signaled something suspicious with her long delays. [171] She took off her clothes, and her secret was exposed by her distended stomach; she was herself betrayed by the evidence of her weight. The goddess commanded her: “Oath-breaking daughter of Lycaon, depart from our virginal assembly, and do not pollute our pure waters.” When

luna novum decies implerat cornibus orbem:	175
quae fuerat virgo credita, mater erat.	
laesa furit Iuno, formam mutatque puellae:	
quid facis? invito est pectore passa Iovem.	
utque ferae vidit turpes in paelice voltus,	
‘huius in amplexus, Iuppiter,’ inquit ‘eas.’	180
ursa per incultos errabat squalida montes	
quae fuerat summo nuper amata Iovi.	
iam tria lustra puer furto conceptus agebat,	
cum mater nato est obvia facta suo.	
illa quidem, tamquam cognosceret, adstitit amens,	185
et gemit: gemitus verba parentis erant.	
hanc puer ignarus iaculo fixisset acuto	
ni foret in superas raptus uterque domos.	
signa propinqua micant: prior est, quam dicimus Arcton,	
Arctophylax formam terga sequentis habet.	190
saevit adhuc canamque rogat Saturnia Tethyn	
Maenaliam tactis ne lavet Arcton aquis.	

13. D EID · NP

Idibus agrestis fumant altaria Fauni	
hic ubi discretas insula rumpit aquas.	
haec fuit illa dies in qua Veientibus armis	195
ter centum Fabii ter cecidere duo.	
una domus vires et onus susceperat urbis:	
sumunt gentiles arma professa manus.	
egreditur castris miles generosus ab isdem,	
e quis dux fieri quilibet aptus erat.	200
Carmentis portae dextro est via proxima iano:	
ire per hanc noli, quisquis es; omen habet.	
illa fama refert Fabios exisse trecentos:	
porta vacat culpa, sed tamen omen habet.	
ut celeri passu Cremeram tetigere rapacem	205
(turbidus hibernis ille fluebat aquis),	
castra loco ponunt: dstrictis ensibus ipsi	
Tyrrhenum valido Marte per agmen eunt;	
non aliter quam cum Libyca de gente leones	
invadunt sparsos lata per arva greges.	210

the moon had waxed and waned ten times, the supposed virgin became a mother. Juno, insulted and furious, changed the girl's shape. Why are you doing this? Callisto suffered Jupiter unwillingly. After Juno saw the grotesque face of an animal on the other woman, she said, "Well, Jupiter, go sleep with her *now*." [181] The repulsive bear (who had recently fascinated great Jupiter!) wandered through desolate mountains. Her son, conceived through deceit, was in his fifteenth year when his mother came face-to-face with him. She stopped to stare, as if she recognized him, and she groaned in distress; groans were the only words his mother could produce. The boy, being unaware of this, would have pierced her with his sharp javelin, save that both of them were suddenly taken up to the home of the gods. As stars they sparkle beside one other. The foremost is the one we call the Bear, while the Bear's Guardian appears to follow behind her. [191] Saturnian Juno is still enraged at her and asked shining Tethys not to wash, or even touch, the Maenalian Bear with her waves.

2.193

On the Ides, the altars of rustic Faunus are smoking, here at the place where an island divides the river in two. This is the famous day when three hundred and six Fabii fell to the forces of Veii. One family undertook the defense and the responsibility for the entire city, and men who were all of the same house took up arms as promised. Noble soldiers marched out from the same camp, any one of whom was fit to be made general. [201] There is a road near the right-hand arch of the Porta Carmentalis; everyone should avoid this road; it is bad luck. By this gate, it is said, the three hundred Fabii marched out; the gate is not to blame; nevertheless it bears bad luck. As soon as their quick march reached the rapacious Cremera (the river was seething with snowmelt), they set up their camp. Then, drawing their swords, they charged through the Tyrrhenian forces in a bold attack, just as Libyan lions fall upon flocks dispersed through

diffugiunt hostes inhonestaque volnera tergo
 accipiunt: Tusco sanguine terra rubet.
 sic iterum, sic saepe cadunt; ubi vincere aperte
 non datur, insidias armaque tecta parant.
 campus erat, campi claudebant ultima colles 215
 silvaque montanas occulere apta feras.
 in medio paucos armentaue rara relinquunt,
 cetera virgultis abdita turba latet.
 ecce velut torrens undis pluvialibus auctus
 aut nive, quae Zephyro victa tepente fluit, 220
 per sata perque vias fertur nec, ut ante solebat,
 riparum clausas margine finit aquas,
 sic Fabii vallem latis discursibus implent,
 quodque vident sternunt, nec metus alter inest.
 quo ruitis, generosa domus? male creditis hosti: 225
 simplex nobilitas, perfida tela cave.
 fraude perit virtus: in apertos undique campos
 prosiliunt hostes et latus omne tenent.
 quid faciant pauci contra tot milia fortes?
 quidve, quod in misero tempore restet, adest? 230
 sicut aper longe silvis latratibus actus
 fulmineo celeres dissipat ore canes,
 mox tamen ipse perit, sic non moriuntur inulti,
 volneraque alterna dantque feruntque manu.
 una dies Fabios ad bellum miserat omnes, 235
 ad bellum missos perdidit una dies.
 ut tamen Herculeae superessent semina gentis,
 credibile est ipsos consuluisse deos:
 nam puer impubes et adhuc non utilis armis
 unus de Fabia gente relictus erat; 240
 scilicet ut posses olim tu, Maxime, nasci,
 cui res cunctando restituenda foret.

14. E N

continuata loco tria sidera, Corvus et Anguis
 et medius Crater inter utrumque, iacent.
 Idbus illa latent, oriuntur nocte sequenti; 245
 quae, tibi, cur tria sint tam sociata, canam.

wide pastures. [211] The enemies scattered and received ignominious wounds on their backs; the soil grew red with Tuscan blood. Thus the enemies fell again and again. When they were not granted an open victory, they prepared an ambush of concealed attackers. There was a certain field, the edges of which were closed off by hills and by forest that could conceal wild beasts of the mountains. In this field they stationed a few men and cattle, and the remaining forces hid in the vegetation. Look out! It came like a torrent swollen with floodwaters or with snowmelt defeated by warm spring weather, [221] one that cascades down and flows through the roadways and across the planted fields, and does not restrict its waters, as it did before, within the confines of the riverbanks. Just like that, the Fabii swarmed the valley in their unchecked invasion, and they destroyed whatever they saw, with no fear of any other attack. Noble house, where are you going so recklessly? You trust your enemy too much. Ingenuous noblemen, watch out for treacherous weapons. Deceit conquers bravery. On all sides, enemies spring forward into the open fields, and gain control of every flank. Those few brave Fabii, what could they do against so many thousands? What option do they have in that hopeless hour? [231] Imagine a boar, driven far out of the forest by the baying of the swift hunting dogs, fending off the dogs with its fearsome tusks. Nevertheless the boar soon is killed. In the same way the Fabii do not go down without a fight, and they inflict and suffer wounds in turn. That single day sent all the Fabii to war, and destroyed all those who were sent to war. But you could imagine that the gods themselves had ensured the survival of Hercules' line, since there was one Fabius left of his family, an immature boy not yet ready for military service. [241] This was surely for your sake, Fabius Maximus, so that you would one day be born, and would rescue the republic with your delays.

2.243

There are three contiguous constellations joined together in one place: the Raven and the Snake, and the Cup lies between them. They are not visible on the Ides, but they rise on the following night, and I will tell

forte Iovi Phoebus festum sollemne parabat
 (non faciet longas fabula nostra moras):
 ‘i, mea’ dixit ‘avis, ne quid pia sacra moretur,
 et tenuem vivis fontibus adfer aquam.’ 250
 corvus inauratum pedibus cratera recurvis
 tollit et aerium pervolat altus iter.
 stabat adhuc duris ficus densissima pomis:
 temptat eam rostro, non erat apta legi;
 immemor imperii sedisse sub arbore fertur, 255
 dum fierent tarda dulcia poma mora.
 iamque satur nigris longum rapit unguibus hydrum,
 ad dominumque redit, fictaque verba refert:
 ‘hic mihi causa morae, vivarum obsessor aquarum:
 hic tenuit fontes officiumque meum.’ 260
 ‘addis’ ait ‘culpa mendacia’ Phoebus ‘et audes
 fatidicum verbis fallere velle deum?
 at tibi, dum lactens haerebit in arbore ficus,
 de nullo gelidae fonte bibentur aquae.’
 dixit, et, antiqui monumenta perennia facti, 265
 Anguis, avis, Crater sidera iuncta micant.

15. F LVPER · NP

tertia post Idus nudos aurora Lupercos
 aspicit, et Fauni sacra bicornis eunt.
 dicite, Pierides, sacrorum quae sit origo,
 attigerint Latias unde petita domos. 270
 Pana deum pecoris veteres coluisse feruntur
 Arcades; Arcadiis plurimus ille iugis.
 testis erit Pholoe, testes Stymphalides undae,
 quique citis Ladon in mare currit aquis,
 cinctaque pinetis nemoris iuga Nonacrini, 275
 altaque Tricrene Parrhasiaequae nives.
 Pan erat armenti, Pan illic numen equarum,
 munus ob incolumes ille ferebat oves.
 transtulit Euander silvestria numina secum:
 hic, ubi nunc urbs est, tum locus urbis erat. 280
 inde deum colimus devectaque sacra Pelasgis:
 flamen ad haec prisco more Dialis erat.

you why these three are so closely connected. At one time Phoebus was preparing a solemn feast for Jupiter (I will not make this a long story), and he said, “Bird of mine, go and bring me some clear water from a gushing spring, so that nothing will delay my sacred obligations.” [251] The Raven carried a gilded Cup in its curved feet and flew away high in the air. A fig tree was standing there, thick with unripe fruit. The Raven tested the fruits with its beak, but they were not ready to be picked. Forgetting its errand, the bird is said to have rested under the tree so that the fruits would sweeten over the course of a long wait. After it was sated with figs, it snatched up a large snake in its dark claws, and returned to its master, with this fictitious report: “This was the reason for my delay; the snake was besieging the flowing spring. It blocked the water and impeded my task.” [261] Phoebus responded, “Are you compounding your offense by lying? Do you dare try to deceive the god of prophecy with your fabrications? As long as the milky figs cling to the tree, you will not drink cool water from any spring.” When he said this, the Snake, the Raven, and the Cup shone forth as adjacent constellations, a lasting reminder of the long-past event.

2.267

The third dawn after the Ides witnesses the nude Luperci, as the rites proceed for two-horned Faunus. Muses, describe to me the source of these rites: where did they originate before they reached the homes of Latium? [271] The ancient Arcadians are said to have worshipped Pan, god of flocks; he had a great presence in the Arcadian mountains. Mount Pholoe will attest to this, as will the waters of Stymphalus, and Ladon who runs to the sea on swift waves, as will the pine-ringed ridges of the Nonacrian grove, and lofty Tricrene, and the Parrhasian snows. There Pan was the guardian god of flocks and mares; he bore responsibility for keeping the sheep safe. Evander transported the sylvan cults with him. Here, where there is now a city, back then was only the site for a city. [281] From that source, we worship the god and practice the rites brought here by Pelasgians. By ancient custom, the Flamen Dialis was dedicated

cur igitur currant, et cur (sic currere mos est)
 nuda ferant posita corpora veste, rogas?
 ipse deus velox discurrere gaudet in altis 285
 montibus, et subitas concipit ipse fugas:
 ipse deus nudus nudos iubet ire ministros;
 nec satis ad cursus commoda vestis erit.
 ante Iovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur
 Arcades, et luna gens prior illa fuit. 290
 vita feris similis, nullos agitata per usus:
 artis adhuc expers et rude volgus erat.
 pro domibus frondes norant, pro frugibus herbas;
 nectar erat palmis hausta duabus aqua.
 nullus anhelabat sub adunco vomere taurus, 295
 nulla sub imperio terra colentis erat:
 nullus adhuc erat usus equi; se quisque ferebat:
 ibat ovis lana corpus amicta sua.
 sub Iove durabant et corpora nuda gerebant,
 docta graves imbres et tolerare Notos. 300
 nunc quoque detecti referunt monimenta vetusti
 moris, et antiquas testificantur opes.
 sed cur praecipue fugiat velamina Faunus,
 traditur antiqui fabula plena ioci.
 forte comes dominae iuvenis Tiryntius ibat: 305
 vidit ab excelso Faunus utrumque iugo;
 vidit et incaluit, ‘montana’ que ‘numina’, dixit
 ‘nil mihi vobiscum est: hic meus ardor erit.’
 ibat odoratis umeros perfusa capillis
 Maeonis, aurato conspicienda sinu: 310
 aurea pellebant tepidos umbracula soles,
 quae tamen Herculeae sustinuerunt manus.
 iam Bacchi nemus et Tmoli vineta tenebat,
 Hesperos et fusco roscidus ibat equo.
 antra subit tofis laqueata et pumice vivo; 315
 garrulus in primo limine rivus erat.
 dumque parant epulas potandaque vina ministri,
 cultibus Alciden instruit illa suis:

to these pursuits. You may ask why they run, and – for this is their custom – why they run naked, with their clothing thrown aside. The god himself enjoys running swiftly in the mountain heights, and he himself puts others to flight suddenly. He himself being naked, he commanded his celebrants to run naked, for clothing is an encumbrance while running. It is said that the Arcadians held their lands before the birth of Jupiter, and their clan is older than the moon. [291] They conducted their lives like wild animals, without customs, and they were an unsophisticated people, unskilled. They used tree branches for shelter and gathered wild plants for food. Their nectar was plain water cupped in two hands. No bull was yet laboring beneath the curved plow; no land was yet under the dominion of a farmer. Still there was no use of the horse; everyone transported themselves under their own power. Sheep went around with their bodies fully clothed in their own wool. Back then, people toughed it out, withstanding all weather naked, and their bodies learned to endure heavy rains and winds. [301] And now these unclothed Luperci carry a reminder of this ancient custom, and illustrate the wealth of past ages.

2.303

But why does Faunus in particular avoid clothing? There is a story handed down, full of hoary humor. The young man of Tiryns happened to be traveling as a companion of his mistress, and Faunus saw them both from a mountaintop. What he saw inflamed him, and he said, “The mountain gods are nothing to me now; this will be my true passion.” The Maeonian lady walked with her perfumed hair spread across her shoulders and her décolletage weighted down with gold. [311] You couldn’t miss her. Her golden parasol, held in Herculean hands, kept off the hot sun. Already she had reached the Grove of Bacchus and the vineyards of Tmolus, and the Evening Star was ascending on his dusky horse and sprinkling dew. She entered a cave that had a coffered ceiling in tufa and native pumice, and a babbling stream just inside the entrance. While her servants prepared the feast and the wine to drink, she decked out Alcides in her own finery:

dat tenues tunicas Gaetulo murice tinctas,
 dat teretem zonam, qua modo cincta fuit. 320
 ventre minor zona est; tunicarum vincla relaxat,
 ut posset magnas exseruisse manus.
 fregerat armillas non illa ad brachia factas,
 scindebant magni vincula parva pedes.
 ipsa capit clavamque gravem spoliūque leonis 325
 conditaque in pharetra tela minora sua.
 sic epulis functi sic dant sua corpora somno,
 et positis iuxta secubere toris:
 causa, repertori vitis quia sacra parabant,
 quae facerent pure, cum foret orta dies. 330
 noctis erat medium. quid non amor improbus audet?
 roscida per tenebras Faunus ad antra venit:
 utque videt comites somno vinoque solutos,
 spem capit in dominis esse soporis idem.
 intrat et huc illuc temerarius errat adulter, 335
 et praefert cautas subsequiturque manus.
 venerat ad strati captata cubilia lecti,
 et felix prima sorte futurus erat;
 ut tetigit fulvi saetis hirsuta leonis
 vellera, pertimuit sustinuitque manum, 340
 attonitusque metu rediit, ut saepe viator
 turbatum viso rettulit angue pedem.
 inde tori qui iunctus erat velamina tangit
 mollia, mendaci decipiturque nota.
 ascendit spondaque sibi propiore recumbit, 345
 et tumidum cornu durius inguen erat.
 interea tunicas ora subducit ab ima:
 horrebant densis aspera crura pilis.
 cetera temptantem subito Tiryntius heros
 reppulit: e summo decidit ille toro. 350
 fit sonus, inclamat comites et lumina poscit
 Maeonis: inlatis ignibus acta patent.
 ille gemit lecto graviter deiectus ab alto,
 membraque de dura vix sua tollit humo.

she gave him her delicate gown dyed in Gaetulian purple; she gave him the smooth girdle that she had just been wearing. [321] But the girdle was smaller than his waist, and he had to stretch out the fastenings of her gown, so he could get his giant hands out. He broke her bracelets – not made for arms like his – and his huge feet snapped the fastenings of her little sandals. For her part, Omphale took up Hercules' enormous club and lion skin, as well as the lesser weapons secured in his quiver. In this fashion they enjoyed dinner, and in this fashion they went to sleep, settling down on couches side by side. The reason for this was that they were preparing for the rites of Bacchus, which they intended to celebrate in a state of purity when morning arrived.

[331] It was the middle of the night. What will an indecent passion not attempt? Faunus came through the darkness to the dew-sprinkled cave. He saw the attendants incapacitated in drunken sleep, and kindled a hope that the master and mistress would be likewise incapacitated. That reckless reprobate entered and fumbled around the cave, feeling his way with his hands stretched out in front of him. He managed to reach the beds where they were laid out, and he was going to get lucky on the first try – but when he touched the lion's bristly yellow pelt, he shuddered and withdrew his hand. [341] He retreated in a panic, just as a startled traveler will often draw back his foot when he sees a snake. Turning aside, he put his hand on the soft clothing on the next bed, and was deceived by this misleading clue. He climbed up on the nearer bed and lay down; his swollen staff was harder than horn. Meanwhile he began lifting the skirts from the lower extremes; the legs underneath were bristling with thick, rough hair. When he tried to go further, the Tiryinthian hero suddenly attacked him, and Faunus toppled off the bed. [351] There was a crash; the Maeonian lady called her attendants, called for lights, and when the lights were brought in everything became clear. Faunus groaned, having been savagely thrown off the high bed; he could scarcely lift his limbs off the hard ground. Alcides laughed, as did all those who saw Faunus

ridet et Alcides et qui videre iacentem, 355
ridet amatorem Lyda puella suum.
veste deus lusus fallentes lumina vestes
non amat, et nudos ad sua sacra vocat.
adde peregrinis causas, mea Musa, Latinas,
inque suo noster pulvere currat equus. 360
cornipedi Fauno caesa de more capella
venit ad exiguas turba vocata dapes.
dumque sacerdotes veribus transuta salignis
exta parant, medias sole tenente vias,
Romulus et frater pastoralisque iuventus 365
solibus et campo corpora nuda dabant.
vectibus et iaculis et misso pondere saxi
bracchia per lusus experienda dabant:
pastor ab excelso ‘per devia rura iuvencos,
Romule, praedones, et Reme’, dixit ‘agunt.’ 370
longum erat armari: diversis exit uterque
partibus, occursu praeda recepta Remi.
ut rediit, veribus stridentia detrahit exta
atque ait ‘haec certe non nisi victor edet.’
dicta facit, Fabiique simul. venit inritus illuc 375
Romulus et mensas ossaque nuda videt.
risit, et indoluit Fabios potuisse Remumque
vincere, Quintilios non potuisse suos.
forma manet facti: posito velamine currunt,
et memorem famam quod bene cessit habet. 380
forsitan et quaeras cur sit locus ille Lupercal,
quaeve diem tali nomine causa notet.
Silvia Vestalis caelestia semina partu
ediderat, patruo regna tenente suo;
is iubet auferri parvos et in amne necari: 385
quid facis? ex istis Romulus alter erit.
iussa recusantes peragunt lacrimosa ministri
(flent tamen) et geminos in loca sola ferunt.
Albula, quem Tiberim mersus Tiberinus in undis
reddidit, hibernis forte tumebat aquis: 390

sprawled there, and the Lydian girl laughed at her would-be ‘lover’. So since the god was fooled by clothing, he does not cotton to misleading garments, and he demands nude worshippers for his rites.

2.359

Oh my Muse, let us add some Latin stories to these foreign ones, and allow our horse to run on its home field. [361] When a young goat was sacrificed in the traditional way to hooved Faunus, a crowd assembled, having been invited to a tiny feast. The sun was in the middle of its path, and the priests prepared the organ meats by skewering them on willow spits. Meanwhile, Romulus and his brother and their pastoral friends were exposing their naked bodies to the sun and earth. They were playfully testing their limbs with poles and javelins and the weight of thrown stones. A shepherd called from a hilltop: “Romulus and Remus! Thieves are stealing our cattle! They’re driving them through the open fields!” [371] It would have taken too long to arm themselves. The brothers took off in different directions, and the stolen goods were recovered by Remus’ party. When he returned, he took the hissing viscera from the spits and said, “Surely no one but the victor will eat these.” He suited his action to the word, along with his Fabii. Then Romulus returned thwarted, and he saw the empty tables and the bare bones. He laughed, and rued the fact that Remus and his Fabii were able to best him, and that his Quintilii had fallen short. Even today we follow their tradition: the Luperci run without clothes, and the story is remembered because it ended in success.

2.381

[381] You might also ask why that place is called the Lupercal, or why the holiday is designated with the same name. The Vestal Silvia gave birth to divine offspring when her uncle was in power. He ordered the infants to be carried off and killed in the river. How could you? One of those boys will be Romulus! The unwilling henchmen carried out these grievous orders; nevertheless they wept as they did so. They transported the twins to a desolate place. By chance, the Albula (which Tiberinus made into the Tiber after he drowned in its waters) was swollen with melting snows.

hic, ubi nunc fora sunt, lintres errare videres,
 quaque iacent valles, Maxime Circe, tuae.
 huc ubi venerunt (neque enim procedere possunt
 longius), ex illis unus et alter ait:
 ‘at quam sunt similes! at quam formosus uterque! 395
 plus tamen ex illis iste vigoris habet.
 si genus arguitur voltu, nisi fallit imago,
 nescioquem in vobis suspicor esse deum.
 at siquis vestrae deus esset originis auctor,
 in tam praecipiti tempore ferret opem: 400
 ferret opem certe, si non ope, mater, egeret,
 quae facta est uno mater et orba die.
 nata simul, moritura simul, simul ite sub undas
 corpora.’ desierat, deposuitque sinu.
 vagierunt ambo pariter: sensisse putares; 405
 hi redeunt udis in sua tecta genis.
 sustinet impositos summa cavus alveus unda:
 heu quantum fati parva tabella tulit!
 alveus in limo silvis adpulsus opacis
 paulatim fluvio deficiente sedet. 410
 arbor erat: remanent vestigia, quaeque vocatur
 Rumina nunc ficus Romula ficus erat.
 venit ad expositos, mirum, lupa feta gemellos:
 quis credat pueris non nocuisse feram?
 non nocuisse parum est, prodest quoque. quos lupa nutrit, 415
 perdere cognatae sustinere manus.
 constitit et cauda teneris blanditur alumnis,
 et fingit lingua corpora bina sua.
 Marte satos scires: timor abfuit. ubera ducunt
 nec sibi promissi lactis aluntur ope. 420
 illa loco nomen fecit, locus ipse Lupercis;
 magna dati nutrix praemia lactis habet.
 quid vetat Arcadio dictos a monte Lupercos?
 Faunus in Arcadia templa Lycaeus habet.
 nupta, quid exspectas? non tu pollutibus herbis 425
 nec prece nec magico carmine mater eris;

[391] Here, where the fora now are (and also where your valley lies, Circus Maximus), you would have seen small boats floating about. When they arrived there – nor were they able to travel much farther – some of the henchmen said, “They’re so much alike! And each one is so adorable! But *that* one is clearly stronger. If a person’s lineage can be guessed from their features, if appearances are not deceiving, I think there is something divine in you both. But if some god created you, he would have brought you help in your desperate situation. [401] Certainly your mother would have brought help, if she did not herself need help, since she bore children and lost them on the same day. Little bodies, born together and about to die together, go together under the waves.” He stopped speaking and put them down from where he carried them. Both babies wailed equally; you would have thought they knew. Meanwhile the henchmen returned to their homes with tear-stained faces. A basket cradled the babies and floated them on the surface of the water; how heartbreaking, that that tiny raft carried such a great weight of destiny. The basket, driven into the mud in a dark forest, washed up where the river was gradually subsiding. [411] There was a tree (remnants of it are still there), and what is now called the Ruminant Fig was then the Romulus Fig. A nursing wolf came toward the exposed twins. Incredible! Who would believe that the beast did not harm the boys? More than not harming them, she even took care of them. A *wolf* nursed the boys, when their family dared to destroy them! She stood over those tender nurslings and caressed them with her tail, and licked their two bodies with her tongue. You could tell they were fathered by Mars: they had no fear. They sucked the teats, and they were nourished by milk intended for others. [421] That wolf gave her name to the place, from which the Luperci took their name. The nurse gained great honors for providing milk.

2.423

Why shouldn’t the Luperci get their name from the Arcadian mountain? Lycaean Faunus has temples in Arcadia. Young bride, what are you waiting for? You will not become a mother by means of powerful herbs, nor prayer, nor magic spells. Instead you must willingly accept lashes

excipe fecundae patienter verbera dextrae,
 iam socer optatum nomen habebit avi.
 nam fuit illa dies, dura cum sorte maritae
 reddebant uteri pignora rara sui. 430
 ‘quid mihi’ clamabat ‘prodest rapuisse Sabinas’
 Romulus (hoc illo scepra tenente fuit),
 ‘si mea non vires, sed bellum iniuria fecit?’
 utilius fuerat non habuisse nurus.’
 monte sub Esquilio multis incaeduis annis 435
 Iunonis magnae nomine lucus erat.
 huc ubi venerunt, pariter nuptaeque virique
 suppliciter posito procubuere genu:
 cum subito motae tremuere cacumina silvae,
 et dea per lucos mira locuta suos. 440
 ‘Italidas matres’ inquit ‘sacer hircus inito.’
 obstipuit dubio territa turba sono.
 augur erat, nomen longis intercidit annis:
 nuper ab Etrusca venerat exul humo;
 ille caprum mactat: iussae sua terga puellae 445
 pellibus exsectis percutienda dabant.
 luna resumebat decimo nova cornua motu,
 virque pater subito nuptaque mater erat.
 gratia Lucinae: dedit haec tibi nomina lucus,
 aut quia principium tu, dea, lucis habes. 450
 parce, precor, gravidis, facilis Lucina, puellis,
 maturumque utero molliter aufer onus.
 orta dies fuerit, tu desine credere ventis;
 perdidit illius temporis aura fidem.
 flamina non constant, et sex reserata diebus 455
 carceris Aeolii ianua lata patet.
 iam levis obliqua subsedit Aquarius urna:
 proximus aetherios excipe, Piscis, equos.
 te memorant fratremque tuum (nam iuncta micatis
 signa) duos tergo sustinuisse deos. 460
 terribilem quondam fugiens Typhona Dione,
 tum, cum pro caelo Iuppiter arma tulit,

from fertility-granting hands, and thus you will give your father-in-law that hoped-for title of ‘grandfather’. There was a time when married women, on account of a harsh fate, were delivering scant produce from their wombs. [431] Romulus, who was in power at the time, raged, “What was the point of raping the Sabine women, if my crime brings me only strife and no success? It was a better idea not to have kidnapped these women at all.” At the foot of the Esquiline there was a grove that had been uncut for many years, named in honor of great Juno. Having gathered in this place, women and men alike fell to their knees beseechingly. Then, suddenly, the canopy of trees shook, and the goddess herself broadcast an amazing message throughout her grove. [441] She said, “The sacred goat must penetrate the Italian mothers.” The terrified multitude was thunderstruck by this unfathomable pronouncement. There was an augur present, whose name has been lost in the long intervening years, but he had recently arrived as an exile from Etruria. He sacrificed a goat, and the women, under his direction, presented their backs to be struck by strips of its hide. After the horns of the moon passed through ten cycles, suddenly each man became a father and each woman a mother. Thanks to Lucina! Goddess, you received your name either from the grove, or because you preside over the first light. [451] Merciful Lucina, please be gentle with pregnant women, and, when they reach full term, easily guide the burdens from their wombs.

2.453

When the new day has dawned, you should abandon all faith in the winds, for in this season the blasts are treacherous. The winds are untrustworthy, and the door of Aeolus’ prison bursts wide open and stands unbarred for six days. Already, nimble Aquarius has retreated with his tilted pitcher. Fish, you will next receive those heavenly horses. There is a story that you and your brother (you two constellations sparkle side-by-side) supported two gods on your backs. [461] Once upon a time, when Jupiter took up arms on behalf of the gods, Dione was fleeing fearsome Typhon. She came to the Euphrates accompanied by young Cupid and

venit ad Euphraten comitata Cupidine parvo,
 inque Palaestinae margine sedit aquae.
 populus et cannae riparum summa tenebant, 465
 spemque dabant salices hos quoque posse tegi.
 dum latet, insonuit vento nemus: illa timore
 pallet, et hostiles credit adesse manus,
 utque sinu tenuit natum, ‘succurrite, nymphae,
 et dis auxilium ferte duobus’ ait. 470
 nec mora, prosiluit. pisces subiere gemelli:
 pro quo nunc, cernis, sidera nomen habent.
 inde nefas ducunt genus hoc imponere mensis
 nec violant timidi piscibus ora Syri.

(16. GEN) 17. H QVIR · NP

proxima lux vacua est; at tertia dicta Quirino, 475
 qui tenet hoc nomen (Romulus ante fuit),
 sive quod hasta ‘curis’ priscis est dicta Sabinis
 (bellicus a telo venit in astra deus);
 sive suum regi nomen posuere Quirites,
 seu quia Romanis iunxerat ille Cures. 480
 nam pater armipotens postquam nova moenia vidit,
 multaque Romulea bella peracta manu,
 ‘Iuppiter’, inquit ‘habet Romana potentia vires:
 sanguinis officio non eget illa mei.
 redde patri natum: quamvis intercidit alter, 485
 pro se proque Remo qui mihi restat erit.
 “unus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli”
 tu mihi dixisti: sint rata dicta Iovis.’
 Iuppiter adnuerat: nutu tremefactus uterque
 est polus, et caeli pondera novit Atlas. 490
 est locus, antiqui Caprae dixere paludem:
 forte tuis illic, Romule, iura dabas.
 sol fugit, et removent subeuntia nubila caelum,
 et gravis effusus decidit imber aquis.
 hinc tonat, hinc missis abrumpitur ignibus aether: 495
 fit fuga, rex patriis astra petebat equis.
 luctus erat, falsaeque patres in crimine caedis,
 haesissetque animis forsitan illa fides;

sat down by the bank of the Palestinian water. Poplars and reeds stood at the crest of the riverbank, and willows offered hope that they also could lie hidden there. While Venus was hiding, the grove trembled in a breeze, and she paled with fear, thinking that enemy armies were approaching. She clutched her son to her breast, and said, “Help us, nymphs, and grant your aid to two gods!” [471] Without hesitation, she jumped in. A pair of fish sprang up beneath them, and for this reason, you understand, the constellations are now named after them. Therefore god-fearing Syrians consider it sacrilege to serve such animals on their tables, and they do not pollute their mouths with fish.

2.475

The next day is unremarkable, but the one after that is given to Quirinus. At first he was called Romulus, but now he has the name Quirinus, possibly because the ancient Sabines called a spear a *curis* – the warrior god ascended to the stars by means of his weapons – or possibly because the Quirites imposed their own name on their king, or possibly because Romulus united Cures with the Romans. [481] His father, the master of weapons, having seen the new city walls, and the many wars that Romulus had undertaken personally, said, “Jupiter, the power of Rome is stable and does not need my son’s support. Return my child to his father. Since his brother was killed, the one who remains must stand for both himself and Remus. ‘There shall be one whom thou shalt carry up to the blue of heaven,’ you yourself promised me this, and it is time for the promises of Jupiter to be carried out.” Jupiter nodded, and with that nod, he made the earth shake from one pole to the other, and Atlas felt the weight of the sky. [491] There is a place, which the ancients called the Goat’s Swamp. Romulus, by chance you were administering justice to your people there. The sun vanished, and rising clouds obliterated the sky, and a torrential rain fell, with water pouring down. Thunder booms on one side; on the other, the air is split by lightning bolts. Everyone flees. Meanwhile the king travels to the stars on his father’s chariot. There was mourning, and the senators were falsely accused of murder, and perhaps that belief

sed Proculus Longa veniebat Iulius Alba,
 lunaque fulgebat, nec facis usus erat, 500
 cum subito motu saepes tremuere sinistrae:
 rettulit ille gradus, horrueruntque comae.
 pulcher et humano maior trabeaque decorus
 Romulus in media visus adesse via
 et dixisse simul 'prohibe lugere Quirites, 505
 nec violent lacrimis numina nostra suis:
 tura ferant placentque novum pia turba Quirinum,
 et patrias artes militiamque colant.'
 iussit et in tenues oculis evanuit auras;
 convocat hic populos iussaue verba refert. 510
 templa deo fiunt: collis quoque dictus ab illo est,
 et referunt certi sacra paterna dies.
 lux quoque cur eadem Stultorum Festa vocetur
 accipe: parva quidem causa, sed apta, subest.
 non habuit doctos tellus antiqua colonos: 515
 lassabant agiles aspera bella viros.
 plus erat in gladio quam curvo laudis aratro:
 neglectus domino pauca ferebat ager.
 farra tamen veteres iaciebant, farra metebant,
 primitias Cereri farra resecta dabant: 520
 usibus admoniti flammis torrenda dederunt,
 multaue peccato damna tulere suo;
 nam modo verrebant nigras pro farre favillas,
 nunc ipsas ignes corripuere casas.
 facta dea est Fornax: laeti Fornace coloni 525
 orant ut fruges temperet illa suas.
 curio legitimis nunc Fornacalia verbis
 maximus indicit nec stata sacra facit:
 inque foro, multa circum pendente tabella,
 signatur certa curia quaeque nota, 530
 stultaque pars populi quae sit sua curia nescit,
 sed facit extrema sacra relata die.

(18. A C) (19. B C) (20. C C) 21. D FERAL · F vel FP
 est honor et tumulis, animas placare paternas,
 parvaque in exstructas munera ferre pyras.

would have endured in people's minds. But Proculus Julius was traveling from Alba Longa. The moon was bright and he had no need of a torch, [501] when suddenly the bushes on his left trembled. He recoiled, and his hair stood on end. There was Romulus: magnificent, larger than life, splendidly dressed. He seemed to be standing in the middle of the road, saying, "Do not let the Quirites grieve, nor violate my divinity with their tears. They should offer incense and propitiate their new god Quirinus, as devoted followers. Let them cultivate their ancestral arts, their military." He issued these commands, then vanished from sight into thin air. Proculus Julius assembled the people and reported the injunctions. [511] They built temples for the god, and a hill was named after him, and designated days commemorate ancestral rites.

2.513

Additionally, you should learn why this same day is called the Feast of Fools. It is a frivolous story, but fitting. In ancient times, this land had no experienced farmers, and grueling wars exhausted active men. There was greater glory in the sword than in the curved plow, and so the neglected fields bore little produce for their owners. Nevertheless, the ancients sowed wheat, and reaped wheat, and offered harvested wheat to Ceres as first fruits. [521] Having learned by experience, they put the grains over flames to be toasted, and suffered heavy losses for their mistakes. For sometimes they collected black ashes in place of the wheat, and sometimes the homes themselves caught fire. Thus the oven became a goddess. The farmers were pleased with her and prayed that she would not overcook their grain. At present, the Curio Maximus proclaims the Fornacalia with a prescribed formula, and commences the rites that have no fixed date. There are many tablets hung up around the Forum, and each curia is marked by a given sign. [531] Among the populace there are fools who do not know which curia they belong to, and they perform the rites on the last day of the festival.

2.533

There are also honors for the dead: propitiating the ancestral spirits, and providing little gifts for mounded pyres. The shades need little. Devotion

parva petunt manes: pietas pro divite grata est 535
 munere; non avidos Styx habet ima deos.
 tegula porrectis satis est velata coronis
 et sparsae fruges parcaque mica salis,
 inque mero mollita Ceres violaeque solutae:
 haec habeat media testa relicta via. 540
 nec maiora veto, sed et his placabilis umbra est:
 adde preces positis et sua verba focus.
 hunc morem Aeneas, pietatis idoneus auctor,
 attulit in terras, iuste Latine, tuas.
 ille patris Genio sollemnia dona ferebat: 545
 hinc populi ritus edidicere pios.
 at quondam, dum longa gerunt pugnacibus armis
 bella, Parentales deseruere dies.
 non impune fuit; nam dicitur omine ab isto
 Roma suburbanis incaluisse rogis. 550
 vix equidem credo: bustis exisse feruntur
 et tacitae questi tempore noctis avi,
 perque vias Urbis latosque ululasse per agros
 deformes animas, volgus inane, ferunt.
 post ea praeteriti tumulis redduntur honores, 555
 prodigiisque venit funeribusque modus.
 dum tamen haec fiunt, viduae cessate puellae:
 exspectet puros pinea taeda dies,
 nec tibi, quae cupidae matura videbere matri,
 comat virgineas hasta recurva comas. 560
 conde tuas, Hymenaeae, faces, et ab ignibus atris
 aufer: habent alias maesta sepulcra faces.
 di quoque templorum foribus celentur opertis,
 ture vacent arae stentque sine igne foci.
 nunc animae tenues et corpora functa sepulcris 565
 errant, nunc posito pascitur umbra cibo.
 nec tamen haec ultra, quam tot de mense supersint
 Luciferi, quot habent carmina nostra pedes.
 hanc, quia iusta ferunt, dixere Feralia lucem;
 ultima placandis manibus illa dies. 570

is more valuable to them than expensive gifts; the gods of deepest Styx are not greedy. It is enough to give a small tile spread with wreaths, some sprinkled grain, a pinch of salt, bread softened in pure wine, and loose violets. These things can be left in a broken pot in the middle of the road. [541] You may make a larger offering, but the dead will be satisfied with this. After the hearths are built up, say some prayers and suitable words. Impartial Latinus, it was Aeneas, that paragon of duty, who instituted this custom in your land. He presented solemn gifts to the genius of his father; thus your people learned to pay due respects. But once, while the people were pursuing a protracted war with vicious weapons, they abandoned the Parentalia observance. This lapse was not without consequences, for it is said that, on that signal, Rome boiled over with suburban pyres. [551] I scarcely believe it: the ancestors were said to have burst forth from the tombs, wailing through the silent night. A hollow mob of shapeless spirits are said to have howled through the city streets and the open fields. Afterward the neglected honors for the graves were reinstated, and a limit was imposed on both the funerals and the prodigies. Even so, while these observances are going on, you unmarried girls should wait; the pine torch should be deferred until a clear day. Even though your eager mother may think you are ready, do not let the curved spear-point part your virgin hair. [561] Hymenaeus, put away your torches, and remove them from the black smoke of this fire; dismal funerals have different torches. Moreover, the gods should be hidden behind the closed doors of temples, and the altars should be empty of incense, and hearths should be empty of sparks. Now is when they wander, evanescent ghosts and bodies dead and buried; now is when the shades feed on food offerings.

But this observance does not extend past the day when there are as many appearances of the evening star remaining in the month as there are feet in one of my couplets. They call this day the Feralia, because on this day they carry out obligations; it is the last day for propitiating the shades.

ecce anus in mediis residens annosa puellis
 sacra facit Tacitae (vix tamen ipsa tacet),
 et digitis tria tura tribus sub limine ponit,
 qua brevis occultum mus sibi fecit iter:
 tum cantata ligat cum fusco licia plumbo, 575
 et septem nigras versat in ore fabas,
 quodque pice adstrinxit, quod acu traiecit aena,
 obsutum maenae torret in igne caput;
 vina quoque instillat: vini quodcumque relictum est,
 aut ipsa aut comites, plus tamen ipsa, bibit. 580
 ‘hostiles linguas inimicaque vinximus ora’
 dicit discedens ebriaque exit anus.
 protinus a nobis quae sit dea Muta requires:
 disce per antiquos quae mihi nota senes.
 Iuppiter, inmodico Iuturnae victus amore, 585
 multa tulit tanto non patienda deo:
 illa modo in silvis inter coryleta latebat,
 nunc in cognatas desiliebat aquas.
 convocat hic nymphas, Latium quaecumque tenebant,
 et iacit in medio talia verba choro: 590
 ‘invidet ipsa sibi vitatque quod expedit illi
 vestra soror, summo iungere membra deo.
 consulite ambobus: nam quae mea magna voluptas,
 utilitas vestrae magna sororis erit.
 vos illi in prima fugienti obsistite ripa, 595
 ne sua fluminea corpora mergat aqua.’
 dixerat; adnuerant nymphae Tiberinides omnes
 quaeque colunt thalamos, Ilia diva, tuos.
 forte fuit Nais, Lara nomine; prima sed illi
 dicta bis antiquum syllaba nomen erat, 600
 ex vitio positum. saepe illi dixerat Almo
 ‘nata, tene linguam’: nec tamen illa tenet.
 quae simul ac tetigit Iuturnae stagna sororis,
 ‘effuge’ ait ‘ripas’, dicta refertque Iovis.
 illa etiam Iunonem adiit, miserataque nuptas 605
 ‘Naida Iuturnam vir tuus’ inquit ‘amat.’

2.571

[571] You can see an ancient grandmother sitting in the middle of a circle of girls, performing the rites of the silent goddess Tacita, though the woman herself is hardly silent. With three fingers she places three grains of incense beneath the threshold, where a tiny mouse has dug a hidden tunnel for itself. After having sung an incantation, she binds threads with dark lead, and rolls seven black beans in her mouth. Taking the head of a fish, she seals it with pitch, pierces it with a bronze needle, sews it shut, and burns it in the fire. Then she drizzles some wine on it, and whatever wine is left, she and her companions drink, although she drinks most of it. [581] As she departs, the drunken old woman declares, “We have tied our enemies’ tongues and shut their hostile mouths.” Right away you might ask me, who is this Silent Goddess? Listen to what I was taught by some hoary old grandfathers. Jupiter, conquered by an unrestrained infatuation with Juturna, suffered many things that are intolerable for so great a god. For her part, Juturna would sometimes hide in the forest among the hazels, and would sometimes leap away into kindred waters. Jupiter summoned all the nymphs who inhabited Latium, and he flung these words into their assembly: [591] “Your sister sabotages herself, and she avoids something that would benefit her: a union with the most exalted god. Think of the advantages for both of us, since what for me will be a great pleasure will for her be a great benefit. If she flees, you must block her way at the edge of the riverbank, so she cannot dissolve her body in the water.” After he said this, all the Tiber nymphs nodded assent, as did the ones who share your home, divine Ilia. There was present, by chance, a naiad named Lara. Her original name was Lala, the first syllable repeated twice. [601] She was named for her shortcoming. Often Almo said to her, “Child, hold your tongue” – but she did not hold her tongue. As soon as she reached the pools of her sister Juturna, she said, “Run from the riverbanks,” and she relayed Jupiter’s injunctions. Because she felt sorry for his wife, she even went to Juno and said, “Your husband is after the naiad Juturna.” Jupiter exploded, and ripped out the

Iuppiter intumuit, quaque est non usa modeste
 eripit huic linguam, Mercuriumque vocat:
 ‘duc hanc ad manes: locus ille silentibus aptus.
 nympha, sed infernae nympha paludis erit.’ 610
 iussa Iovis fiunt. accepit lucus euntes:
 dicitur illa duci tum placuisse deo.
 vim parat hic, voltu pro verbis illa precatur,
 et frustra muto nititur ore loqui,
 fitque gravis geminosque parit, qui compita servant 615
 et vigilant nostra semper in urbe Lares.

22. E C

proxima cognati dixere Karistia kari,
 et venit ad socios turba propinqua deos.
 scilicet a tumulis et qui periere propinquis
 protinus ad vivos ora referre iuvat, 620
 postque tot amissos quicquid de sanguine restat
 aspicere et generis dinumerare gradus.
 innocui veniant: procul hinc, procul impius esto
 frater et in partus mater acerba suos,
 cui pater est vivax, qui matris digerit annos, 625
 quae premit invisam socrus iniqua nurum.
 Tantalidae fratres absint et Iasonis uxor,
 et quae ruricolis semina tosta dedit,
 et soror et Procne Tereusque duabus iniquus
 et quicumque suas per scelus auget opes. 630
 dis generis date tura boni: Concordia fertur
 illa praecipue mitis adesse die;
 et libate dapes, ut, grati pignus honoris,
 nutriat incinctos missa patella Lares.
 iamque, ubi suadebit placidos nox umida somnos, 635
 larga precaturi sumite vina manu,
 et ‘bene vos, bene te, patriae pater, optime Caesar’
 dicite; suffuso sint bona verba mero.

23. F TER · NP

nox ubi transierit, solito celebretur honore
 separat indicio qui deus arva suo. 640

tongue that she had used inappropriately. Then he summoned Mercury, saying, “Take this one to the netherworld, a suitable place for the silent. She will be a nymph, but a nymph of the infernal marsh.” [611] Jupiter’s orders were carried out. Along the way, they came to a grove, and it is said that at this point the bailiff god became aroused by her. He was prepared to use violence, and she begged him – with her expression rather than her words – she fought in vain to speak with her silenced mouth.

So she became pregnant. She gave birth to twin boys, the Lares who guard crossroads, and who continuously watch over our city.

2.617

Caring families call the next day the Caristia, and assembled clans visit their shared gods. It is certainly enjoyable to turn one’s gaze to the living, away from graves and relatives who have passed, [621] and, after a parade of so many lost, to see those of the family who still live, and to count out the clan’s generations. Only those who are pure-hearted should come: the criminal brother, the mother embittered toward her children, let them stay far away, along with anyone who thinks their father lives too long or calculates their mother’s years, or the spiteful mother-in-law who tyrannizes her hated daughter-in-law. The sons of Tantalus should stay away, as should the wife of Jason, and the woman who gave farmers ruined seeds, and Procne and her sister, as well as Tereus who victimized both of them, and whoever enriches himself through crime. [631] Good people, on the other hand, should offer incense to their family gods – benevolent Concordia is supposed to be especially present this day – and offer a meal, a welcome token of respect, to nourish the Lares in their belted-up robes with the presentation of a dish. And now that the misty night beckons toward gentle sleep, raise a full cup of wine and pray, “Bless all of you, and you as well, good Caesar, father of the country.” And let the words be sealed with an outpouring of wine.

2.639

When the night has passed, another god should be honored with the customary celebration, the one who marks off the fields. [641] Terminus, whether you manifest as a stone, or as a stump embedded in a field,

Termine, sive lapis sive es defossus in agro
 stipes, ab antiquis tu quoque numen habes.
 te duo diversa domini de parte coronant,
 binaque sarta tibi binaque liba ferunt.
 ara fit: huc ignem curto fert rustica testo 645
 sumptum de tepidis ipsa colona focis.
 ligna senex minuit concisaque construit arte,
 et solida ramos figere pugnat humo;
 tum sicco primas inritat cortice flammis;
 stat puer et manibus lata canistra tenet. 650
 inde ubi ter fruges medios immisit in ignes,
 porrigit incisos filia parva favos.
 vina tenent alii: libantur singula flammis;
 spectant, et linguis candida turba favet.
 spargitur et caeso communis Terminus agno, 655
 nec queritur lactans cum sibi porca datur.
 conveniunt celebrantque dapes vicinia simplex
 et cantant laudes, Termine sancte, tuas:
 'tu populos urbesque et regna ingentia finis:
 omnis erit sine te litigiosus ager. 660
 nulla tibi ambitio est, nullo corrumpereis auro,
 legitima servas credita rura fide.
 si tu signasses olim Thyreatida terram,
 corpora non leto missa trecenta forent,
 nec foret Othryades congestis lectus in armis. 665
 o quantum patriae sanguinis ille dedit!
 quid, nova cum fierent Capitolia? nempe deorum
 cuncta Iovi cessit turba locumque dedit;
 Terminus, ut veteres memorant, inventus in aede
 restitit et magno cum Iove templa tenet. 670
 nunc quoque, se supra ne quid nisi sidera cernat,
 exiguum templi tecta foramen habent.
 Termine, post illud levitas tibi libera non est:
 qua positus fueris in statione, mane;
 nec tu vicino quicquam concede roganti, 675
 ne videare hominem praeposuisse Iovi:

you also possessed *numen* from ancient times. Two landowners crown you on opposite sides, and they offer you twin garlands and twin cakes. They make an altar, and a bucolic farmer's wife brings a flame from her warm hearth in a broken earthenware pot. An old man cuts up wood and skillfully stacks up the pieces, and he fights to drive the branches into the solid earth. Then he coaxes forth the first flames with dry tinder, while his son stands by with large baskets in his hands. [651] After he has three times thrown grain from the baskets into the middle of the fire, his little daughter offers slices of honeycomb. The others hold vessels of wine, which are poured one by one over the flames, and the white-clad crowd observes in reverent silence. The shared boundary-marker is sprinkled with the blood of a sacrificed lamb, and he does not complain when a nursing piglet is given to him. The ingenuous neighbors gather and celebrate a feast, and they sing your praises, sacred Terminus. "You mark the boundary for peoples and cities and even immense kingdoms; without you, every field would be a hazard for legal trouble. [661] You do not play favorites, you cannot be bribed with gold; rather, you preserve in good faith the fields entrusted to you. If, long ago, you had marked the land of Thyrea, three hundred people would not have been sent to their death, and the name Othryades would not have been read in the assembled trophy. He gave so much blood for his country! And now what, when the new Capitol was under construction? Certainly the whole community of gods ceded to Jupiter and gave him space, but the elders recount that Terminus was found in the shrine and remains there, and keeps the temple alongside great Jupiter. [671] And even now, the roof of his temple has a tiny aperture so he can see the stars above him unimpeded. Since then, Terminus, you have no freedom of movement; you must stay where you have been posted. Do not grant anything to a wheedling neighbor, so you will not seem to favor humans over Jupiter. Whether they abuse you with plowshares or rakes, you must still

et seu vomeribus seu tu pulsabere rastris,
 clamato, “tuus est hic ager, ille tuus”.
 est via quae populum Laurentes ducit in agros,
 quondam Dardanio regna petita duci: 680
 illa lanigeri pecoris tibi, Termine, fibris
 sacra videt fieri sextus ab Urbe lapis.
 gentibus est aliis tellus data limite certo:
 Romanae spatium est Urbis et orbis idem.

24. G REGIF · N

nunc mihi dicenda est regis fuga. traxit ab illa 685
 sextus ab extremo nomina mense dies.
 ultima Tarquinius Romanae gentis habebat
 regna, vir iniustus, fortis ad arma tamen.
 ceperat hic alias, alias everterat urbes,
 et Gabios turpi fecerat arte suos. 690
 namque trium minimus, proles manifesta Superbi,
 in medios hostes nocte silente venit.
 nudarant gladios: ‘occidite’ dixit ‘inermem:
 hoc cupiant fratres Tarquiniusque pater,
 qui mea crudeli laceravit verbera terga’ 695
 (dicere ut hoc posset, verbera passus erat).
 luna fuit: spectant iuvenem, gladiosque recondunt,
 tergaque, deducta veste, notata vident:
 flent quoque, et ut secum tueatur bella precantur.
 callidus ignaris adnuit ille viris. 700
 iamque potens misso genitorem appellat amico,
 perdendi Gabios quod sibi monstret iter.
 hortus odoratis suberat cultissimus herbis,
 sectus humum rivo lene sonantis aquae:
 illic Tarquinius mandata latentia nati 705
 accipit, et virga lilia summa metit.
 nuntius ut rediit decussaque lilia dixit,
 filius ‘agnosco iussa parentis’ ait.
 nec mora, principibus caesis ex urbe Gabina,
 traduntur ducibus moenia nuda suis. 710
 ecce, nefas visu, mediis altaribus anguis
 exit et exstinctis ignibus exta rapit.

proclaim: ‘This field belongs to you, and that to another.’ There is a road that leads people into the Laurentine fields, the territory once sought by the Dardanian general. [681] On this road, the sixth milestone from the city observes your rites, Terminus, with the intestines of a soft-coated sheep. Other nations are granted territory within a restricted ambit, but the limits of the city of Rome coincide with the limits of the earth.

2.685

Now I must tell the story of the King’s Retreat. It gives its name to the sixth day from the end of the month. In the last days of the Roman monarchy, Tarquinius ruled, a criminal man, though powerful in arms. He captured some cities, and razed others; Gabii he took by a despicable trick. [691] For the youngest of his three sons (a true son of Superbus) appeared there, among his enemies, one silent night. They drew their swords, but he said, “Go ahead, kill an unarmed man – that’s just what my brothers want, and my father Tarquinius. They slashed my back with vicious lashes.” (He had undergone lashes to be able to say this.) The moon was out, and they studied the young man. Then they put away their swords, drew back his clothing, and inspected his lacerated back. They wept for him, and entreated him to advise them on the war. The crafty man acquiesced to those naïve fools. [701] Once in power, he sent a friend to ask his father what method he would recommend to destroy Gabii. There was a garden, overflowing with scented herbs, its turf divided by a stream of softly murmuring water. Here Tarquinius received the secret messages of his son, and cropped off the tops of lilies with a stick. When the messenger returned, he described the decapitated lilies, and young Tarquinius said, “I understand my father’s orders.” Immediately he killed the leading citizens of Gabii, and the city, denuded of its leaders, was handed over to Rome. [711] Look at this abomination: a snake crawls out from between the altars and steals the entrails after the flames burn out. Phoebus’ oracle is consulted, and the given response is: “The victor will be the one who

consulitur Phoebus. sors est ita reddita: ‘matri
 qui dederit princeps oscula, victor erit.’
 oscula quisque suae matri properata tulerunt, 715
 non intellecto credula turba deo.
 Brutus erat stulti sapiens imitator, ut esset
 tutus ab insidiis, dire Superbe, tuis.
 ille iacens pronus matri dedit oscula Terrae,
 creditus offenso procubuisse pede. 720
 cingitur interea Romanis Ardea signis,
 et patitur longas obsidione moras.
 dum vacat et metuunt hostes committere pugnam,
 luditur in castris, otia miles agit.
 Tarquinius iuvenis socios dapibusque meroque 725
 accipit; ex illis rege creatus ait:
 ‘dum nos sollicitos pigro tenet Ardea bello,
 nec sinit ad patrios arma referre deos,
 ecquid in officio torus est socialis? et ecquid
 coniugibus nostris mutua cura sumus?’ 730
 quisque suam laudat: studiis certamina crescunt,
 et fervet multo linguaque corque mero.
 surgit cui dederat clarum Collatia nomen:
 ‘non opus est verbis, credite rebus’ ait.
 ‘nox superest: tollamur equis Urbemque petamus’;
 dicta placent, frenis impediuntur equi.
 pertulerant dominos. regalia protinus illi
 tecta petunt: custos in fore nullus erat.
 ecce nurum regis fuis per colla coronis
 inveniunt posito pervigilare mero. 740
 inde cito passu petitur Lucretia, cuius
 ante torum calathi lanaque mollis erat.
 lumen ad exiguum famulae data pensa trahebant;
 inter quas tenui sic ait illa sono:
 ‘mittenda est domino (nunc, nunc properate, puellae) 745
 quamprimum nostra facta lacerna manu.
 quid tamen auditis (nam plura audire potestis)?
 quantum de bello dicitur esse super?

first kisses his mother.” Each member of the delegation, trusting too far the god that they had misunderstood, hurried to kiss his mother. Brutus was a wise man who feigned foolishness, so that he would be safe from your attacks, ruthless Superbus. He fell prone and gave kisses to Mother Earth, while everyone believed he had fallen over his clumsy feet. [721] Meanwhile Ardea was surrounded by Roman forces, and was enduring a lengthy siege. While the opposing forces hesitated to join battle, and the soldiers were unoccupied, they amused themselves in the camps and enjoyed their free time. Young Tarquinius entertained his friends with dinner and wine, and in their company the king’s son said: “While Ardea keeps us trapped and restless in a slow-moving war, and does not permit us to return our arms to the gods of our fatherland, what happens with the marriage bed? And is our concern for our wives reciprocated?” [731] Each man praised his own wife, and the competition grew more heated, and their hearts and voices grew more inflamed with plentiful wine. At last he stood up, the man to whom Collatia gave its famous name. He said, “We don’t need words! Let’s put faith in the facts. While the night lasts, let’s go to the city on horseback.” They applauded his words, and the horses were saddled. The horses carried their masters through. The men went straight for the royal residence; there was no guard at the doors. They found the king’s daughter-in-law – look at her! – staying up all night, with strong wine on the table and garlands draped around her neck. [741] From there they quickly sought out Lucretia, who had soft wool and work baskets before her couch. By a weak light, the slave women were completing their assigned tasks, and among them the lady of the house was saying in a soft voice: “Hurry, ladies, hurry up. This cloak, made by our hands, must be sent to the master as soon as possible. And what news do you hear? Since you can hear more than I can, how much longer do they say the war will go on? Oh Ardea, soon you will collapse defeated. Your opponents are the better people! You wicked city,

postmodo victa cades: melioribus, Ardea, restas,
 improba, quae nostros cogis abesse viros. 750
 sint tantum reduces. sed enim temerarius ille
 est meus, et stricto qualibet ense ruit.
 mens abit et morior, quotiens pugnantis imago
 me subit, et gelidum pectora frigus habet.’
 desinit in lacrimas inceptaque fila remisit, 755
 in gremio voltum deposuitque suum.
 hoc ipsum decuit: lacrimae decuere pudicam,
 et facies animo dignaque parque fuit.
 ‘pone metum, veni’ coniunx ait; illa revixit,
 deque viri collo dulce pendit onus. 760
 interea iuvenis furiales regius ignes
 concipit, et caeco raptus amore furit.
 forma placet niveusque color flavique capilli
 quique aderat nulla factus ab arte decor:
 verba placent et vox et quod corrumpere non est; 765
 quoque minor spes est, hoc magis ille cupit.
 iam dederat cantus lucis praenuntius ales,
 cum referunt iuvenes in sua castra pedem.
 carpitur attonitos absentis imagine sensus
 ille; recordanti plura magisque placent. 770
 sic sedit, sic culta fuit, sic stamina nevit,
 iniectae collo sic iacuere comae,
 hos habuit voltus, haec illi verba fuerunt,
 hic color, haec facies, hic decor oris erat.
 ut solet a magno fluctus languescere flatu, 775
 sed tamen a vento, qui fuit, unda tumet,
 sic, quamvis aberat placitae praesentia formae,
 quem dederat praesens forma, manebat amor.
 ardet, et iniusti stimulis agitated amoris
 comparat indigno vimque metumque toro. 780
 ‘exitus in dubio est: audebimus ultima’ dixit:
 ‘viderit! audentes forsque deusque iuvat.
 cepimus audendo Gabios quoque.’ talia fatus
 ense latus cinxit tergaque pressit equi.

who enforces our husbands' absence. [751] I only pray they will return. Even so, my husband is reckless, and charges wherever he wants with his sword drawn. I faint, and even die, whenever I imagine him fighting, and an icy terror grips my heart." She broke off in tears, dropped her unfinished weaving, and buried her face in her lap. Even like this she looked lovely; her tears were fitting for a modest wife, and her face was as impressive as her spirit.

"Dismiss your tears: I have come," said her husband. She came back to life, and clung to her husband's neck, a welcome burden. [761] Meanwhile, the king's young son suddenly felt unreasoning fires, and he was overcome with blinding, irrational passion. He relished her figure, her snow white skin and her golden hair – and the beauty he saw was not created artificially. He relished her words, and her voice, and her pure-heartedness. And the less hope there is, the more he wants her. By the time the men returned to their camp, the birds that herald the dawn had already broadcast their song. His senses were all overwhelmed and captivated by the image of that inaccessible woman, and he savored the memories more and more: [771] how she sat, how she was dressed, how she spun the threads, how her hair lay carelessly about her neck; she wore this expression, she spoke these words, her face had this color, this look, this loveliness. Just as after a great storm the waves will subside, even as new waves rise from the wind there was, in the same way, even though he was separated from the company of this alluring figure, the passion inflamed by the presence of her beauty remained. He lusts for her, and, driven by the pangs of his perverse desire, he plots violence and fear for an undeserving bed. [781] He said, "There are no guarantees here. We'll go for broke! She should watch out! Luck – and even the gods – reward audacity. And it was audacity that won us Gabii." Having said these things, he equipped himself with a sword, and mounted his

accipit aerata iuvenem Collatia porta, 785
 condere iam voltus sole parante suos.
 hostis ut hospes init penetralia Collatini:
 comiter excipitur; sanguine iunctus erat.
 quantum animis erroris inest! parat inscia rerum
 infelix epulas hostibus illa suis. 790
 functus erat dapibus: poscunt sua tempora somnum;
 nox erat, et tota lumina nulla domo.
 surgit et aurata vagina liberat ensem
 et venit in thalamos, nupta pudica, tuos;
 utque torum pressit, 'ferrum, Lucretia, mecum est' 795
 natus ait regis, 'Tarquiniusque loquor.'
 illa nihil, neque enim vocem viresque loquendi
 aut aliquid toto pectore mentis habet;
 sed tremit, ut quondam stabulis deprensa relictis
 parva sub infesto cum iacet agna lupo. 800
 quid faciat? pugnet? vincetur femina pugnans.
 clamet? at in dextra, qui vetet, ensis erat.
 effugiat? positis urgentur pectora palmis,
 tum primum externa pectora tacta manu.
 instat amans hostis precibus pretioque minisque: 805
 nec prece nec pretio nec movet ille minis.
 'nil agis: eripiam' dixit 'per crimina vitam:
 falsus adulterii testis adulter ero:
 interimam famulum, cum quo deprensa fereris.'
 succubuit famae victa puella metu. 810
 quid, victor, gaudes? haec te victoria perdet.
 heu quanto regnis nox stetit una tuis!
 iamque erat orta dies: passis sedet illa capillis,
 ut solet ad nati mater itura rogam,
 grandaevumque patrem fido cum coniuge castris 815
 evocat: et posita venit uterque mora.
 utque vident habitum, quae luctus causa, requirunt,
 cui paret exsequias, quoque sit icta malo.
 illa diu reticet pudibundaque celat amictu
 ora: fluunt lacrimae more perennis aquae. 820

horse. The young man was received at Collatia's bronze gate when the sun was about to hide its face. The enemy entered as a guest into Collatinus' inner chambers, and was welcomed hospitably, since he was a family connection. How they misjudged him! That unfortunate woman, unsuspecting, prepared a feast for her malefactor. [791] When he finished dinner, the late hour called for sleep. In the night, when the entire house was in darkness, he rose from his bed and took his sword from its gilded sheath. He came into your bedroom, virtuous lady. As he invaded the bed, the king's son said, "I have a weapon, Lucretia. It is Tarquinius speaking." She said nothing, for she had no voice, no power of speech; her heart was entirely unresponsive. But she trembled, like a small lamb that, having wandered from the sheepfold, lies caught beneath a ferocious wolf. [801] What could she do? Could she fight? A woman fighting is always defeated. Could she call for help? But there was the sword in his hand to prevent that. Could she escape? No, her chest was pinned down by his hands – the first time her breasts had been touched by another man's hands. Her lustful enemy pressed her with prayers – bribes – threats – but she was not moved, not by threats, nor bribes, nor prayers. At last he said, "You're wasting time! I'll take your life, and your honor! Even as an adulterer, I'll be a false witness to your adultery. I'll kill a slave, and the story will get around that you were caught with him." At last the girl gave in, defeated by fear for her reputation. [811] Victorious man, why are you celebrating? This victory will destroy you. What a disaster, that a single night was so costly for your kingdom. When day dawned, Lucretia sat with her hair in disarray, like a mother about to go to her son's funeral pyre. She summoned her elderly father and her faithful husband from the army camp, and they both came without delay. When they saw her appearance, they asked what was the cause of her grief, whose funeral was it, what tragedy had struck her. She long remained silent, and hid her mortified face with her clothing; her tears flowed like an unceasing stream. [821] Her father on

hinc pater, hinc coniunx lacrimas solantur et orant
 indicet et caeco flentque paventque metu.
 ter conata loqui ter destitit, ausaque quarto
 non oculos ideo sustulit illa suos.
 ‘hoc quoque Tarquinio debebimus? eloquar’ inquit, 825
 ‘eloquar infelix dedecus ipsa meum?’
 quaeque potest, narrat; restabant ultima: flevit,
 et matronales erubere genae.
 dant veniam facto genitor coniunxque coactae:
 ‘quam’ dixit ‘veniam vos datis, ipsa nego.’ 830
 nec mora, celato fixit sua pectora ferro,
 et cadit in patrios sanguinolenta pedes.
 tum quoque iam moriens ne non procumbat honeste
 respicit: haec etiam cura cadentis erat.
 ecce super corpus, communia damna gementes, 835
 obliti decoris virque paterque iacent.
 Brutus adest, tandemque animo sua nomina fallit,
 fixaque semanimi corpore tela rapit,
 stillantemque tenens generoso sanguine cultrum
 edidit impavidos ore minante sonos: 840
 ‘per tibi ego hunc iuro fortem castumque cruorem,
 perque tuos manes, qui mihi numen erunt,
 Tarquinius profuga poenas cum stirpe daturum.
 iam satis est virtus dissimulata diu.’
 illa iacens ad verba oculos sine lumine movit, 845
 visaque concussa dicta probare coma.
 fertur in exsequias animi matrona virilis
 et secum lacrimas invidiamque trahit.
 volnus inane patet: Brutus clamore Quirites
 concitat et regis facta nefanda refert. 850
 Tarquinius cum prole fugit: capit annua consul
 iura: dies regnis illa suprema fuit.
 fallimur, an veris praenuntia venit hirundo,
 nec metuit ne qua versa recurrat hiems?
 saepe tamen, Procne, nimium properasse quereris, 855
 virque tuo Tereus frigore laetus erit.

one side, and her husband on the other, soothe her tears and beg her to explain – they also weep as they tremble with formless fear. Three times she tried to speak, and three times broke off. She marshalled her courage a fourth time, although she could not meet their eyes. “Must we owe this also to Tarquinius? Do you expect me to speak – me, being so ill-fated – do you expect me to proclaim my own disgrace?” She described what she could; the worst was left unsaid. The married woman wept and her cheeks burned red. Her husband and father offer forgiveness for what she was forced to do. But she said, “The forgiveness that you offer me, I deny myself.” [831] Immediately she drove a concealed dagger into her chest, and collapsed at her father’s feet, covered in blood. Even then, already dying, she made sure not to fall in an immodest position; this was her concern even as she died. Prostrated over her body, mourning their common loss, her father and husband disregarded all sense of propriety. Brutus was there, and he at last let his character overrule his name. He seized the weapon embedded in her half-dead body. Holding that knife as it dripped noble blood, he grimly issued these fearless words: [841] “I swear to you, by your brave and virtuous bloodshed, and by your shade, which for me will be divine, that Tarquinius will suffer the penalty, as will his exiled family. I have disguised my true character long enough.” At these words, the woman lying before him moved her sightless eyes, and she seemed to approve his words by shaking her hair. That matron with a man’s courage was displayed in a funeral procession, and inspired both grief and outrage. Her gaping wound was visible to all, and Brutus’ shouts incited the Quirites, as he fulminated on the evil deeds of the king. [851] Tarquinius fled with his family, and a consul received powers lasting one year. That was the last day of the monarchy.

2.853

Am I mistaken, or has the swallow arrived, the first herald of spring?
Does she no longer fear that winter might turn around and come back?
Even so, Procne, you still often complain that you hurried too much, and
your husband Tereus laughs when you feel the cold.

(25. H C) (26. A EN) 27. B EQVIR · NP (28. C C)
iamque duae restant noctes de mense secundo,

Marsque citos iunctis curribus urget equos;

ex vero positum permansit Equirria nomen,

quae deus in campo prospicit ipse suo.

iure venis, Gradive: locum tua tempora poscunt,

signatusque tuo nomine mensis adest.

venimus in portum libro cum mense peracto.

naviget hinc alia iam mihi linter aqua.

2.857

Of the second month, now only two nights remain, and Mars urges forward the swift horses joined to his chariot. The name given to this day, the Equirria (quite appropriate), endures, and the god himself observes the Equirria on his own field. [861] Marching god, you are arriving as ordained; your season demands its place; we have come to the month that bears your name. With the book as well as the month finished, we are steering into the harbor. Now let my boat sail from here on to other seas.

LIBER TERTIVS

Bellice, depositis clipeo paulisper et hasta,
Mars, ades et nitidas casside solve comas.
forsitan ipse roges quid sit cum Marte poetae:
a te qui canitur nomina mensis habet.
ipse vides manibus peragi fera bella Minervae: 5
num minus ingenuis artibus illa vacat?
Palladis exemplo ponendae tempora sume
cuspidis: invenies et quod inermis agas.
tum quoque inermis eras, cum te Romana sacerdos 10
cepit, ut huic urbi semina magna dares.
Silvia Vestalis (quid enim vetat inde moveri?)
sacra lavaturas mane petebat aquas.
ventum erat ad molli declivem tramite ripam;
ponitur e summa fictilis urna coma:
fessa resedit humo, ventosque accepit aperto 15
pectore, turbatas restituitque comas.
dum sedet, umbrosae salices volucresque canorae
fecerunt somnos et leve murmur aquae;
blanda quies furtim victis obrepit ocellis,
et cadit a mento languida facta manus. 20
Mars videt hanc visamque cupit potiturque cupita,
et sua divina furta fefellit ope.
somnus abit, iacet ipsa gravis; iam scilicet intra
viscera Romanae conditor urbis erat.
languida consurgit, nec scit cur languida surgat, 25
et peragit tales arbore nixa sonos:
'utile sit faustumque, precor, quod imagine somni
vidimus: an somno clarius illud erat?
ignibus Iliacis aderam, cum lapsa capillis
decidit ante sacros lanea vitta focos. 30
inde duae pariter, visu mirabile, palmae
surgunt: ex illis altera maior erat,
et gravibus ramis totum protexerat orbem,
contigeratque sua sidera summa coma.

BOOK 3

3.1

[1] Mars the warrior, appear to me – but put aside your shield and spear for a moment, and release your glossy hair from its helmet. Perhaps you would ask, what is a poet doing with Mars? I am versifying the month named after you. You yourself see Minerva driving furious wars with her own hands, but she nevertheless has time for the noble arts. So, following the example of Pallas, take time to put down your spear: you will discover what you can do even when you are not armed. After all, you were also unarmed when the Roman priestess captivated you, with the result that you provided this city with a glorious origin. [11] The Vestal Silvia (why not start from there?), was fetching water one morning to wash the sacred objects. She had come to the sloping riverbank on an easy path, and she took down the earthen jar from the top of her head. She wearily lay back on the turf, and welcomed the breeze into her unfastened garment, and fixed her disheveled hair. While she sat there, the shady willows and melodious birds and the light murmur of water made her drowsy, and a pleasant lassitude stealthily stole over her defeated eyes. Her hand, rendered powerless, fell from her chin. [21] Mars saw her, and he desired the one he saw, and he overpowered the one he desired, and he disguised his rape with divine power. When she woke, she lay heavily, for already the founder of the city of Rome was inside her belly. She rose lazily, and did not know why she rose lazily, and, supporting herself on a tree, she spoke words like these: “I pray that what I saw in my dream might be beneficial and well-omened – or was that more vivid than a dream? I stood before the Trojan flames, when my woolen headband, having slipped from my hair, fell before the sacred hearth. [31] From there – an amazing sight! – twin palms sprang up together, but of the two, one was greater. It overshadowed the entire world with robust branches, and it reached the highest stars with its crown. I saw my uncle attack the palms

ecce meus ferrum patruus molitur in illas: 35
 terreor admonitu, corque timore micat.
 Martia, picus, avis gemino pro stipite pugnant
 et lupa: tuta per hos utraque palma fuit.⁷
 dixerat, et plenam non firmis viribus urnam
 sustulit: implerat, dum sua visa refert. 40
 interea crescente Remo, crescente Quirino,
 caelesti tumidus pondere venter erat.
 quo minus emeritis exiret cursibus annus
 restabant nitido iam duo signa deo:
 Silvia fit mater; Vestae simulacra feruntur 45
 virgineas oculis opposuisse manus.
 ara deae certe tremuit pariente ministra,
 et subiit cineres territa flamma suos.
 hoc ubi cognovit contemptor Amulius aequi
 (nam raptas fratri victor habebat opes), 50
 amne iubet mergi geminos. scelus unda refugit:
 in sicca pueri destituuntur humo.
 lacte quis infantes nescit crevisse ferino,
 et picum expositis saepe tulisse cibos?
 non ego te, tantae nutrix Larentia gentis, 55
 nec taceam vestras, Faustule pauper, opes:
 vester honos veniet, cum Larentalia dicam:
 acceptus geniis illa December habet.
 Martia ter senos proles adoleverat annos,
 et suberat flavae iam nova barba comae: 60
 omnibus agricolis armentorumque magistris
 Iliadae fratres iura petita dabant.
 saepe domum veniunt praedonum sanguine laeti
 et redigunt actos in sua rura boves.
 ut genus audierunt, animos pater editus auget, 65
 et pudet in paucis nomen habere casis,
 Romuleoque cadit traiectus Amulius ense,
 regnaque longaevo restituuntur avo.
 moenia conduntur, quae, quamvis parva fuerunt,
 non tamen expediit transiluisse Remo. 70

with a blade. I am terrified by this premonition. My heart is leaping with fear! The woodpecker, that martial bird, and the wolf fought on behalf of those twin trees, and both palms were kept safe by these animals.” After she said this, she lifted the full jar (although her strength was unsteady); she had filled it while she was recounting her visions. [41] Meanwhile, with Remus growing, with *Quirinus* growing, her stomach swelled with its divine burden. When the radiant god was two months short of completing his designated annual course, Silvia became a mother. They say the cult statue of Vesta covered her eyes with her virginal hands. Certainly the altar of the goddess quaked when the priestess gave birth, and the frightened flame cowered in its own ashes. When tyrannical Amulius learned of this (for he had overthrown his brother and usurped his rule), [51] he ordered the twins to be drowned in the river. But the water refused to touch this crime, and the boys washed up on dry ground. Who does not know that the exposed infants fed on a wild animal’s milk, and that a woodpecker often brought them food? Nor will I neglect to mention you, Larentia, the nurse of such a mighty people, nor you, poor Faustulus, and the aid you provided. You will be honored when I describe the Larentalia; that celebration comes in December, a month pleasing to the *genii*. Mars’ offspring had grown eighteen years and had added their first beards to their golden hair. [61] The brothers, sons of Ilia, were already giving judgments when asked to all the farmers and cattle owners. Often they came home, reveling in the blood of cattle-rustlers, and drove stolen cattle back into their own fields. When they heard where they came from, and their father was disclosed to them, it built up their pride, and they were ashamed to be known in only a few hovels. Amulius was transfixed and laid low by Romulus’ sword, and the kingdom was returned to their elderly grandfather. Walls were built. They were small, but Remus gained nothing by leaping over them. [71] Overnight, what

iam, modo quae fuerant silvae pecorumque recessus,
 urbs erat, aeternae cum pater urbis ait:
 ‘arbiter armorum, de cuius sanguine natus
 credor et, ut credar, pignora multa dabo,
 a te principium Romano dicimus anno: 75
 primus de patrio nomine mensis erit.’
 vox rata fit, patrioque vocat de nomine mensem:
 dicitur haec pietas grata fuisse deo.
 et tamen ante omnes Martem coluere priores;
 hoc dederat studiis bellica turba suis. 80
 Pallada Cecropidae, Minoia Creta Dianam,
 Volcanum tellus Hypsipylaea colit,
 Iunonem Sparte Pelopeiadesque Mycenae,
 pinigerum Fauni Maenalis ora caput:
 Mars Latio venerandus erat, quia praesidet armis; 85
 arma ferae genti remque decusque dabant.
 quod si forte vacas, peregrinos inspicere fastos:
 mensis in his etiam nomine Martis erit.
 tertius Albanis, quintus fuit ille Faliscis,
 sextus apud populos, Hernica terra, tuos; 90
 inter Aricinos Albanaque tempora constat
 factaque Telegoni moenia celsa manu;
 quintum Laurentes, bis quintum Aequiculus acer,
 a tribus hunc primum turba Curensis habet;
 et tibi cum proavis, miles Paeligne, Sabinis 95
 convenit; huic genti quartus utrique deus.
 Romulus, hos omnes ut vinceret ordine saltem,
 sanguinis auctori tempora prima dedit.
 nec totidem veteres, quot nunc, habuere Kalendas:
 ille minor geminis mensibus annus erat. 100
 nondum tradiderat victas victoribus artes
 Graecia, facundum sed male forte genus:
 qui bene pugnabat, Romanam noverat artem;
 mittere qui poterat pila, disertus erat.
 quis tunc aut Hyadas aut Pliadas Atlanteas 105
 senserat, aut geminos esse sub axe polos,

had been woodland and dens of cattle became a city, and the father of the eternal city said: “Champion of battle, from whose blood I am believed to be born – and I will provide plentiful evidence for this belief – we will name the beginning of the Roman year after you; the first month will take its name from my father.” His promise was fulfilled; he named the month after his father, and this devotion was said to be pleasing to the god. Nevertheless, even more ancient people worshipped Mars above all other gods, and warlike populations did so with particular enthusiasm. [81] As the Cecropidae give priority to Pallas, Minoan Crete to Diana, the Hypsipylean land to Vulcan, Sparta to Juno, Pelopoeian Mycenae likewise to Juno, and the Maenalian region to the pine-wreathed head of Faunus, Mars has priority in Latium, because he excels in warfare, and it was warfare that granted both glory and security to this wild clan. If, by chance, you have the opportunity, inspect the calendars of other nations; there will be a month named for Mars in these as well. It is the third month for the Albans, the fifth for the Faliscans, the sixth for your people, Hernic land. [91] The Alban calendar concords with the Aricini and that of the high walls constructed by the hands of Telegonus. The Laurentes make it the fifth month, while the fierce Aequiculi make it the tenth, and the people of Cures consider it first after three. Paelignian soldier, this suited you and your Sabine ancestors; for each of these peoples the god has the fourth month. To outdo all these others, at least in ordering, Romulus gave the first month to his progenitor. Back then, they did not have so many Kalends as there are now: the year was shorter by two months. [101] The Greeks – articulate people, but hardly warriors – had not yet consigned their defeated arts to their conquerors. He who fought well understood the Roman art; he who could throw javelins was considered eloquent. Back then, who studied Atlas’ Hyades or Pleiades, or knew that there were two poles in the sky? Who noticed that there

esse duas Arctos, quarum Cynosura petatur
 Sidoniis, Helicen Graia carina notet,
 signaque quae longo frater percenseat anno,
 ire per haec uno mense sororis equos? 110
 libera currebant et inobservata per annum
 sidera; constabat sed tamen esse deos.
 non illi caelo labentia signa tenebant,
 sed sua, quae magnum perdere crimen erat,
 illa quidem <e> feno, sed erat reverentia feno 115
 quantam nunc aquilas cernis habere tuas.
 pertica suspensos portabat longa maniplos,
 unde manipularis nomina miles habet.
 ergo animi indociles et adhuc ratione carentes
 mensibus egerunt lustra minora decem. 120
 annus erat decimum cum luna receperat orbem:
 hic numerus magno tunc in honore fuit,
 seu quia tot digiti, per quos numerare solemus,
 seu quia bis quinto femina mense parit,
 seu quod adusque decem numero crescente venit, 125
 principium spatiis sumitur inde novis.
 inde patres centum denos secrevit in orbes
 Romulus, hastatos instituitque decem,
 et totidem princeps, totidem pilanus habebat
 corpora, legitimo quique merebat equo. 130
 quin etiam partes totidem Titiensibus ille,
 quosque vocant Ramnes, Luceribusque dedit.
 adsuetos igitur numeros servavit in anno;
 hoc luget spatio femina maesta virum.
 neu dubites primae fuerint quin ante Kalendae 135
 Martis, ad haec animum signa referre potes.
 laurea flaminibus quae toto perstitit anno
 tollitur, et frondes sunt in honore novae;
 ianua tum regis posita viret arbore Phoebi;
 ante tuas fit idem, Curia prisca, fores. 140
 Vesta quoque ut folio niteat velata recenti,
 cedit ab Iliacis laurea cana focis.

were two bears, one of which, Cynosura, is followed by the Sidonians, and the other, Helice, is tracked by Greek ships? Or who knew that the sister's horses travel through the zodiac in one month, when her brother needs a full year to measure them out? [111] The stars were moving, free and unobserved, through the year; still, it was understood that they were gods. While they did not grasp the constellations trekking across the sky, they held onto their own military emblems, and they thought it a great crime to lose them. The emblems were, it's true, made of hay, but they had reverence for that hay, as much as you see for the Eagles today. The hay bundles were carried aloft on long poles, for which reason now a soldier is called a *maniplaris*. For this reason those uneducated souls, still lacking reason, counted out lustra ten months short. [121] When the moon had completed ten cycles, that was the year. At that time, this number was held in high esteem, whether because we have that many fingers with which to count, or because a woman gives birth in the tenth month, or because, when numbers increase, they accumulate as far as ten, and from there begin again in new spaces. For this reason, Romulus divided his hundred senators into ten groups, and instituted ten *hastati*, and decreed that a *princeps* would have so many men, as would a *pilanus*, as would whoever performed service on a state-owned horse. [131] Moreover, he even gave as many divisions to the Titienses, and to the Luceres, and to those who are called Ramnes. Accordingly he preserved this traditional number in the year as well, this being the length of time for which a widowed woman mourns her husband. And if you still doubt that in the past the Kalends of March were first, you should pay attention to these clues: the laurel wreaths that the *flamines* kept in place all year are replaced in March, and fresh boughs are honored. At that time, the Rex's door greens over with leaves of Phoebus' tree, and the same treatment is given to your doors, ancient Curia. [141] And so that Vesta's temple will also be resplendent in new foliage, the faded laurel is taken away from the Trojan hearth. On top of this, a new fire is said to be made

adde quod arcana fieri novus ignis in aede
 dicitur, et vires flamma resecta capit.
 nec mihi parva fides annos hinc isse priores 145
 Anna quod hoc coepta est mense Perenna coli.
 hinc etiam veteres initi memorantur honores
 ad spatium belli, perfide Poene, tui.
 denique quintus ab hoc fuerat Quintilis, et inde
 incipit a numero nomina quisquis habet. 150
 primus, oliviferis Romam deductus ab arvis,
 Pompilius menses sensit abesse duos,
 sive hoc a Samio doctus, qui posse renasci
 nos putat, Egeria sive monente sua.
 sed tamen errabant etiam nunc tempora, donec 155
 Caesaris in multis haec quoque cura fuit.
 non haec ille deus tantaeque propaginis auctor
 credidit officiis esse minora suis,
 promissumque sibi voluit praenosceri caelum
 nec deus ignotas hospes inire domos. 160
 ille moras solis, quibus in sua signa rediret,
 traditur exactis disposuisse notis;
 is decies senos ter centum et quinque diebus
 iunxit et a pleno tempora quinta die.
 hic anni modus est: in lustrum accedere debet, 165
 quae consummatur partibus, una dies.

1. D · K · MAR · NP

‘si licet occultos monitus audire deorum
 vatibus, ut certe fama licere putat,
 cum sis officiis, Gradive, virilibus aptus,
 dic mihi matronae cur tua festa colant.’ 170
 sic ego. sic posita dixit mihi casside Mavors
 (sed tamen in dextra missilis hasta fuit):
 ‘nunc primum studiis pacis deus utilis armis
 advocor, et gressus in nova castra fero.
 nec piget incepti: iuvat hac quoque parte morari, 175
 hoc solam ne se posse Minerva putet.
 disce, Latinorum vates operose dierum,
 quod petis, et memori pectore dicta nota.

in the inner shrine, and the rekindled flame builds its strength. And I am greatly convinced that past years began from here because in this month Anna Perenna began to be worshipped. Moreover the ancient magistracies are reported to have commenced from this point, up until the time of our war with you, treacherous Punic. Finally, the fifth month after this was ‘Quintilis’, and from then on each month takes its name from a number. [151] Pompilius, having come to Rome from the olive groves, first noticed that two months were needed, whether he was so instructed by the man from Samos who believes we can be reincarnated, or whether his own Egeria taught him. But even then, the calendar was drifting, until this also became a concern (among the many) of Caesar. That god, and the founder of so great a family, did not think that such things were beneath his attention, and he wanted to acquaint himself in advance with the heavens that were destined for him. When he became a god, he did not want to be a stranger entering an unfamiliar home. [161] He is said to have mapped in exact figures the pathways of the sun, by which it returns to its own zodiac signs. He added sixty days to three hundred and five, plus one fifth part of a full day. This is the measure of the year, and one day ought to be added to a lustrum, which takes up the fractions.

3.167

“If it is permissible – as rumor has it, clearly – for poets to hear the secret disclosures of the gods, tell me, Mars the Marcher, why do matrons observe your festivals when you yourself are suited to masculine service?” [171] I said this, and Mavors replied to me, having removed his helmet (though his spear remained at hand for throwing): “Though I am a valuable god in battle, now for the first time am I summoned in service of peace, and I push forward into new camps. Nor do I recoil from the undertaking. It helps to spend time in this territory also, so that Minerva does not think she is the only one who can. Painstaking poet of the Latin calendar, learn this answer, and store up my words in your heart’s

parva fuit, si prima velis elementa referre,
 Roma, sed in parva spes tamen huius erat. 180
 moenia iam stabant, populis angusta futuris,
 credita sed turbae tum nimis ampla suae.
 quae fuerit nostri si quaeris regia nati,
 aspice de canna straminibusque domum.
 in stipula placidi capiebat munera somni, 185
 et tamen ex illo venit in astra toro.
 iamque loco maius nomen Romanus habebat,
 nec coniunx illi nec socer ullus erat.
 spernebant generos inopes vicinia dives,
 et male credebar sanguinis auctor ego. 190
 in stabulis habitasse et oves pavisse nocebat
 iugeraque inculti pauca tenere soli.
 cum pare quaeque suo coeunt volucresque feraeque
 atque aliquam de qua procreet anguis habet.
 extremis dantur conubia gentibus: at quae 195
 Romano vellet nubere nulla fuit.
 indolui patriamque dedi tibi, Romule, mentem.
 “tolle preces”, dixi “quod petis arma dabunt.”
 festa parat Conso. Consus tibi cetera dicet,
 illa facta die dum sua sacra canet. 200
 intumuere Cures et quos dolor attigit idem:
 tum primum generis intulit arma socer.
 iamque fere raptae matrum quoque nomen habebant,
 tractaque erant longa bella propinqua mora:
 conveniunt nuptae dictam Iunonis in aedem, 205
 quas inter mea sic est nurus ausa loqui:
 “o pariter raptae, quoniam hoc commune tenemus,
 non ultra lente possumus esse piaae.
 stant acies: sed utra di sint pro parte rogandi
 eligite; hinc coniunx, hinc pater arma tenet. 210
 quaerendum est viduae fieri malitis an orbae.
 consilium vobis forte piumque dabo.”
 consilium dederat: parent, crinesque resolvunt
 maestaque funerea corpora veste tegunt.

memory. Rome was small – if you want to begin at the beginning – but even in that small city was the hope of becoming this one. [181] The city walls were already constructed, and though they were undersized for the future population, at the time they were thought too big for their people. And if you ask what my son’s palace was, look at that house made of reeds and straw. Lying on the grass-stalks he received the gift of carefree sleep; nevertheless, from that bed he transcended to the stars. Soon, the Romans gained more prestige in the area, but no Roman had either a wife or a father-in-law. The wealthy neighbors rejected these penniless men as suitors, and I was not believed to be their ancestor. [191] It was detrimental to them that they lived in shacks and stables, that they raised sheep, that they possessed only a few acres of unworked soil. Each creature comes together with an appropriate mate: birds, animals, even snakes have partners to bear them children. Marriages were granted to distant clans, but there was no woman who wanted to marry a Roman. It pained me, and I inspired in you, Romulus, your father’s attitude. I said, “Stop begging; what you want, you have to get by force.” He organized a festival of Consus. Consus himself will tell you the rest, on the day when he sings his own holy rites. [201] Cures became enraged, as did the others affected by a common grievance. Then, for the first time, fathers-in-law waged war on their sons-in-law. Already most of the raped women carried the title ‘mother’, and the war of neighboring states was dragged out through long delay. The married women convened in the shrine dedicated to Juno, and among them it was my daughter-in-law who dared to speak. “Oh women, all of us united by our common rape, we are no longer able to put off our obligations. The battle-lines are set, but we must choose which side to pray for, since our husbands fight on one side, and our fathers on the other. [211] The question is: do you prefer to be widowed or orphaned? But I will provide you with a plan that is both daring and dutiful.” She revealed her plan, and they followed it: they undid their hair, and mournfully clothed themselves in funeral dress. Already the battle lines stood ready for slaughter and

iam steterant acies ferro mortique paratae, 215
 iam lituus pugnae signa daturus erat,
 cum raptae veniunt inter patresque virosque,
 inque sinu natos, pignora cara, tenent.
 ut medium campi scissis tetigere capillis,
 in terram posito procubuere genu; 220
 et, quasi sentirent, blando clamore nepotes
 tendebant ad avos bracchia parva suos.
 qui poterat, clamabat avum tum denique visum,
 et, qui vix poterat, posse coactus erat.
 tela viris animique cadunt, gladiisque remotis 225
 dant soceri generis accipiuntque manus,
 laudatasque tenent natas, scutoque nepotem
 fert avus: hic scuti dulcior usus erat.
 inde †diem quae prima† meas celebrare Kalendas
 Oebaliae matres non leve munus habent, 230
 aut quia committi strictis mucronibus ausae
 finierant lacrimis Martia bella suis;
 vel quod erat de me feliciter Iliā mater
 rite colunt matres sacra diemque meum.
 quid quod hiems adoperta gelu tum denique cedit, 235
 et pereunt lapsae sole tepente nives;
 arboribus redeunt detonsae frigore frondes,
 uvidaque in tenero palmitē gemma tumet;
 quaeque diu latuit, nunc, se qua tollat in auras,
 fertilis occultas invenit herba vias? 240
 nunc fecundus ager, pecoris nunc hora creandi,
 nunc avis in ramo tecta laremque parat.
 tempora iure colunt Latiae fecunda parentes,
 quarum militiam vota que partus habet.
 adde quod, excubias ubi rex Romanus agebat, 245
 qui nunc Esquilias nomina collis habet,
 illic a nuribus Iunoni templa Latinis
 hac sunt, si memini, publica facta die.
 quid moror et variis onero tua pectora causis?
 eminent ante oculos quod petis ecce tuos. 250

death, and the trumpet was about to give the signal for battle, when the raped women came between their husbands and fathers, holding those dear promises, their children, to their breasts. When they reached the middle of the battlefield, they fell to their knees, their hair torn ragged. [221] Their babies, as if they understood, stretched out their little arms to their grandfathers, with persuasive cries. The children (those who were able) were calling to their grandfathers, seen at last for the first time, and those who were not really able were made to seem like they were. The men's weapons fell, their conflict dissipated, and with the swords set aside, the fathers-in-law shook hands with their sons-in-law, and praised and embraced their daughters. Grandfathers carried their grandsons on their shields, a much more pleasant use of the shield. For that reason, the Oebalian mothers bear the great responsibility of gathering and celebrating the first day, my Kalends. [231] Either because, when the swords were drawn, they dared to place themselves in the middle of them, and thus ended the martial conflict with their tears, or else because Ilia was lucky to become a mother by me, mothers observe my holiday and my sacred rites.

3.235

Moreover, at this point the frost-covered winter at last relents; the diminishing snow perishes under the warm sun, the leaves stripped by the cold return to the trees, and juicy buds grow on the tender vines. And the reviving grass, which lay long hidden, now finds hidden paths by which it reveals itself to the air. [241] Now the fields are full of potential, now is the time for breeding livestock, now the bird builds and furnishes its home in the tree. Latian mothers rightly take advantage of the fertile season, since their labor includes fighting and prayers. Besides this, on this day, if I remember rightly, the public temple of Juno on the hill which now has the name *Esquiliae* (where the king of Rome once kept watch) was built by the Latin matrons. Why should I waste time, burdening your mind with a parade of explanations? Here it is: what you're looking

mater amat nuptas: matris me turba frequentat.
 haec nos praecipue tam pia causa decet.⁷
 ferte deae flores: gaudet florentibus herbis
 haec dea; de tenero cingite flore caput:
 dicite 'tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dedisti': 255
 dicite 'tu voto parturientis ades.'
 siqua tamen gravida est, resoluta crine precetur
 ut solvat partus molliter illa suos.
 quis mihi nunc dicet quare caelestia Martis
 arma ferant Salii Mamuriumque canant? 260
 nympha, mone, nemori stagnoque operata Dianae;
 nympha, Numae coniunx, ad tua facta veni.
 vallis Aricinae silva praecinctus opaca
 est lacus, antiqua religione sacer;
 hic latet Hippolytus loris direptus equorum, 265
 unde nemus nullis illud aditur equis.
 licia dependent longas velantia saepes,
 et posita est meritae multa tabella deae.
 saepe potens voti, frontem redimita coronis,
 femina lucentes portat ab Urbe faces. 270
 regna tenent fortes manibus pedibusque fugaces,
 et perit exemplo postmodo quisque suo.
 defluit incerto lapidosus murmure rivus:
 saepe, sed exiguis haustibus, inde bibi.
 Egeria est quae praebet aquas, dea grata Camenis: 275
 illa Numae coniunx consiliumque fuit.
 principio nimium promptos ad bella Quirites
 molliri placuit iure deumque metu.
 inde datae leges, ne firmior omnia posset,
 coeptaque sunt pure tradita sacra coli. 280
 exuitur feritas, armisque potentius aequum est,
 et cum cive pudet conseruisse manus,
 atque aliquis, modo trux, visa iam vertitur ara
 vinaque dat tepidis farraque salsa focis.
 ecce deum genitor rutilas per nubila flammis 285
 spargit, et effusus aethera siccatur aquis.

for rises up before your eyes. [251] My mother loves matrons, so my mother's crowd visits me. This pious reason suits us best." Bring flowers to the goddess (this goddess delights in flowering plants); wreath your head in tender flowers. Say, "Lucina, you gave us the gift of light"; say, "attend to the prayers of women in labor." If a woman is pregnant, she should let down her hair and pray that Juno will bring her through labor gently.

3.259

Who will now explain to me why the Salii carry the celestial armor of Mars and sing of Mamurius? [261] Teach me, nymph, chatelaine of the grove and the lake of Diana, nymph, wife of Numa, come to your own deeds. There is a lake surrounded by the dark wood of the Arician valley, sacred by ancient custom. Hippolytus hid here after having been torn apart by his horses' reins, for which reason no horses may approach the grove. Threads hang down, veiling the overgrown hedges, and many votive tablets are dedicated to the worthy goddess. Often a woman carries burning torches from the city, having achieved her prayer, her head bound in wreaths. [271] The kingdom is ruled by those with powerful hands and fugitive feet, and each one eventually perishes by his own example. A pebbled stream flows through with an indistinct sound; often I have drunk from it in tiny sips. Egeria is the one who provides the water, a goddess dear to the Camenae. She was both consort and councilor to Numa. They thought it wise to pacify the Romans – always spoiling for a fight, back then – by means of laws and fear of the gods. For this reason regulations were created, so that strength would not always prevail, and rituals began to be scrupulously observed and passed down. [281] Their fierceness was laid aside, justice prevailed over violence, and it was shameful to fight with a fellow citizen. A person in a rage was suddenly transformed before an altar, offering wine and salted grain on burning hearths. Look, the father of the gods hurls ruddy flames through the clouds, draining the sky with outpourings of water. Lightning never

non alias missi cecidere frequentius ignes:
 rex pavet et volgi pectora terror habet.
 cui dea 'ne nimium terrere: piabile fulmen
 est' ait 'et saevi flectitur ira Iovis. 290
 sed poterunt ritum Picus Faunusque piandi
 tradere, Romani numen utrumque soli.
 nec sine vi tradent: adhibe tu vincula captis';
 atque ita qua possint edidit arte capi. 295
 lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbra,
 quo posses viso dicere 'numen inest'.
 in medio gramen, muscoque adoperta virenti
 manabat saxo vena perennis aquae;
 inde fere soli Faunus Picusque bibebant:
 huc venit et fonti rex Numa mactat ovem, 300
 plenaque odorati disponit pocula Bacchi,
 cumque suis antro conditus ipse latet.
 ad solitos veniunt silvestria numina fontes
 et relevant multo pectora sicca mero. 305
 vina quies sequitur: gelido Numa prodit ab antro
 vinclaque sopitas addit in arta manus.
 somnus ut abscessit, pugnando vincula temptant
 rumpere; pugnantes fortius illa tenent.
 tum Numa: 'di nemorum, factis ignoscite nostris
 si scelus ingenio scitis abesse meo, 310
 quoque modo possit fulmen monstrate piari.'
 sic Numa; sic quatiens cornua Faunus ait:
 'magna petis, nec quae monitu tibi discere nostro
 fas sit: habent fines numina nostra suos. 315
 di sumus agrestes et qui dominemur in altis
 montibus; arbitrium est in sua tecta Iovi.
 hunc tu non poteris per te deducere caelo,
 at poteris nostra forsitan usus ope.'
 dixerat haec Faunus; par est sententia Pici.
 'deme tamen nobis vincula', Picus ait, 320
 'Iuppiter huc veniet, valida perductus ab arte:
 nubila promissi Styx mihi testis erit.'

fell more frequently at any other time; the king was afraid, and terror gripped the hearts of the populace. But the goddess Egeria said, “Don’t be so afraid. Lightning can be expiated, and the wrath of cruel Jupiter can be deflected. [291] Picus and Faunus, both of them gods of the Roman land, will be able to hand down a rite of expiation. But they will not reveal it without coercion. You must capture them in chains.” So she revealed the trick by which they could be captured. A dark grove, shaded by oaks, lay at the foot of the Aventine, and if you saw this grove, you could say, ‘A god dwells there.’ There was grass in the middle, and an unfailling stream, wreathed in thriving moss, flowed from a rock. Faunus and Picus were the only ones – or almost the only ones – to drink from it. King Numa came here and sacrificed a sheep to the spring, [301] and poured out brimming cups of aromatic wine, and hid in a cave with his henchmen. The sylvan gods came to their familiar spring and refreshed their parched spirits with plenty of wine. Their drinking was followed by drowsiness, and Numa, coming forth from the cool cave, fitted strong chains onto the sleepers’ wrists. When they woke, they tried to burst their bonds by struggling, but the bonds held them more tightly when they struggled. Then Numa said, “Groveland gods, forgive my actions, if you realize that there is no criminal intent in my nature. [311] Show me how to expiate lightning.” Thus he spoke, and Faunus responded, shaking his horns: “You are asking for a great deal, for things that you are not permitted to learn from our instruction; our powers have their limits. We are merely rustic demigods who rule over remote mountaintops. Only Jupiter controls his personal domain. You will not be able to drag him down from the sky – not by yourself – but maybe you could with our help.” Faunus said this, and Picus agreed. “But take these bonds off of us,” Picus said, [321] “Jupiter will come here, summoned by our great skill. The murky Styx will be witness to my promise.” It is not lawful for

emissi laqueis quid agant, quae carmina dicant,
 quaque trahant superis sedibus arte Iovem
 scire nefas homini. nobis concessa canentur 325
 quaeque pio dici vatis ab ore licet.
 eliciunt caelo te, Iuppiter; unde minores
 nunc quoque te celebrant Eliciumque vocant.
 constat Aventinae tremuisse cacumina silvae,
 terraque subsedit pondere pressa Iovis: 330
 corda micant regis totoque e corpore sanguis
 fugit et hirsutae deriguere comae.
 ut rediit animus, 'da certa piamina' dixit
 'fulminis, aliorum rexque paterque deum,
 si tua contigimus manibus donaria puris, 335
 hoc quoque quod petitur si pia lingua rogat.'
 adnuit oranti, sed verum ambage remota
 abdidit et dubio terruit ore virum.
 'caede caput' dixit; cui rex 'parebimus' inquit;
 'caedenda est hortis eruta cepa meis.' 340
 addidit hic 'hominis'; 'sumes' ait ille 'capillos.'
 postulat hic animam; cui Numa 'piscis' ait.
 risit, et 'his' inquit 'facito mea tela procures,
 o vir conloquio non abigende deum.
 sed tibi, protulerit cum totum crastinus orbem 345
 Cynthus, imperii pignora certa dabo.'
 dixit et ingenti tonitru super aethera motum
 fertur, adorantem destituitque Numam.
 ille redit laetus memoratque Quiritibus acta:
 tarda venit dictis difficilisque fides. 350
 'at certe credemur' ait 'si verba sequetur
 exitus: en audi crastina, quisquis ades.
 protulerit terris cum totum Cynthus orbem,
 Iuppiter imperii pignora certa dabit.'
 discedunt dubii, promissaque tarda videntur, 355
 dependetque fides a veniente die.
 mollis erat tellus rorata mane pruina:
 ante sui populus limina regis adest.

mortals to know what these gods, once released from their bonds, had to do, what spells they had to recite, what devices they needed to draw Jupiter down from his celestial home. I will report only what is permitted, what may be spoken by the voice of an unimpeachable devotee. Jupiter, they summoned you down from the sky. For this reason, later generations still worship you by calling you Elicius. It is well-known that the treetops trembled in the Aventine wood, and the earth sank under the weight of Jupiter. [331] The king's heart jolted, and the blood fled from his body entirely, and his hair stood stiff on end. When he regained his presence of mind, he said, "O king and father of the exalted gods, grant us a reliable way of expiating lightning bolts, if we touch your altars with pure hands, and if we make this request in pious words as well." Jupiter approved of his prayer, but he hid the truth in a confusing response, and he frightened the man with ambiguous words. He said, "It requires a severed head," to which the king replied, "We will comply. We will sever the head of an onion, dug out of my garden." [341] Jupiter corrected, "From a man," but Numa interrupted, "you will get hair." Still Jupiter demanded a life, to which Numa agreed – the life of a fish. Jupiter laughed and said, "So be it. You may expiate my attacks by these means, o man who cannot be kept away from negotiations with the gods. But tomorrow, when the orb of Cynthus is fully revealed, I will send you a guarantee of your power." Saying this, he was borne to the skies, which were shaken by a great crash of thunder, and he left awestruck Numa behind. Numa returned joyfully to the Romans and reported the events, but even a reluctant belief in his claims was slow to come. [351] "Certainly, however, you will believe me," he said, "if his promise comes to fulfillment. Everyone, pay attention: this is about tomorrow. When the orb of Cynthus has risen fully above the horizon, Jupiter will send a guarantee of our power. The sceptics went away; to them, the promises seemed like a stalling tactic, and their confidence hung on the coming day. In the morning, the soft earth was frosted with dew, and the people were gathered at the doorstep

prodit et in solio medius consedit acerno;
 innumeri circa stantque silentque viri. 360
 ortus erat summo tantummodo margine Phoebus:
 sollicitae mentes speque metuque pavent.
 constitit atque caput niveo velatus amictu
 iam bene dis notas sustulit ille manus,
 atque ita ‘tempus adest promissi muneris’ inquit; 365
 ‘pollicitam dictis, Iuppiter, adde fidem.’
 dum loquitur, totum iam sol emoverat orbem,
 et gravis aethereo venit ab axe fragor.
 ter tonuit sine nube deus, tria fulgura misit.
 credite dicenti: mira sed acta loquor: 370
 a media caelum regione dehiscere coepit:
 summisere oculos cum duce turba suo.
 ecce levi scutum versatum leniter aura
 decidit: a populo clamor ad astra venit.
 tollit humo munus caesa prius ille iuvenca 375
 quae dederat nulli colla premenda iugo,
 idque ancile vocat, quod ab omni parte recisum est,
 quaque notes oculis angulus omnis abest.
 tum, memor imperii sortem consistere in illo,
 consilium multae calliditatis inquit: 380
 plura iubet fieri simili caelata figura,
 error ut ante oculos insidiantis eat.
 Mamurius, morum fabraene exactior artis
 difficile est, illud, dicere, clausit opus.
 cui Numa munificus ‘facti pete praemia’ dixit: 385
 ‘si mea nota fides, inrita nulla petes.’
 iam dederat Saliis a saltu nomina ducta
 armaque et ad certos verba canenda modos;
 tum sic Mamurius: ‘merces mihi gloria detur,
 nominaque extremo carmine nostra sonent.’ 390
 inde sacerdotes operi promissa vetusto
 praemia persolvunt Mamuriumque vocant.
 nubere siqua voles, quamvis properabitis ambo,
 differ; habent parvae commoda magna morae.

of their king. He appeared, and sat among them on his maple throne; countless men stood silently by. [361] When Phoebus showed only his first sliver, their anxious minds trembled with both hope and fear. Then Numa stood up and veiled his head in a snow white cloth. He lifted his hands (the gods knew them so well) and said, “Jupiter, the time has come for your promised gift. Fulfill your vow!” While he spoke, the sun had revealed its full circle, and a weighty crash came from the height of the skies. The god thundered three times – not a cloud was visible – and sent three lightning bolts. Believe my story: what I say is incredible, but it’s a fact. [371] The center of the sky began to split open; the people and their king cast their eyes upward. And there fell a shield, gently turning in a soft breeze. The people’s tumult reached the stars. Numa took up the gift from the ground, having sacrificed a cow that had never before presented her neck to be oppressed by any yoke. He calls this shield the ‘ancile’, because it is cut away on every side, and there are no corners anywhere you direct your eyes. Then, mindful of the powerful destiny imbued in the shield, he undertook a very clever plan. [381] He ordered that more should be made, engraved in the same design, so as to mislead the eye of anyone hatching a plot. Mamurius completed the commission; it is difficult to say whether he was more meticulous in his honesty or in his ingenious art. Generously, Numa said to him, “Name the price of your work. If you know my trustworthy character, nothing you ask will be denied.” He had already presented the Salii with their name, taken from the dance, and the shields, and the verses to sing in a given meter. Mamurius responded, “For my fee, I want only glory. Let my name be sung at the end of the hymn.” [391] From then on, the priests fulfilled this promised payment for the ancient work of art, and they invoke Mamurius.

3.393

Now, if any of you wants to get married, you should put it off, even if both parties are in a hurry: a short delay will create great advantages.

arma movent pugnās, pugna est aliena maritis; 395
 condita cum fuerint, aptius omen erit.
 his etiam coniunx apicati cincta Dialis
 lucibus impexas debet habere comas.

(2. E F) 3. F C (4. G C)

tertia nox de mense suos ubi moverit ortus
 conditus e geminis Piscibus alter erit. 400
 nam duo sunt: Austris hic est, Aquilonibus ille
 proximus; a vento nomen uterque tenet.

5. H C

cum croceis rorare genis Tithonia coniunx
 coeperit et quintae tempora lucis aget,
 sive est Arctophylax, sive est piger ille Bootes, 405
 mergetur visus effugietque tuos.
 at non effugiet Vindemitor: hoc quoque causam
 unde trahat sidus parva docere mora est.
 Ampelon intonsum satyro nymphaque creatum
 fertur in Ismariis Bacchus amasse iugis. 410
 tradidit huic vitem pendentem frondibus ulmi,
 quae nunc de pueri nomine nomen habet.
 dum legit in ramo pictas temerarius uvas,
 decidit: amissum Liber in astra tulit.

6. A NP

sextus ubi Oceano clivosum scandit Olymum 415
 Phoebus et alatis aethera carpit equis,
 quisquis ades castaeque colis penetralia Vestae,
 gratare, Iliacis turaque pone focus.
 Caesaris innumeris, quos maluit ille mereri,
 accessit titulis pontificalis honor. 420
 ignibus aeternis aeterni numina praesunt
 Caesaris: imperii pignora iuncta vides.
 di veteris Troiae, dignissima praeda ferenti,
 qua gravis Aeneas tutus ab hoste fuit,
 ortus ab Aenea tangit cognata sacerdos 425
 numina: cognatum, Vesta, tuere caput.

Weapons lead to conflict, and conflict is unwelcome in marriage. Once the arms are put away, the omens will be more favorable.

Also, on these days the wife (who wears a belt) of the Flamen Dialis (who wears a cap) ought to leave her hair uncombed.

3.399

When the third night of the month has risen up from the horizon, one of the twin Fish will have set. [401] There are two: one is nearest the Austri, and the other the Aquilonēs. Each takes its name from one of the winds.

3.403

When the wife of Tithonus has led forth the hours of the fifth day by sprinkling dew from her golden face, that dawdling boy – whether he is known as Arctophylax or perhaps Boötes – will set and flee your sight. The Grape-harvester, however, will not flee, and it takes only a short time to explain from where this constellation also derives its origin. On the Ismarian mountains, Bacchus is said to have loved Ampelus, the beardless son of a nymph and a satyr. [411] Bacchus gave him a vine hanging from the branches of an elm, the vine that today takes its name from the boy. While that reckless boy was hanging from a branch picking colorful grapes, he fell, and Liber raised the lost youth to the stars.

3.415

When Phoebus for the sixth time climbs from Ocean to the heights of Olympus, and touches the ether with his winged horses, come, whoever you are, to honor the shrine of virgin Vesta. Wish her joy, and offer some incense on the Trojan hearth. Caesar's honors as Pontifex were added to his innumerable titles, titles which he preferred to earn. [421] The divinity of eternal Caesar presides over the eternal flame, and you witness the promises of empire joined. Gods of ancient Troy, you were a prize worthy of the person carrying you, under whose weight Aeneas was saved from the enemy. The priest, a descendant of Aeneas, touches his ancestral gods; Vesta, watch over your kinsman's safety. And you

quos sancta fovet ille manu, bene vivitis, ignes:
vivite inexstincti, flammaque duxque, precor.

7. B NON · F

una nota est Marti Nonis, sacrata quod illis
templa putant lucos Veiovis ante duos. 430
Romulus, ut saxo lucum circumdedit alto,
‘quilibet huc’ inquit ‘confuge; tutus eris.’
o quam de tenui Romanus origine crevit,
turba vetus quam non invidiosa fuit!
ne tamen ignaro novitas tibi nominis obstat, 435
disce quis iste deus, curve vocetur ita.
Iuppiter est iuvenis: iuvenales aspice voltus;
aspice deinde manum: fulmina nulla tenet.
fulmina post ausos caelum adfectare Gigantas
sumpta Iovi: primo tempore inermis erat; 440
ignibus Ossa novis et Pelion altius Ossa
arsit et in solida fixus Olympus humo.
stat quoque capra simul: nymphae pavisse feruntur
Cretides, infanti lac dedit illa Iovi.
nunc vocor ad nomen: vegrandia farra coloni 445
quae male creverunt, vescaque parva vocant;
vis ea si verbi est, cur non ego Veiovis aedem
aedem non magni suspicer esse Iovis?
iamque ubi caeruleum variabunt sidera caelum,
suspice: Gorgonei colla videbis equi. 450
creditur hic caesae gravida cervice Medusae
sanguine respersis prosiluisse iubis.
huic supra nubes et subter sidera lapso
caelum pro terra, pro pede pinna fuit;
iamque indignanti nova frena receperat ore 455
cum levis Aonias ungula fodit aquas.
nunc fruitur caelo, quod pinnis ante petebat,
et nitidus stellis quinque decemque micat.

8. C F

protinus aspicias venienti nocte Coronam
Cnosida: Theseo crimine facta dea est. 460

fires are thriving as Caesar builds you up with his holy hand. I pray that both the leader and the flame will endure inextinguishably.

3.429

There is one note on the Nones of March: they claim that on that day the temple of Veiovis was dedicated in front of the two groves. [431] Romulus said, when he surrounded the grove with a high stone wall, “Anyone may flee here, whoever you are; you will be safe.” And Rome grew magnificently from this meagre origin; its ancient population was extremely unenviable. You should, however, learn who this god is, and why he is so called, so that you in your ignorance will not be handicapped by the unfamiliarity of his name. This is young Jupiter. Look at his youthful face, then look at his hand: it holds no thunderbolt. Jupiter took up the thunderbolt after the giants dared to invade the heavens; in his first youth he was unarmed. [441] Ossa burned with new fires, and Pelion higher than Ossa, and Olympus fixed on solid ground. A goat also stands next to him, the goat who provided milk when the Cretan nymphs were feeding infant Jupiter. Now I will address his name. Farmers call wheat that is badly developed *vegrandia*, and they call small things *vesca*. If this is the meaning of the word, why shouldn’t I consider the shrine of Veiovis the shrine of Jupiter who is not full grown?

3.449

And now, when the blue sky is glittering with stars, look up: you will see the neck of the Gorgon’s horse. [451] This creature is believed to have sprung from the neck of the pregnant Medusa when she was beheaded, his mane streaked with blood. As he soared above the clouds but below the stars, the sky served as earth, and his wings as feet. When his light hoof founded the Aonian spring, his resisting mouth was already fitted with new reins. Now he delights in the sky, which he previously sought with his wings, and he sparkles with fifteen stars.

3.459

On the night immediately following, you will see the Cretan Crown.

iam bene periuro mutarat coniuge Bacchum
 quae dedit ingrato fila legenda viro;
 sorte tori gaudens ‘quid flebam rustica?’ dixit;
 ‘utiliter nobis perfidus ille fuit.’
 interea Liber depexos crinibus Indos 465
 vicit, et Eoo dives ab orbe redit.
 inter captivas facie praestante puellas
 grata nimis Baccho filia regis erat.
 flebat amans coniunx, spatiatque litore curvo
 edidit incultis talia verba comis: 470
 ‘en iterum, fluctus, similes audite querellas.
 en iterum lacrimas accipe, harena, meas.
 dicebam, memini, “periure et perfide Theseu!”
 ille abiit, eadem crimina Bacchus habet.
 nunc quoque “nulla viro” clamabo “femina credat”;
 nomine mutato causa relata mea est. 475
 o utinam mea sors qua primum coeperat isset,
 iamque ego praesenti tempore nulla forem.
 quid me desertis morituram, Liber, harenis
 servabas? potui dedoluisse semel. 480
 Bacche levis leviorque tuis, quae tempora cingunt,
 frondibus, in lacrimas cognite Bacche meas,
 ausus es ante oculos adducta paelice nostros
 tam bene compositum sollicitare torum?
 heu ubi pacta fides? ubi quae iurare solebas? 485
 me miseram, quotiens haec ego verba loquar?
 Thesea culpabas fallacemque ipse vocabas:
 iudicio peccas turpius ipse tuo.
 ne sciat haec quisquam tacitisque doloribus urar,
 ne totiens falli digna fuisse puter. 490
 praecipue cupiam celari Thesea, ne te
 consortem culpa gaudeat esse suae.
 at, puto, praeposita est fuscae mihi candida paelex!
 eveniat nostris hostibus ille color.
 quid tamen hoc refert? vitio tibi gratior ipso est. 495
 quid facis? amplexus inquinat illa tuos.

A goddess was created by Theseus' offenses. [461] She had already replaced the husband who had double-crossed her (after she gave that ingrate the threads he needed to follow) with Bacchus. So enjoying her good fortune in her new marriage, she said, "I was such a chump! Why did I bother crying? That rat was useful to me after all." Meanwhile Liber conquered the Indians with their combed-down hair, and returned enriched from the eastern world. Among the captive girls with their exceptional beauty, one king's daughter was for Bacchus too enticing. His devoted wife went weeping along the curved shore with her hair unkempt, speaking words like these: [471] "Here, waves, listen again to these same laments! Here, beach, drink up my tears again! I remember when I kept crying, 'Tracherous, traitorous Theseus!' He left – and now Bacchus commits the same offense. Now again I will shout 'No woman should trust a man!', since I have been victimized again with only the offender's name changed. If only my fate had gone as expected the first time, and I were now free from existence. Liber, why did you save me from dying on that deserted strand? I could have stopped grieving once and for all. [481] Oh, Bacchus, you are changeable, more changeable than the leaves that crown your head. Bacchus, our meeting brought me only grief. Do you dare to disturb our bed – which used to be in perfect order! – by taking a mistress, right before my eyes? It's torture! Where is that fidelity you promised? Where are those vows you so often swore? I'm a wreck! How many times do I have to repeat these words? You yourself blamed Theseus and called him deceitful; by your own judgment, you yourself are now committing a more disgraceful offense. I hope that no one will know these things, that I will burn with grievances undetected, that I will not be thought deserving of so many betrayals. [491] I especially want this to be concealed from Theseus, so that he will not gloat that you turned out to be as criminal as he was. But I suppose you prefer your mistress over me, since she's so fair and I'm so dark. Let my enemies have that color. But what does it matter? Her faults make her more attractive to you. What are you doing? She contaminates your

- Bacche, fidem praesta, nec praefer amoribus ullam
 coniugis: adsuevi semper amare virum.
 ceperunt matrem formosi cornua tauri,
 me tua; at hic laudi est, ille pudendus amor. 500
 ne noceat quod amo: neque enim tibi, Bacche, nocebat
 quod flammas nobis fassus es ipse tuas.
 nec, quod nos uris, mirum facis: ortus in igne
 diceris, et patria raptus ab igne manu.
 illa ego sum cui tu solitus promittere caelum. 505
 ei mihi, pro caelo qualia dona fero!’
 dixerat; audibat iamdudum verba querentis
 Liber, ut a tergo forte secutus erat.
 occupat amplexu lacrimasque per oscula siccant,
 et ‘pariter caeli summa petamus’ ait: 510
 ‘tu mihi iuncta toro mihi iuncta vocabula sumes,
 nam tibi mutatae Libera nomen erit,
 sintque tuae tecum faciam monimenta coronae,
 Volcanus Veneri quam dedit, illa tibi.’
 dicta facit, gemmasque novem transformat in ignes: 515
 aurea per stellas nunc micat illa novem.
- (9. D C) (10. E C) (11. F C) (12. G C) (13. H EN) 14. A EQVIRR · NP
 sex ubi sustulerit, totidem demerserit orbes
 purpureum rapido qui vehit axe diem,
 altera gramineo spectabis Equirria Campo,
 quem Tiberis curvis in latus urget aquis; 520
 qui tamen eiecta si forte tenebitur unda,
 Caelius accipiat pulverulentus equos.
15. B EID · NP
 Idibus est Annae festum geniale Perennae
 non procul a ripis, advena Thybri, tuis.
 plebs venit ac virides passim disiecta per herbas 525
 potat, et accumbit cum pare quisque sua.
 sub Iove pars durat, pauci tentoria ponunt,
 sunt quibus e ramis frondea facta casa est;
 pars, ubi pro rigidis calamos statuere columnis,
 desuper extentas imposuere togas. 530

embrace. Bacchus, keep your promises; do not place any woman above the love of your wife. I know how to love a man forever. My mother was captured by the horns of a beautiful bull, just as your horns captured me, but for me this love won praise, while to her it brought only shame. [501] I should not be harmed by my love, as love did not harm you, Bacchus, when you yourself confessed your passion for me. No wonder you burned me, since they say you were born from fire, and saved from the fire by your father's hand. I was the one to whom you always promised the heavens, and it's devastating, what sort of reward I get instead!" She finished speaking. Liber had been listening for a long time to the words of her complaint, since he by chance was following behind her. He caught her in an embrace, and dried her tears with kisses, and said, "We will pursue the heights of the sky together. [511] You share my bed, but now you should share my name as well. Your name will be Libera, now that you have been transformed. And I will create a monument to you as well as your crown, which Vulcan gave to Venus, and she to you." He carried out his promises, and transfigured the nine gems into nine fires. And now that golden crown shines with nine stars.

3.517

When the god who carries the vermillion dawn on his swift wheels has raised the sun six times, and just as many times sunk it, you will witness the second Equirria on the grassy Campus Martius, which the curving stream of the Tiber bounds on one side. [521] But if, by chance, it is overtaken by an errant wave, the dusty Caelian can host the horses.

3.523

On the Ides, the cheerful celebration of Anna Perenna takes place near the banks of the traveling Tiber. The people come out and drink, scattered over the green lawn, each person reclining with a companion. Some people tough it out under the open sky, but a few erect tents, and there are some who make a leafy shelter out of branches. Some people, having set up reeds as strong columns, arranged their spread-out togas

sole tamen vinoque calent annosque precantur
 quot sumant cyathos, ad numerumque bibunt.
 inuenies illic qui Nestoris ebibat annos,
 quae sit per calices facta Sibylla suos.
 illic et cantant quicquid didicere theatris, 535
 et iactant faciles ad sua verba manus,
 et ducunt posito duras cratera choreas,
 cultaque diffusis saltat amica comis.
 cum redeunt, titubant et sunt spectacula volgi,
 et fortunatos obuia turba vocat. 540
 occurrit nuper (visa est mihi digna relatu)
 pompa: senem potum pota trahebat anus.
 quae tamen haec dea sit quoniam rumoribus errat,
 fabula proposito nulla tegenda meo.
 arserat Aeneae Dido miserabilis igne, 545
 arserat exstructis in sua fata rogis,
 compositusque cinis, tumulique in marmore carmen
 hoc breve, quod moriens ipsa reliquit, erat:
 PRAEBVIT AENEAS ET CAVSAM MORTIS ET ENSEM:
 IPSA SVA DIDO CONCIDIT VSA MANV. 550
 protinus invadunt Numidae sine vindice regnum,
 et potitur capta Maurus Iarba domo,
 seque memor spretum 'thalamis tamen' inquit 'Elissae
 en ego, quem totiens reppulit illa, fruor.'
 diffugiunt Tyrii quo quemque agit error, ut olim 555
 amisso dubiae rege vagantur apes.
 tertia nudandas acceperat area messes,
 inque cavos ierant tertia musta lacus:
 pellitur Anna domo, lacrimansque sororia linquit
 moenia; germanae iusta dat ante suae. 560
 mixta bibunt molles lacrimis unguenta favillae,
 vertice libatas accipiuntque comas,
 terque 'vale' dixit, cineres ter ad ora relatos
 pressit, et est illis visa subesse soror.
 nacta ratem comitesque fugae pede labitur aequo 565
 moenia respiciens, dulce sororis opus.

on top. [531] They are warmed by the sun and the wine, and they pray to live a year for each cup they drain, counting as they drink. There you will find a man who drank up the years of Nestor, or a woman who would become the Sibyl from her cups. There they sing whatever they heard in the theaters, and they wave their hands readily to accompany their words, and, their cups put aside, they lead a rough song and dance, and their flashy girlfriends rave with their hair flying all around. They return reeling, and make a spectacle for the crowds, and whoever meets them calls them fortunate. [541] Recently I met – it seems worth telling – a parade: a drunk old woman was dragging a drunk old man.

Rumors fly regarding who this goddess is, and none of them should be concealed in my story. Pitiable Dido had burned on the flame of Aeneas; she had burned on a pyre built for her own destruction. The ashes were collected, and this short verse, which she herself composed while dying, was inscribed on the marble of her tomb:

Aeneas provided both the sword and the motive for her death;
But Dido died by her own hand.

[551] Immediately the Numidians invaded the kingdom, now lacking a defender, and the African Iarbas gained possession of the captured palace. Remembering how she refused him, he boasted, “Look, Elissa’s bedroom is finally mine, even though she rejected me so many times.” The Tyrians fled, all in different directions, just as bees often disperse in confusion when they have lost their king.

Three years had passed, three harvests were harvested, three vintages bottled. Anna was driven from her home, and sobbing she left behind her sister’s walls, but first she performed funeral rites for her sister. [561] The soft ashes absorbed perfumes mixed with tears, and received hair shorn from Anna’s head. She said “Farewell” three times, she kissed the ashes three times, and her sister seemed to be in them.

Having acquired a ship, and a crew of fellow refugees, she departed at a steady pace, looking back at the walls, the cherished work of her sister.

fertilis est Melite sterili vicina Cosyrae
 insula, quam Libyci verberat unda freti.
 hanc petit, hospitio regis confisa vetusto:
 hospes opum dives rex ibi Battus erat. 570
 qui postquam didicit casus utriusque sororis,
 'haec' inquit 'tellus quantulacumque tua est.'
 et tamen hospitii servasset ad ultima munus;
 sed timuit magnas Pygmalionis opes.
 signa recensuerat bis sol sua, tertius ibat 575
 annus, et exilio terra paranda nova est.
 frater adest belloque petit. rex arma perosus
 'nos sumus inbelles, tu fuge sospes' ait.
 iussa fugit ventoque ratem committit et undis:
 asperior quovis aequore frater erat. 580
 est prope piscosos lapidosi Crathidis amnes
 parvus ager, Cameren incola turba vocat:
 illuc cursus erat. nec longius abfuit inde
 quam quantum novies mittere funda potest:
 vela cadunt primo et dubia librantur ab aura: 585
 'findite remigio' navita dixit 'aquas';
 dumque parant torto subducere carbasa lino,
 percutitur rapido puppis adunca Noto,
 inque patens aequor, frustra pugnante magistro,
 fertur, et ex oculis visa refugit humus. 590
 adsiliunt fluctus imoque a gurgite pontus
 vertitur, et canas alveus haurit aquas.
 vincitur ars vento nec iam moderator habenis
 utitur, at votis is quoque poscit opem.
 iactatur tumidas exul Phoenissa per undas, 595
 umidaque opposita lumina veste tegit.
 tum primum Dido felix est dicta sorori
 et quaecumque aliquam corpore pressit humum.
 ducitur ad Laurens ingenti flamine litus
 puppis, et expositis omnibus hausta perit. 600
 iam pius Aeneas regno nataque Latini
 auctus erat, populos miscueratque duos.

Malta is a fertile island near barren Cosyra, washed by the Libyan sea. She aimed for this island, trusting her longstanding friendship with the king, for the king there was Battus, a rich man and a guest-friend of hers. [571] He, after learning the misfortunes of the two sisters, said, "You are welcome in this land, even though it is very small." And although he would have upheld his duty as host to the very end, he still feared the rich resources of Pygmalion. Twice the sun traveled through the zodiac, and the third year was underway, when a new land had to be found for their exile. Anna's brother arrived and attacked. Battus, detesting war, said 'We are not equipped to fight; you have to flee to be safe.' Under this directive, she fled and entrusted her ship to the wind and waves, since her brother was fiercer than any danger at sea.

[581] Near the fish-filled rivers of rocky Crathis, there is a little spot that the locals call Camere: her journey led her there. Her distance from her destination was no more than the length of nine slingshot throws, but first the sails fell, and they were left suspended in a feeble breeze. A sailor said: "Use the oars!" And while they prepared to fasten the sail with a flapping rope, the curved ship was struck by a sharp north wind, and was carried into the open sea, the helmsman resisting in vain. The land, just glimpsed, fled from their sight. [591] The waves leaped up and the sea was churned up from its deepest depths, and the hull drank in the white waters. Seafaring skill was defeated by wind, and the steersman no longer controlled the steering, but prayed desperately for help. The Phoenician exile was tossed among the swelling waves, and covered her tearful eyes with her clothing. Then for the first time Anna called her sister fortunate, as she did anyone situated on dry land.

The ship was driven to the Laurentian shore by an overwhelming blast of wind, was smashed and swallowed up, though all the passengers escaped. [601] At this point dutiful Aeneas had been enriched by Latinus' kingdom, and his daughter, and he had blended two populations. He was

litore dotali solo comitatus Achate
 secretum nudo dum pede carpit iter,
 aspicit errantem, nec credere sustinet Annam 605
 esse: quid in Latios illa veniret agros?
 dum secum Aeneas, ‘Anna est!’ exclamat Achates:
 ad nomen voltus sustulit illa suos.
 heu, quid agat? fugiat? quos terrae quaerat hiatus?
 ante oculos miserae fata sororis erant. 610
 sensit, et adloquitur trepidam Cythereius heros
 (flet tamen admonitu motus, Elissa, tui):
 ‘Anna, per hanc iuro, quam quondam audire solebas
 tellurem fato prosperiore dari,
 perque deos comites, hac nuper sede locatos, 615
 saepe meas illos increpuisse moras.
 nec timui de morte tamen: metus abfuit iste.
 ei mihi, credibili fortior illa fuit.
 ne refer: aspexi non illo corpore digna
 volnera Tartareas ausus adire domos. 620
 at tu, seu ratio te nostris adpulit oris
 sive deus, regni commoda carpe mei.
 multa tibi memores, nil non debemus Elissae:
 nomine grata tuo, grata sororis eris.’
 talia dicenti (neque enim spes altera restat) 625
 credit, errores exposuitque suos;
 utque domum intravit Tyrios induta paratus,
 incipit Aeneas (cetera turba tacet):
 ‘hanc tibi cur tradam, pia causa, Lavinia coniunx,
 est mihi: consumpsi naufragus huius opes. 630
 orta Tyro est, regnum Libyca possedit in ora:
 quam precor ut carae more sororis ames.’
 omnia promittit falsumque Lavinia volnus
 mente premit tacita dissimulatque metus;
 donaque cum videat praeter sua lumina ferri 635
 multa, tamen mitti clam quoque multa putat.
 non habet exactum quid agat: furialiter odit,
 et parat insidias et cupit ulta mori.

taking a private walk, barefoot, along the coast of his wife's dowry-domain, accompanied only by Achates. He spotted her wandering, but he did not dare to believe she was Anna: why would she come into the Latian lands? While this thought went through his mind, Achates cried, "It's Anna!" Hearing her name, she lifted her face. Disaster! What should she do? Run away? Which chasm should she jump into? Her sister's tragic death rose before her eyes.

[611] The Cytherian hero understood, and addressed that agitated woman (and *he* wept, moved by the reminder of you, Elissa): "Anna, I swear by this land, which I so often told you was promised to me by a more benevolent fate, and by those gods, my fellow refugees, recently resettled in this home: the gods would not let me delay. But I did not expect her to die; that fear did not cross my mind. Tragically, she was more determined than I could have believed. No need to tell the story: I myself saw her wounds (which were not worthy of her body) when I dared to descend into the halls of Tartarus. [621] But you, whether you were driven to our shores by your own choice or by a god, accept accommodation from my kingdom. You should remember that I owe a lot to you, and everything to Elissa. You will be welcome for her sake, and for your own."

She believed him when he said these things (moreover, all her other hopes had perished), and she described her own wanderings. And as she entered his home and put on Tyrian clothing, Aeneas made an announcement (all others fell silent): "Dear wife, Lavinia, it is my duty to entrust this woman to you: when I was shipwrecked, I enjoyed her hospitality. [631] She was born in Tyre, and possessed a kingdom on the Libyan shores. I ask you to treasure her like a darling sister."

Lavinia agreed to all he said. Misguidedly, she felt an offense privately in her mind, but she concealed her fears. Before her eyes she saw many gifts presented, and she suspected that many others were also sent in secret. She had not yet planned exactly what she would do. She hated Anna passionately; she prepared an ambush and was determined to die avenged.

nox erat: ante torum visa est adstare sororis
 squalenti Dido sanguinolenta coma 640
 et 'fuge, ne dubita, maestum fuge' dicere 'tectum';
 sub verbum querulas impulit aura fores.
 exsilit et velox humili †super ausa† fenestra
 se iacit (audacem fecerat ipse timor),
 cumque metu rapitur tunica velata recincta, 645
 currit ut auditis territa damma lupis,
 corniger hanc cupidis rapuisse Numicius undis
 creditur et stagnis oculuisse suis.
 Sidonis interea magno clamore per agros
 quaeritur: apparent signa notaeque pedum; 650
 ventum erat ad ripas: inerant vestigia ripis;
 sustinuit tacitas conscius amnis aquas.
 ipsa loqui visa est 'placidi sum nympha Numici:
 amne perenne latens Anna Perenna vocor.'
 protinus erratis laeti vescuntur in agris 655
 et celebrant largo seque diemque mero.
 sunt quibus haec Luna est, quia mensibus impleat annum;
 pars Themis, Inachiam pars putat esse bovem.
 invenies qui te nymphen Azanida dicant
 teque Iovi primos, Anna, dedisse cibos. 660
 haec quoque, quam referam, nostras pervenit ad aures
 fama, nec a veri dissidet illa fide.
 plebs vetus et nullis etiam nunc tuta tribunis
 fugit et in Sacri vertice Montis erat;
 iam quoque quem secum tulerant defecerat illos 665
 victus et humanis usibus apta Ceres.
 orta suburbanis quaedam fuit Anna Bovillis,
 pauper, sed multae sedulitatis anus;
 illa, levi mitra canos incincta capillos,
 fingebat tremula rustica liba manu, 670
 atque ita per populum fumantia mane solebat
 dividere: haec populo copia grata fuit.
 pace domi facta signum posuere Perennae,
 quod sibi defectis illa ferebat opem.

It was night. Dido, blood-soaked and with filthy hair, seemed to stand before her sister's bed, saying, [641] "Run! Get out of this hateful house – don't wait!" and, following close upon these words, a wind rattled the doors with a groan. Anna jumped up and, having thrown herself quickly over the low windowsill, she cast herself down. Seized by fear (which itself made her daring), she ran away with her nightdress flying loose, just as a frightened doe runs from the howls of wolves. The horned river god Numicius is believed to have snatched her in his desirous waves and hidden her in his waters. Meanwhile, raising a great commotion, the locals searched for Sidonian Anna in the fields. They found her footprints and tracks. [651] When they came to the banks of Numicius, there were marks on the banks; the river, knowing the truth, smoothed his calm waters. Anna herself seemed to say, "I am a nymph of placid Numicius. Because I am hiding in his unfailing stream, I am called Anna Perenna." From then on the people happily picnicked in the fields they had searched, and celebrated themselves and the day with plentiful wine.

3.657

Some people think that she is the moon, because she fills the year with months; others say that she is Themis, and still others think she is the Inachian Cow. Anna, you will also find those who say you are a nymph, the daughter of Azan, and that you provided Jupiter with his first nourishment. [661] The following story, which I will relate, also came to my ears, and it does not disagree with the true story. Long ago, the plebeians, lacking the protection of tribunes, seceded from the city and occupied the peak of the Mons Sacer. Soon, however, the food that they had brought with them ran out, as did the grain fit for human use. A certain Anna was a native of the suburban community of Bovillae; a poor old woman, but with great concern for others. With her white hair tied up in a light scarf, she made rustic loaves with her trembling hands. [671] She used to distribute the warm loaves among the people every morning, and her generosity was welcomed by the populace. When the conflict was resolved at Rome, they dedicated a statue to Perenna, because she brought them aid when they needed it.

nunc mihi, cur cantent, superest, obscena puellae, 675
 dicere; nam coeunt certaue probra canunt.
 nuper erat dea facta: venit Gradivus ad Annam,
 et cum seducta talia verba facit:
 ‘mense meo coleris, iunxi mea tempora tecum;
 pendet ab officio spes mihi magna tuo. 680
 armifer armiferae correptus amore Minervae
 uror, et hoc longo tempore volnus alo.
 effice, di studio similes coeamus in unum:
 conveniunt partes hae tibi, comis anus.’
 dixerat; illa deum promisso ludit inani, 685
 et stultam dubia spem trahit usque mora.
 saepius instanti ‘mandata peregrimus’ inquit;
 ‘evicta est: precibus vix dedit illa manus.’
 credit amans thalamosque parat. deducitur illuc
 Anna tegens voltus, ut nova nupta, suos. 690
 oscula sumpturus subito Mars aspicit Annam:
 nunc pudor elusum, nunc subit ira, deum.
 ridet amatorem carae nova diva Minervae,
 nec res hac Veneri gratior ulla fuit.
 inde ioci veteres obscenaque dicta canuntur, 695
 et iuvat hanc magno verba dedisse deo.
 praeteriturus eram gladios in principe fixos,
 cum sic a castis Vesta locuta focus:
 ‘ne dubita meminisse: meus fuit ille sacerdos;
 sacrilegae telis me petiere manus. 700
 ipsa virum rapui simulacraque nuda reliqui:
 quae cecidit ferro, Caesaris umbra fuit.’
 ille quidem caelo positus Iovis atria vidit,
 et tenet in magno templa dicata foro;
 at quicumque nefas ausi, prohibente deorum 705
 numine, polluerant pontificale caput,
 morte iacent merita: testes estote, Philippi,
 et quorum sparsis ossibus albet humus.
 hoc opus, haec pietas, haec prima elementa fuerunt
 Caesaris, ulcisci iusta per arma patrem. 710

3.675

Now I still have to relate why girls sing ribald songs, for they assemble to sing verses that are positively obscene. When Anna had recently become a goddess, Gradivus came to her and, having pulled her aside, spoke these words: “You are worshipped in my month, and I have shared my time with you. I hang great hopes on your help. [681] I am seized with love for the warrior Minerva – I am a warrior myself, after all! I am burning, and I have nursed this wound for a long time. Help us two like-minded gods come together as one. Benevolent lady, you are the right person for this service.” After he said this, she deceived the god with empty promises, and abused his foolish hope with disingenuous delay. When he questioned her too often and eagerly, at last she reported, “I have carried out your wishes. You have won her! At last she has surrendered her hand to your prayers.” The infatuated god believed her, and prepared a marriage bed. Hiding her face, Anna herself was led there, pretending to be the bride. [691] When he was about to kiss her, Mars suddenly recognized Anna, and first shame, then anger seized the humiliated god. But the new goddess laughed at the lover of cherished Minerva, and no other joke was so entertaining to Venus as this one. This is why hoary jokes and bawdy songs are sung, because it was amusing how she tricked that powerful god.

3.697

I would have passed by the swords driven into the Princeps, except that Vesta admonished me from her pure hearth: “Without a doubt, tell the story. He was my priest, and those sacrilegious hands were attacking *me*. [701] I myself saved the man and left behind only an image of him. Whatever fell to the sword was only the shade of Caesar. The real Caesar, transported to heaven, looks on the halls of Jupiter, and has a temple dedicated in the great forum. But those who, against the will of the gods, committed blasphemy and defiled the pontifex, are now laid low by a well-deserved death. I call you to witness, Philippi, and you who whiten its landscape with your scattered bones. This was the duty, this was the devotion, this was the first education of Caesar: to avenge his father in righteous warfare.

16. C F

postera cum teneras aurora refecerit herbas,
 Scorpios a prima parte videndus erit.

17. D LIB · AGON · NP

tertia post Idus lux est celeberrima Baccho:

Bacche, fave vati, dum tua festa cano.
 nec referam Semelen, ad quam nisi fulmina secum 715

Iuppiter adferret, †parvus inermis eras†;
 nec, puer ut posses maturo tempore nasci,
 expletum patrio corpore matris opus.

Sithonas et Scythicos longum narrare triumphos
 et domitas gentes, turifer Inde, tuas. 720

tu quoque Thebanae mala praeda tacebere matris,
 inque tuum furiis acte Lycurge genus.

ecce libet subitos pisces Tyrrhenaque monstra
 dicere; sed non est carminis huius opus. 725

carminis huius opus causas exponere quare
 vitisator populos ad sua liba vocet.

ante tuos ortus arae sine honore fuerunt,
 Liber, et in gelidis herba reperta focis.

te memorant, Gange totoque Oriente subacto,
 primitias magno seposuisse Iovi: 730

cinnama tu primus captivaque tura dedisti
 deque triumphato viscera tosta bove.

nomine ab auctoris ducunt libamina nomen
 libaque, quod sanctis pars datur inde focis; 735

liba deo fiunt, sucis quia dulcibus idem
 gaudet, et a Baccho mella reperta ferunt.

ibat harenoso satyris comitatus ab Hebro
 (non habet ingratos fabula nostra iocos);

iamque erat ad Rhodopen Pangaeaque florida ventum:
 aeriferae comitum concrepuere manus. 740

ecce novae coeunt volucres tinnitibus actae,
 quosque movent sonitus aera, sequuntur apes;

colligit errantes et in arbore claudit inani
 Liber, et inventi praemia mellis habet.

ut satyri levisque senex tetigere saporem 745

[711] When the next day's dawn has refreshed the tender greens, the leading side of the Scorpion will be visible.

3.713

The third day after the Ides carries great honor for Bacchus. Bacchus, indulge your poet, while I sing your celebrations. I will not tell the story of Semele. If Jupiter had not brought lightning to her, you, Bacchus would have been unarmed and small. Nor will I relate how you were able to be born at full term, with the work of your mother completed in your father's body. It would take too long, incense-bearing Indus, to narrate Bacchus' triumphs over the Sithones and Scythians and all your conquered peoples. [721] You also are not under discussion, the evil prize of a Theban mother, nor you, Lycurgus, driven by delusions to attack your own family. Obviously, I would like to describe the Tyrrhenian marvels, men turned to fish, but that is not my objective in this poem. My objective in this poem is to illustrate the reasons why the Planter of Vines summons people to his cakes. Before your advent, the altars were neglected, Liber, and grass grew on cold hearths. But they say that, after you subjugated the Ganges and all the rest of the east, you set aside the first fruits for great Jupiter. [731] You were first to dedicate cinnamon and plundered incense, and the roasted innards of a bull that had been paraded in triumph. Libations, as well as cakes (*liba*), take their names from their inventor, because part of them is sacrificed on the sacred hearths. Cakes are made for the god, because he savors sweet juices, and they say he discovered honey. He was traveling from the sandy Hebrus accompanied by satyrs (our story does not have off-putting jokes); they went to Rhodope and blossoming Pangaeus. The cymbals in his companions' hands crashed together. [741] There, the noise caused unfamiliar creatures – bees – to gather in a swarm, and, flying, follow the clamor made by the cymbals. Liber collected those aimless animals and housed them in a hollow tree, and was rewarded

quaerebant flavos per nemus omne favos.
 audit in exesa stridorem examinis ulmo,
 aspicit et ceras dissimulatque senex;
 utque piger pandi tergo residebat aselli,
 adplicat hunc ulmo corticibusque cavis. 750
 constitit ipse super ramoso stipite nixus,
 atque avide trunco condita mella petit:
 milia crabronum coeunt, et vertice nudo
 spicula defigunt oraque sima notant.
 ille cadit praeceps et calce feritur aselli, 755
 inclamatque suos auxiliumque rogat.
 concurrunt satyri turgentiaque ora parentis
 rident: percusso claudicat ille genu.
 ridet et ipse deus, limumque inducere monstrat;
 hic paret monitis et linit ora luto. 760
 melle pater fruitur, liboque infusa calenti
 iure repertori splendida mella damus.
 femina cur praesit, non est rationis opertae:
 femineos thyrsos concitat ille choros.
 cur anus hoc faciat, quaeris? vinosior aetas 765
 †haec est et† gravidae munera vitis amat.
 cur hedera cincta est? hedera est gratissima Baccho;
 hoc quoque cur ita sit, discere nulla mora est.
 Nysiadas nymphas puerum quaerente noverca
 hanc frondem cunis opposuisse ferunt. 770
 restat ut inveniam quare toga libera detur
 Lucifero pueris, candide Bacche, tuo:
 sive quod ipse puer semper iuvenisque videris,
 et media est aetas inter utrumque tibi;
 seu quia tu pater es, patres sua pignora, natos, 775
 commendant curae numinibusque tuis:
 sive, quod es Liber, vestis quoque libera per te
 sumitur et vitae liberioris iter:
 an quia, cum colerent prisci studiosius agros,
 et faceret patrio rure senator opus, 780
 et caperet fascas a curvo consul aratro,
 nec crimen duras esset habere manus,
 rusticus ad ludos populus veniebat in Urbem –

with the discovery of honey. After the satyrs and the bald old man tasted it, they were searching the entire grove for golden honeycombs. The old man heard the buzzing of a swarm in a rotted-out elm, and he spotted the honeycomb, but he pretended not. And while he was lazing on his donkey's crooked back, he steered his mount toward the elm's hollow trunk. [751] He stood up, putting his weight on the stump's branches, and greedily reached for the honey hidden in the trunk. But thousands of hornets swarmed out, and they drove their stingers into his bald head, and they marked up his snub-nosed face. He fell headfirst and the donkey kicked him, while he called for help from his companions. The satyrs came running and laughed at their father's swollen face; he limped on his injured knee. Even the god himself laughed, and he showed Silenus how to smear himself with mud. Silenus complied and spread mud on his face. [761] Father Liber loves honey, so we duly offer glistening honey, poured over warm cakes, to its discoverer. As to why women preside here, it is not a secret: Bacchus drives bands of women with his thyrsus. You might ask why an old woman would do this. Because that time of life is more 'spirited', and enamored of the gifts of the bountiful vine. And why is she crowned with ivy? Ivy is most delightful to Bacchus, and it takes no time to learn why this is true. They say that the nymphs of Mount Nysa used these leaves to cover his cradle, when his stepmother was hunting for the boy.

3.771

[771] Bright-shining Bacchus, I still have to reveal why the *toga libera* is given to boys on your festival day. Perhaps because you yourself always look like a young man, or even a boy, and your age is midway between these two. Or perhaps it is because you are a father, and fathers entrust their treasured sons to the care of your divinity. Or perhaps, because you are 'Liber', they take up the *toga libera* – and the path to a freer life – under your auspices. Or maybe because, long ago, when people farmed the fields more assiduously – even senators would work their family's acre, [781] even consuls would take up office from their curved plows, and it was no crime to have calloused hands – back then, the local

sed dis, non studiis ille dabatur honor:
 luce sua ludos uvae commentor habebat, 785
 quos cum taedifera nunc habet ille dea—
 ergo ut tironem celebrare frequentia possit,
 visa dies dandae non aliena togae?
 mite caput, pater, huc placataque cornua vertas,
 et des ingenio vela secunda meo. 790
 itur ad Argeos (qui sint, sua pagina dicet)
 hac, si commemini, praeteritaque die.
 stella Lycaoniam vergit declinis ad Arcton
 Miluus: haec illa nocte videnda venit.
 quid dederit volucris, si vis cognoscere, caelum, 795
 Saturnus regnis a Iove pulsus erat;
 concitat iratus validos Titanas in arma,
 quaeque fuit fatis debita temptat opem.
 matre satus Terra, monstrum mirabile, taurus
 parte sui serpens posteriore fuit: 800
 hunc triplici muro lucis incluserat atris
 Parcarum monitu Styx violenta trium.
 viscera qui tauri flammis adolenda dedisset,
 sors erat aeternos vincere posse deos.
 immolat hunc Briareus facta ex adamante securi, 805
 et iamiam flammis exta daturus erat:
 Iuppiter alitibus rapere imperat: attulit illi
 miluus, et meritis venit in astra suis.

(18. E C) 19. F QVING · NP 20. G C 21. H C 22. A N
 una dies media est, et fiunt sacra Minervae,
 nomina quae iunctis quinque diebus habent. 810
 sanguine prima vacat, nec fas concurrere ferro:
 causa, quod est illa nata Minerva die.
 altera tresque super rasa celebrantur harena:
 ensibus exsertis bellica laeta dea est.
 Pallada nunc pueri teneraeque orate puellae; 815
 qui bene placarit Pallada, doctus erit.
 Pallade placata lanam mollire puellae
 discant et plenas exonerare colos.
 illa etiam stantes radio percurrere telas

farmers would come into the city for the games, but they gave primacy to the gods, not to their entertainment. On his feast day, the inventor of grapes hosted games, which he now shares with the torch-bearing goddess. Therefore, does this day not seem suitable for conferring togas, so that the assembled multitude could crowd around the new citizens? Father Liber, turn your kind attention (and your harmless horns) this way, and give a favorable wind to the sails of my work.

3.791

[791] The procession of the Argei (their own page will reveal who they are) occurs on this day, and the previous one, if I remember rightly. The retreating constellation of the Kite, which becomes visible tonight, approaches the Lycaonid Bear. If you want to know what event admitted the Kite into the sky, Jupiter expelled Saturn from his kingdom, and Saturn, enraged, urged the mighty Titans to war. He tried whatever aid was promised by fate. An astonishing monster was born from Mother Earth: a bull in the front, and a dragon in the back. [801] After an admonition from the three Parcae, the powerful Styx had confined it behind a triple wall within a dark grove. There was a prophecy that whoever would sacrifice this bull's viscera on the flames would be able to overthrow the eternal gods. Briareus sacrificed the bull with an adamant axe, and he was just about to consign the viscera to the flames, when Jupiter ordered birds to snatch them away. The Kite delivered them to him, and thus earned its ascent to the stars.

3.809

After an interval of one day, it is time for the rites of Minerva, which take their name from the five days joined together. [811] The first day has no bloodshed, and it is not permitted to engage in combat, the reason being that Minerva was born on that day. The second day and the three after that are celebrated on the groomed sand, since the war goddess revels in unsheathed swords. Now, young girls and boys, pray to Pallas, because whoever gains Pallas' favor will learn many things. When Pallas has been propitiated, the girls should learn to make wool soft and to unburden their full distaffs. She also teaches them to run their shuttles through the

erudit et rarum pectine denset opus.	820
hanc cole, qui maculas laesis de vestibus aufers:	
hanc cole, velleribus quisquis aena paras.	
nec quisquam invita faciet bene vincula plantae	
Pallade, sit Tychio doctior ille licet:	
et licet antiquo manibus conlatus Epeo	825
sit prior, irata Pallade mancus erit.	
vos quoque, Phoebæa morbos qui pellitis arte,	
munera de vestris pauca referte deae.	
nec vos, turba fere censu fraudata, magistri,	
spernite (discipulos attrahit illa novos),	830
quique moves caelum, tabulamque coloribus uris,	
quique facis docta mollia saxa manu.	
mille dea est operum: certe dea carminis illa est;	
si mereor, studiis adsit amica meis.	
Caelius ex alto qua mons descendit in aequum,	835
hic, ubi non plana est, sed prope plana via,	
parva licet videas Captæ delubra Minervæ,	
quæ dea natali coepit habere suo.	
nominis in dubio causa est. capitale vocamus	
ingenium sollers: ingeniosa dea est.	840
an quia de capitis fertur sine matre paterni	
vertice cum clipeo prosiluisse suo?	
an quia perdomitis ad nos captiva Faliscis	
venit? et hoc signo littera prisca docet.	
an quod habet legem, capitis quæ pendere poenas	845
ex illo iubeat furta recepta loco?	
a quacumque trahis ratione vocabula, Pallas,	
pro ducibus nostris aegida semper habe.	
23. B TVBIL · NP	
summa dies e quinque tubas lustrare canoras	
admonet et forti sacrificare deae.	850
nunc potes ad solem sublato dicere voltu	
‘hic here Phrixææ vellera pressit ovis.’	
seminibus tostis sceleratæ fraude novercæ	
sustulerat nullas, ut solet, herba comas:	
mittitur ad tripodas certa qui sorte reportet	855

upright warp and to pack the loose threads with a comb. [821] Worship her, everyone who removes stains from damaged clothing; worship her, whoever prepares bronze tubs for fleece. And no one will make good shoes if Pallas is against them, even if they are more skilled than Tychius. Or even if they surpass legendary Epeus in engineering skill, they will fail when Pallas is angry with them. And you also, you who drive off diseases with Phoebus' art, present a few gifts to the goddess from your income. And you also, teachers, a group practically defrauded of your wealth, do not neglect her; she brings you new students. [831] And you who use the chisel, and you who burn tablets with colors, and you who shape stones with a skilled hand. She is the goddess of a thousand arts, certainly the goddess of poetry. If I deserve it, I hope she will be a friendly patron to my work.

3.835

At the point where the high Caelian hill descends into a level space, here, where the road is not quite flat, you could see the small shrine of Captive Minerva; the goddess gained possession of the place on her birthday. The reason behind the name is uncertain. We call clever ingenuity 'capital', and she is an ingenious goddess. [841] Or is she called *Capta* Minerva because they say she burst forth motherless from the top of her father's *head*, clad in armor? Or is it because she came to us as a *captive* from the conquered Falisci? An ancient inscription on her statue makes this claim. Or is it because she has a law that requires the *capital* penalty for burglaries from that temple? Pallas, whatever the reason behind that title, may you always protect our leaders with your aegis.

3.849

The last of the five days demands that we purify the sounding trumpets and sacrifice to the heroic goddess. [851] Today you could say, with your face turned up toward the sun, "Yesterday he rode on the back of Phrixus' sheep." Since the seed corn had been baked (a plot of the wicked stepmother), the crops did not produce sprouts as expected. A messenger was sent to the Delphic tripods to report, via an infallible oracle, what

- quam sterili terrae Delphicus edat opem.
 hic quoque corruptus cum semine nuntiat Helles
 et iuvenis Phrixi funera sorte peti.
 usque recusantem cives et tempus et Ino
 compulerunt regem iussa nefanda pati; 860
 et soror et Phrixus, velati tempora vittis,
 stant simul ante aras iunctaque fata gemunt.
 aspicit hos, ut forte pependerit aethere, mater
 et ferit attonita pectora nuda manu,
 inque draconigenam nimbis comitantibus urbem 865
 desilit, et natos eripit inde suos;
 utque fugam capiant, aries nitidissimus auro
 traditur: ille vehit per freta longa duos.
 dicitur infirma cornu tenuisse sinistra
 femina, cum de se nomina fecit aquae. 870
 paene simul periit, dum volt succurrere lapsae,
 frater, et extentas porrigit usque manus.
 flebat, ut amissa gemini consorte pericli,
 caeruleo iunctam nescius esse deo.
 litoribus tactis aries fit sidus; at huius 875
 pervenit in Colchas aurea lana domos.
- (24. C Q · REX · C · F) (25. D C) 26. E C
 tres ubi Luciferos veniens praemiserit Eos,
 tempora nocturnis aequa diurna ferēs.
- (27. F NP) (28. G C) (29. H C) 30. A C
 inde quater pastor saturos ubi clauserit haedos,
 canuerint herbae rore recente quater, 880
 Ianus adorandus cumque hoc Concordia mitis
 et Romana Salus Araque Pacis erit.
31. B C
 Luna regit menses: huius quoque tempora mensis
 finit Aventino Luna colenda iugo.

remedy Apollo prescribed for the fruitless earth. This messenger, corrupted just like the seed, announced that the oracle demanded the deaths of young Phrixus and Helle. The citizens, and Ino, and the passage of time compelled the king to submit to these abominable commands, though he long resisted them. [861] In the end Phrixus and his sister, crowned with fillets, stood together before the altars and mourned their common tragedy. Their mother, who happened to be in the sky above, noticed this, and, devastated, struck her bare breast with her hand. Wreathed in clouds, she dove into the dragon-born city, and from there snatched up her children. To enable their escape, she gave them a gold-gleaming Ram, which would carry the two children over the wide seas. They say the girl had an insecure, left-handed grip on the horn, and gave her name to the water that way. [871] Her brother nearly died as well, when he tried to save his fallen sister, and stretched out his hands as far as they would go. He wept to have lost his fellow-sufferer in this double disaster, not knowing that she was married to the blue sea god. The Ram became a constellation after it touched down on the shore, but its golden fleece reached the halls of Colchis.

3.877

After the arrival of Dawn has sent forth the Morning Star three times, you will have daytime hours equal to nighttime. Then four days after that, when the shepherds have penned their full-fed goats four times, and the grass has sparkled four times with fresh dew, [881] it will be time to worship Janus and merciful Concord, and Roman Well-being, and the Altar of Peace. The moon measures the months, and she also concludes the span of this month with her worship on the Aventine Hill.

COMMENTARY

Book 1

1.1–26 The Proem The narrator opens with a proem to state his objectives for the poem and invoke divine aid. His stated objective to sing the *causae* connects the work from the start with the Callimachean tradition of elegy; as will be observed throughout, the *Fasti* draws heavily on Callimachus' *Aetia*; the word *causa* is used programmatically as a translation of *αἴτιον*. The genre of the *Fasti* is a complicated question (see Introduction §3), but opening with such strongly Callimachean language makes a statement of what the author intended it to be, emphasizing the self-conscious separation of elegy from the conventions of epic. Epic poems are long and bloated, with weighty material and overblown imagery; elegy, by contrast, is shorter, lighter, pithier, and less serious. See Miller (1992), Hinds (1987) 18–23.

In addition to marking what the *Fasti* is (namely, elegiac), the narrator also makes a statement of what the *Fasti* is not. Here at the opening the narrator includes a *recusatio*, a poetic convention in which a poet ostentatiously refuses to write a particular sort of poem (which might be expected of him) and announces his intention to write something different. Here he declines the more respected endeavor of writing epic and elects instead to write elegies. The *recusatio* declining to engage with martial material is typical of Ovid's poetry: each of the first three books of the *Fasti* includes a *recusatio* statement near the beginning (2.9–16, 3.1–10). Ovid consistently presents his persona as someone who did not serve in the military (and takes a defensive attitude toward it); *Am.* 1.9 presents an extended comparison between the exertions of military service and the undertaking of a love affair. Near the end of *Am.* 1.9, several great warriors (Achilles, Hector, Agamemnon, and Mars) who have been subject to love are also mentioned, implying that the power of love is greater than that of war.

1.3 Caesar Germanicus: Germanicus was the son of Drusus (Drusus being Tiberius' brother), a popular military leader and prominent member of the Julio-Claudian family. He was adopted by his uncle Tiberius and might have succeeded him as emperor, if he had not died in 19 CE. (He remained an important link in the Julio-Claudian family as father of Gaius, brother of Claudius, and grandfather of Nero.) Though most famous in the military and political realms, Germanicus made a foray into the intellectual world by

attempting to adapt Aratus' *Phaenomena* (a poem on astronomy) into Latin. The *Fasti* dedication is not only a nod to Germanicus' intellectual endeavors in a field relevant to the present work, but also ostentatious praise of an influential member of the ruling dynasty, with the possible aim of obtaining recall from exile.

Tr. 2.549–552 states that the *Fasti* is dedicated to Augustus, so the dedication here to Germanicus is taken as evidence that Ovid revised this section after Augustus' death in 14 CE (see Introduction §1, Green 15–24); the proem is one of the passages where the revisions are most clearly observable. For more on Germanicus in the *Fasti*, see Herbert-Brown's (1994) chapter 'Germanicus'.

1.4 the journey of my uncertain ship The narrator will invoke the metaphor of poetry as a ship at various points throughout the *Fasti*, especially at the beginnings and endings of books (1.466, 2.3, 2.864, 3.790, 4.18, 4.729–730). This reiterated nautical theme is tied to observations of the stars, which are essential navigational information for seafarers; in this vein, the narrator often speaks of setting constellations "sinking into water", (see 1.314n) implying the constellations are observed from open water. The ship metaphor has a long history in classical poetry going back to Pindar; for examples see Fedeli (1985) *ad* 3.3.22.

The idea that the poem's astronomical information may come from a nautical source (or be intended for use in a nautical context) raises the issue that astronomical data such as the risings and settings of stars vary by location (esp. latitude). Some castigate Ovid for inaccuracies in the risings and settings of constellations (cf. 2.245n), but it is possible that the information in the *Fasti* comes from a source based in a different geographical location.

1.5–6 dedicated to you Typically the proem of a long poem would invoke a muse or other patron god to guide the work; here the narrator invokes Germanicus as his patron, relying on Germanicus' *numen* or divine power (on *numen* see 2.642n). This recalls the proem of Verg. *G.* 1.24–42, in which Verg. invokes many celestial gods, then invokes Octavian as a future god. The device of praising the emperor in place of a muse is used with obvious sarcasm by Lucan 1.33–66. On Muses in the *Fasti*, see 1.657n.

1.8 annotations The word *notata* suggests annotations on a physical calendar, such as the *Fasti Praenestini* (see Introduction §2). Although *dies* is typically masculine, it can be feminine when (as here) it refers to a holiday.

1.10 your father i.e. Tiberius, adoptive father of Germanicus and successor to Augustus. Tiberius, who incidentally was born in the same year as Ovid,

was Livia's son and Augustus' stepson, a successful military leader but not a patron of the arts as Augustus was. References to Tiberius in the *Fasti* are generally associated with post-exilic revisions to the poem, since the revisions are thought to be motivated by Augustus' death and Tiberius' new position as the primary person to recall Ovid from exile. On the revisions, see Green 15–23. For other mentions of Tiberius, see 1.531–6, 1.614, 1.637–646.

your grandfather i.e. Augustus, adoptive father of Tiberius. Augustus was the head of state when Ovid began work on the *Fasti*, before his exile, and he is a major figure throughout the *Fasti* (as well as at the conclusion of the *Met.*, 15.861–870). The laudatory language applied to Augustus as *dux* carries over to his successors and family, especially Tiberius, Livia, Germanicus, and Julius Caesar. The praise of Augustus at the beginning of *Fasti* 2 is thought to have been originally written as the opening dedication of the poem, but was displaced by a new dedication when Augustus died.

1.12 your brother Drusus i.e. Drusus, biological son of Tiberius.

1.13 Caesar Within the *Fasti* the title *Caesar* is used to refer to at least four individuals (Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, and Germanicus) and in many places (as here) it is not perfectly clear which Caesar he means. See Herbert-Brown (2011).

1.17 be benevolent toward me On Ovid's exile, see Introduction §1.

1.19–20 the discerning prince ... the Clarian god The intellectual accomplishments of Augustus and his successors are stressed by their biographers. Augustus prominently associated himself with “the Clarian god”, i.e. Apollo (Suet. *Aug.* 70). Suet. *Tib.* 70–71 notes Tiberius' erudition: his training in oratory and languages, his poetry composition, and his knowledge of myth. See however Knox (2004) and Cowan (2009) on Tiberius' oppressive attitude toward intellectuals and writers during his time in power. The narrator here describes his hand as shaking from nervousness.

1.23 an impulse toward my arts i.e., when he attempted to compose verse, again stressing the intellectual accomplishments of Augustus and his successors. Suet. *Aug.* 85 reports that Augustus attempted to compose a tragedy called *Ajax*, but eventually gave up; Martial's epigrams also preserve a few poems attributed to Augustus (see Hollis (2007) 282–86. Suet. *Tib.* 70 reports that Tiberius composed poetry, and Germanicus notably translated Aratus' *Phaenomena*.

1.25 govern a poet's reins The same request is addressed to Germanicus in *Pont.* 4.8.67. *Vates* is a notoriously difficult word to translate. Newman (1967) gives a detailed analysis of the word's usage in Augustan poetry. To

summarize which: while Latin authors may apply the word to priests, poets, and prophets, Augustan poets generally use it to signify people who write poetry in a public religious context, particularly in connection with the state religion and Augustus himself. In the *Fasti* the narrator frequently applies the word to himself, using it to stress his direct connection to the gods and compliance with the Augustan religious program (see Newman (1967) 105–106). The narrator also applies the word to famous poets and seers from myth, such as Proteus (1.371) and Carmentis (1.585, 5.97, 6.535, 6.537). Cf. in the *Met.* Tiresias (*Met.* 3.348–527), Orpheus (*Met.* 10.12–143), Amphiarus (*Met.* 9.407), and the Sibyl of Cumae (*Met.* 14.129). Newman (1967) 106–108 argues that in the *Met.* the word *vates* is used much less reverently than it is in the *Fasti*.

1.27 the founder of the city i.e. Romulus. Here the narrator outlines various calendrical conventions that are helpful in interpreting the Roman *fasti*, especially a posted version. While explaining these conventions (including the names of the months and the formal designations of individual dates), the narrator repeatedly stresses Romulus' attempt to establish a calendar aligned to the solar year, which had to be amended by his successor because it was so far off (cf. 3.100, 3.121, 3.152): Romulus' incompetence is marked out for ridicule. On the depiction of Romulus in the *Fasti*, see 2.133n, 2.365n. The narrator also sets up a contrast, common in ancient authors, between Romulus as the belligerent warrior king and Numa as the peaceable priest king. On Numa in the *Fasti*, see 3.151n. On the historical changes to the Roman calendar, see 2.48n, 3.76–166, Introduction §2.

1.29 Romulus Although he previously addressed Germanicus, the narrator will casually shift to different addressees throughout the work.

1.33–4 enough time for a baby Many ancient authors refer to ten months as the conventional length of a pregnancy. This may be because ten lunar cycles (rather than calendar months) amount to 40 weeks, that is, the length of a typical pregnancy. It is also possible that this convention arises from the custom of inclusive counting, and “ten months” described by the narrator is intended to signify nine months (the narrator frequently uses inclusive counting when counting the intervals between specific days within the *Fasti*). Complicating the issue, Ovid also occasionally describes the expected length of a pregnancy as nine months (e.g. *Met.* 10.296, 10.479). For more information, see Robinson 284. Ultimately, it is probably futile to expect more than a rough estimate from ancient authors in this calculation, since the length of a pregnancy can vary unpredictably, even if one knows the exact date of conception, which is usually not the case.

1.35–6 a display of mourning This custom is attested by e.g. Plut. *Num.* 12.2, *Ant.* 31.3; Sen. *Ep.* 63.13.

1.37 kingly attire A *trabea* is a formal garment of early Rome particularly associated with the kings. Quirinus is the name given to Romulus after his apotheosis (cf. 2.475–512, *Met.* 14.805–828). Within the *Fasti*, the names Romulus and Quirinus are used essentially interchangeably.

1.39 that of Venus i.e. April; the narrator spuriously derives *Aprilis* from Aphrodite.

1.40 the origin of his people Venus was the mother of Aeneas; Rhea Silvia (mother of Romulus) was a descendant of Aeneas through the Alban Kings.

1.41 the elders The narrator derives *Maius* from *maiores*, again spuriously. **the youth** The narrator spuriously derives *Iunius* from *iuvenes*.

1.42 named numerically i.e. Quintilis, Sextilis, September, etc.; see Introduction §2.

1.44 added two months i.e. January and February. On the origin of the name *Februarius*, see 2.19–28.

1.46 not every day Lucifer is the morning star, used metonymically throughout the *Fasti* for ‘dawn’ or ‘day’. This is the first star mentioned in the *Fasti*. See Introduction §2 on the narrator’s use of the astronomical calendar; cf. 1.297–310.

1.47–54 Calendar notations In the following passage, the narrator elucidates the most common abbreviations that marked a publicly posted calendar: N(efastus), F(astus), EN(dotercisus), C(omitialis). The *fasti* are days on which it is permitted to conduct legal business; on *nefasti* days it is forbidden. The letters A–H count the *nundinae*, the market day cycle. The three dividing days each month are the K(alendae), Non(ae), and Idus/Eidus.

1.47 three words i.e. *do*, *dico*, and *addico*, formulaic words necessary to make legal pronouncements. Note that the words *fastus* and *nefastus* are derived from the verb *fari*, to speak. On the use of these formulas, see Hannah (2005) 101–102, Varro *Ling.* 6.30, Macrobian *Sat.* 1.16.14. A note explaining the terms *dies fasti*, *nefasti*, *comitiales*, and *calendae* is included in the *Fasti Praenestini* on 1–6 January.

1.49 you should not assume Perfect subjunctive (syncopated) as a negative command.

1.50 may be *fastus* later on i.e., an endotercisus (EN) day. For a detailed investigation on the meaning of NP, not elucidated by the narrator, see Michels (1967) 74–76.

1.55 Ausonian i.e. Italian.

1.57 each of these i.e. the Kalends, Ides, and Nones which Michels (1967) 19n26 calls ‘dividing days’.

1.58 dark day On Roman calendars, certain ‘dark days’ might be marked literally with a dark pebble, whereas good days could be marked with a white pebble (e.g. Mart. 12.34.5–7, Pers. 2.1, Plin. *Ep.* 6.11.3, Catull. 107.6, Hor. *Carm.* 1.36.10). See Scullard (1981) 45–46.

1.59–60 the Romans suffered devastating losses Livy 6.1.9 reports the origin of these ‘dark days’: the 18th of July was the anniversary of the Roman losses at both the Cremera (477 BCE, on which see 2.195–242n, especially regarding Ovid’s statement of the date) and the Allia (387 BCE). The loss at the Allia was foreshadowed by an unacceptable sacrifice on the day after the Ides, but the Romans went into battle regardless, and their loss led their opponents, the Senones, to invade Rome. Afterwards, the day after the Ides was considered ‘dark’ or ill-omened, and this idea was extended to include the day after the Kalends and the day after the Nones.

1.62 interrupt the flow of my work The narrator’s claim that he is required to painstakingly report calendrical events in order is only pretense. He clearly makes editorial decisions regarding what stories to include and how much attention to give to each story, and Newlands (1995) discusses how these decisions can undermine the official sentiment behind commemorations. In some of his aetiologies he claims to abandon editorial obligation (e.g. 3.544, *fabula proposito nulla tegenda meo*) and embraces multiple aetiologies to the point that the reader has no help in determining which, if any, of the multiple aetiologies might be the correct one; see 3.543n.

1.63 Janus All the books of the *Fasti* open with a discussion of the month’s name, and in each case (with the exception of book 2) the narrator personally interrogates the god whom he understands to be the month’s eponym. These monthly programmatic interviews are part of a larger conceit of the *Fasti*, in which the narrator regularly interviews gods and demigods for information on religious customs. On the narrator’s frequent consultations with gods within the *Fasti*, see Murgatroyd (2005) 27–32, Miller (1983). His discussion with Janus here is lengthier than his discussions with other gods, and includes far more questions.

auspicious year In describing a *faustum annum*, the narrator evokes the traditional greeting of ‘happy new year’, *annum novum faustum felicem*, which is often inscribed on oil lamps given as new year’s gifts (which often also include an image of Janus).

1.65–6 look backward Janus is typically depicted with a double face

that faces forward and backward, indicating his ability to see forward and backward in time. For images of Janus, see *LIMC* s.v. ‘Janus’. The double-faced aspect of Janus is crucial in the story of Carna at 6.113–128.

1.67 stand staunchly by *Dexter ades* is the same prayer the narrator addresses to Germanicus in 1.6.

1.69 Quirinus On Quirinus see 1.37n. Here the narrator poetically rephrases the formula *SPQR, Senatus Populusque Romanus*; cf. 2.127.

1.70 with your signal This is a reference to the famous Temple of Janus in the Forum; whether the doors of the temple were open or closed signaled whether Rome was officially at war or not. Augustus ostentatiously claimed to have closed the doors three times (*RG* 13, Suet. *Aug.* 22, Livy 1.19.2–3, Plut. *Num.* 20).

1.71 do what is right *Favete linguis* is a religious formula (ill-omened words were thought to threaten the validity of ceremonies, see Plin. *HN* 28.11); cf. Cic. *Div.* 2.40.83, Tib. 2.2.2, Hor. *Carm.* 3.1.2. It may mean either ‘speak only well-omened words’, or the more severe ‘be silent’; Robinson 408–409 outlines the debate in antiquity over the exact meaning of the phrase. The Greek equivalent is εὐφημεῖτε.

1.75 the sky The word *aether* is etymologically related to various words signifying heat or burning (e.g. *aestus*, αἴθω). In the ancient understanding of atmospherics, the word indicates the hot upper air as distinct from the cooler, lower *aer*.

scented fires The “scented fires” suggest cinnamon, incense, and other imported woods that make impressive sacrifices, but cf. 1.343n on *sabina herba*.

do you see how This is an odd construction, indirect statement as *ut* + subjv. as opposed to the typical acc. + inf. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.9.1–2: *vides ut alta stet nive candidum Soracte*.

1.76 Cilician saffron *spica Cilissa*, i.e. saffron.

1.77–8 stretches its flickering beam This suggests a flame rising high to indicate the presence of a benevolent god; cf. *Met.* 10.278–279 (Green *ad loc.*).

1.79 there is a procession *Ire* is an intransitive verb and not usually used in the passive voice. For comparable instances of intransitive verbs in the passive to indicate movement of a crowd, cf. 2.496, 2.724, 3.651, 3.791.

Tarpeian citadel Although the Tarpeian Rock is a notorious execution site in ancient Rome, there is no scholarly consensus today on which outcropping of the Capitoline is the landmark. *Mons Tarpeius* is an alternative

name for the Capitoline hill in general (Welch (2015) 35–36, Coarelli 30). On Tarpeia, see 1.260n.

1.81–2 the new *fasces* This couplet includes several signifiers of the inauguration of new magistrates: the *fasces* are the insignia of office provided to certain magistrates, the “purple” is the stripe on the toga worn by senators, and the ivory is the *sella curulis*, a special chair decorated with ivory in which certain magistrates conducted business. By Ovid’s time the consular new year (the date when new political offices were assumed) coincided with the civic new year on the Kalends of January, although this had not been the case in the early republic (Michels (1967) 98).

1.87 each time you return N.b. passive impv.

1.89–289 Interview with Janus This is the first of many episodes within the *Fasti* in which the narrator interviews gods to obtain detailed information about their cult practices (see Murgatroyd (2005) 27–32). This first episode recalls Callimachus’ encounter with Apollo in *Aetia* 1.21–22. The narrator does not use this direct connection to divine authority to (overtly) claim greater authority behind the facts he presents. In fact, at times his conversations with gods lead to greater confusion about what the true facts are, such as at 6.11–100, when Juno and Juventas compete to claim themselves as the origin of the month’s name. On mutually exclusive aetiologies, see 3.543n. On Callimacheanism, see 1.1n.

Janus is the god of doorways and the new year, with two faces pointing forward and backward. The narrator endeavors to identify Janus with a better-known Greek god, a practice that will be revisited throughout the *Fasti*, for example, when the narrator equates Venus with the minor Italian goddess Aprilis 4.85–98 (based on the similarity of the names Aprilis and Aphrodite, which are not etymologically related, Aprilis being derived from *aperio*). In the case of Janus, the narrator is stymied by the distinctive two-faced depiction of Janus, which he does not connect with any Greek god. Macrobian *Sat.* 1.9.1–16 speculates on possible equivalencies between Janus and Greek gods, connecting Janus to Apollo Thyraios (a patron of doorways). For other appearances of Janus, see *Met.* 14.320, *Plut. Num.* 19.6, *Verg. Aen.* 7.180, 12.198.

1.91 the reason This is the first appearance of the word *causa* since line 1. The narrator has promised to report the *causas*, and with this reiteration of that word he begins to fulfill that promise.

1.99 a key A key is a typical attribute of Janus as god of doorways; he is sometimes referred to as *claviger*. The word *claviger* can mean either ‘key-

carrying' (from *clavis*, *clavis*, f.) or 'club-carrying' (from *clava*, *clavae*, f.); in the first case it refers to Janus (1.228), in the second to Hercules (1.544, 4.68). Both characters occupy prominent positions in the *Fasti*. There is no metrical distinction between the epithets. Note that Janus is here also carrying a *baculum*.

1.101 hardworking poet On *vates*, see 1.25n.

1.103 Chaos The narrator connects Ianus to Chaos based on the assumption that both names are derived from words that mean 'to stand open': *hiare* for Ianus, *χάσκω* for Chaos.

primeval force On Chaos as the origin of the universe, see *Met.* 1.7, Hes. *Theog.* 116, Verg. *Ecl.* 6.31–4. While earlier authors (notably Hesiod) make Chaos an empty void in which the universe is created, Ovid makes Chaos a confused mass of mixed elements which separated into particular bodies (the ocean, land, sky, and ether), evoking the primordial separation of elements described by Lucr. 5.432–508.

1.119 security of the entire world Janus implies a connection between himself and a *ianitor*, the door guard at a Roman house.

1.127 for which reason I am called Janus Alongside *hiare*, the narrator also presents a derivation of Ianus from *ire*, 'to go'.

1.128 wheat cake A special cake called a *ianual* is given to Janus on 1 January (Fest. 93 L). Cf. 1.337–338, 2.535–538. On *far*, see 2.519n.

1.130 Patulcius, Clusius Patulcius is derived from *patere*, 'to stand open', and Clusius from *claudere*, 'to close'.

1.136 the private life *Lares* are tutelary gods of a household or a larger community. A lararium is a ceremonial fixture of a Roman home, in which Romans would worship the *Lares*. The narrator here uses *Lares* as metonymy for the family's private life, as other authors use *Lar* to mean 'home' (e.g. Mart. 1.70.2, Hor. *Carm. saec.* 39, Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.27, Apul. *Met.* 1.19; *Fasti* 3.242).

1.141 Hecate facing three directions Hecate is a chthonic goddess of witches and magic. She is associated with crossroads (*trivia*, a place where three roads meet), and worshipped as the 'triple goddess', who faces three ways for the three roads. She is also considered a 'triple goddess' as the chthonic manifestation of a deity who has counterparts on earth (Diana) and in heaven (Luna, the moon). Classical art depicting the 'triple goddess' (see *LIMC* s.v. 'Hekate') generally shows three women with their backs to each other (i.e. three bodies, as opposed to Janus, who is generally depicted with one body, with faces on the front and back of a single head).

1.147 I mustered my courage Over the course of the *Fasti* the narrator will have many conversations with different gods, but in this first such conversation he stresses his self-consciousness and discomfort.

I thanked the god Note the use of *grates* rather than *gratias*. *Grates* are thanks addressed to the gods, in contrast to *gratiae*, which are typically addressed to humans (L&S s.v. ‘grates’).

1.149–50 the new year On the question of when the new year is observed in different ancient cultures, see Introduction §2.

1.151–60 The spring 3.235–242 describes the arrival of spring, which echoes this passage in many ways.

1.155 the warm air *aera* is treated as a Greek loanword, and is given the Greek accusative ending *-a*.

1.157 a new swallow In the *Fasti* the narrator makes the swallow (*Progne*, 2.853–856) a symbol of spring, like robins in America, as the swallow is a migratory bird that avoids cold winters.

1.160 the renewal of the year The phrase *anni novitas* is an unusual formulation for ‘new year’, in contrast to the conventional *annus novus*.

1.162 two verses The narrator specifies that he and Janus are conversing in poetic verses, rather than in ordinary prose.

1.164 Phoebus i.e. Apollo, the sun.

the same beginning This circumlocution for the winter solstice is ornate, but not unparalleled (see Cic. *ND* 2.19, Varro *Ling.* 6.8). Although the word *bruma* is often used to mean winter generally, here it is used with the specific meaning of ‘the winter solstice’, which accords with its etymology (it is an abbreviated form of the word *brevissima*, i.e. the shortest day of the year; see Varro *Ling.* 6.8). Plin. *HN* 2.81, 18.221, Varro *Rust.* 1.28.2, *Ling.* 6.8, and Cic. *ND* 2.19 differentiate *bruma* (the winter solstice) from *solstitium* (the summer solstice), though *solstitium* is used for the winter solstice at Col. 7.3.11, 11.2.94.

1.165 closed to legal business i.e., *nefastus*, cf. 1.47. The statement that the first day is “not closed to legal business” runs contrary to what he reported at 1.73–74, but here he follows with a clarification that the courts (and other businesses) are only open a short window on this date: a token amount of work is performed to provide a favorable omen for the rest of the year. Col. 11.2.98 mentions this practice in an agricultural context.

1.171–2 to you first of all The practice of praying to Janus before other gods is also referenced at Cic. *ND* 2.67, Macrob. *Sat.* 1.9.9, Servius ad *Aen.* 7.610. For prayers that use this tradition, see Cato *Agr.* 134.2, Livy 8.9.6.

1.185–9 what about the dates ... the cash gifts The exchange of new year's gifts (*strena*) on the Kalends of January is mentioned in various sources, including Suet. *Aug.* 57, *Tib.* 34, *Calig.* 42, *Mart.* 8.33.11–12.

1.192 in this day and age As Green 97–98 outlines, it is conventional for Augustan authors (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 8.97–368, *Tib.* 2.5.25–38, *Prop.* 4.1.1–30 (Goold)) to laud Augustan Rome as “a synthesis of modern wealth and splendor with primitive, old-fashioned values.” Janus’ diatribe here (which may be more reflective of the character of Janus than the opinion of the narrator) lays stress on the contrast between the virtuous past and the degenerate present (cf. *Sal. Cat.* 5, *Livy Praef.* 9, *Hor. Carm.* 3.6). For more on archaic Rome’s idealized rusticity, see 3.179–196; cf. *Ars am.* 2.277–288.

1.193 reign of Saturn i.e., the Golden Age, when no one worked and there was no need for money; cf. 2.289n.

1.199 humble hut The *Casa Romuli* was an Iron Age hut on the Palatine maintained as a curiosity in classical Rome (Coarelli 132–33), a monument to the humble origins of their great statesman (similar to the Lincoln’s Log Cabin sites near Charleston, Il. and Lincoln City, In.). Janus’ statement that wealth was less crucial in Romulus’ time runs contrary to the statement at 3.179–196 that humble Romans in Romulus’ time were refused marriages by their rich neighbors.

1.201 his cramped shrine This is presented as a sign of poverty, but cf. the colossal chryselephantine statue of Zeus inside the temple at Olympia, a seated figure that reportedly would have taken the roof off the temple if he had stood up (Strabo 8.3.30), for which the exaggerated size of the statue in comparison to the temple signifies opulence.

1.202 thunderbolt of earthenware Earthenware decorative elements were common on early Italian and Etruscan temples, being cheaper and more obtainable than stone or metal. This symbol of the noble poverty of early Rome is referenced frequently, e.g. *Prop.* 4.1.5 (Goold), *Livy* 34.4.4, *Plin. HN* 34.34.4. Notable temples with such décor include the archaic temple of Capitoline Jupiter, the temple of Apollo at Veii, and the Capitol temple of Fortuna (Tuck (2021) 27–29, 32–36; cf. 1.581n).

1.203 where there are now gems On temples decorated with gems, see Augustus’ restoration of the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter at Suet. *Aug.* 30.4 (cf. *Cass. Dio* 51.22, *RG* 4.20, which describe the same restoration without specific reference to gems).

1.204 pasture their own sheep On the romanticization of Rome’s ‘noble savage’ days, cf. 3.179–186, 3.779–784.

1.208 a thin silver plate This is a reference to the mythical pre-monetary ‘good old days’ praised by the narrator at many places in the *Fasti*. Hor. *Carm.* 2.2 also uses silver plate as a sign of (potentially pernicious) opulence.

1.211 violent desire In Vergil, *cupido* often carries bad connotation, e.g. *dira cupido* from *Aen.* 6.373, 6.721, but in Ovid *Cupido* is usually the god Cupid.

1.215 someone whose *Quibus* appears in place of the expected *aliquibus* (“for some people, the belly swells...”). In certain grammatical contexts (clauses beginning with *si*, *nisi*, *num*, or *ne*) it is standard to replace forms of *aliquis* with forms of *quis*, but this is not one of those contexts.

excessive fluid i.e., people who suffer from edema.

1.221 bronze Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 1.35, in which a “handful of bronze” signifies wealth.

1.228 gatekeeper god On *claviger* see 1.99n.

1.230 marked with a ship *Asses* with Janus on the obverse and a ship’s prow on the reverse were common in the republican era (surviving examples date from 225 BCE through the end of the republic). Macrobius *Sat.* 1.7.22 also refers to this coin in connection to Saturn’s nautical arrival in Italy. His arrival in Italy by ship connects him to the colonists featured throughout the *Fasti*; see 2.444n, Introduction §5.

1.233–4 god with the sickle ... Tuscan river The god is Saturn; the river is the Tiber. Green *ad* 1.500 has a list of citations for ‘Etruscan Tiber’. Cf. “traveling” or “foreign” Tiber at 2.68, 3.524.

1.236 exiled from the celestial kingdom On succession myths, see 2.461n. The Saturnian age in Italy is identified with the Golden Age; cf. 2.289n.

1.242 sandy Tiber *Thybris* is an archaizing variant of Tiberis/Tibris and is common in Augustan poetry.

1.243–4 here where Rome stands now Cf. Evander’s tour of the Palatine at Verg. *Aen.* 8.306–369.

1.250 the last of the gods Cf. Astraea in Verg. *Ecl.* 4.6, *Met.* 1.149–150.

1.257 arcades i.e., an arcade joining two fora doubles as a temple to Janus; see Coarelli 113.

1.259 the god, stroking... This line is a near-quotation of *Aen.* 10.838.

1.260 Oebalian Tattius Titus Tattius, king of the Sabines, launched a war with Rome in response to the Roman rape of the Sabine Women (see 3.179–234). Oebalus is a mythic king of Sparta, the father of Tyndarus (husband of Leda). The epithet Oebalian here signifies ‘Sabine’, following a legend that Oebalus sent colonists to Italy (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.49). The unnamed

“inadequate guardian” is Tarpeia, a woman inside the Roman stronghold who admitted the Sabines, in some versions (as here) because she was bribed, in others because she fell in love with Tatius (Prop. 4.4.15–22 (Goold)), or was his daughter (Plut. *Rom.* 17.5), or for political reasons (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.38.3). Her name is a Roman byword for treachery (Livy 1.11.7–9, Plut. *Rom.* 17), although given that she was possibly one of the abducted Sabine women herself (the Romans ostensibly had to abduct women because there were no women in their society, although Livy 1.11.6 specifies that Tarpeia is the daughter of a Roman commander), her willingness to help the Sabines is understandable (see Wiseman (1983) 445). The Roman tradition of Tarpeia is thoroughly discussed by Welch (2015), who studies Tarpeia in the context of similar stories of ‘treasonous girls’ (see esp. Welch’s first chapter and appendix), although she gives little space to Ovid’s Tarpeia (pg. 200–202). The story of a woman who decides to aid an invading army to the disadvantage of her homeland is a common theme in Greek mythology sometimes known as ‘the helpful princess’; usually helpful princesses are killed by the invaders (e.g. Comaetho and Amphitryon, Scylla and Minos; cf Ariadne and Theseus at 3.460n).

1.261 bribed with bracelets *Capta* is a play on words, since she is helping capture the city, i.e., she is working for the captors, but she is the one who is *capta*.

1.264 fora *Forum* here is used in the sense of ‘marketplace’ or ‘public gathering space’, although in later periods it evokes a more formal setting that is officially designated for government or legal business, often with elaborate architecture.

1.265 they had reached The subject of *contigerat* is unclear. It is grammatically most natural to carry over the third person singular subject of a previous sentence (i.e., the *custos* in 1.261), although many interpret it to be Tatius from 1.260 (B&W 11, Green 124). Nagle 44 gives ‘the enemy’; Frazer gives ‘the foe’, emending the text to *contigerant* (following manuscript M). Whether one makes ‘the enemy’ or ‘Tatius’ or an unspecified ‘they’ the subject, the sense seems to be consistent.

jealous Saturnia i.e. Juno. Within Ovid’s works, Juno is typically cast as jealous and vindictive in relation to Jupiter’s mistresses and their sons; that issue does not appear to be operative in this case, however. Here Juno’s hostility toward Rome seems to be a continuation of her hostility toward Troy during the Trojan War, prompted by the judgment of Paris, transferred to Aeneas after his escape from Troy (as depicted in the *Aen.*), and apparently

preserved throughout the generations between Aeneas and Romulus (despite her professed reconciliation to the Romans at Verg. *Aen.* 12.808–828).

1.276 heaps of grain On *far* see 2.519n.

1.281 In peace I close my doors Cf. 1.70n.

1.290 from the calendar This is a reference to reading posted *fasti*; cf. 1.11.

1.291 the island i.e. the Tiber Island, cf. 2.194.

the son of Coronis i.e. Aesculapius; cf. 6.745–762, *Met.* 15.622–744.

1.296 this should be part On the incorporation of the astronomical calendar into the *fasti*, see Introduction §2.

1.295–310 Praise of astronomers The narrator’s praise of astronomers connects to his description of Julius Caesar’s calendrical reform at 3.155–166: Caesar is one of these exalted astronomers.

1.307–8 Ossa and Pelion The giants Otus and Ephialtes (the Aloids) were giants who attempted to invade the home of the gods by stacking the mountains Ossa, Pelion, and Olympus on top of one another (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7). According to Apollodorus, they died when Artemis tricked them into attacking each other. This conflict between giants and gods is separate from the Gigantomachy and Titanomachy (see 2.461n).

1.312 celestial dew Regarding “celestial” dew, the origin and nature of dew was long misunderstood; in the past it was believed to come from space or heavenly bodies, and to return to space after dawn. Cf. Cyrano de Bergerac’s *Voyage to the Moon*, in which the hero collects bottles full of dew, which is imagined to be lighter than air, and uses them to fly to the moon.

1.314 beneath the western horizon At several places in the *Fasti* the narrator implies that the earth is flat and surrounded by the river Ocean (with celestial bodies “traveling from one end of the earth to the other” and “sinking into Ocean”: 1.656, 2.78, 2.192, 3.406). Although educated Romans of Ovid’s time understood that the earth was spherical (as the narrator implies at other points, see 2.490n; Couprie (2011) explores the development of the ancients’ understanding of the cosmos), these suggestions of a flat earth evoke Homeric and Hesiodic cosmology in which personified heavenly bodies travel above a flat earth surrounded by Ocean, and setting constellations pass the water at the edge of earth. For the connection to the ship metaphor, see 1.4n.

1.315–6 dark clouds It is paradoxical to state that the rising of a constellation is confirmed by clouds which would prevent one from seeing the constellation. Regardless, Columella *Rust.* 11.2.97 agrees, marking the date of the Lyre’s rising with *tempestas varia*.

1.319 girded-up robe The term *succinctus* is used at 4.413, also in the context of priests conducting sacrifice. Cf. the Lares at 2.634.

may be the reason This is the first of many instances in the *Fasti* where the narrator presents multiple etymologies or aetiologies for a phenomenon and does not identify any particular explanation as definitive. Here he states a preference for one explanation (the last one), but he does not always endorse a preference. Some of these etymologies for *agonalia* are also provided by Varro *Ling.* 6.12. On multiple aetiologies, see 3.543n.

1.321–2 does not go on Here *Agonalia* is derived from ἀγών, ‘dispute’, or from *agone?*, ‘should I continue?’

1.327–8 apprehension From ἀγωνία, ‘agony, anguish’.

1.330 customary games i.e. the Olympics and other games, ἀγῶνες.

1.333 Rex On the Rex Sacrorum, see 2.21n.

1.334 the mate of the woolly sheep i.e. a ram.

1.337–48 Long ago The following passage describes ceremonies imagined in idealized rusticity; cf. 1.663–696, 2.361–368, 2.643–684.

1.337 grain On the ritual importance of *far*, see 2.519n.

1.339 Myrrh is often formed in droplets called ‘tears’; at *Met.* 10.501–502 Ovid provides an aetiology for myrrh as the tears of the tragic figure Myrrha.

1.341 costum Another aromatic plant.

1.342 stamens of purple crocus i.e. saffron.

1.343 Sabine juniper *Sabina herba* is a variety of juniper called savine, which gives off a scent when burned and is used as a non-imported (i.e. inexpensive) aromatic for offerings in Roman religion (Cato *Agr.* 70.1, Plin. *HN* 24.102, Prop. 4.3.58 (Goold)).

1.349–456 The origins of sacrifices From his description of rustic rituals with no animals sacrificed, the narrator transitions into a catalogue of common animal sacrifices and vignettes of how they came into practice. At *Met.* 15.111–121 Ovid likewise depicts sacrifice as retributive violence against an animal for past offenses; cf. 6.345–6.

1.357–8 their produce will be sprinkled The word order is very strange here.

1.363–80 Aristaeus The following story of Aristaeus and his bees is an encapsulation of Verg. *G.* 4.315–558. Cf. *Met.* 15.365–367. The prominent evocation of the *Georgics* here establishes the importance of the *Georgics* as a predecessor to the *Fasti*, and the importance of bees within rustic Roman life.

1.365 deep-blue mother i.e., his mother is a sea nymph.

1.376 how to recover The word *arte* has a broad semantic range and can describe various mundane skills and processes (cf. 2.292n), but it was used in 1.373 to refer to the magic by which Proteus changes shape, and Proteus' statement here suggests that he may give Aristaeus a magic spell to recover his bees.

1.385 Hyperion i.e. the sun. Hyperion is a Titan identified with the sun, but here Hyperion is identified as the twin of Diana (i.e. Apollo, not a Titan) in the following couplet. The narrator elides any distinction between these two characters.

1.388 Diana accepted a deer In Eur. *IA*, Artemis demands the sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia, but at the last minute Artemis saves Iphigenia by substituting a deer.

1.389 Sapaei The Sapaei are a Thracian people on the Propontis, and Mt. Haemus is also in Thrace. Cf. Plin. *HN* 4.40.

Trivia i.e. Hecate; see 1.141n.

1.391 upstanding guardian i.e. Priapus, the ithyphallic god, sculptures of whom were used as scarecrows in Roman gardens. Priapus frequently appears in Latin literature, either as a garden ornament (e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 1.8) or as a personified god (he is the primary antagonist of the pseudo-heroic journey in the *Satyricon*). His oversized genitals (see *LIMC* s.v. 'Priapos') are not only symbolic of masculinity and fertility, but indicate his general association with sexual adventures and out-of-control libido; see the *Priapeia*, a collection of (often violently) sexual poems (with or without direct mention of Priapus).

1.393–440 Priapus and Lotis What follows in a narrative of Priapus' attempted rape of the nymph Lotis. The episode here is recapitulated at 6.319–344, when Priapus undertakes a very similar attempted rape of Vesta. Ovid is notorious for telling stories of rapes or attempted rapes, frequently and in detail, especially in the *Fasti* and the *Met.* This is the first such story to appear in the *Fasti*. Much has been written about Ovid's presentation of rape and how it relates to the realities of sexual behavior in the ancient Mediterranean; any individual rape story will have its own bibliography. For an overview of Ovid's rapes, see Murgatroyd (2000), Curran (1978), Richlin (1992). For more on ideas of rape and consent in Roman society, see Fantham (1991), Treggiari (1982), Nguyen (2006). For discussion of rape narratives in the *Fasti*, particularly the correlation of supernatural transformation with completed rapes (as opposed to the non-transformative thwarted rapes), see Beek (2015), chapter 3.

Note that the definition of rape is substantially different in modern law than it was in ancient Rome; at present, rape is typically defined in terms of the victim's non-consent, whereas in Rome consent would rest with whoever had legal authority over the victim: her husband, father, family, legal guardian, or (in the case of a slave) her owner. Ovid's myths, in their quasi-Arcadian setting, are typically presented as outside the bounds of Roman law (but contrast the stories of Lucretia and the Sabine women), and focus on the victim's non-consent rather than the question of whether the assailant has the consent of the victim's legal guardian. Note also that the narrator marks this story in particular as amusing, on which see Fantham (1983).

1.393–4 the Greeks were celebrating On rustic holidays in the *Fasti*, cf. 1.337–346, 1.663–696, 2.361–368, 2.643–684.

1.394 every other winter *Tertia* is inclusive counting. It is not clear which festival of Bacchus is referenced here; it may be the one referenced in *Plut. Mor.* 953d, which likewise occurred in winter. (Though some scholars see a discrepancy between the winter setting and the summery attire of the characters; see Green *ad loc.*) For Bacchic revels in the *Fasti*, see 3.735–770.

1.395 Lyaeus i.e. Bacchus.

1.397 Pans Pan is a rustic god with goat's horns and hooves, of particular importance in Athens as an oracular god. As part of the entourage of Dionysus/Bacchus, he is supposed to inspire irrational behavior (thus the origin of the term 'panic'). He is often equated with the rustic Roman god Faunus, on whom see 2.268n. He is known for his unrestrained libido (cf. Faunus' assault on Omphale at 2.303–358), so his appearance here foreshadows Priapus' assault on Lotis. Typically Pan is construed as a singular god, but the plural also appears at *Her.* 4.171, *Met.* 14.638, *Prop.* 3.17.34 (Goold).

1.399 Silenus Silenus is a drunken old man who is a fixture of Bacchus' entourage (he will appear in the same capacity in Priapus' attempted rape of Vesta at 6.319–348; cf. his role in the discovery of honey at 3.737–762). He is featured in Verg. *Ecl.* 6, where he recites a narrative of the history of the world.

1.402 grass-covered banks The Omphale/Hercules story also has *tori* in an incongruously rustic setting (2.328, 2.343, 2.350). The progression of this story recapitulates many elements of the Omphale story: the man sneaking up on the woman as she sleeps, the gradual removal of clothing, the unceremonious interruption and the ridicule by bystanders.

1.403 Liber i.e. Bacchus.

1.405–6 hair Note that women in elegy usually have hair that is either wild or carefully arranged, and the two styles have different significance (cf. 1.503n); it is unusual to see some characters in a scene with one style and others with the other. This disjunction may distinguish party guests from servers. The feature-by-feature description of attractive women evokes the blason tradition, cf. 2.763n; Green *ad loc.* For an analysis of elaborate hairstyles among Roman women (as evidenced by portraiture), see Bartman (2001). For a broader discussion of hair and hairdressing in Ovidian love elegy, see Pandey (2018).

1.412 pine-garlanded god i.e. Pan/Faunus.

1.425 lothario On *amans*, see 2.356n.

1.440 Hellespontine god Paus. 9.31.2 claims that at Lampsacus, on the Hellespont, Priapus was honored above all other gods.

1.446 you reveal their intentions i.e. via augury. It is striking that the narrator labels the birds' role in augury unlawful, since augury is typically understood as a means by which the gods willingly provide messages to humans. See Green *ad loc.* On augury, see 2.444n.

1.452 Idalian i.e. belonging to Venus, to whom doves were sacrificed.

1.455 Inachiotis i.e. Io, daughter of Inachus, who became the goddess Isis; *Met.* 1.583–747. The “defense of the Capitoline” is an episode of Roman history in which the sacred geese in the temple of Juno Moneta warned the Romans of an impending attack by the Celtic army in 390 BCE (Livy 5.47.1–5, Dion. Hal. 13.7–8).

1.457 Delphin is nominative.

1.459–60 midway point of winter This placement of midwinter at 10 Jan. does not accord with other authors': Columella *Rust.* 11.2.97 places midwinter at 4 Jan., and Varro *Rust.* 1.28 states that winter lasts from 10 Nov. to 6 Feb., which would put midwinter at the solstice. The narrator notes other seasonal markers at 2.149–150 (beginning of spring, 10 Feb.), 3.877–878 (equinox, 26 Mar.), 4.901–902 (mid-spring, 25 Apr.), 5.601–2 (beginning of summer, 13 May), and 6.789–90 (solstice, 26 Jun.). The notations of the seasons mark an effort to synthesize the civic and astronomical calendars, which was not typical practice (see Introduction §2).

1.462 Arcadian goddess i.e. Carmentis (Carmenta), a nymph with prophetic powers (her name, etymologically related to *canere* and *carmen*, associates her with music, poetry, and prophecy; cf. Camena 3.275n, Egeria 3.154n). What follows is a narrative of how she emigrated from Arcadia to Italy with her son Evander. Cf. 6.529–550, where she offers hospitality (and

an encouraging prophecy) to the newly-arrived exile Ino. She also appears in abbreviated recapitulation of Evander's exile at *Fasti* 5.91–102. Carmentis is briefly mentioned at *Aen.* 8.334–41 as the mother of Evander and a *vates fatidica*; cf. Livy 1.7.8, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.31.1. The *Fasti Praenestini* preserves fragmentary references to the Carmentalia (or Karmentalia) on 11 and 15 January (see *Fasti* 1.617–636). She is associated with the Porta Carmentalis, mentioned at 2.201.

1.463 sister of Turnus Juturna, the sister of Turnus, figures in the *Aen.* as an influential character; she intervenes in the narrative a number of times to her brother's advantage. In the *Aen.* she was made immortal by Jupiter after he raped her (12.138–141), and she usually appears to her brother in disguise as a mortal, e.g. *Aen.* 12.216–37, 12.468–649. She does not have a comparable role in the *Fasti*, but she is mentioned in the story of Tacita, 2.585–606 (in the context of Jupiter's sexual pursuit of her), and the Lacus Iuturnae or spring of Juturna is referenced at 1.707 (the spring being separate from the temple mentioned here). The *Fasti Antiates* mention Juturna on 11 Jan. On the differences between Juturna's character in Ovid and Vergil, see Chiu (2016) 86–90, Murgatroyd (2005) 132–33. The infix -turn- in 'Juturna' is the same morpheme found in 'Turnus'. Cf. 2.585n.

1.464 Aqua Virgo The Aqua Virgo was an aqueduct established by Agrippa in 19 BCE, on which see Frontin. *Aq.* 10.3. Its terminus was the Baths of Agrippa, located north of the Area Sacra (Largo Argentina). On the basis of this passage, Coarelli 277–80 identifies Temple A in the Area Sacra as the Temple of Juturna mentioned just above.

1.466 steer my sails On the nautical metaphor, see 1.4n. The metaphor is particularly direct here, since the audience is about to see Evander on a sea journey in which he will receive direction from Carmentis.

1.467 musically-named goddess i.e. Carmentis.

1.470 created before the moon The idea that Arcadia or the Arcadian clan is older than the moon is reiterated several times in the *Fasti*, at 2.289–290, 5.89–90. This same idea is reported in Lycoph. *Alex.* 482 and Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.263–265, but can be traced to earlier, fragmentary sources. See Robinson 221.

its account of itself *Ipsi* is dative; its referent is *tellus*, and it is construed with *creditur*, which has no formal subject (in a construction that does not translate easily into English: 'if belief is granted to the land itself regarding itself'). *Se*, strictly speaking, is reflexive not to the subject of its own clause, but to the subject of the main clause, *tellus*.

1.471 Evander Evander is famous as an important character in the *Aen.*; he also appears in e.g. Livy 1.5–7, Prop. 4.1.3–4 (Goold) (where he epitomizes pre-Aenean Italy), Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.31. The story of his exile from Arcadia to Italy is elaborated here, and he will appear at other points in the *Fasti* in his role as an early colonist of Italy. In the *Aen.* Evander is already established in Italy when Aeneas arrives; he is a former friend of Aeneas' father Anchises and one of Aeneas' primary allies in the war against Turnus, sending his son Pallas to fight on Aeneas' side. When Aeneas arrives on the Palatine, Evander gives Aeneas a tour that highlights continuity of the geography of the site between the legendary era and the Augustan era, *Aen.* 8.306–369. He also relates the story of Cacus (*Aen.* 8.193–272), which follows below (1.543–584). On Aeneas in the *Fasti*, see 3.545n.

1.478 Parrhasian gods i.e., the gods of his home. On the Lares, cf. 1.136n. 'Parrhasian' elsewhere in the *Fasti* is emblematic of Arcadia: 1.618, 2.276. On Evander's importation of the cult of Pan/Faunus (who is not a *Lar*), see 2.271–276, 2.423n.

1.482 you were cast out Although the *Fasti* never directly mentions Ovid's exile, Evander's unhappy exile is often seen as a metaphor for Ovid's; the narrator clearly sympathizes with Evander and stresses his lack of wrongdoing (Fantham (1992)). In Ovid's case, the god who was offended was Augustus. Walter (2020) stresses the programmatic connection between the exile of Evander and Carmentis and Ovid's persona as exile and *vates*. Carmentis as a powerful woman and mother of the monarch Evander is sometimes read as a proxy for Livia and her relationship to Tiberius; see Green 235–37. On Livia in the *Fasti*, see 1.536n, 1.649n.

1.487 do not despair Poetic imperative of *nec* + *impv.*, as opposed to the more prosaic *noli* + *inf.*

1.489–92 Exiles The following characters, presented as exempla of successful exiles/colonists, illustrate the *Fasti's* positive attitude toward colonization in general, especially when colonists arrive in Italy and contribute to the culture there (see Introduction §5). Cadmus' story is told in detail in *Met.* 3.1–137; he is also a character in Euripides' *Bacchae*. In his case, he left home on an expedition to find his missing sister, and was forbidden to return home without her. When he could not find her, he was forced to establish a new home elsewhere. Like Evander, he is forced into exile for a minor offense.

1.491 Tydeus Nagle (uniquely among interpreters of this passage) reads *Tydeus* as *Tydides* (i.e. Diomedes), apparently without textual support.

Diomedes is better known as a colonist than his father is; Diomedes' story is in the *Nostoi*. Tydeus was exiled from Calydon for murder (Apollod. 1.8.5, who catalogues a number of people whom Tydeus is said to have killed).

Pagasaeon Jason Jason was exiled (from Thessaly) for being Aeson's son. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.237–238 names Pagasae as the port from which Jason departed on his expedition to find the Golden Fleece, and Ovid uses the adjective *Pagasaeus* at various points in the *Met.*, *Ars am.*, and *Her.* in connection to the voyage of the Argo.

1.498 Hesperia A name for Italy frequently used in Greek, as well as in the *Aen.*

1.500 Tuscan waves The “traveling Tiber” is referred to as Tuscan elsewhere in the *Fasti*, cf. 1.233n.

1.501 Tarentum The Tarentum is the site of an underground altar to Dis on the Campus Martius, near the bank of the Tiber (not the city in southern Italy). See Coarelli 263. This site is politically loaded because it is the site where Augustus conducted major sacrifices at the Ludi Saeculares (see Beard, North, and Price (1998) 1:201–2).

1.503 before the ship The anastrophe of *puppem stetit ante* is very unusual.

hair flying loose A woman with loose hair can denote a number of things in Latin poetry (Hälkkä (2001), Cosgrove (2005)). It may signify personal grief or a public display of mourning; it may signify a lack of self-control (maenads); it may apply to witches performing magic rites, or an oracle in a prophetic frenzy, which is likely the valence that is active here. Cf. Germania at 1.645, Lucretia at 2.813, Rhea Silvia at 3.16.

1.510 new gods Here Carmentis prophetically references apotheosed Romans such as Romulus, Julius Caesar, and Augustus.

1.518 such a ponderous fate *Tantum fati* is a partitive genitive, cf. Catull. 3.2 *quantum est hominum venustiorum*.

1.520 another war Metonymy of Mars for war. The ‘woman’ looks both backward to Helen's role in the Trojan war and forward to Lavinia's role in the war between Aeneas and Turnus; from Carmentis' perspective, the events of the *Il.* are in the past and the events of the *Aen.* are in the future. This is also a reference to the prophecy (*Aen.* 6.88–94), in which the Sibyl describes the coming events of the *Aen.* as a recapitulation of the events of the *Il.*

1.521 fatal armor The word *funesta* here means ‘deadly’ in two senses, both to the enemies Pallas fights, and to Pallas himself (since he will die in

combat in the *Aen.*). In the *Aen.* Pallas is the son of Evander (grandson of Carmentis) and the eponym of the Palatine hill; he exemplifies the young warrior whose life is cut tragically short, much to the grief of his family. Carmentis speaks as if she sees the events of the *Aen.* playing out before her eyes, cf. *Aen.* 6.832–835, in which Anchises, prophesying the future of Rome, gets caught up in his narrative and addresses imperatives to future Roman heroes.

1.523 Troy Despite Carmentis' present separation from Troy (she is a Greek colonist traveling to Italy, where there are as yet no Trojans), she is nonetheless heavily invested in Troy's future. This investment derives from the fact that she foresees her descendants' future alliance with Trojan refugees, as narrated in the *Aen.* The narrator proleptically elides differences between the various groups in Italy that will eventually become Romans.

you will conquer The paradox of a conquered civilization winning out over its oppressors via cultural influence also appears in Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.156, *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit.*

1.526 isn't the ash still...? *Num minus* operates as one phrase: 'Surely it is not any less true that the ash...?'

1.527–8 Aeneas On Aeneas in the *Fasti*, see 3.545n.

1.528 Vesta Vesta has a substantial role in the Romans' narrative of their ancestors. The sacred objects that Anchises brings from Troy to Italy may be a statue of Vesta that later becomes the cult statue in the Temple of Vesta in the Roman Forum; however, this story is inconsistent. If not a statue of Vesta, Anchises may have brought statues of the Penates, or the Palladium itself (which may have been transported to Rome some other way if not directly by Aeneas; see Wiseman (2004) 18–21, Horsfall (2008) 162–63, Frazer *ad* 6.421). Rhea Silvia (a descendant of Aeneas) was made a Vestal Virgin to keep her from having children (see 2.383n; she washes the *sacra* at 3.12). The Temple of Vesta and the Vestal College were prominent landmarks in the Roman Forum, dating back to the archaic period (Coarelli 85–87). On the variable dates given for the establishment of Vesta's cult in Rome, and the affiliated cult of Vesta at Alba Longa, see 3.29n.

1.529 you The plural *vos* refers to not only Vesta (the specified addressee) but also, by extension, the Penates.

1.530 a god i.e. Augustus.

1.531 Caesars The use of the plural *Augustos* indicates not just Augustus but his successors. This particular passage is typically understood to have been revised in the wake of Augustus' death to give greater prominence

to people who were currently in power and had the ability to recall Ovid, especially Tiberius (Green 235).

1.533 son and grandson i.e. Tiberius, the adopted son of the deified Augustus, who was the adopted son of the deified Caesar. On the deification of Julius Caesar and Augustus, see 2.144n.

he himself protests Augustus advertised his reluctance to assume certain titles and responsibilities: *RG* 4, 5; Suet. *Aug.* 58, Dio Cass. 53.2–10. This ostensible humility can be read as a political move, to make it seem as though the responsibilities were forced on him by the will of the Senate and people. Tiberius adopted the same reluctance: Suet. *Tib.* 24, Tac. *Ann.* 1.11–13.

1.536 Julia Augusta Livia, wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius, is generally understood to have been an influential person in Roman politics during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius (Barrett (2002)). She was frequently represented in public portraiture (Bartman (1999)), although she was not commonly mentioned in literature during her lifetime. Green 236–37, 298–99 discusses how Augustan poets freely mentioned male political figures, but they were cagey of referencing Livia: prior to Ovid, Livia is mentioned only once, and not by name (Hor. *Carm.* 3.14.5–6). Breaking convention, Ovid mentions and addresses Livia several times in his poetry, at *Met.* 15.836 (again, not by name), several times in the *Fasti*, and regularly in the exilic works. (Most of what is known of her life is reported after her death by (frequently hostile) biographers of emperors.) Though his references to Livia are typically couched in flattering terms (depicting Livia as a powerful and righteous woman with the power to potentially recall him from exile), Ovid's messages may be read with less flattering significance; see 1.649n, 2.140n.

After Augustus' death, Livia was officially adopted into the Julian family by the terms of his will and granted the title Augusta (Tac. *Ann.* 1.8.2), but she was not officially deified until long after her death, in the reign of Claudius (Cass. Dio 60.5.2). On her significance in the Roman state and cult, see Johnson (1997); Corbier (1995), Grether (1946). She is also mentioned at 5.157–8.

1.540 exiled to Latium The narrator lays heavy irony on Evander's being exiled to Rome. Romans condemned to exile were always sent out of Rome, usually to some undesirable backwater; the punishment is predicated on the presumption that people would prefer to be in the metropolis. the narrator's description of Evander's exile is heavily influenced by the poet's own exile

from Rome to the remote outpost of Tomis, and his intense misery there, as documented in the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*. See Introduction §1.

1.542 outshone that Arcadian Cf. Livy's (1.7.8) description of Evander as a man widely respected in Italy: *Evander tum ea, profugus ex Peloponneso, auctoritate magis quam imperio regebat loca*.

1.543 club-carrying hero i.e. Hercules. On *claviger* see 1.99n. The narrator refers to Hercules by a variety of circumlocutions: “the Tiryinthian”, “the avenger”, “the son of Jupiter”, “the club-carrier”. One motivation for doing so is that ‘Hercules’ does not fit well into Latin meter. Alcides (after his grandfather Alcaeus) is a common by-name of Hercules in Ovid’s works, and throughout Latin poetry.

Erythean cattle i.e.. the cattle of Geryon, which Hercules was sent to capture as his tenth labor. Erythea is a small island that ancient authors (Plin. *HN* 4.120, Mela 3.6.2, Prop. 4.9.2 (Goold)) located in the Bay of Cadiz. The name is related to the Greek ἐρυθρός, ‘red’ because land that far west was associated with the sunset.

1.543–582 Hercules and Cacus What follows is the story of how Hercules slew Cacus and was hosted by Evander, which is frequently related in Augustan literature: Livy 1.7.4–15, Verg. *Aen.* 8.185–275, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.39–40, Prop. 4.9.1–20 (Goold). Vergil’s account of Cacus as a monster came to define the legend, although Livy rationalizes the legend to make Cacus merely a *pastor accola*, a “shepherd living nearby.” The story is connected to landmarks in central Rome, especially the Scala Caci on the Palatine, the Ara Maxima, various sites of the worship of Hercules, and possibly the Saxum on the Aventine (see 1.564n). The visit of Hercules, the paragon Greek hero, to the Palatine makes a key connection between Greek and Roman myth, which will be repeated in the story of Ino in Italy (6.519–526, also involving Carmentis and Evander) and highlight the importance of Hercules’ cult in Rome, even in pre-Roman times (cf. 1.581n). There is also a significant connection between Greek and Roman religion here, insofar as Livy names Evander’s ancestral Greek rites as the *aition* for certain Hellenized rituals in Roman religion, performed by two families, the Potitii and Pinarii. Hercules will reappear at several points throughout the *Fasti* (as ancestor of the Fabii, 2.239; as slave to Omphale, 2.305–356), usually in the role of a burly, uncomplicated strongman, an echo or parody of his epic persona in the *Aen.* Galinsky (1972) 138–42, 156–60 correctly notes the the important role of Hercules in the Augustan program, but may be overly dogmatic in seeing Hercules invariably as a metaphor for Augustus

throughout Augustan literature, without allowing for the myriad other significations of Hercules in the cultural tradition (cf. 2.305n).

1.545 Tegean house Tegea is a location in Arcadia, in the *Fasti* associated with Arcadians: Evander (here), Carmentis (1.627), and Callisto (2.167).

1.551 Aventine forests The idea of “Aventine forests” is a calculated incongruity. The Aventine hill was included within the walls of Rome built in the 6th century BCE and, due to its convenient access to the Tiber, was urbanized from an early age (although it was not brought inside the pomerium until the reign of Claudius); see Coarelli 333–34. Livy 1.45.2 claims that the Temple of Diana was founded by Servius Tullius (see 2.713n). Note also that the Arcadians are traditionally said to have settled the Palatine (Verg. *Aen.* 8.51–54, 9.9), which is also the location of the Scala Caci; by contrast, Ovid places Cacus on the Aventine.

1.554 Mulciber i.e. Vulcan. Vulcan was the father of many and varied offspring. Some were warriors, heroes, inventors, or founders. Some (e.g. Erichthonius) were monstrous hybrids, and some (e.g. Cercyon, Corynetes, Periphetes) were violent criminals who attacked strangers; the narrator implies a comparison to these. At 6.625–628, however, Servius Tullius is also identified as a child of Vulcan (cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.2.1–4), and is represented in a much more flattering light.

1.562 evil lair There is an obvious contrast between the *pious* Evander and the *impius* Cacus.

1.564 boulder The Ara Maxima, as described in Prop. 4.9 (Goold), was near the Temple of the Bona Dea Subsaxana, situated under a landmark cliff on the north side of the Aventine known as the Saxum (cf. *Fasti* 5.148–50; Coarelli 310, Richardson (1992) s.v. ‘Aventinus Mons’). The giant boulder in front of Cacus’ cave may be intended to signify the Saxum, although the narrator does not refer to it with that word (cf. Vergil’s description of the cliff above Cacus’ cave at *Aen.* 8.190–192, this time on the Palatine). The Saxum is also identified as the location from which Remus took his auspices in his contest with Romulus to establish supremacy in the area that would become Rome (*Fasti* 5.151–152); if the rock outside Cacus’ cave is meant to be the same place, it may indicate an ill-omened character of the location (on the ill-omened nature of Remus’ augural seat, see Brooks (1992) 95).

1.565 the heavens had rested The time when Hercules supported the heavens in place of Atlas is typically ascribed to his eleventh labor (the apples of the Hesperides), but his encounter with Cacus occurs in the course of his retrieval of the cattle of Geryon, typically known as the tenth labor.

1.571 these *Quīs* here is ablative plural, an alternative form of *quibus* that is common in poetry in all periods.

1.574 swift flashes This line references the phenomenon of volcanic lightning, which is recorded more scientifically in the younger Pliny's account of the eruption of Vesuvius (*Ep.* 6.16.13).

Etna, Typhon Etna is a volcano in Sicily, in myth home to the forge of the gods (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.6.3). Typhon is a giant who was central to the Gigantomachy (see 2.461n).

1.576 his opponent's face Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10.698–9, in which Mezentius is killing opponents and is compared to a cliff: *Latagum saxo, atque ingenti fragmine montis occupat os faciemque adversam.*

1.580 victorious Hercules The use of the word *victor* is a geographical pointer because the Ara Maxima (see following lines) was located near the temple of Hercules Victor in the Forum Boarium (Coarelli 316–18).

1.581 Ara Maxima The Ara Maxima has been excavated under Santa Maria in Cosmedin in Rome. The legend that it predates the founding of Rome is supported by archaeological evidence (Coarelli 308–309, 318–19; note also the terracotta sculpture of Hercules from the Capitol temple of Fortuna, found in the Sanctuary of Sant'Omobono, dated to 570–540 by Tuck (2021) 32). The original (potentially pre-Roman) altar was still standing in Ovid's time, although it burned in the fire of 64 CE (Tac. *Ann.* 15.41; it was later rebuilt). According to Tac. *Ann.* 12.24, it was one of the landmarks of the original *pomerium* (city boundary) as established by Romulus; all these landmarks mentioned by Tacitus are referenced, at least obliquely, in the *Fasti*: the Forum Boarium (1.582), the Curiae Veteres (3.140), the Altar of Consus (3.199), the Sacellum Larum (6.791–792), and the Forum Romanum (passim). See Richardson (1992) s.v. 'Lares, Aedes'. Tacitus claims Romulus' *pomerium* did not include the Forum Romanum or the Capitoline, which were added by Titus Tatius.

1.582 takes its name from cattle i.e. the Forum Boarium (Coarelli 307–308).

1.584 move on from the mortal world A reference to his future apotheosis, narrated at *Met.* 9.241–272. The phrase *tellus sit satis usa* is an idiosyncratic way of expressing Hercules' apotheosis, and seems to evoke the sentiment of a retirement party: the mortal world is disappointed to lose Hercules while congratulating him on moving on to something better. Ovid uses similar phrasing regarding Julius Caesar's apotheosis at *Met.* 15.448.

1.589 that day i.e., 13 January 27 BCE, when Octavian formally accepted the title Augustus (*RG* 34, Dio Cass. 53.2–12).

1.590 your grandfather The addressee is Germanicus, the adopted son of Tiberius, who was the adopted son of Augustus.

1.593–606 Cognomina/Agnomina In these lines, the narrator references a litany of military leaders whose names were associated with military victories. Green 271–78 discusses some of the difficulties in making a definitive interpretation of Ovid’s elliptical references, but he adopts the interpretation most flattering to Germanicus, as follows:

Africa refers to Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus (the elder), who was granted the title after his victory at Zama in 202 BCE.

The Isauri refers to Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus, who was granted the title after his victory over Cilicia in 75 BCE.

The Cretans refers to Quintus Caecilius Metellus Creticus, who was granted the title after his victory over Crete in 67 BCE.

Messana refers to Manius Valerius Maximus Messalla, consul 263 BCE, who was granted the title after his victory at Messana, in Sicily.

The Numidians refers to Quintus Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, who was granted the title after his defeat of Jugurtha in 107 BCE.

A Numantian city refers to Publius Cornelius Scipio Numantinus, who was granted the title after his victory at Numantia in 133 BCE.

Germany refers to Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus (father of the poem’s addressee), who was granted the title posthumously in 9 BCE after his successful campaigns in Germany.

Jewelry refers to Titus Manlius Torquatus, who adopted his name from the torque he took from an enemy in 361 BCE.

The raven refers to Marcus Valerius Corvus, who took his name in 349 BCE from a raven that landed on his helmet when he was engaged in a duel, Livy 7.26 (unrelated to the *corvus*, a device used to board enemy ships in a naval battle).

Magnus refers to Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, who was granted the name after his defeat of the Marian faction in 81 BCE.

Maximus refers to the Fabii Maximi (on the Fabii, see 2.195n). The title Maximus was first granted to Quintus Fabius Rullianus in 304 BCE.

1.598 I am devastated The narrator says not just “alas”, but rather “poor me!” as if he has a personal interest in this event. The phrase *me miserum/am* is distinctly Ovidian and avoided by other Augustan poets.

1.604 the one who defeated you i.e. Julius Caesar.

1.608 in common with supreme Jupiter Here as elsewhere, the narrator eulogizes Augustus by comparing him to Jupiter (cf. 1.649, 3.421, 4.954).

Green 271–82 discusses the panegyric, drawing attention to the ambiguity of the honorands (cf. 1.13n). The words the narrator connects etymologically with the name *Augustus* are truly cognate, in contrast to his spurious etymologies elsewhere (e.g. 1.319–336).

1.612 augments This line seems to be a circumlocution for another word derived from the same root, but it is unclear what the word in question is.

1.614 the oak crown The oak-leaf crown (*corona civica*), was given as a reward for saving the life of a citizen in battle; the *Res Gestae* states that this honor was granted to Augustus by the Senate (*RG* 34; cf. Dio Cass. 53.16.4). The oak is also a symbol of Jupiter. It is unclear whether the *dux* in question is Augustus (in which case *vestras* refers to Augustus and Tiberius) or Tiberius (in which case *vestras* refers to Tiberius and Germanicus). Green (271, 280–81) argues that the *dux* is Tiberius, although Suet. *Tib.* 26 states that Tiberius refused to accept the honor of the *corona civica* for a substantial time.

1.617 Titan i.e. the sun. In the *Fasti* the sun is frequently referred to as *Titan* (in the character of Hyperion, one of the Titans); cf. 2.73, 4.180, 4.919. Elsewhere the narrator names the sun as Phoebus, i.e. Apollo (e.g. 1.651, 3.361).

1.618 the Parrhasian goddess i.e. Carmentis; cf. 1.462n. What follows is the narrator's aetiology of the Carmentalia, which on the *Fasti Praenestini* is marked on 15 January (as here, 'the third day after the Ides' signifying the 15th by inclusive counting). This passage describes the conflict over the *lex Oppia*, a sumptuary law passed in 215 BCE and repealed in 195 BCE (as described by Livy 34.1–8). The sumptuary law curtailed women's right to ride in carriages, a right established in 396 BCE (Livy 5.25.8) and referenced on the Shield of Aeneas (Verg. *Aen.* 8.665–6). Here the narrator says that women protested the law by refusing to have children and inducing abortions. Many of the details of this passage seem to be inventions of Ovid: Livy describes women protesting the law but makes no mention of abortion as a protest tactic. Additionally, the etymology of *carpentum* from Carmentis is erroneous. Given the strong influence of Livy on the *Fasti*, it is unusual to see the narrator's divergence in the details here; cf. 3.153n.

1.624 blind blows to the stomach Ovid's consistent depiction of abortion as violent and undesirable is well established, especially in *Am.* 2.13 and 2.14 when the narrator describes his emotional reaction to Corinna's abortion. Cf. also Canace's attempted abortion in *Her.* 11.39–44, and *Tr.* 2.415–416. This episode engages with the broader anxiety over reproduction in Rome

and the political necessity of producing legitimate children; cf. the Sabine women at 2.430n, Augustus in the syncrisis at 2.140n. Hines (2018) 51–58 examines abortion throughout the Ovidian corpus, especially in terms of the language used; Green 284–86 addresses abortion in the *Fasti*, especially in the context of Augustan reproductive politics. For discussion of Ovid’s depiction of abortion in *Am.* 2.13 and 2.14, see Watts (1973) and Gamel (1989).

1.627 Tegean mother i.e. Carmentis.

1.630 forbidden to bring leather into her shrine cf. Varro *Ling.* 7.84.

1.635 in the past *Porro* is usually used in a spatial sense to refer to something ‘ahead’, rather than ‘in the past’ (in English, cf. the adverb ‘before’, which can mean either ‘ahead’ or ‘in the past’).

1.637 Concordia, you were established i.e., the following day is the anniversary of when Concordia’s temple was established. The use of the perfect tense/past action with a phrase indicating a future time encapsulates the essential idea of the *Fasti*, that the narrator narrates and commemorates past events as they are experienced in the present (see Introduction §4). Though the narrator does not say so explicitly, the ‘concord’ here refers to the reconciliation between the plebs and the ruling class after the secession in 367 BCE (which Livy 6.42.10 depicts as only a near-secession). For another secession narrative (in 494 BCE), see 3.663–674. To commemorate Tiberius’ defeat of the Germans, the temple was re-founded in 10 CE (that is, after Ovid’s exile), and this passage may have been added after Augustus’ death to seek favor with Tiberius as the new emperor and his mother Livia. Concordia appears as a character at 6.91–100 to amicably resolve a dispute.

1.640 now I have followed the reading of AWC, who reads *nunc* as the first word in 1.640, although they obelize it.

1.642 fulfilled his vow Furius Camillus conquered the Etruscan city Veii in 396 BCE. As reported at Livy 5.21–22, to complete the votary temple he obtained financial help from Roman matrons, which is why they were granted the right to ride in carriages referenced in the previous story.

1.645 less worrisome Note that the narrator assumes the perspective of the aristocracy rather than the plebs (the secession of the plebs is “worrisome”, makes “Rome” afraid). The “more recent cause” refers to Tiberius’ re-founding of the temple.

unbound hair On loose hair as a sign of mourning, see 1.503n.

1.646 revered leader i.e. Tiberius.

1.650 worthy of Jupiter’s bed In this line, “Jupiter” is used metaphorically

for Augustus. N.b. the narrator calls Livia the “only” wife of Augustus, even though, as was well known, he was married to two other women before her. This line may be taken as ambitious political flattery that overreaches credibility and thus fails in its objective (cf. 3.425n on Julius Caesar); alternatively, it may be a veiled jab at Livia; see Newlands (1995) 44–45. Cf. *Pont.* 3.1.118. On Livia in the *Fasti*, see 1.536n. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.14.5, which describes Livia as *unico gaudens marito*; Livia as well had a first husband whom she divorced to marry Augustus (cf. 2.140n).

1.649 an altar Livia’s altar to Concordia is in the Porticus Liviae (on the Esquiline, near the Baths of Trajan), separate from the temple of Concordia (near the Comitium in the Forum). Cf. 6.637. It is no longer extant, but based on its depiction on the Marble Plan, seems to have resembled the Ara Pacis (see 1.709n) in plan and dimensions (Coarelli 190).

1.651 Phoebus i.e. the sun.

1.652 the water-carrier i.e. Aquarius.

1.657–704 Planting Day What follows is a description of the rustic festival of Planting Day (*Dies Sementiva*), a movable feast, i.e. one that was not fixed to any date in the *fasti*. On the disconnect between the civic calendar and the agricultural calendar, see Introduction §2. On rustic holidays in the *Fasti*, cf. 1.337–346, 1.393–438, 2.361–368, 2.643–684. On moveable feasts in Roman religion, cf. the Fornacalia at 2.527–528.

1.660 the Muse This reference to a “Muse” is unclear. The narrator in the *Fasti* consults many gods for information about history and religion, but Muses have not been a major presence up to this point. He evokes an unnamed Muse at 2.359, and several Muses (Erato, Polyhymnia, Calliope) instruct him in books 4–6. The Muse-like nymphs Carmentis and Egeria are significant figures in books 1 and 3. Consulting a Muse is hardly unusual for a poet, especially within the Ovidian corpus, but usually in the *Fasti* gods are identified specifically. Cf. *Pierides* at 2.269.

1.663 well-stocked stalls *Praesepe*, in addition to being a reasonable synonym for *stabulum*, also refers to an astronomical figure, the space between two stars called the Aselli in the constellation Cancer (Plin. *HN* 18.353).

1.676 the oak tree’s acorn The legend that humans lived on acorns before the invention of agriculture is referenced at e.g. Verg. *G.* 1.7–8. Cf. 4.401–2, when this legend is cited in the context of Ceres’ benefits to humanity (she provided humans with grain and took away the necessity of eating acorns).

1.693 endure the fire twice On processing emmer by toasting, see 2.519–526.

1.697 the sword, the plow Note the dichotomy between farming and war; cf. Verg. *G.* 1.506–508, *Aen.* 7.635–636, Lucr. 5.1293–1296.

1.706 the Dioscuri i.e. Castor and Pollux, twin sons of Leda and Jupiter who shared their immortality by trading places between the underworld and the upper world. Their temple is a landmark in the Forum, originally founded as a votary temple after the battle of Lake Regillus in 499 BCE, then re-founded 6 CE by Tiberius (and his then-deceased brother Drusus).

1.708 Lake of Juturna A spring in the Roman Forum, adjacent to the Temple of Vesta (Coarelli 75–77), cf. 1.463–464. As reported by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.2–4, Castor and Pollux appeared here after the battle of Lake Regillus. On Juturna see 1.463n, 2.585n.

1.709 has brought *Deducere* is a programmatic word in elegiac poetry, strongly associated with Callimacheanism (see 1.1n). Callimachus speaks of a Μοῦσαν λεπταλέην (fr. 1.23–24); this idea is echoed in Latin with the word *deductum*, e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* 6.4–5.

the Altar of Peace The Ara Pacis, a monument created to publicize the peace and prosperity of the Augustan reign, dedicated in 9 BCE in response to Augustus' return from Spain and Gaul (on which see Zanker (1988) 120–23). It consists of a marble altar surrounded by a marble screen carved with relief images of tutelary deities and a procession of well-known Augustan-era Romans. Today it is viewable in a dedicated museum near the Mausoleum of Augustus (not far from its ancient site), although it was reassembled from scattered fragments that were recovered piecemeal between 1568 and 1938 (Coarelli 299–303, Tuck (2021) 130–36).

1.711 Actian leaves This is a reference to Augustus' victory against Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31 BCE, which Augustus publicized as the end of the Roman civil conflict.

1.716 raucous trumpet A *tuba* is a military instrument, used to give signals on the battlefield.

1.717 heirs of Aeneas On Aeneas in the *Fasti*, see 3.545n.

Book 2

2.1–54 The introduction Unlike every other book of the *Fasti*, the narrator does not open book two with an interview with the month's eponymous god (see 1.63n). Though he introduces no divine informant, he does provide an etymology connecting February to purification rites (his etymology from *februa*, 'purification' is supported by Varro *Ling.* 6.34), to set the tone for a month whose days are overwhelmingly *nefastus* and considered unlucky or unsuitable for many activities. Note the variety of Latin words referring to purity or purification in this passage: *piamen*, *pura*, *lustrum*, *purgamen*, *februa*. The second book of the *Fasti* features a prominent theme of silence (either refusing to speak or being punished for speaking, as is foregrounded in the stories of Lucretia and Tacita), which is often read in the context of Ovid's exile and his place in the political world (see 2.607n for bibliography). Following the promise at 1.295–310 to discuss astronomy, book 2 also contains many aetiologies for constellations (in contrast to book 1, which contains none).

2.3 with full sail On the nautical metaphor, see 1.4n.

2.6 love's meter Most of Ovid's works are in elegiac couplets, with the *Metamorphoses* (in dactylic hexameter) being the only surviving exception. Here the narrator refers specifically to his amatory works from his earlier career: the *Amores*, the *Ars Amatoria*, the *Remedia Amoris*, the *Heroides*, and possibly the *Medicamina*. There is also a comparison to Propertius, whose first book deals primarily with his love of Cynthia, but whose fourth book narrates episodes from Roman history (whose material is echoed in the *Fasti*, see Introduction §3).

2.9 my military service The narrator states that he has no intention of serving in the military, but will instead aid the empire by praising Augustus in his poetry. This is a type of *recusatio*, on which see 1.13n. the narrator implies that his work writing about the calendar is as important a public service as serving in the military.

2.15 Caesar Here *Caesar* refers to Augustus (see 1.13n). This address to Augustus is often understood as the original dedication of the *Fasti*, which was displaced from the beginning of book one by a revised dedication after Augustus' death (1.3n, 1.10n).

2.16 enumerate your honors This line carries a triumphal attitude, as *tituli* would be used in a triumph to label the honoree's various accomplishments.

2.17 in a kindly light *placido voltu* is the same attitude the narrator begs of Germanicus at 1.3.

2.21 the Rex, the Flamen The Rex Sacrorum and the Flamen are priests with essential roles in the Roman state. Livy 2.2.1 states that the Rex was created in the Republican era to undertake the religious responsibilities formerly belonging to the king; the connection between the king and the Rex Sacrorum is alluded to at Varro *Ling.* 6.28, and some of his duties are described at Varro *Ling.* 6.12–13, 31. See Cornell (1995) 227, 233–36, Beard, North, and Price (1998) 1:54–60. The Rex had a responsibility for conducting monthly sacrifices, and at the Regifugium (24 February) performed a ritual in which he first sacrificed, then immediately ran away. The flamines are a class of priests in Roman religion dedicated to specific gods; Festus (144L s.v. *maximae dignationis*) reports that there were fifteen in total. The flamen mentioned here may be the flamen Dialis, the highest-ranking of the flamines (Festus 198L s.v. *ordo sacerdotum*). On the flamines, see also 2.282n. Both offices were supposed to be of great antiquity, possibly founded by Numa (Cic. *Rep.* 2.26, Plut. *Num.* 7), contra Livy’s statement that the Rex was created after the monarchy ended.

2.22 for the wool *Quīs* is a variant form of *quibus*.

2.24 toasted wheat On *far* see 2.519n.

2.27 Flaminica The Flaminica is the wife of the Flamen Dialis. A Flaminica plays a larger role in the *Fasti* at 6.219–234, when she advises the narrator on what days are propitious for a wedding.

2.31 Luperci For more on the Luperci, see 2.267–474.

2.34 days of the dead i.e. the Feralia, 2.533–570.

2.37–46 Greek Murderers Purified Compare the following list of legendary murderers to the list of notorious wrongdoers at 2.627–30.

2.40 Haemonian i.e. Thracian. Acastus is a son of Pelias who traveled on the Argo, and Peleus is also an Argonaut. Phocus is Peleus’ half-brother.

2.39 son of Actor i.e. Menoetius, father of Patroclus. There is another Actorides, named Eurytion, who is also a friend of Peleus, but Eurytion purifies Peleus of murder, not vice versa.

2.41 the sky Lit. ‘the empty place’. Using *inane* as a circumlocution for ‘the sky’ is common in Latin poetry beginning with Vergil (although Lucretius uses the phrase in the sense of ‘through empty space’). This expression also connects the Latin word *caelum* with the Greek κοῖλον, ‘cavity’.

2.41–2 the Phasian Aegeus purifies Medea for her murders in Corinth, famously depicted in the *Medea* plays of Euripides and Seneca. Ovid as well wrote stories about Medea (*Her.* 12, *Met.* 7.1–403, and his lost tragedy). For an overview of depictions of Medea in different classical works, see Clauss and Johnston (1997). Here “trustful Aegeus” suggests a reference

to the passage in Euripides' play (663–758) in which Aegeus promises to aid Medea after she is exiled from Corinth. Throughout the *Fasti*, Medea is never referred to by name, only by circumlocutions. Phasis is the river that runs through Colchis, Medea's home. *Phasida* is treated as a Greek loanword, and is given the Greek accusative ending *-a*.

2.43 the son of Amphiaraus i.e. Alcmaeon, who killed his mother Eriphyle after she accepted a bribe to betray her husband. This line is noteworthy for being the only hexameter in the Ovidian corpus composed of only three (long) words; it particularly stands out because all the words are Greek, and because of the noticeable hiatus in the line.

Naupactian Naupactus is not particularly near the river Achelous, since the Achelous is the boundary between Aetolia and Acarnania, and Naupactus is southeast of Aetolia. The narrator is often vague in geography, and conflates places that are not typically conflated; cf. 2.463–4, where he describes the Euphrates as located in Palestine.

2.48 used to be The force of the statement here is that the Roman calendar has been restructured a number of times, and one of the previous configurations had January as the first month of the year and February as the last. This arrangement of months is not attested in other sources. Robinson 85–86 speculates on what may have prompted the narrator to make an unsupported statement such as this, suggesting “a confused attempt (not necessarily Ovid's) to reconcile several conflicting traditions concerning the early Roman calendar.” Michels (1967) 129 suggests that Ovid misinterpreted a statement that an earlier Roman calendar ended in February (i.e., the calendar that began in March). On the historical changes to the Roman calendar and possible reordering of the months, see 1.27–44n, 3.76–166, Introduction §2.

2.50 Terminus A reference to the Terminalia, which falls near the end of February (23 February, 2.649–84). Although it would be appropriate to end the year with a celebration of the god of boundaries, the Terminalia is not on the last day of the month, nor is it the last holiday marked in February (it is followed by the Regifugium and the Equirria). In the pre-Julian calendar, the intercalary month (when it was observed) immediately followed the Terminalia (Michels (1967) 160).

2.52 placed at the bottom The play on words between *imis manibus* and *imus [mensis]* does not translate well into English.

2.53 the Decemvirs i.e. a set of ten lawgivers of the early Roman republic, the most famous of whom was Appius Claudius (known for attempting to enslave Verginia, Livy 3.44–49).

2.55 The Phrygian mother i.e. the Magna Mater, whose cult was imported from Phrygia (as described at 4.181–372).

2.56 new shrines Coarelli 136 locates this shrine of Juno Sospita (which was gone by Ovid's time) on the Palatine, adjacent to the Palatine Temple of the Magna Mater (near the Casa Romuli), on the site that was later occupied by a shrine of Victoria Virgo. The *Fasti Antiaties* preserve a fragmentary reference to IVNONIS at the beginning of February, suggesting that this or another calendar is Ovid's cited source of information.

2.58 they collapsed On neglected temples and cults in the late republic, see Hor. *Carm.* 3.6. On Augustus' restoration of neglected cults and dilapidated temples, see Suet. *Aug.* 31.4, Augustus *RG* 19–20. On the dissonance of the narrator invoking Augustus' reputation as restorer of temples in the context of a temple that had apparently fallen into ruin and not been restored, see Robinson 92–94.

2.63 restorer *Repostor* is a hapax legomenon in Latin, appearing only here. *Positor* is also uncommon; the only other appearance in Latin is Ov. *Met.* 9.448, in reference to the eponymous founder of Miletus.

2.67 Alernus The name recorded here, and the location it indicates, is in doubt. Manuscripts record this word as *averni* or *asyli*, but it is most often understood as Alernus (or Elernus, or Helernus) to coincide with a similar reference at *Fasti* 6.105, which location is specified to be near the Tiber but is not mentioned elsewhere in ancient literature. Nothing is known of Alernus, the god or hero honored here.

2.68 traveling Tiber *Advena* ('foreigner') is an unusual epithet to apply to the Tiber. Here it is used in reference to the source of the Tiber in northern Etruria, near modern Arezzo, to imply an exotic identity for the Tiber as it flows into Rome. Cf. 1.233, 1.500, 3.524.

2.70 a sheep A *bidens* is an animal for sacrifice. The word is explained by various late classical authors to refer to an animal that is mature enough that two of its teeth are longer than the others, but more likely refers to an animal whose two rows of teeth are complete. In this particular passage, it may also suggest a *bidental*, a place that was considered sacred because it had been struck by lightning: the sanctuary of Jupiter Tonans on the Capitoline (mentioned in this same couplet) was dedicated by Augustus after he was narrowly missed by a thunderbolt while campaigning in Spain (Suet. *Aug.* 29.3).

2.69 Numa's sanctuary This location is somewhat unclear but most likely refers to the Temple of Vesta in the Roman Forum.

2.71–2 the clouded sky This last couplet describes typical seasonal weather in a way that seems to be a non sequitur from the surrounding lines. Nevertheless, such information is sometimes included in ancient calendars or agricultural manuals.

2.73 Titan i.e. the sun.

into the western waves On the flat earth concept in the *Fasti*, see 1.313–314n.

2.79 the Dolphin *Delphina* is treated as a Greek loanword, and is given the Greek accusative ending *-a*. Likewise for *Lesbida* and *Ariona* at 2.82 and 2.83.

studded with stars *Caelare* is an interesting word choice here. It means ‘carved’ or ‘engraved’ and suggests that the Dolphin is a work of art (perhaps a relief on a wall or ceiling; cf. the *ancilia* at 3.381), and harmonizes with the theme of artistry in Arion’s story. *Caelare* is derived from *caelum*, *-ī*, ‘chisel’, which is related to *caedo*, ‘to cut’. It may also be related to *caelum*, *-ī*, ‘sky’, which is related to *cavus* and the Greek κοῦλος, ‘hollow’. Although the phrase *Delphina caelatum* suggests that the Dolphin has been ‘placed in the sky’, it does not signify that in a strict sense.

2.81 a hidden love This appears to be a reference to Amphitrite’s marriage to Neptune: attempting to evade the marriage, Amphitrite hid from Neptune, and was discovered by the Dolphin, who was rewarded with catasterism (*Hyg. Poet. astr.* 2.17.1, *Eratosth. Cat.* 31).

2.82 Lesbian lyre and its master i.e. Arion, whose story is told at *Hdt.* 1.23–4. He is presented as a historical person of the early sixth century BCE, famous as the best singer in the world, although none of his poetry survives.

2.84 stop water from running The power to stop or reverse rivers is commonly ascribed to witches, e.g. *Am.* 2.1.26, *Met.* 7.199–200, *Apul. Met.* 1.3, *Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 3.532. Arion’s quasi-magical power over animals (described in the following lines) recalls similar powers ascribed to Orpheus in *Ov. Met.* 10.86–105, 143–4, and foreshadows the fact that Arion will be saved by a dolphin.

2.87 together N.b. *una* in a strict sense modifies *umbra*; it is not adverbial as this translation implies.

2.89 Pallas’ bird Minerva’s owl, i.e. a carnivorous bird.

without any argument There is a play on words between *sine lite* and *alite*, to suggest that *alite* is composed of the Greek negative prefix *a-* plus *lite*.

2.94 the shores of Italy *Ausonis*, *-idis* (adj.) is an archaic word referring

to southern Italy (e.g. Magna Graecia), especially pre-Roman Italy; it may be cognate to the word *Oscus* (see L&S s.v. *Ausones*). It is rare but appears in later poets such as Sil. and Claud. The cognate noun *Ausonia* appears in Verg. and elsewhere in Ov. *Ausonis* may also be read as the genitive of Auson, a mythical king of Ausonia, son of Odysseus and Calypso.

2.95 bound for home i.e., to Lesbos, after a tour of Sicily and Magna Graecia.

2.99 the helmsman Robinson 125 calls attention to the fact that in similar classical stories of a violence from a ship's crew directed at a passenger, typically the helmsman is the one member of the crew to attempt to protect the passenger. It is one of many subtle ways in which the *Fasti*'s Arion story runs counter to the narrative provided by Hdt.

2.101 what do you want with a sword? The idiom *quid tibi cum...* is often used by Ovid, signifying 'What business is it of yours?' or 'What does it have to do with you?' It disparagingly implies a disconnection between the person addressed and the thing in question (e.g. 2.308, 3.3, 4.3, *Met.* 1.456).

unsteady *Dubiam* signifies 'needing guidance, fluctuating, wavering'. It may also imply 'questionable, of dubious character', but this is not a typical sense in which the word is used.

2.103 terrified I have followed the standard reading of *metu pavidus*, which has the support of all the manuscripts. Robinson 126 prefers the reading *metu uacuus* ('free from fear'). In Hdt.'s version of Arion's story, Arion's terror is manifest in his words and actions, but Robinson argues that in this version, the idea that Arion is terrified is incongruous with his statement *mortem non deprecor*. I argue that *mortem non deprecor* can be reasonably interpreted a first-class performer's pretense of bravery.

2.105–8 he donned his crown... As if he were a warrior arming for battle.

2.110 swan *Olor* is a markedly poetic word for 'swan'; *cycnus* is more prosaic, although poets may use the two words interchangeably: see Verg. *Ecl.* 9.36 (*olor*) vs. 7.38 (*cycnus*); Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.10 vs. 4.3.20; Ovid *Met.* 10.718 vs. 10.708. In antiquity swans are noted for their beautiful song; Plin. *HN* 10.63 (using *olor*) references the idea of a 'swan song' as a moving virtuoso performance given just before death: *olorum morte narratur flebilis cantus*; the earliest known reference to this idea is Aesch. *Ag.* 1444–1446.

2.117–8 the gods witnessed... Within the *Fasti*, some but not all of the catasterism stories specify that the gods elect to place an animal among the stars as a reward (or occasionally as punishment), with a reason provided.

Most transformation stories in the *Met.* are not this clear; in the *Met.*'s transformation stories, the agent of the transformation is often not specified, and the intended function of the transformation (as a reward or punishment) is often left ambiguous; see Introduction §4.

2.119 a thousand voices This is a reference to Hom.'s well-known wish for 10 tongues (*Il.* 2.489) and Verg.'s consequent wish for one hundred (*G.* 2.43).

2.120 Maeonides i.e. Homer, who was supposed to come from Maeonia in Asia Minor.

2.121 couplets Ov. presents an attitude of humility as he begins to embark on a eulogy and suggests that his skill is not adequate to praise his subject. Additionally, he implies that his medium of elegy (i.e. couplets) is inferior to epic, as symbolized by Homer and Achilles. On *recusatio*, see 1.13n, 2.9–16, 3.1–10.

2.127 the plebeians and the Curia Another circumlocution for SPQR, cf. 1.69. In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus says this title was conferred by *senatus et equester ordo populusque Romanus universus* (RG 35).

2.127–8 gave this title In the *Fasti Praenestini*, the Nones are the only date preserved in February. The notation on that day marks Augustus' assumption of the title *Pater Patriae*: FERIAE EX S C QVOD EO DIE IMPERATOR CAESAR AVGVSTVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS TRIB POTEST XXI COS XIII A SENATV POPVLOQVE ROMANO PATER PATRIAE APPELLATVS.

2.133–44 The Syncrisis This passage (known as the syncrisis), in which Romulus is compared unfavorably to Augustus at length, shows a markedly negative attitude toward Romulus. The depiction of Romulus in the *Fasti* is complicated; in some cases, he is praised as the enterprising founder of the city, often a noble savage type. In other cases, Romulus is depicted as petty, unsuccessful, and small; see the episode with the cattle-rustlers at 2.359–380, in which he is bested by his twin. In particular, he is associated with violence (the Sabine rape, 3.179–234) and a lack of intellectualism (his botched attempt to design a solar calendar, 1.27–30). Given that Augustus considered adopting the name 'Romulus' as an honorific, any statements against Romulus in the *Fasti* may be construed as slights against Augustus, but here the narrator ostentatiously asserts Augustus' virtues, and especially his superiority over Romulus. For discussion, see Hinds (1992), Stok (1991), Barchiesi (1997) 154–64, Beek (2015) chapter 2.

2.134 Remus On Remus see 2.365n.

2.135 Tatius, Caenina, Cures Tatius is the legendary king of the Sabines

(see 1.260n) who conducted the war against Rome prompted by the rape of the Sabine women (3.179–234). Cures is the town he led (see 2.480n); Caenina is another town in Latium.

2.136 both sides of the sun That is, the Roman empire extends from the far east to the far west.

2.139 chaste wives N.b. according to Livy (1.9.14–16), Romulus also commanded the Sabine Women to be chaste wives.

2.140 the Asylum In Roman legend Romulus founded Rome by establishing the Asylum in a grove on the Capitoline (Coarelli 29–30) and inviting all comers to join his community, which offer would predominantly attract those who were not welcome in established communities (cf. Livy 1.8.5, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.15.4, Plut. *Rom.* 9.3, Strabo 5.3.2). The narrator includes other stories concerning the founding of Rome at 4.809–862, 5.451–480. Since Rome was thus composed of people who were *personae non gratae* in surrounding communities, the surrounding communities refused to grant a right of intermarriage with Rome, prompting Romulus to arrange for the kidnapping of the Sabine Women referenced in the previous line.

crime It is unclear what specific *nefas* the narrator is claiming Augustus rejects. It may be a general reference to his legislation connected to morality and marriages, though this could cut both ways for Augustus: Suetonius reports he had a reputation for having ostentatious affairs with married women (Suet. *Aug.* 69). His marriage to Livia seems to have been the subject of gossip; both Augustus and Livia divorced their previous spouses to marry each other, and Suetonius reports that Livia was pregnant at the time of the wedding (Suet. *Aug.* 62, *Tib.* 4). Some sources say that Livia's previous husband participated in the wedding in the role of the father of the bride (Vell. Pat. 2.79.2, 2.94.1, Cass. Dio 48.44.3), while others say that Augustus abducted her from her previous husband (Tac. *Ann.* 1.10.5, 5.1.2, 12.6.2; Suet. *Aug.* 62.2); either situation would excite gossip. See Flory (1988). Augustus' potential to inspire women to be *castas maritas* is questionable on these grounds, to say nothing of the extramarital entanglements of his daughter and granddaughter, who were condemned to exile for adultery.

2.142 Overlord Suet. *Aug.* 53.1 reports that Augustus rejected the title *dominus*. Dio Cass. 55.12.2 makes a similar statement (although, writing in Greek, Dio Cass. reports the title as δεσπότης).

2.143 mercy to his enemies Julius Caesar was famous for practicing *clementia*, a process by which he formally pardoned influential people who had opposed him so that they would tell their followers to support Caesar

(see e.g. Cic. *Att.* 8.9.4, 9.16.1). As the heir of Caesar, Augustus attempted to promote an image of *clementia* for himself (*RG* 34.2).

2.144 a god Here the narrator implies an equivalence between deification (the process of instituting the worship of a particular figure within the Roman state religion) and apotheosis (the process by which a mortal is accepted by the gods into their own company). Augustus “made his father a god” by formalizing the worship of Julius Caesar (as *Divus Iulius*) by the Roman state in January of 42 BCE, whereas Romulus “was made a god by his father” when Mars brought him to heaven and transformed him into Quirinus (as depicted at *Fasti* 2.481–496, *Met.* 14.805–828). Within the context of Ovid’s poetry, these processes are conventionally understood to be separate (although closely linked): for example, Julius Caesar was also understood to have undergone apotheosis, and the appearance of the Julian comet was taken as evidence of his apotheosis (*Met.* 15.745–851, Suet. *Iul.* 88), but his apotheosis was separate from his deification. Cf. Beek (2015) 13–15 and *passim*). After his deification, Caesar’s comet became part of the iconography of *Divus Iulius*; the Julian comet is depicted on coins of Augustus as an eight-point star. On apotheosis in the *Fasti*, see 2.475n.

2.145 Idaean boy i.e. Ganymede (represented in the sky by Aquarius), who comes from Mt Ida in Asia Minor. Ganymede was a beautiful Trojan prince who was abducted by Jupiter to serve as cup-bearer to the gods.

2.146 nectar In Homeric works, nectar is the wine of the gods (Hom. *Od.* 5.93, *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 49), but by extension ‘nectar’ also refers to exceptional mortal foods, especially wine or honey. It is conventional in Greek and Roman banquets for wine to be mixed with water, and Ganymede would take on this duty in his capacity as wine-server.

2.147 the winter wind Boreas is the cold north wind.

2.148 a milder wind Zephyr is the warm west wind. This couplet is a seasonal marker indicating the change from winter to spring, i.e. an element of the astronomical or agricultural rather than religious or civic calendar (see 1.460n, 2.71–2n).

N.b. this section of the *Fasti* is dense with references to rape stories: the Sabine women appeared in the syncrisis, Ganymede has just been referenced, the story of Callisto follows, and both Boreas and Zephyr are mentioned as rapists in Flora’s story in book 5.201–4. On rape in Ovid, see 1.392n.

2.153–92 the Bear’s Guardian i.e. Arctophylax (the ‘guardian of the bear’), or Boötes, the constellation that is identified as the son of Callisto. He

is also called Arcas, the eponym of the Arcadians (on Arcadia in the *Fasti*, see 2.279n, 1.471n). Callisto is the daughter of Lycaon (who, as reported in *Met.* 1.196–239, was so evil he was transformed into a wolf, and whose evil prompted Jupiter to destroy humanity via Deucalion’s flood). Lycaon and Callisto are associated with Arcadian stories of werewolves (see 2.423n). Of all the transformations narrated in the *Fasti*, Callisto is the only person transformed into an animal, and it is noteworthy that this is not the end of her transformations; after becoming a bear she will undergo catasterism and achieve a semi-divine form among the stars. Her catasterism connects her story with the other transformation stories in the *Fasti* (see Introduction §4) better than her transformation into a bear does.

There is a longer version of Callisto’s story at *Met.* 2.401–530 (Murgatroyd (2005) has compared the two episodes in the context of other doubled stories between the *Met.* and the *Fasti*; see esp. pp. 247–49; see also Johnson (1996)). The story of how Callisto became Ursa Major and her son Arcas became Boötes is known in several ancient versions, whose details vary. Typically, Callisto is raped by Jupiter and transformed into a bear, although variations occur regarding which god transforms her into a bear, and which god transforms the bear into a constellation, and for what reasons. See Robinson 162–68, Gantz (1993) 726.

2.155 Hamadryads i.e. tree-nymphs. There is little mythology specifically attributed to them, but they are mentioned reasonably often by Augustan poets (Verg., Prop., Ov.). It is typical for Diana to be accompanied by a train of nymphs.

huntress *Iaculatrix* is a rare word in Latin. It appears only in Ovid, and is always applied to Diana.

2.158 let The Latin form *este* is a plural imperative of *sum*, making the bow itself the addressee.

2.157–8 The Oath Robinson 169–70 sees sexual double-entendres in Callisto’s oath, both in the specific word choice of *testes* and *arcus*, and in the general idea of Callisto handling Diana’s ‘weaponry’. This alludes to Callisto’s assault by Jupiter, which is not narrated directly in this version.

2.159 Cynthia The epithet Cynthia (and Phoebe, below) refers to Diana. This passage refers to Diana by a wide variety of names.

2.160 the leader The word *princeps* applied in a non-political sense to Callisto is notable, particularly since it was used of Augustus just above at 2.142. On *princeps*, see 2.714n.

2.161 beautiful ‘Callisto’ is Greek for ‘the most beautiful’.

2.162 the crime This short phrase is the only reference to Callisto's rape in the *Fasti*. This is a substantial contrast to the version in the *Met.*, in which the violence is elaborated at great length. On rape in Ovid, see 1.392n.

2.165–6 a dark grove Dark, dense groves, especially with pools or springs, are associated with divinities and dangerous to mortals. Cf. the grove where Numa catches Picus and Faunus in 3.295–296.

2.167 Tegean virgin Tegea is a city in Arcadia.

let's bathe The idea of a person's vulnerability while bathing, particularly vulnerability to sexual assault (or, in this case, vulnerability to the extended consequences of sexual assault), is a theme frequently reiterated in Ovid's works. Characters who are assaulted while bathing in the *Met.* include Arethusa and Hermaphoditus; Diana also encounters Actaeon while she is bathing and is aware of her vulnerability.

2.173 daughter of Lycaon This is the vocative form of the Greek patronymic *Lycaonis*, 'daughter of Lycaon'. Through use of the patronymic, Diana associates Callisto with her father's wrongdoing. Since Lycaon was turned into a wolf, there is also a suggestion that Callisto has a sub-human or animalistic nature; cf. 2.291n.

2.174 do not pollute Note the negative imperative construed with *nec* + *impv.* rather than the more conventional *noli* + *inf.*

pure waters The fact that Callisto is prevented from bathing here is connected to the final punishment imposed on her, that the constellation Ursa Major is visible in the sky (at least in the northern hemisphere) throughout the year and is not permitted to 'bathe' by sinking below the horizon, that is, into the ocean. On constellations sinking into the ocean, see 1.4n, 1.314n. Since Callisto is prevented from bathing (here by Diana, and later by Juno's punishment), she is unable to access any purification granted by bathing, though Ovid scoffs at the idea (see 2.45–6).

2.175 the moon Since Diana is the moon goddess, putting Callisto's pregnancy in terms of lunar cycles emphasizes Diana's role in the consequences that Callisto is experiencing.

ten times On the expected duration of a pregnancy, see 1.33–4n.

2.178 why are you doing this? The narrator often apostrophizes his characters to second-guess their actions with questions like this (see other instances in the exposure of Romulus and Remus (2.386), and the attack on Arion (2.201)). This is a forceful way of expressing the mercilessness of the characters' actions.

2.179 the other woman The word *paelex* strictly speaking, refers to a

woman (very infrequently a male partner) with whom a married man has sex who is not his wife (TLL s.v. *paelex*). By this definition, it does not necessarily carry any sense of reproach, since married men in Rome were not expected to be monogamous. *Paelex* is used far more frequently by Ovid than by any other classical author, and in Ovid's works, the word is heavily loaded: it is used almost exclusively by wives, in a severely negative connotation, to excoriate the women with whom their husbands have affairs, even if the 'other woman' in question is a rape victim (as here; cf. *Met.* 2.530) or captive (*Fasti* 3.483).

2.183 deceit This is an oblique reference to the idea that, to rape Callisto, Jupiter disguised himself as Diana. Although this detail is not otherwise mentioned in the *Fasti*, it is elaborated extensively in the *Met.* version of Callisto's story. Since *furto* can be read as 'in secret' rather than 'by deceit', it also refers to Callisto's attempt to keep her pregnancy secret. Cf. 3.22n on Mars' rape of Rhea Silvia.

2.190 follow behind her Although it sounds like a benevolent gesture to save Callisto from being killed (and save her son from unwittingly killing her), Johnson (1996) sees this as a grim destiny, where both mother and son are trapped for eternity in an act of imminent violence, with the hunter pursuing his prey. Especially in conjunction with the idea that Callisto ought to have undergone a purification ritual after giving birth, but will never be able to as Ursa Major, since she is unable to sink into ('bathe') in the sea, the ending of this story is deceptively bleak.

2.191 Tethys i.e., the sea.

2.192 Maenalian Maenalus is a mountain in Arcadia.

2.194 an island i.e., the Tiber Island, cf. 1.291. It is not clear why the narrator points to a shrine of Faunus as the site for honoring the Fabii, except that both are associated with the Lupercalia in the *Fasti*; see 2.268, 2.375.

2.195–242 The Massacre of the Fabii What follows is a narrative of the massacre of the Fabii by the Veientes at the Cremera in 477 BCE; for other sources see Livy 2.48.7–50.11, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.15–22. Livy 6.1.11 places this event on 18 July. It is not clear why Ovid's narrator places it on 13 February instead; for a summary of possibilities, see Robinson 183–84. The way the narrator underlines the date (*haec fuit illa dies*, "this was that famous day") creates dissonance with the fact that the date he is marking out is not the date that was famous for the defeat of the Fabii. Though Ovid emphasizes the number of the Fabii as 306, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.3 notes that the Fabii were aided by 4000 clients and friends.

The Fabii are the only family (aside from the imperial family) to be celebrated in the *Fasti* (see 1.605). Their prominence in this work may be linked to Ovid's association with Paullus Fabius Maximus, the addressee of two of Ovid's exilic letters (*Pont.* 1.2 and 3.3). See Robinson 178–80, 196–97. Though the *Fasti* generally takes a positive attitude toward the Fabii, Harries (1991) argues that this passage, in which they feature most prominently, is substantially restrained in its praise of the Fabii, and that Livy's version of the same episode portrays the Fabii negatively, as arrogant and overconfident.

2.198 arms as promised Note that *profiteor* is a deponent verb, but in this instance the perfect participle is used in a passive sense.

2.201 the Porta Carmentalis This gate was part of the system of Republican walls, near the Theater of Marcellus.

2.205 Cremera Although the name Cremera is conventionally feminine, here the river is given the masculine gender. Rivers are typically masculine in Latin, especially when personified; they are implied to match various words for river that are masculine, such as *fluvius*, *amis*, or *rivus* (Gildersleeve (1903) 10).

2.208 Tyrrhenian i.e., Etruscan (cf. the Tyrrhenian Sea).

2.210 Libyan lions This passage on the Fabii stands out from the elegiac work because of its marked use of epic style and language. The epic quality is underlined by the three extended similes (the Libyan lion, the raging torrent, and the hunted boar), all of which are common in epic battle scenes.

2.224 any other The significance of *alter* would be more naturally expressed with the word *alius* (*alter* signifying the second of two things, whereas *alius* signifies one more added to an indefinite count).

2.235–6 that single day... Note the elaborate chiasmic arrangement and polyptoton of *una dies ... ad bellum miserat ... ad bellum missos ... una dies*.

2.237 Hercules' line The Fabii claimed descent from Hercules: see Plut. *Fab.* 1.1; this notion is also mentioned at *Pont.* 3.3.99–100.

2.241–2 your delays i.e. Fabius Maximus Cunctator, whose delaying tactics thwarted Hannibal's invasion of Italy in the Second Punic War. This couplet adapts Verg. *Aen.* 6.845–846, when Fabius Maximus Cunctator is addressed in the second person (in much the same language as he is here) as part of the parade of heroes. Vergil's lines are themselves a modified quotation of Enn. *Ann.* 363 (Skutsch), quoted by Cic. *Off.* 1.84.

2.243–66 The Raven, the Snake, and the Cup What follows is a brief

aetiology of three constellations that are closely juxtaposed. The astronomical information provided (i.e. the date of their rising) is famously attacked by Frazer *ad* 2.326–327 as a major inaccuracy, although Robinson *ad loc.* in turn attacks Frazer’s inaccuracies (cf. Fox (2004)). Cf. 3.712n. Whatever other inaccuracies may be present, it is clear that the three constellations do not rise together, but the narrator regardless describes them as rising together to introduce this narrative.

2.247 Phoebus i.e. Apollo.

2.248 I will not make this a long story The narrator’s promise to keep this story short is reinforced by his use of Callimachean language throughout the story (Callimachean literature preferring short, pithy works over long epics); see 1.1n, Robinson 197. This aside is also tied to the idea that, within the story, slowness and delay is penalized where quickness and efficiency would have been preferred.

2.250 clear water The use of *tenuis* to describe *aqua* is unusual. It is usually understood to mean “clear water” (as in Nagle 64, B&W 34, W&W 25), which interpretation I have followed, though Frazer 1:69 interprets it as “a little water.” Robinson 202 construes *tenuis* as part of the Callimachean ambiance.

2.263 milky figs Unripe figs contain a milky sap, which turns to a clear juice when the fruit is ripe. Additionally, unripe figs tend to cling to the tree, whereas the ripe fruits are removed more easily.

2.266 the Snake, the Raven, and the Cup The fact that the constellations are adjacent is emphasized by the placement of the words next to each other.

2.267–424 Lupercalia The Lupercalia is a famous fertility festival in Rome. In this celebration, a goat was sacrificed, the hide was cut into strips, and young men chosen for the occasion (called ‘Luperci’) ran through the city, whipping bystanders with the strips of hide. The ritual was supposed to promote fertility in those who were whipped. For more on the Lupercalia, see Beard, North, and Price (1998) 2:119–24. Some descriptions of the event (as here) say the Luperci ran naked, but others say not; the evidence is not consistent on this point. The event was associated with a cave on the Palatine called the Lupercal (see 2.381n), and is associated with the legend of the *lupa* that nursed Romulus and Remus. As a major annual event in the city, the Lupercalia of 44 BCE was the locus of political theatre, when Antony as one of the Luperci offered a crown to Julius Caesar as a symbol of his sovereignty, who ostentatiously refused it and dedicated it to Jupiter instead (Plut. *Caes.* 61.3–4, *Ant.* 12; see North (2008)). The festival may

have retained some political charge when mentioned in the *Fasti*. Suet. *Aug.* 31 claims that Augustus reinstated the Lupercalia after its practice had lapsed, but we have no other evidence that the Lupercalia ever lapsed; see Holleman (1973).

2.268 Faunus Faunus is typically equated with the Greek god Pan (the name Pan will be applied to Faunus three lines below), on which see 1.397n. His name may be derived from the word *fari*, and connected to his oracular aspect (Robinson 180–81). Faunus has two horns because he has some attributes of a goat, which will be relevant to the following passage not only because a goat is sacrificed in the Lupercalia, but also because his animal nature is associated with a lack of sexual inhibition during the Lupercalia.

2.269 Muses *Pierides* refers to either a group of nine sisters who challenged the Muses for their authority over poetry and were transformed into magpies after losing the contest (*Met.* 5.294–698), or, as here, is used as an epithet for the Muses themselves (cf. *Am.* 1.1.6), who usurped the name after defeating their challengers. The use of this epithet particularly evokes the Hesiodic tradition, as Hesiod says the Muses were born in Pieria, *Theog.* 53. On the Muses, see 1.657–662n.

2.271 Pan *Pana* is treated as a Greek loanword, and is given the Greek accusative ending *-a*.

2.273–6 Mount Pholoe... A list of locations in Arcadia. The particular association of Pan with Arcadia is confirmed by Theoc. *Id.* 1.124, Verg. *G.* 1.17, *Ecl.* 10.14–15. Pholoe is a mountain, Stymphalus is a lake, Ladon is a river, and Nonacris is a mountain. Tricrene is a very obscure Arcadian mountain only known from Paus. 8.16.1. (Robinson 213 prefers to read Cyllene, a much more famous Arcadian mountain, for Tricrene.) Parrhasia is a region in southern Arcadia; cf. 1.478n. Pine trees or boughs are symbolic of Pan.

2.277 mares The specification of ‘female horses’ is unusual. Some editors prefer to read *aquarum*, although Pan is not typically thought to preside over waters.

2.279 Evander Cf. Evander’s journey from Arcadia to found a colony in Italy, 1.471–542; the statement that Evander established Arcadian gods in Italy is repeated at 5.91–102. Interestingly, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.31.2 identifies Faunus as the king of the Italian aborigines who welcomes Evander when Evander arrives from Arcadia (i.e., Faunus/Pan was already present in Italy before Evander).

2.281 Pelasgians The Pelasgians are the legendary aboriginal people of

Greece, often associated with Arcadia and the family of Lycaon: Apollod. 2.1.1, 3.8.1, Hdt. 1.56–8, Strabo 5.2.4, 7.7.10 (who describes Pelasgians as uncouth and primitive, citing Hom. *Il.* 16.235), Paus. 8.1.4–5 (who associates the Pelasgians with many signifiers of primitivism, such as a diet of acorns, clothing made of skins, and rudimentary shelters). Below (2.291–302), the Arcadians are likewise depicted as uncivilized. Apollodorus cites Hesiod in reporting that the Pelasgians were autochthonous (as does Servius auctus *ad Aen.* 2.84), but the citation in Hesiod does not survive. Although the Pelasgians are mentioned only once in the *Fasti*, the term appears frequently in the *Met.* and the *Her.*, often as a blanket term for Greeks (as opposed to non-Greeks such as Trojans or Colchians, e.g. *Met.* 7.133, 12.7, 13.269).

2.282 Flamen Dialis On the flamines, see 2.21n. Various flamines were dedicated to individual gods; the Flamen Dialis is a flamen dedicated specifically to Jupiter (*Dialis* being derived from *Diespiter*, an archaic form of *Juppiter*. Varro *Ling.* 5.84 discusses the origin of the word). Several sources (Livy 1.20.1, Plut. *Num.* 7, Cic. *Rep.* 2.26) report that the office of Flamen Dialis was created by Numa, which seems to conflict with the statement here that the Flamen Dialis dates from before the time of Evander (several centuries before Numa), but this is one of many religious institutions in Rome (the Vestals being another prominent example) that were seen as extremely ancient and whose origin was attributed to various founder figures of the legendary past. The Flamen Dialis was subject to extensive taboos which could restrict the political career of the office holder (Gell. *NA* 10.15), and for this reason the office was generally not considered desirable and may have been difficult to fill (Beard, North, and Price (1998) 2:194–7).

2.283–4 why they run naked, with their clothing thrown aside The redundancy here underlines the nudity of the Luperci. Holleman (1973) discusses the idea of nudity in conjunction with the Lupercalia and suggests that Augustus shut down and reestablished the observance of Lupercalia, and that one of the changes made in the process was that the customary nudity was forbidden. Note the heavy anaphora on *ipse*, and polyptoton of *nuda/nudus/nudos*.

2.288 clothing is an encumbrance It was typical in ancient Greece for athletic contests (such as the Olympics) to be conducted with the participants naked.

2.289 before the birth of Jupiter i.e. during the Age of Saturn, that is the Golden Age. Cf. e.g. Hes. *Op.* 109–120, Verg. *Ecl.* 4, *Aen.* 8.319–327, *Met.* 1.89–112. The Golden Age is a standard topos of Greek and Roman

literature; Lovejoy and Boas (1935, especially chapter 2) have compiled a thorough summary of Greek and Roman literary references to the Golden Age; see also Evans (2008) for an analysis of the classical Golden Age through the lens of utopian theory. Here the narrator incorporates several stock signifiers of the Golden Age. Often the Golden Age is defined by what it lacks, i.e. detriments of the present such as old age, disease, and hard work.

2.290 older than the moon On the idea that the Arcadian clan is older than the moon, see 1.469–170n. Here it may relate to the idea of a lunar calendar (i.e., the Arcadians predate any system of months).

2.291 like wild animals Roman authors occasionally reference the simpler life lived by animals (in simultaneously good and bad sense: lacking both the cares and the comforts of human civilization), *more ferarum*: Hor. *Sat.* 1.3.109, Verg. *Aen.* 4.551, Lucr. 5.932. The Arcadians specifically are associated with an animalistic nature in the myths of Lycaon, who was turned into a wolf, and Callisto, who was turned into a bear; cf. 2.173n. Cic. *Cael.* 26 also marks the Luperci as particularly wild and uncivilized.

2.291–2 unsophisticated, unskilled The vocabulary in this couplet is vague, and the meaning is not entirely clear. *Nullos agitata per usus* could mean their life was ‘lived without customs’ (i.e., unsophisticated, as I have translated it) although it is often interpreted to mean their lives are ‘unprofitable’ or ‘purposeless’. (E.g. B&W 35: “Their life was that of beasts, consumed without purpose; They were as yet an artless crowd and crude”; likewise Frazer 1:73 says “Their life was like that of beasts, unprofitably spent.”) In particular, the word *agitata* is often applied to animals, meaning ‘tended’ for domestic animals and ‘hunted’ for wild animals, and here suggests that that Arcadians are subhuman. *Ars* can mean general knowledge, science, education, skill, or any specific training. With such a wide semantic range, the narrator may mean that the Arcadians are ‘uneducated’, ‘unscientific’ or simply ‘ingenuous’.

In a broader sense, it is not clear how positive or negative the narrator intends to be in describing the Arcadians here. They live, in a sense, in the Golden Age (before the birth of Jupiter, during the reign of Saturn), which is generally presented as an idyllic time in Greek and Roman literature, characterized by a natural abundance of resources and an absence of labor. All the same, the idea that the Arcadians live “like animals”, seems to carry a definite negative connotation. As mentioned at 2.289n, the Golden Age is often defined in terms of what it lacks, but here the narrator specifies that the

Arcadians lack a number of things that would generally be seen as comforts to humans, such as shelter, warm clothing in cold weather, and beverages that are not water. In connection with the narrator's ambiguous statements about the Arcadians having *nullos usus* and being *artis expers*, the Golden Age here is presented in a much less positive light than usual. For similar pessimistic visions of the primitive life, see Lucr. 5.925–1062 and Varro *Rust.* 2.1.4.

2.293 for food The word *frux* is associated with honesty, worthiness, and virtuousness: *frugi aptus* means 'fit for food', that is 'virtuous'; this builds the idea of the Arcadians as ingenuous (see 2.291n, 2.292n).

2.294 nectar On nectar see 2.146n.

2.295 curved plow *Vomer* is only part of a plow, specifically part of the blade used to cut the ground (the plowshare), and not a part that the bull would be underneath, but the word is here used synecdochally to refer to the plow as a whole. Also note the hyperbaton on the *nullus ... taurus*.

2.296 the dominion of a farmer A natural abundance of food and corresponding absence of agricultural work is a typical signifier of the Golden Age (during the reign of Saturn), and ties back to the idea that the Arcadians predate the birth of Jupiter.

2.298 fully clothed in their own wool Another typical signifier of the Golden Age is the absence of commerce and corresponding absence of money; people do not make or sell clothing (cf. Vergil's color-changing sheep in the *Ecl.* 4.42–5). The narrator here draws on this convention as an explanation of why Pan and the Luperci are naked. Note the Greek accusative of *corpus*.

2.302 wealth of past ages The 'noble savage' idea that people are better off without the goods associated with civilization is here referenced in the fact that what the narrator calls *antiquas opes* is in fact a lack of wealth (i.e., absence of clothing). Cf. 3.56n.

2.303 full of hoary humor The following story of Faunus' attempted assault on Omphale is one of four stories in the *Fasti* that the narrator specifically marks out as humorous, all of which have an element of sexual impropriety, and three of which involve attempted sexual assault (the other stories being those of Priapus and Lotis 1.391–440, Priapus and Vesta 6.319–348, and Mars and Anna Perenna 3.675–696). Fantham (1983) has examined the idea of humor in connection with these sexual stories.

2.305 the young man of Tiryns i.e. Hercules. On Hercules in the *Fasti*, see 1.544n.

2.305–358 Faunus, Hercules, and Omphale Hercules' enslavement to Omphale is frequently alluded to in Greek and Roman literature, although there is no comprehensive narrative of the event and the details vary between authors. It is generally accepted that Hercules was sold into a fixed period of slavery to atone for a crime, but the question of what crime he committed varies (for explanations for why Hercules was sold into slavery, see Soph. *Trach.* 248–290, Diod. Sic. 4.31.4–5, Hyg. *Fab.* 32, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.6.2). The duties he undertook also vary; Apollodorus depicts him killing bandits and monsters, whereas Roman elegists typically show Omphale dressing Hercules in women's clothing and forcing him to do traditionally feminine tasks such as spinning and weaving. For more on Hercules as a slave and how it complicates his status as a hero, see Beek (2022). Cyrino (1998) traces the details of Hercules' enslavement through different Greek and Roman authors and discusses which authors fitted Hercules with feminine paraphernalia and how this imposed femininity may have interacted with his otherwise emphatic masculinity. For Hercules' enslavement to Omphale as emblematic of the common elegiac topos of *servitium amoris*, see Copley (1947), Wyke (2002) 167–68. While Galinsky (1972) 138–42, 156–60 is dogmatic in reading every reference to Hercules in Augustan literature as a metaphor for Augustus, Hercules with Omphale is much more easily analogized to Antony with Cleopatra (Zanker (1988) 57–62, citing an image on a bowl); Plutarch makes the metaphor of Omphale : Hercules :: Cleopatra : Antony explicit in his 'Comparison of Demetrius and Antony' 3.3. In reading the Hercules of Augustan literature as a consistent metaphor for Augustus, Galinsky does not address the *Fasti* account of Omphale and Hercules directly, but he discusses (156) Propertius' version of the myth as a parody of Vergil's heroic (pseudo-Augustus) Hercules. Galinsky also interprets (140) Augustus' direct attempts to analogize himself to Hercules as an attempt to overwrite Antony and Pompey's attempts to do the same (pace Robinson 227).

It is worth mentioning also that Hdt. 1.7, in describing the Heraclid origin of the royal house of Lydia, describes Hercules visiting Lydia and fathering a child with a slave of Iardanus. In this story, the descendants of Hercules and the slave eventually founded a royal dynasty in Lydia. Herodotean scholars generally connect this story to the story of Hercules and Omphale; see Asheri et al. (2007) 79.

2.307–8 nothing to me On the *quid tibi cum ...* construction, see 2.101n. Here it might be more precisely translated as 'I have nothing to do with you'. Note that the plural *vobis* addresses the vocative *montana numina*.

2.308 this will be my true passion Note that, in the phrases *vidit et incaluit* and *hic meus ardor erit*, the object of Faunus' desire has not yet been specified, foreshadowing the confusion between Hercules and Omphale that will later lead to Faunus' comeuppance.

2.310 weighted down with gold i.e., she is wearing gold necklaces, or possibly cloth woven with gold. Lydia, especially Sardis on Mount Tmolus, had a reputation for being rich in gold, from gold sands washed down the river Pactolus (Hdt. 1.93–94).

2.311 the hot sun *Soles* is poetic plural. There is an ironic contrast between the lightness of the parasol and the enormous strength of Hercules' hands. Parasols are also typically associated with decadent eastern royalty, particularly Cleopatra (cf. the *conopeum* in Hor. *Epod.* 9.16, Prop. 3.11.45 (Goold)). This passage is evocative of a *locus amoenus*, which typically precedes a rape episode or other dangerous events; see 3.13n.

2.313 Grove of Bacchus The mention of Bacchus foreshadows the ceremony that Omphale and Hercules will prepare to observe later in the narrative. Bacchus is frequently associated with gender fluidity and occasionally adopts feminine dress, suggesting the exchange of clothes that Omphale and Hercules will engage in later (see Kampen (1996) 242–43).

Tmolus Tmolus is a mountain in Lydia; the city of Sardis is situated on its slopes. According to Apollod. (*Bibl.* 2.6.3, 2.7.8), Tmolus is also the name of Omphale's former husband, deceased at the time of this story. In *Met.* 11.153–171 Tmolus is the personified mountain who serves as judge in the music contest between Apollo and Pan.

2.314 Evening Star The reference to the Evening Star suggests a wedding song, sung in the evening in anticipation of sex; cf. Catull. 62, with several references to Vesper or Hesperus.

his dusky horse In classical myth, several astronomical bodies (the sun, the moon, and the dawn) are typically imagined as traveling by chariot. On mythic elements in Ovid's astronomy, see 1.313–314n.

2.315 a cave This description of Omphale's cave shows an incongruous mix of the trappings of luxury (coffered ceiling) in cheap materials (tufa, pumice). Although Omphale is a wealthy queen (as evidenced by her gold jewelry), she appears to be staging an outing to an ostentatiously rustic setting, like Marie Antoinette on her farm. The cave with coffered ceiling here can be read both as a humorous element (Omphale is so engulfed in luxury that even the caves where she camps out have carved ceilings) and an ominous suggestion of *locus amoenus* presaging a sexual threat (cf. 3.13n).

Ovid's *loci amoeni* often show beautiful natural settings that look like they have been crafted by artisans, cf. *Met.* 3.155–162 (Diana's cave where Actaeon meets disaster); on the pernicious aspect of art in Ovid, see Johnson (2010). The rustic setting is apparently necessary to the narrative because Faunus is a rustic god who would not typically be found in Omphale's palace; additionally, rape stories are typically imagined as happening in isolated places (not crowded palaces). There is also a suggested connection to the rustic shelters of the Arcadians at 2.289–300, as well as the Lupercal cave in Rome. N.b. also the longstanding use of 'cave' as a euphemism for female genitalia, going back to Homer's description of Odysseus lingering in Calypso's "hollow caves", *Od.* 1.15, foreshadowing the sexual element in the story.

2.318 Alcides On the name Alcides, see 1.543n.

her own finery Hercules in women's clothes is here a comic figure, as he is in Eur. *Alc.* 747–772 when he becomes riotously drunk at a funeral.

2.319 Gaetolian purple Gaetolian purple dye, from north Africa, was according to Plin. *HN* 5.12 very luxurious, apparently more so than purple dye from Tyre.

2.320 smooth girdle In Greek, the word *zona* ('belt') appears in several idioms associated with marriage and sex (see LSJ s.v. ζώνη); the word's association with sex is less strong in Latin where it can signify a man's belt or money-belt.

2.326 lesser weapons Although Hercules is most commonly identified by his attributes the club and the lionskin, many of his adventures hinge on his bow and arrows (dipped in the Hydra's poison). He killed the centaur Nessus with a poisoned arrow (which ultimately led to his own death by poisoning), and at his death he gave his famous bow and arrows to Philoctetes, in whose hands they figured in further adventures during the Trojan War.

2.325–6 Omphale took up... The transgressive gender behavior is accentuated by the phallic aspects of the masculine-coded objects Omphale assumes. Omphale for her part is already a transgressive female and emasculating figure insofar as she is a powerful queen.

2.328 couches The narrator uses an effusive variety of words for the beds in this passage: *lectus*, *cubile*, *torus*, *sponda*. The presence of beds in this cave, particularly high beds that need to be climbed into (*ascendit*, 345, *summo ... toro*, 350, *lecto ... alto*, 353), combines with the coffered ceiling to raise the questions of why this cave is so elaborately furnished, how often Omphale stays here, and how much she prepared in advance to sleep here

rather than in a more formal (and better guarded) setting that the reader might associate with a queen.

2.329 the reason i.e., the reason why they slept on separate couches and did not have sex.

Bacchus lit. ‘the discoverer of the vine’.

2.330 a state of purity Considering that the festivals of Bacchus had a reputation for sexual promiscuity and deviance (cf. the Bacchic revel at 1.393–438, the scandal in Rome that prompted the S.C. *de Bacchanalibus* (Livy 39.8–17; *CIL* i² 2.581), and Pentheus’ assumptions about the Bacchic revels in Eur. *Bacch.* 221–38), it may seem odd that Hercules and Omphale are required to abstain from sex in preparation for his festival. Still, in Euripides’ play (314–318) Tiresias insists that the celebrations are chaste and innocuous.

2.331 the middle of the night Often this sort of midnight scene-setting presages the appearance of a ghost with a warning of danger, most famously in Verg. *Aen.* 2.268 when the ghost of Hector warns Aeneas to flee the city.

2.342 when he sees a snake The simile of someone recoiling in surprise as if from a snake is typical of epic; see Hom. *Il.* 3.33–37, Verg. *Aen.* 2.378–381. The “snake” in this passage may be suggestive of the male genitalia that Faunus expects to find under the lionskin, but the analogy of a phallus to a snake is not well established in Latin; see Adams (1982) 30–31.

2.346 harder than horn Conversely, the analogy of an erect phallus to horn is well-established in Greek and Latin; see Adams (1982) 21–22. There is another dimension to the analogy here because, as the narrator mentioned in 2.268, Faunus has horns of his own. Although Ovid frequently hints at sexual acts, it is unusual for him to describe an erection as explicitly as this.

2.348 bristling with hair Women shaving their legs was a conventional beauty practice in Ovid’s time. At *Ars am.* 3.194 he advises women to shave their legs to attract a lover.

2.356 girl It is very unusual to see the word *puella* describing a queen. This vocabulary takes Omphale very much out of her role as queen and casts her much more as an elegiac mistress. The analogy of Omphale to the elegiac mistress is marked in other Latin elegiac poetry (*Her.* 9, *Ars am.* 2.217–22, Prop. 3.11.17–20 (Goold), *Elegiae in Maecenatem* 1.69–86). Cf. 2.810n on Lucretia.

would-be lover If the use of the word *amator* to describe Faunus’ role in this scene seems unusual, bear in mind that the word *amare* frequently describes one person’s feelings toward another rather than a relationship

that is substantiated by actions. To be Omphale's *amator*, Faunus does not have to do anything more substantial than feel love or lust for her, and this word is still applicable even if she is unaware of his feelings. (Cf. Plaut. *Cas.*, in which the senex Lysidamus is throughout described as Casina's *amator* despite the fact that they have had no meaningful contact.)

2.357 misleading Literally this reads 'deceiving the eye', although in this story Faunus' eyes are not deceived because he is feeling his way in the dark.

the god was fooled by clothing... This line is framed by *veste/vestes*.

2.359 Oh my Muse On the Muse, see 1.657–662n.

2.361–80 Romulus and Remus and the Cattle-Rustlers What follows is an aetiological story explaining the nudity of the Luperci via a legend of Romulus and Remus leaving an athletic competition (nude) to thwart some cattle-rustlers and eat a sacrificial feast. The story gives unusual prominence to Remus rather than Romulus, who will miss the chance to eat the sacrifice after Remus outpaces him. This vignette from Romulus and Remus' upbringing stresses their humble origins (cf. 3.55–66, 3.179–192; on the Iron Age *Casa Romuli*, see 1.199n), as well as the practical concerns of a pastoral people living in an area with little law enforcement.

2.365 Romulus and his brother Note that Romulus' twin brother Remus is unnamed here, despite the victorious role he will play in the story. Although Remus is frequently mentioned in the legends of early Latium, he typically is presented as a superfluous auxiliary or double of his brother and is seldom granted a personality of his own; cf. his secondary role in 2.381–422, 3.1–70. Even so, the *Fasti* occasionally gives Remus a personality independent of Romulus, either as rival for his brother (victorious in this case; but cf. 4.809–856), or as a victim of Romulus and Celer, as illustrated by the appearance of his ghost at the Lemuria (which the narrator understands as the "Remuria"), 5.419–492 (cf. 2.143). For a study of Remus across Greek and Roman sources, see Wiseman (1995), although Wiseman gives little attention to the *Fasti* specifically. Robinson 249–62 discusses this episode within the larger tradition of Remus legends. Hinds (1992) assesses Remus' role in the *Fasti* but does not mention this episode. On the twins' divergent fates, see 2.486n.

2.365–8 playfully testing their limbs i.e., they were engaged in an athletic competition. See 2.288n on the ancient convention of exercising naked.

2.367 javelins, stones This equipment is used in athletic competitions based on military exercises. While athletic competitions would be typical of a Roman celebration, it is worth noting the military character of this competition, which contrasts with the pastoral setting and people.

2.370 thieves Cattle-rustling was apparently a major concern for the people of ancient Latium. The story of Hercules and Cacus (see 1.545–582), for example, shows Cacus attempting to steal cattle from Hercules, which Hercules has himself stolen from Geryon. Barchiesi (1997) 158n.29 notes that the “borderline between cattle theft and recovery is rather unclear in pastoral societies” (the word order of the phrase *Romule, praedones, et Reme* leads the audience to understand that Romulus and Remus are themselves the *praedones*).

2.375 Fabii, Quintilii The Luperci were divided into two groups, the Fabiani (or Faviani) and what the narrator calls the Quintilii (elsewhere called the Quinctiales or Quinctiliani; see Robinson 260), which were supposed to be the parties founded by each of the twins. On the Fabii in the *Fasti*, see 2.195n.

2.377 he laughed, and rued The phrase *risit et indoluit* has divided scholars in the interpretation of Romulus’ emotions: is he taking his loss with good humor, or is his laughter a façade covering serious disappointment or anger, or is there some more abstruse explanation? See Robinson *ad loc.*

2.378 his Quintilii had fallen short ... it ended in success Within the *Fasti* this story is notoriously unflattering to Romulus (cf. the syncrisis at 2.133–44) and highlights the ambiguous role of Romulus in Ovid’s poetry. See Hinds (1992), Robinson *ad loc.*

2.381–422 The Lupercal From this vignette of Romulus and Remus’ youth, the narrator transitions into the legend of their birth and exposure. The Lupercal is a cave on the Palatine that was essential to the rites of Lupercalia, but its precise location is not known today. Coarelli 133 says that “No trace of [the Lupercal] has ever been found”, but places it quite close to the Scala Caci. Its name is almost certainly derived from the word *lupus/lupa*, and in Roman legend it is strongly linked to the wolf that nursed Romulus and Remus.

2.383 the Vestal Silvia In Roman legend, Amulius deposed his brother Numitor from the kingship of Alba Longa, killed Numitor’s sons and forced Numitor’s daughter Rhea Silvia to become a Vestal Virgin (to prevent her from having children that would avenge Numitor). The Vestal Virgins were a prominent group of priestesses in Rome who were dedicated to the virgin goddess Vesta. They were enrolled before puberty and not allowed to marry until they were released from service after a thirty-year term. For a summary of the roles, duties, and status of the Vestals, see Beard, North and Price (1998) 1:51–54, 2:202–204; cf. Beard (1980), Coarelli 85; cf. 1.528n. Despite Amulius’

precautions, Rhea Silvia was impregnated by Mars and gave birth to the twins Romulus and Remus. Rhea Silvia is also known as Ilia, a name that ties back to her family's Trojan origin (Ilium being a name for Troy); the name Silvia links her with the Alban Kings, one of whom was named Silvius (according to Ovid *Met.* 14.610; Livy 1.3.6–7 states that Silvius persisted as a cognomen for all the Alban kings). Silvia's story is continued at 3.11–52.

The office of the Vestals was said to have been created by Numa, even though Numa was supposed to have lived after Rhea Silvia's death (for such conflicting statements about the legendary origins of Roman religious offices, see 2.282n).

2.386 one of those boys will be Romulus Note that, despite the victorious role Remus is given in the preceding story, here Remus is ignored and attention is focused on Romulus; cf. 2.365n.

2.389 Albula Varro *Ling.* 5.30 records Albula as an ancient name for the Tiber, and states that the name was changed after the king Tiberinus died in the river.

2.391 boats floating about The area between the Circus Maximus and the Tiber was low-lying and prone to flooding; see Coarelli 309.

2.393 they arrived there *Hic ... huc* makes this very pointedly present; the narrator pulls the reader into this place, in Rome, at the Forum, at the Circus.

travel much farther i.e., they cannot reach the riverbank because the river is swollen; perhaps the flood-level bank is a more gentle slope, where it is easier for the exposed twins to run aground.

2.394 some *Unus et alter* typically signifies 'a few' rather than 'just two'.

2.400 he would have brought you help The myth of a royal infant who is doomed to death but saved, especially by an animal, is attached to several heroes in Greek myth: Jupiter (fed by a goat), Paris (saved by a bear), Atalanta (saved by a bear), Telephus (saved by a doe) Semiramis (saved by doves). See Lewis (1980) 152–210. Heroes saved without the help of animals include Oedipus, Cyrus, Moses, Perseus, and Hercules.

2.404 where he carried them A *sinus* is a fold in the front of a toga that can be used for carrying things, similar to a pocket but larger.

2.412 the Romulus fig Ancient etymologies of *ruminal* typically trace the word back to the Roman word *rumis*, 'teat', and indicate that the ruminal fig tree at the base of the Palatine (apparently near the Lupercal, and not to be confused with the *ficus Navia* in the Comitium; see Robinson 272) is the location where the twins were suckled by the wolf. See Plut. *Rom.* 4.1, Plin. *HN.* 15.77.

2.413 a nursing wolf The story of the wolf that nursed Romulus and Remus is an essential part of Roman legend; Roman coins featuring the wolf are attested as early as 269 BCE (Wiseman (1995) 72), and a Praenestine mirror with an image of a wolf and twins is dated to the fourth century BCE (Wiseman (1993), although this mirror has historically attracted doubts of its authenticity. The famous bronze sculpture of the ‘Capitoline Wolf’, previously dated to the fifth century BCE and sometimes identified with a sculpture mentioned at Cic. *Cat.* 3.19, is today generally thought to be a medieval creation (see Tuck (2021) 3). For more on Roman images of the wolf, see Mazzoni (2010)). Livy 1.4.6–7 (like Plut. *Rom.* 4) attempts to rationalize the wolf story by stating that *lupa* was also a slang term for a prostitute, and suggests that the *lupa* that raised the twins was an ordinary woman rather than a miraculous animal.

2.418 licked their bodies *Fingere* can be used in the artistic sense of ‘form, mold, shape’, emphasizing the parental role the wolf has in ‘shaping’ the twins.

2.423 Arcadian mountain i.e. Mount Lycaeus in Arcadia, which was a center of worship for Zeus and Apollo. Mount Lycaeus had a well known folk etymology from the Greek λύκος, ‘wolf’, and was associated with stories of humans turning into wolves (Paus. 8.2.5–6, Plin. *HN* 8.81–82 (Pliny labels the werewolf story an example of *Graeca credulitas*)). Cf. 2.153–92n on Lycaon. The name is more likely derived from the obsolete Greek word λύκη, ‘light’ (Smith *et al.* (2008) s.v. ‘Lycaea’). In Greek the Lupercalia was called the Λύκαια (e.g. Plut. *Ant.* 12) based on the assumption that the Latin word Lupercalia was derived from *lupus*.

2.424 Lycaean Faunus The worship of Pan in Arcadia is highlighted at 2.271–276. This couplet seems disconnected from the surrounding material; in fact, in saying that the Lupercalia takes its name from Mount Lycaeus, the narrator contradicts the preceding story in which he derives the name from the *lupa* and her role in saving the twins. For this reason (and because of the homoeoteleuton with the preceding couplet), some editors omit this couplet. On multiple aetiologies in the *Fasti*, see 3.543n.

2.425–6 magic spells For an overview of Greek and Roman magical practices, see Watson (2019); for witches in literature, see Spaeth (2014), Pollard (2008); in Ovid specifically, see Segal (2002), McDonough (2004). Ogden (2009) has compiled and discussed the appearances of magic and witches in the Ovidian corpus: *Am.* 1.8.1–20, 2.1.23–8, 3.7.27–36, 73–84; *Fasti* 2.572–83; *Her.* 6.83–94; *Met.* 4.329–33, 7.159–351.

2.427–8 thus you will give As a fertility rite, the Lupercalia had a magical

aspect. The narrator here attempts to denigrate certain illicit fertility practices (such as *pollentes herbae* and *magicum carmen*) while still endorsing the Lupericalia fertility rite, which was sponsored by the Roman state religion.

2.429–52 Lucina What follows is a story of Romulus, in the aftermath of the Sabine rape, attempting to placate the gods and build the population of his new city in response to a dearth of new children. It is a sequel to that of the Sabine Women at 3.179–234.

2.432 Romulus Romulus here can be taken as an analogue for Augustus in lamenting the failure of women under his rule to bear children (note the reference to the Sabine Women in the syncrisis, 2.139). This can be taken in a particularly pointed sense in reference to his own wife Livia, with whom he had no children, and whom he was accused of ‘abducting’ from her first husband (cf. 2.140n).

2.431–3 my crime Romulus unabashedly describes his actions in terms that show culpability on his part. This ties in with the often negative depiction of Romulus in the *Fasti*, (cf. 1.133–144, 1.359–380, 2.365n).

2.434 these women *Nurus* strictly means ‘daughter-in-law’, but Ovid sometimes uses it to mean ‘young women’ generally (e.g. *Ars am.* 3.248, *Her.* 16.184, *Met.* 2.366). N.b. the women in this passage are defined in terms of their role in their marriages.

2.435–6 grove This is the temple of Juno Lucina, located in an unknown location on the Cispan peak of the Esquiline (cf. 3.245–258). Here the narrator suggests that the epithet Lucina is derived from *lucus*, although in fact it is derived from *lux*, insofar as Lucina as a goddess of childbirth brings children into the light.

2.437 women and men alike The phrasing *nuptaeque virique* emphasizes the connubial status of the suppliants, even though Romulus earlier called attention to the fact that the women were not willing participants in their marriages.

2.441 must penetrate A future imperative. This form has the effect of a formal pronouncement and is frequently used in laws to describe legal (or in this case, religious) requirements. *Inire* has a broad semantic range and can be used in various innocuous senses, but insofar as the suppliants have approached the goddess in the context of a sexual/reproductive problem, they are primed to hear the word in its sexual significance of ‘penetrate’.

mothers The use of *matres* is proleptic, since the point of this ceremony is that none of the women (or at least, an insufficient number of them) have given birth yet.

2.443–4 an exile from Etruria Ancient Latium as depicted in the *Fasti* is substantially populated with exiles and colonists, usually Greeks: Evander 1.471–542, Titus Tatius 1.260n, Ino 6.485–550, Anna and Aeneas 3.545–656, Virbius 5.737–762. See Introduction §5. Etruria is frequently identified as the place of origin for Roman religious ceremonies, especially augury; see e.g. Cic. *Div.* 1.3, Plin. *HN* 28.15. On Etruscan religion, see de Grummond (2006) 23–27 and the Appendix in Dumézil (1996).

2.450 first light On the etymology of *Lucina*, see 2.436n.

2.455 six days Although *sex diebus* is in the ablative, it signifies duration of time, which would more typically be communicated by an accusative.

2.457 nimble It is not clear why Aquarius is described as *levis*, thought possibly it is because his pitcher is tilted (i.e., he has poured out its contents).

2.458 receive those heavenly horses i.e., the sun is going into Pisces, traveling by his horse-drawn chariot.

2.459–74 Venus and the Fish The mention of the Fish prompts a narrative of Venus and Cupid rescued by fish during the Gigantomachy. The Gigantomachy and Titanomachy are interrelated conflicts that are sometimes conflated into one: the Titanomachy refers to a generational conflict between the children of Uranus and Gaia (the Titans) and the next generation (Jupiter and his siblings). In this conflict, the younger generation is victorious and Jupiter seizes control of the universe. Subsequently Gaia births a series of monsters (the Giants, including Typhon) to avenge her defeated children and they launch the Gigantomachy, a war against Jupiter and his cohort. On the Titanomachy see Aesch. *PV* 201–227, Hes. *Theog.* 617–735; on the Gigantomachy see Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.6.1–3, Hyg. *Astr.* 2.3, 2.23. The Titanomachy was itself a sequel to an initial conflict in which the Titans overthrew their own father Uranus.

A variant of the ‘Venus and the Fish’ story is reported at *Met.* 5.319–331, in which the gods transform into animals to escape Typhon (cf. Hyg. *Astr.* 2.28, *Fab.* 196.1, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.6.3), retaliated by a character attempting to humiliate the gods for their cowardice. In the present version Venus and Cupid are rescued by fish without transforming into fish. Ovid’s stories of Venus at the Euphrates are part of a complex of Greek and Roman myths that trace back to near eastern stories involving fish and goddesses (whose details vary substantially), which are usually presented as an aetiology for why Syrians do not eat fish. Cf. *Met.* 4.45–46, Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.30, Eratosth. *Cat.* 38, Lucian *Syr. D* 14, Diod. Sic. 2.4. Many of these stories involve a goddess named Derceto, who is equated with Astarte or Atargatis, and is

sometimes identified as the mother of the Babylonian queen Semiramis (in the *Ninus Romance* the name of Semiramis' mother is given as Dercia; in the *Tractatus de Mulieribus* it is given as Derceto (Gera (1997) 6, 70–74). Lightfoot (2003) 65–72, 352–53 discusses the stories of Aphrodite/Derceto and fish in the broader context of the Dea Syria and near eastern religions, bringing in some near eastern evidence (including artworks) that connect divinities with fish. She concludes that the near eastern fish goddess stories may have been more a Greek invention than authentically near eastern, but it is difficult to make any firm conclusions on the available evidence.

2.461 Dione Here (and elsewhere: *Ars am.* 3.3, *Am.* 1.14.33) Ovid uses the name Dione to identify Venus, although in other narratives (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 5.370–371, Pl. *Symp.* 180d) Dione is called the mother of Aphrodite/Venus. Dione is a feminine form of the name Zeus.

2.464 Palestinian water The fact that the narrator places the Euphrates in Palestine attests to his imprecise approach to geography, cf. 2.43, where he locates Naupactus near the river Achelous.

2.470 nymphs, grant your aid As Robinson 295 points out, it is strange that Olympian Venus calls for aid from nymphs who ought to be much less powerful than she is, and the strangeness is underlined when she is rescued not even by nymphs, but by ordinary fish. This evokes the *Met.* version of the story, advancing the idea that the Olympians are weak and cowardly.

2.475–512 Quirinus What follows is a narrative of the apotheosis of Romulus/Quirinus, described many times in Roman literature, including Livy 1.16.1, Cic. *Rep.* 2.20, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.63.3, Florus 1.1.16, Solinus 1.20, Plut. *Rom.* 27. The story is also reported in *Met.* 14.805–828, which makes a useful comparison to the version in the *Fasti*, particularly within the context of apotheosis stories in the respective works. In the *Met.*, the apotheosis of Romulus is often read as one of a sequence of apotheoses with political significance in the Roman state (Hercules, Aeneas, Romulus, Julius Caesar; see Tissol (2002), Galinsky (1972) 157, Kenney (2011) *ad Met.* 9.241). Note, however, that the *Met.* also includes many apotheoses that are less politically loaded (e.g. Ino, Glaucus, Acis) and dilute the force of apotheosis as a strictly political phenomenon in the *Met.* By contrast, in the *Fasti* apotheosis (and transformations more generally) are consistently loaded with significance in Roman religion, Romulus' being no exception. On apotheosis in the *Fasti*, see 2.144n, Beek (2015) chapter 1.

The idea that Romulus was physically transported to heaven was widespread, although there is an alternative tradition (attributed to Varro by

the commentator Ps.-Acr. on Hor. *Epod.* 16.13–14) that Romulus was buried in the Roman Forum under the Lapis Niger (alternatively, this was also said to be the grave site of Romulus' foster-father Faustulus, or Hostilius (grandfather of the Roman king of the same name)). Livy 1.16.4 attempts to rationalize the myth of Romulus' apotheosis by saying that he was murdered by the Senators; see 2.497.

In spite of the widespread narrative of Romulus' apotheosis, Robinson 302 states "There is almost no evidence to suggest that Romulus ever received any cult" (bearing in mind that the 'Temple of Romulus' in the Roman Forum is dedicated not to the founder but to a son of Maxentius named Romulus, Coarelli 89–91). Skutsch (1985) 205 *ad* xxxiii speculates that Ennius was the first to identify Romulus as a god.

2.478 by means of his weapons This refers to Romulus' status as a warrior king and his proficiency with weapons.

2.480 united Cures with the Romans i.e., via the rape of the Sabine women (Cures being the city of the Sabines), cf. 3.179–234. After the Romans concluded the war with the Sabines, the two groups merged into a single state and the rapes were deemed legitimate marriages, resulting in combined Roman/Sabine families.

2.482 undertaken personally As reported in Livy 1.10.4, Romulus won the *spolia opima*, a very rare honor in the Roman military, granted only to a general who killed the opposing general. (Romulus killed the king of Caenina, who was attacking in response to the rape of the Sabine women.) The narrator here adopts an unusually positive attitude toward the glories of combat, in contrast to his usual reluctance to glorify military endeavors.

2.483–8 his father said... This discussion between Mars and Jupiter is a variation on their dialogue at *Met.* 14.808–815, where Mars likewise petitions Jupiter to apotheose Romulus.

2.485–6 Remus On Remus, see 2.365n. The depiction of the twins as superficially similar but destined for different fates is also stressed at *Fasti* 5.459–474, when the still-living Romulus is visited by the ghost of Remus (see Beek (2015) chapter 2). Cf. also the pseudo-Ovidian *Consolatio ad Liviam* 239–246, in which Mars petitions the Fates to grant immortality to both twins and they respond that only Romulus will escape death.

2.487 there shall be one... A reference to Enn. *Ann.* 54 (Skutsch), also discussing the fate of Romulus, and notable for its alliteration. Mars quotes the same line in the same context at *Met.* 14.814.

2.489–90 from one pole to the other In referring to poles, the narrator

implies that earth is spherical, which was an accepted fact among educated Romans of his time, although it is at variance with other passages in the *Fasti* that imply a flat earth surrounded by the river Ocean (used by the narrator as a poetic conceit to describe the movement of personified astronomical bodies in imaginative terms; cf. 1.313–314n).

2.491 there is a place The phrase *est locus* is frequently used to introduce a *locus amoenus* (on which see 3.13n), but what follows is not at all like a *locus amoenus*. On the *est locus* formula see Hinds (1987) 36–42.

the Goat's Swamp This place is only known as the site of Romulus' disappearance (see e.g. Livy 1.16.1, Plut. *Rom.* 27.6). It is not positively identified with any known location, although Richardson (1992) s.v. 'Caprae Palus' suggests the Pantheon site as the most common assumption.

2.492 you were administering justice Lawgiving is a typical pursuit of founder figures (e.g. Dido in Verg. *Aen.* 1.507, Aeneas in Verg. *Aen.* 3.137). It is ironically evocative of Jupiter's prophecy at Verg. *Aen.* 1.292–3 *Remo cum fratre Quirinus/iura dabunt*, although here the narrator has just called attention to the fact that Remus has died and cannot participate in Romulus' kingship.

2.493 the sun vanished This phrase suggests a solar eclipse, as in the narrative of the same event at Cic. *Rep.* 1.25 and Plut. *Cam.* 33.7.

2.495 on one side, on the other *Hinc ... hinc* means 'on this side ... on that side' or 'here ... there' and is used to convey a sense of being surrounded, often with attendant confusion (L&S s.v. *hinc* I.B.1).

2.496 everyone flees On the passive construction, see 1.79n.

the king travels to the stars In Roman art, apotheosis is typically depicted as a literal journey to the sky; see Beard and Henderson (1998).

2.497 the senators were falsely accused *Patres* is nom. with *erant* understood: 'The senators stood accused of the crime of the false slaughter'.

2.499 Proculus Julius This man figures in many accounts of the apotheosis of Romulus (Cic. *Rep.* 2.20, Livy 1.16.5, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.63.3) but is not otherwise known. In these accounts, he promotes the deification of Romulus (that is, state recognition of his apotheosis), and implicitly supports the future deification of his kinsmen in the *gens Iulia*, Julius Caesar and Augustus. Alba Longa is connected with Romulus as the place where Rhea Silvia served as a Vestal; see 3.29n.

2.502 his hair stood on end Note the short e in *horruerunt*. The e in the third person perfect active indicative ending is typically long, but can be shortened in poetry for the sake of meter (Gildersleeve (1903) 91). Aeneas' hair likewise stands on end (*steterunt comae*) when he meets the *umbra* of

Creusa at *Aen.* 2.774; she also appears larger than life (*nota maior*, 2.773). Cf. Remus at 5.457–480.

2.507–8 they should offer, propitiate, cultivate The verb here is plural; its subject is morphologically singular but logically plural (referring to a group of people): a *constructio ad sensum*.

2.508 let them cultivate their military Although Quirinus does not say so directly, this last injunction implies that he (like his father) is a martial god. This line echoes the sentiment of Anchises at *Aen.* 6.851–853, when future Romans are instructed to *regere imperio populos ... (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*. Quirinus' use of the word *patrias* not only signifies the martial legacy that Romulus has from his father, but the traditions that the Romans have inherited from as far back as Anchises.

2.513–32 The Feast of Fools and the Fornacalia It is true that the following story is as *parva* (short in length, and humble in subject matter), as the narrator asserts, but his claim that it is *apta*, is less comprehensible. In its short duration, the story touches on a number of topics that are only loosely tied together: the initial statement that the land lacked *doctos colonos* suggests that the *stulti* are those who do not know how to farm, or those who choose to wield the *gladius* rather than the *aratrum*, or possibly those who are unable to toast *far* without ruining it. But in the end, the *stulta pars populi* are the people who do not know to which curia they belong, with no obvious connection to the story of ineffective farmers in antiquity. Robinson 321–22 sees an unflattering parallel between the creation of the goddess Fornax by superstitious farmers and the preceding story of the apotheosis of Romulus, especially insofar as Quirinus encourages the Romans to cultivate their *patrias artes militiamque*, and the ancient people are apparently doing just that, to their own detriment. As Robinson 323–24 elaborates, the narrator's image here of early Roman farmers as incompetent is greatly at odds with the noble rusticity the narrator usually attributes to early Romans in the *Fasti* (cf. 1.197–208, 3.179–196).

2.519–20 wheat As described by Plin. *HN* 18.83–4, *far* is a hardy strain of hulled wheat that can survive in arid environments (see *dura farra*, 6.180), for which reason it was an essential crop in early Rome, where it was eaten as porridge (*puls*) or baked into bread. Unhulled wheat, which requires less work to process and makes better bread, supplanted hulled varieties in popularity over the course of Roman history, but *far* retained an important role in Roman rituals: alongside salt, it was a common offering to gods (see

1.128, 1.276, 1.338, 1.672, 2.24, 3.284, 4.409), and was enshrined in the marriage ceremony of *confarreatio*, in which the bride and groom shared a cake made of *far*. Strictly speaking, *far* is emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*), although the word is sometimes loosely translated as spelt (*Triticum spelta*, a variety of hulled wheat similar to, but genetically distinct from, emmer); see Dalby (2003) s.v. ‘Emmer’.

2.521 put the grains over flames i.e., they cooked the wheat over an open flame rather than in an oven. The grains of *far* grow in a hard hull, and Romans traditionally toasted or dried this grain in ovens to make the hulls easier to remove. Plin. *HN* claims that toasting *far* is not just conventional but essential, whether for ritual purposes (18.7), or, on the practical side, to remove the hulls (18.61). On toasting grain, cf. *Fasti* 1.693, 6.313–314.

2.523 sometimes *Modo ... nunc* here expresses an idea that would more commonly be expressed as *modo ... modo* (‘sometimes ... other times...’).

black ashes i.e., they overcooked the grain until it was reduced to ashes.

2.526 she would not overcook i.e., that she would prevent the accidents that were common before they began using ovens: the charred grain and house fires.

2.527 Curio Maximus i.e. the highest-ranking priest of the Curia, the one who is in charge of all the other Curiae.

2.528 no fixed date Varro *Ling.* 6.25–26 provides a list of *feriae conceptivae*, ‘moveable feasts’ that have no fixed date: the Compitalia, the Latinae Ferae, the Sementivae Ferae, the Paganicae, and the Novendialis.

2.533–56 The Parentalia The narrator describes the ritual, a note on its origin, and a cautionary tale showing the consequences (in the form of furious ghosts) of not observing the ritual.

2.542 say some suitable words Note the unusual use of a third person reflexive-possessive adjective (in the sense of ‘appropriate’), despite the main verb being second person.

2.545 he presented solemn gifts Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5.42–103. Every Roman man was supposed to have a genius, that is, a guardian spirit (Dumézil (1996) 358–63).

2.549 signal The use of *omine* here is strange, since the word usually signifies an extraordinary or supernatural event interpreted as a message from the gods to humanity, but here it seems to refer to the preceding human actions (neglect of the Parentalia) rather than the supernatural consequences that follow (excessive deaths and the appearance of ghosts). If *omine* refers to the neglect of the Parentalia, it may be used in the sense of ‘ominous

action' or 'inauspicious beginning'. Robinson 345–46 prefers to read *omen abesto*, in the sense of 'let the supernatural events that I am about to describe not be an omen of future events'.

2.550 suburban "Suburban" refers to the fact that, as a rule, burials within the city were prohibited, and burials might be situated in a pauper's cemetery outside the gates (Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.8–13) or in lavish tombs along the Via Appia. Cic. *Leg.* 2.58 reports this custom, citing the Twelve Tables.

pyres That is, as a result of the neglect of the Parentalia, an unusually high number of Romans died as divine punishment, possibly in a plague.

2.554 spirits Although Vergil uses *animae* for the souls of the dead in Elysium (and not other parts of the underworld), it is not the typical Latin word for ghosts who appear in the world of the living; *umbra*, *simulacrum*, *manes*, or *imago* would be more typical. For a general study of appearances of ghosts in Greek and Roman literature, see Felton (1999), Ogden (2009) chapters 8 ('Ghosts') and 9 ('Necromancy').

2.555 neglected honors Cf. the appearance of Remus at 5.451–480.

2.557 while these observances are going on i.e., during the Parentalia.

2.558 the pine torch Pine torches are part of a Roman wedding ceremony, as is the practice of parting a bride's hair with a spear (see the following couplet).

2.561 Hymenaeus i.e. the wedding god, cf. *Met.* 9.796, 10.1, Catull. 61, 62.

black smoke The phrase *ignes atris* is often associated with funeral pyres; e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 11.186, Hor. *Carm.* 4.12.26.

2.562 different torches Torches are used in the ceremonies of both weddings and funerals, which fact is used to ironic effect in e.g. Prop. 4.3.13 (Goold).

2.565 ghosts On the use of *animae*, see 2.554n.

bodies *Corpora defuncta* is used in Verg. *Aen.* 6.306 to refer to the dead waiting alongside the Styx to be ferried across the river.

2.566 now is when the shades feed Cf. Prop. 4.7 (Goold), in which any one of the dead can wander on any night. On traditional beliefs that the dead or spirits may haunt earth on a given day of the year, cf. Walpurgisnacht in Europe, Día de los Muertos in Mexico.

2.568 as many as there are feet i.e. eleven, although the *Fasti Maffeiiani* and Philocali list the Feralia on 21 February, which does not align with the calculation of "eleven days before the end of the month." See Robinson *ad loc.* for a summary of explanations behind this discrepancy.

2.569 carry out The narrator derives Feralia from *fero*, ‘to carry’.

2.571–616 Tacita What follows is the story of Tacita, who is little known in the Roman pantheon, although Plut. *Num.* 8.6 claims that Numa encouraged the Romans to worship her especially. As in the story of Anna Perenna (3.523–696), the narrator begins with a description of contemporary observances of her rites, before moving into a mythic narrative of the goddess herself.

2.575 having sung an incantation This translation implies that the participle *cantata* is a perfect middle modifying the *anus*, but it is a perfect passive modifying *licia*, ‘having been sung over’.

lead The lead object in question may be a *defixio*, a curse tablet.

2.571–82 the ancient grandmother On Roman magic, see 2.426n. The old woman here is a close parallel to other contemporary female witches in Roman literature, like Horace’s Canidia (*Sat.* 1.8), Ovid’s Dipsas (*Am.* 1.8), or Vergil’s Simaetha (*Ecl.* 8) (in contrast to mythic witches like Medea and Circe). Like Horace, Ovid satirizes and disparages old female witches, making them appear pathetic, ineffective, and self-serving, unethically holding young people in awe of their power. The narrator compares this witch unfavorably with the *senes* in 2.584, who are presented as a more authoritative source of information. Ogden (2009) contrasts the representation of famous historical male magicians (such as Simon Magus or Lucian’s Alexander) with contemporary female magicians; cf. Spaeth (2014).

2.578 fish Maena or *mena* is a cheap fish eaten salted by the poor; cf. Mart. 11.31.14, Ov. *Hal.* 120. Plin. *HN* 32 suggests various medical uses for maena.

2.580 she drinks most of it The drunken old woman is a stock figure of satire in the *Fasti*, cf. 3.533–534, 541–2, and 6.397–416 (this last example is not specified to be drunk, but she is walking the streets barefoot and speaks to strangers in a trembling voice). This archetype is part of a general pattern of disparagement of old women (especially madams and witches) in the works of Ovid as drunken, disreputable, and tawdry. Cf. Ripat (2016); cf. the Hellenistic sculpture of the ‘Old Market Woman’ in New York’s Metropolitan Museum and the ‘Drunken Old Woman’ Hellenistic sculpture in the Capitoline Museums.

2.581–2 we have tied our enemies’ tongues This passage depicts a sympathetic spell intended to prevent one’s enemies from speaking. Such enforced silence prevents the targets from casting malicious spells.

2.584 hoary old grandfathers Note the disjunction between the information that comes from the old woman (presented as unreliable) and

the information from the old men (presented as authoritative). The phrases *anus annosa* and *antiquos senes* are both pleonastic.

2.585 Juturna On Juturna's origin, see 1.463n. Robinson 377–379 calls attention to the idea that in *Aen.* 12.138–145 Juturna was supposed to have been a mortal who was granted immortality in compensation for her rape by Jupiter, whereas here she apparently already is immortal *before* her rape. She is associated with a spring in the Roman Forum, referenced at 1.708. Although the works of Ovid show many victims of rape, Juturna here seems to be subject to an unusually high level of persecution by her attacker, insofar as she undertakes an extended campaign of avoiding and hiding from Jupiter. On rape in the *Fasti*, see 1.392n.

2.586 intolerable Jupiter's idea of what he should or should not have to endure in the realm of infatuation is a point raised e.g. in the *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* which opens (36–52) with Zeus attempting to correct the power imbalance created by Aphrodite's influence over him and other gods.

2.588 kindred waters Because Juturna is a water nymph, other nymphs and their associated bodies of water are considered her relatives.

2.592 a union *Iungere* is frequently used in Ovid to refer to sexual intercourse, although it is not typically construed with *membra*. See e.g. *Her.* 9.134, *turpia famosus corpora iunget Hymen*; *Her.* 15.191, *tecum mea pectora iungi*; *Rem.* 407, *venerem quoque iunge figura*; *Fasti* 3.511, *tu mihi iuncta toro*. For a synopsis of sexual idioms involving *iungere* and body parts, see Adams (1982) 179–80. Frazer prefers the reading *concupuisse* for *iungere membra*, which is supported by the oldest manuscript (A) and which avoids the awkward idiom. My translation leans toward the reading *iungere membra*, following the later manuscripts (Z). Jupiter in this episode is cast as very self-absorbed and entitled, and the coarse expression *iungere membra* contributes to this characterization.

2.597 Tiber nymphs lit. 'daughters of Tiberinus'. On Tiberinus see 2.389n.

2.598 your home, divine Ilia *Thalamos, Ilia diva, tuos*, is a reference to the river Anio. According to *Ov. Am.* 3.6.45–82, after the birth of her twins, Ilia (Rhea Silvia) attempted to drown herself in the Anio, but was rescued by the river god and subsequently married to him (hence the mention of *thalamos*, bedchambers). Others say that Ilia was married to Tiber (Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.13–20). The mention of Ilia's *thalamos* and the Tiber recalls other episodes in the *Fasti*: her rape on the banks of the Tiber (3.9–46), and the abandonment of her twins in the Tiber (2.383–422, 3.49–52). This magnifies

the tragic aspect of the forthcoming rapes in this episode, and foreshadows the Lares Compitales as another pair of twins who were the result of rape (2.615n).

2.599 naiad Naiads are a class of nymphs that inhabit and personify small bodies of fresh water, such as springs and lakes.

2.600 Lala The name Lala evokes the Greek λαλεῖν, ‘to chatter’ (for a character with a similar name for similar reasons, see Lalage in Hor. *Carm.* 1.22.23–24). Lara/Lala is not mentioned elsewhere in the Greek or Roman tradition except at Lactant. *Div. inst.* 1.20, where she is equated with Larunda. Robinson 384 plausibly suggests a connection to the well-attested Etruscan goddess Lasa.

2.601 she was named for her shortcoming Note the hypermetric line. It is very unusual in the *Fasti* for a sentence to extend beyond the end of a couplet, and his decision to do so here throws sinister stress on the fault in question.

Almo The river god Almo is Lara’s father, and resembles Daphne’s father Peneus from *Met.* 1.481–489, a parent whose advice is not followed, to the daughter’s regret.

2.605–6 she went to Juno Although Juno does not take action in this story, typically Ovidian stories in which Juno becomes involved in Jupiter’s affairs do not end well. Cf. e.g. the stories of Semele in *Met.* 3.256–315, Io in *Met.* 1.583–747, Echo in *Met.* 3.362–369. (Echo is also described as too talkative, but in contrast to Lala, she works against the interests of Juno).

2.607–8 The story of Tacita is frequently connected to the story of Philomela at *Met.* 6.412–674, which also includes the vindictive action of tearing out a person’s tongue in connection to sexual misbehavior. Tacita’s story is a prominent example of the theme of silence and retribution throughout *Fasti* 2, and the common message throughout Ovid’s works that those in power (especially the gods) react violently to anyone who questions or offends them, even accidentally. See Feeney (1992), de Luce (1993), Keegan (2002), McDonough (2004), Murgatroyd (2005) 78, Robinson 10–11, 355–357. Natoli (2017) esp. 22–32 delves farther into the significance of silence in Latin literature, particularly in Ovid’s works, although he does not address the *Fasti* in detail. N.b. Philomela will be referenced immediately below (2.629) as an egregious criminal.

2.610 infernal marsh Note the reiteration of the word *palus*, which also appeared in connection with Juturna on earth. Juturna’s fate is not elaborated here, but in the *Aen.* she becomes immortal and aids her brother in war until

his death, cumulating in her lament (12.877–884) that, as an immortal, she cannot join her brother in the underworld.

2.611 orders were carried out Mercury is often executor of Jupiter's orders in myth: cf. *Met.* 1.668–721, Verg. *Aen.* 1.297–304.

2.615 the Lares who guard crossroads On the Lares, see 1.136n. The Lares compitales are associated with crossroads (*compita*) but otherwise are not clearly distinct from other types of Lares (Lares familiares, Lares praestites). The narrator here connects their name to the name of their mother, Lara. The Lares are also generally connected with the *manes*, hence the narrator's stress on Lara as an underworld goddess.

2.617 Caristia What follows is a description of the Caristia, which comes from the Greek *χαριστήια*, 'thank offerings'. The Roman observance is an annual family banquet also known as *cara cognatio*, suggested by the phrase *cognati cari*. While the feast is supposed to include the entire family and encourage harmony, the narrator focuses on excluding family members who are malicious. Cf. Val. Max. 2.1.8.

2.623–30 let them stay far away... Cf. the list of notorious murderers at 2.39–44 (Medea is on both lists), and Vergil's list of characters tormented in Tartarus, *Aen.* 6.565–627.

2.627–9 the sons of Tantalus... These are all well-known tragic examples of people who killed or harmed family members (especially children). Atreus (the descendant of Tantalus) killed his nephew, Medea (the wife of Jason) killed her brother and sons, Ino (who distributed ruined seed) arranged for her stepchildren to be sacrificed (although they were rescued from her attempt at killing them), Procne and Philomela killed their son/nephew, and Tereus raped and mutilated Philomela.

2.637 bless all of you *Bene vos* etc. is a conventional toast (cf. Plaut. *Stich.* 709, *bene vos, bene nos, bene te, bene me, bene nostram etiam Stephanium*). It is unclear who the *vos* in this passage is; it may address the speaker's fellow guests, or it may address the Lares or other gods.

father of the country i.e., Augustus.

2.638 the words *Bona verba* evokes the religious formula *favete linguis*, on which see 1.71n.

2.639–84 Terminalia Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.74 describes the origin of the Terminalia, attributing its foundation to Numa. On rustic holidays in the *Fasti*, cf. 1.337–346, 1.393–438, 1.663–696, 2.361–368. Hor. *Epod.* 2.59 describes the celebration of Terminalia with a sacrificed lamb.

2.642 numen The narrator's attribution of *numen* to a boundary stone

is noteworthy here. *Numen* is a complex religious concept that evolved over the course of Roman history. Prescendi (2006) 894 offers a synopsis: “*Numen* in its original sense referred not to an impersonal power, but to the will of a specific deity. Only since the Augustan period, and particularly in poetic language, did *numen* take on a broader meaning, being used as a synonym for ‘deity.’” Ovid uses it freely throughout his works (47 times in the *Fasti*, including this instance) to refer to gods and divine power. Hunt (2016) 177–90 summarizes the complex history of the interpretation of the word *numen* in modern religious scholarship (particularly the debate around whether the concept of *numen* engages with animism). In doing so, Hunt discusses some examples of *numen* applied in extravagant or unconventional ways to subjects that are not usually understood as divine, such as a lover’s body, a letter to a lover, or a place to meet a lover. Ovid is a notable user of this sort of exaggeration (cf. *Am.* 2.18.17, *Her.* 13.159, *Her.* 21.150), although it also attested in Cicero (*P.Red.Quir.* 18 applies it to the Roman citizenry, and *Phil.* 3.32 applies it to the Senate). Nevertheless, Ovid’s claim here that a boundary marker has divine power seems sincere, given how Jupiter and the other gods give way to the boundary marker. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.74.4 also specifies the divine nature of the boundary stones (Ῥωμαῖοι ... θεοῦς τε γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τοὺς τέρμονας καὶ θύουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁσέτη).

2.654 reverent silence On the formula *favete linguis* see 1.71n.

2.656 nursing piglet It is not clear whether *lactans porca* refers to a nursing mother sow or a nursling piglet, because in the context of nursing, *lactare* can describe either providing or consuming milk. The *porca* is here specified to be female, which inclines toward the interpretation of a mother sow, but the suggestion that this small offering is unnecessary implies an immature piglet rather than a grown pig.

to him Here the reflexive pronoun refers to subject of main clause, i.e. Terminus.

2.663–6 Thyrea This is a reference to a border dispute between the Spartans and the Argives (Hdt. 1.82.1–6). Each side sent three hundred champions, of whom two Argives and one Spartan survived. The Argives went home, but the Spartan Othryades set up a trophy as a boundary marker and declared victory. In a Roman context, a trophy is an assemblage of armor from a defeated enemy, put on display.

2.671–2 a tiny aperture The idea that Terminus could only be worshipped under the open sky is also referenced at Serv. ad. *Aen.* 9.446.

2.678 must still proclaim *Clamato* is a future imperative, which usually

is used for rulings that must be consistently applied, such as laws. It is fitting for a boundary stone, which is supposed to guarantee the same information in perpetuity.

2.679 there is a road The Via Laurentina runs from Rome south toward the city of Lanuvium and Laurentum, in the direction of the sea (Coarelli 438).

2.680 the Dardanian general i.e. Aeneas.

2.681–2 the sixth milestone In this passage, the sixth milestone seems to refer to an ancient boundary of the city of Rome, and the description of a sacrifice apparently refers to a city-wide celebration of Terminus (as opposed to the small-scale rites observed at the boundaries of farms described above). See Robinson 432–33.

2.683–4 the limits of the city of Rome This articulates the importance of Terminus within Roman state religion: Terminus restricts other people, but not the Roman people.

2.685–852 The Regifugium What follows is a series of references to legends from the end of the Roman monarchy, most of them involving Tarquinius Superbus and his sons: the capture of Gabii, the Brutus' interpretation of the Delphic oracle, the siege of Ardea and the rape of Lucretia. All of these stories are heavily influenced by Livy's account (Gabii: 1.53–54, oracle: 1.56.7–12, Ardea: 1.57.4–11, Lucretia: 1.57–58), where they are reported as separate episodes and at greater length. The narrative here compresses all the episodes and loosely connects them, presenting them as a single episode, the *causa* for the Regifugium. On the Rex Sacrorum in the Regifugium, see 2.21n. The influence of Livy on the *Fasti* is patent and has been substantially explored e.g. in Chiu (2016) chapter 1 and Murgatroyd (2005) chapter 6.

2.687–8 Tarquinius This is Tarquinius Superbus, the last of the seven kings of Rome, who was notorious for being such a bad ruler that the Romans deposed him, dismantled the monarchy, and established the republic instead.

2.690 Gabii Gabii is a settlement not far from Rome, near the modern town of Torre di Castiglione. For its capture under Tarquinius, cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.53–58 and Livy citation above. Although it may have been well populated at one time, by Ovid's time it was primarily ruins, only lightly populated near the road (as reported by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.53.1). Dion. Hal. 4.58.4 claims that, after Tarquinius Superbus captured Gabii, the terms of the truce were inscribed in a leather shield cover which still survived in his lifetime.

2.690–710 a despicable trick The story of someone in a time of war who

pretends to be an outcast from one side and is adopted by the other, only to sabotage their new allies, is familiar from the story of Sinon in *Aen.* 2. Another comparison is Hdt. 3.151–158, the capture of Babylon by Zopyras.

2.691 the youngest of his three sons This is Sextus Tarquinius, notorious for raping Lucretia (as will be described below). He is never named Sextus in the *Fasti*, but is always identified by a circumlocution (as here, *proles Superbi*), in effect to suggest that Sextus is not an aberration within his family, rather that the entire Tarquinius family is corrupt; see Robinson 442.

2.702 he sent a friend to ask... The grammar of this couplet is somewhat abstruse. *Appellat* encompasses the idea of asking (“he asked his father, having sent a friend”), and introduces the indirect question *quod sibi monstret iter*, (“what way he would show him”). *Perdendi Gabios* (gerund with an accusative direct object) would more typically be construed as *perdendorum Gabiorum*.

2.705–8 the decapitated lilies The coded message communicated by means of cutting the heads off plants was a well-worn anecdote in ancient military narratives. Aside from appearing in Livy 1.54.5–10, Dion. Hal. 4.56.2, Plin. *HN* 19.169, and many other Roman-era authors who attach it to Tarquinius’ conquest of Gabii, it earlier appears at Hdt. 5.92 (in which Periander of Corinth consults Thrasybulus of Miletus), and Arist. *Pol.* 3.1284a26–37 (in which Thrasybulus consults Periander).

2.711–20 The Oracle The narrative here is compressed to the point of being unclear, although the story is told more fully in Livy 1.56.7–12. To clarify: after the capture of Gabii, the Romans witnessed a portent, i.e. the snake that interrupted the sacrifice. The portent required interpretation, so they sent a delegation to the Delphic oracle, which included the sons of Tarquinius Superbus and also Lucius Iunius Brutus. (The oracle here does not answer any question related to the portent of the snake, but rather answers the question of who will be next to rule in Rome, a question apparently asked in place of, or in addition to, the delegation’s ostensible purpose.) They are told that the next ruler of Rome will be the one who kisses his mother first; Brutus wisely recognizes that the earth is the mother of everyone and kisses the earth while pretending to trip, thus ensuring his accession to power under the new republican government.

2.711 abomination The choice of the word *nefas* stands out here. It can be used to describe any event requiring expiation or purification, and the unfavorable portent described here falls into that category. In the *Fasti*, however, more typically it is used to describe sacrilegious actions of humans, or humans who perform sacrilegious actions.

2.711–2 **ecce...** Note the heavy assonance/alliteration in this couplet, with *ecce ... exit et extinctis ... exta*. Snakes are given special importance in Greek and Roman religion and are often (as here) read as portents.

2.713 Phoebus' oracle The oracle of Apollo at Delphi was the most famous oracle in the ancient Mediterranean and was frequently consulted not only by Greeks but also by people of other nations who were influenced by Greek culture, as the Romans here (cf. 3.855). According to Livy (1.56.6), this was the first time the Romans officially consulted the Delphic oracle. As such, this consultation is associated with various initiatives in the late monarchy to better integrate Roman religion into the Hellenic and international world, along with the founding of the temple of Diana on the Aventine during the reign of Servius Tullius (the temple being specifically affiliated with the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, Livy 1.45.1–2). In Herodotus, the Delphic oracle was notorious for returning ambiguous answers, to the detriment of the people who consulted it.

2.714 first *Princeps* is better known as an adjective to describe someone who is first in terms of status or authority (as above in 2.709; cf. 2.160n), but its original meaning is someone first in time or order (L&S s.v. '1. princeps'). When Livy (1.56.10) reports this oracle, he uses the synonym *primus*: *imperium summum Romae habebit qui vestrum primus, O iuvenes, osculum matri tulerit*.

2.724 they amused themselves On the passive construction, see 1.79n.

2.733 Collatia gave its famous name That is, Tarquinius Collatinus, husband of Lucretia, kinsman of Tarquinius Superbus. Collatia is a Sabine town, now Castellaccio.

2.738 there was no guard The absence of the guard at the door suggests that something is wrong at this house. More specifically, it suggests that the lady of the house is vulnerable to pernicious outside influences (such as seduction, or attack) while her husband is away. In this story, however, it is not the king's daughter-in-law who will fall victim to such an attack, but rather Lucretia. The mention of a guard contributes to the elegiac character of this story; the unsympathetic *ianitor* is a stock character of elegy and is a typical obstacle between the *amator* and his beloved.

2.739–40 strong wine The wine (especially undiluted) marks the women at this party as particularly abandoned: several sources claim that in early Rome, women were forbidden from drinking wine. See e.g. Cic. *Rep.* 4.6, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.25.6, Plin. *HN* 14.89, Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 265b. Garlands were typical accoutrement of drinking parties, and here highlight

the festive atmosphere and the woman's lack of concern for her husband. Note that, in staying up all night drinking, the women at this party are doing essentially the same thing that their husbands were doing at the military camp, but the negative judgement is only applied to the wives.

2.741 Lucretia Lucretia, whose story follows, is a pivotal character in Roman legend. She is presented as the one who brought to light the corruption of the monarchy, and the martyr whose suffering precipitated the foundation of the republic. Among the many rape stories in the Ovidian corpus, Lucretia's stands out in two ways. First, Lucretia is a married woman, while the vast majority of Ovid's rape victims are unmarried. Second, Lucretia is a historical woman who belongs to a well-known family of Rome, whereas most of Ovid's rape victims are nymphs or pastoral characters independent of any obvious family structure or legal system. On rape in Ovid, see 1.392n. Lucretia's story is a fixture of ancient accounts of the history of Rome (the following is only a sample of the best-known sources: Livy 1.57–60, Cic. *Rep.* 2.46, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.64–67, Diod. Sic. 10.20–21, Dio Cass. 2.13–20, Val. Max. 6.1.1), and the various accounts have been thoroughly analyzed by modern scholars (e.g. Landolfi (2004), Chiu (2016) 51–62, Moses (1993)). She also is a character in many works of post-Roman literature, including works by Christine de Pisan (*The Book of the City of Ladies*), Shakespeare (*The Rape of Lucrece*), Rousseau (*La Mort de Lucrece*) Machiavelli (*La Mandragola*), Benjamin Britten (*The Rape of Lucretia*). She was a popular subject of paintings during the renaissance and baroque periods, including works by Raphael, Botticelli, Artemisia Gentileschi, Titian, Cranach the Elder, and Rembrandt.

2.742 soft wool The dissolute lifestyle of the king's daughters-in-law is contrasted with the wifely virtue of Lucretia. Spinning, weaving, and wool-working were characteristic activities of the industrious housewife who stayed at home and supported the household (see Treggiari (1991) 243–44).

2.747 you hear more than I can The implication of this comment is that Lucretia spends most of her time at home, taking care of her house, and does not devote time to gossip.

2.748 the war The narrator does not provide much background on the Romans' attack on Ardea, but Livy (1.57.1–2) says that it was motivated chiefly by the prospect of plunder.

2.752 my husband is reckless Although Lucretia imagines her husband rushing recklessly into danger, this image contrasts with her husband's later reluctance to take action in the wake of her rape, when Brutus will step up to

take action from which her husband and father hesitate. Evidently Lucretia has an image of her husband that is not true to life.

2.759 she came back to life *Revixit* calls back to *moriōr* in 753.

2.762 blinding The primary sense of *caeco* is ‘blinding’, but it carries a secondary significance of ‘secret’, insofar as Tarquinius has to dissimulate his feelings.

2.763–74 he relished her figure... Sextus’ image of Lucretia evokes the tradition of the blason, in which a poet builds up a portrait of his beloved by describing each feature in turn. The blason is a convention of renaissance and later poetry, but it is prefigured in Roman works such as *Met.* 1.497–502, *Am.* 1.5.19–22, 3.1.7–10, 3.3.3–10, Prop. 2.1.5–14 (Goold), Lucian *Am.* 14, and the inscription ‘Allia Potestas’. See McKeown (1989) *ad Am.* 1.5.19–22. Cf. 1.405–410.

2.770 he savored the memories more and more Lit. ‘he enjoyed more things, and enjoyed them more, as he recalled them’.

2.783 audacity won us Gabii There is a clear parallel between Sextus Tarquinius’ scheme to enter and destroy Gabii through a false pretense of friendship and his scheme to enter Collatinus’ house and rape Lucretia by exploiting a family tie.

2.787 entered Note that, while *ineo* can carry a neutral significance of ‘go into’, it frequently carries a sexual connotation of ‘penetrate’, which here foreshadows Tarquinius’ intentions (cf. 2.441).

2.796 It is Tarquinius speaking His self-identification as ‘Tarquinius’ here seems pointlessly nonspecific, since Lucretia’s husband is also a Tarquinius, as are several peripheral characters in this story (the king Tarquinius Superbus, and the king’s two other sons). To dodge this ambiguity, Frazer includes *natus regis* within the quotation marks (“I that speak am the king’s son and Tarquin”). Throughout this story, the narrator never names the youngest son of Tarquinius Superbus as Sextus, but uses instead circumlocutions such as *Tarquinius iuvenis* (2.725, cf. 2.691n), or here, *natus regis*, to more strongly associate Sextus Tarquinius with the crimes of his father and the rest of his family (see Robinson 466). This statement can be compared to the famous *Medea fiam* from Sen. *Med.* 172, in which the name is used proleptically to evoke the horrors with which the character is associated in Seneca’s predecessors: by identifying himself as ‘Tarquinius’, Ovid’s Sextus Tarquinius recalls all the evils perpetrated by Sextus Tarquinius in Livy and others.

2.799 she trembled Cf. Lavinia’s blush at *Aen.* 12.70, an involuntary physical response standing in place of words.

2.800 like a small lamb On predator/prey similes, see 3.646n.

2.801 a woman fighting is always defeated Cf. the similar statement on Callisto's rape at *Met.* 2.436.

2.805 lustful enemy As discussed at 2.356n, the word *amans* describes Tarquinius' one-sided infatuation with Lucretia. It does not imply that he is loving in the sense of 'caring' or 'affectionate', and it does not imply any sort of relationship between them.

2.810 girl It is unusual for a married woman to be labeled a *puella*. However, in Ovidian rape stories, the victim is typically a virgin rather than a married woman, and while the word *puella* stresses Lucretia's youth and beauty, it also blurs the *matrona* Lucretia with an elegiac *puella*. Omphale is also incongruously described as a *puella* during her attempted rape by Faunus at 2.356.

2.812 your kingdom Sextus Tarquinius is the son of a king who was the son of a king. Although the Roman kingship was not defined as hereditary, Sextus might have nevertheless seen himself as an heir to the throne. The phrasing "your kingdom" emphasizes how much Sextus lost through his transgression.

2.814 her son's funeral In contrast to 2.810, where she is described as a *puella*, here Lucretia is recast as a *mater*; it is strange that she is not identified as a wife, which is arguably the salient aspect of her identity in this story (insofar as her rape, and her resistance to Sextus Tarquinius, are framed in terms of her fidelity to her husband). On the significance of disheveled hair, see 1.503n.

2.820 like an unceasing stream The word *mos* typically describes the behavior of people, and it is unusual to see it describe the behavior of an inanimate force such as a river, although this usage is not unparalleled (e.g. Verg. *G.* 2.227 *terra supra morem densa*, Plin. *HN* 18.206 *siderum mores*).

2.825 Tarquinius As noted at l. 796, Lucretia's husband is also a Tarquinius, as are many other characters in this drama, and it is not necessarily clear to her interlocutors who her referent is.

2.828 the married woman Here, at last, Lucretia is identified as a *matrona*, to focalize her shame at having been raped. However, as Robinson 499 notes, in Latin literature blushing is typically associated with sexually inexperienced people such as unmarried women and young boys, so even as Lucretia is identified as a *matrona*, she is nevertheless characterized with a level of inexperience not typical of *matronae*.

2.833–4 an immodest position The literary tradition of characters

attempting to preserve their modesty as they fall dead goes back to the sacrifice of Polyxena (Eur. *Hec.* 568–70, Ovid *Met.* 13.479–80). Although Livy’s Lucretia is not specified to take any such precaution, Julius Caesar does so when he is murdered at Suet. *Iul.* 82.2 (see Val. Max.’s description of Caesar’s proper deportment during his murder (4.5.6): *in hunc modum non homines expirant, sed di immortales sedes suas repetunt*). While Lucretia’s concern with modesty may seem particularly feminine, in some ways it is associated with dignity rather than gender. On proper versus improper dress and the social significance of sartorial decisions in the late republic, see Dyck (2001).

2.841 I swear to you *Per tibi ego hunc* breaks up a prepositional phrase in a way that is not standard in Latin, but not unparalleled in the works of Ovid; cf. *Her.* 15.107, *Am.* 3.2.61.

2.842 which for me will be divine On *numen* see 2.642n. Brutus’ assertion that Lucretia’s *manes* will be a *numen* for him is an extraordinary honor to Lucretia; see Beek (forthcoming).

2.843 exiled *Profuga* is here used proleptically.

2.846 she seemed to approve The situation here, in which Brutus dubiously attributes approval to Lucretia based on her dying movements even though she is unable to speak, is paralleled in *Met.* 1.566–567, when Apollo understands the movement of the laurel tree to be Daphne’s consent to be his symbol. Cf. also 2.827–828, where Lucretia’s involuntary reactions of blushing and trembling are read in place of words. This connects to the larger theme throughout *Fasti* 2 of silence retributively imposed on powerless people; cf. 2.607n.

2.850 the evil deeds of the king Here again, the passage encourages conflation of the various Tarquini in this story: although the phrase *facta nefanda* seems to refer to Sextus Tarquinius’ rape of Lucretia which was just narrated, Brutus is in fact reporting the deeds of the king Tarquinius Superbus. The implication is that culpability for the evils of the monarchy is not restricted to one person, but is spread throughout the family of Tarquini. Note also that Lucretia’s husband Collatinus is also a Tarquinius, and will become one of the first two consuls of the republic (referenced below) after Tarquinius Superbus “and his family” are driven into exile.

2.851–2 fled with his family The narrator here returns to the beginning of this story, when he first named the observance as the Regifugium.

2.855 Procne The swallow is referred to as Procne in reference to the story of Procne, Philomela, and Tereus, told at length and in graphic detail

in *Met.* 6.412–674. Procne is the wife of Tereus; Tereus rapes Procne's sister Philomela, and Procne and Philomela get revenge by killing Tereus' son and serving him to Tereus for dinner. At the end of the story Procne and Philomela are transformed into a swallow and a nightingale (the detail of which sister becomes the swallow and which the nightingale varies between authors), while Tereus is transformed into a hoopoe. the narrator uses the swallow as a symbol of spring; cf. 1.157–158.

2.858 Mars The reference to Mars anticipates the imminent arrival of his eponymous month.

2.860 his own field i.e., the Campus Martius in Rome.

2.864 let my boat sail The narrator here recapitulates the nautical metaphor that he used to open book 1 and book 2; see 1.4n. Although a few books open with the nautical metaphor, book 2 is the only one to close with it.

Book 3

3.1–398 Mars The narrator opens his third book by invoking Mars and stressing Mars' importance in the calendar, Roman religion, and Roman history. Mars and his son Romulus will feature prominently throughout the third book, and here the narrator reiterates his claim (cf. 1.39) that Mars was originally honored with the first month of the year. Mars does not completely dominate book 3, but the emphasis placed on him, as the eponym of the month, will set the tone for the rest of the book. The many celebrations and rituals of Mars in spring mark the beginning of campaigning season for the Roman military. Note that, although the narrator ostensibly invites Mars for an interview, as he has done previously in the *Fasti* with other deities (see 1.63n), Mars does not get the opportunity to speak until 3.173.

3.2 appear to me The second person imperative is a typical way to address gods in prayers, and *ades* is a common formula in such a context to request a god's benevolent presence. Cf. *dexter ades* in 1.6, 1.67.

3.1–2 put aside your spear As a mark of the elegiac genre, in the *Fasti* the narrator largely strips Mars of his martial aspect: in this narrative Mars is disarmed and depicted as captivated by Rhea Silvia; later in the book (677–694) he will be captivated by Minerva. On the element of recusatio in asking Mars to disarm, see 1.13n. In art Mars is typically represented in armor, with a shield and helmet and spear (notably his statue in the Temple of Mars Ultor; see *LIMC* s.v. 'Ares/Mars'), but one also finds playful representations of Mars with his arms removed (e.g. the Ludovisi Ares in Rome's Museo Nazionale delle Terme, cf. 'Venus in Arms' in the Louvre (Ma 370)), which recall the teasing and casual manner in which the narrator depicts Mars in his elegies, in contrast to his more serious appearances in epic.

3.3 you The *ipse* emphasizes the premise that, throughout the *Fasti*, the narrator has interrogated various gods on questions of Roman religion; with this *ipse*, the narrator posits that the god, instead, will want to ask questions of the poet. On the *quid tibi cum* ... construction, see 2.101n.

3.5 Minerva Mars (Ares) sees Minerva (Athena) in battle in *Il.* 5 passim.

3.7 Pallas i.e. Minerva. Servius ad *Aen.* 1.39 derives Minerva's epithet 'Pallas' ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλλειν τὸ δόρυ, "from shaking the spear", emphasizing her martial aspect. At the same time, this epithet is suggestive of her role as an artisan (i.e., not a warrior): it connects her to the Palladium, a statue that she crafted (on which see 1.528n).

3.9–78 Rhea Silvia and the Twins Here the *Fasti* returns to the story of

Rhea Silvia/Ilia (cf. 2.383–422), mother of Romulus and Remus, elaborating her impregnation in more detail and adding a pregnancy dream. The word *Romana* is used proleptically, since Rome has not yet been founded; in fact, its founder has not yet been born (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.9.8, *Romana Ilia*, but *Carm.* 3.3.32, where she is *Troica sacerdos*). For background on Rhea Silvia’s significance in Roman legend, and on the Vestal Virgins, see 2.383n, 1.528n. For other accounts of Mars’ rape of Rhea Silvia see *Am.* 3.6, *Enn. Ann.* 1.34–50 (Skutsch) (where she is the daughter of Aeneas), *Livy* 1.4.1–2, *Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 1.77.1. *Plut. Rom.* 3–4 casts doubt on the idea of Mars as the father of the twins, suggesting that this is only a claim Rhea Silvia made to explain an inconvenient pregnancy. On rape in the *Fasti*, see 1.392n. ‘Foundation rape’ stories such as this one are common to describe the origin of ancient cities, including Cyrene and Knossos; within Roman legend (and within the *Fasti*) there are many stories of rape as foundation for governments, customs, and institutions. See especially the Sabine Women (3.179–230) and Lucretia (2.725–852). See Connors (1994), Krevans (1993), and Albertson (2012) for discussion of the tradition of Rhea Silvia stories and their integration into the traditions of Roman literature. Connors particularly notes a connection to the rape of Tyro narrated in *Od.* 11.235–259.

In this version of the story, Rhea Silvia disappears from the narrative after the twins are born. In most other versions, her story concludes when she either is killed for her transgression, or commits suicide by throwing herself into a river (possibly being saved by a marriage to the river god). In *Plut. Rom.* she is jailed, but her sentence is commuted from death to imprisonment, and she occasionally reappears in Romulus’ story as the twins grow up.

3.10 captivated The use of *cepit* to describe infatuation is well-known in Latin love poetry, and also revealing. Prop. 1.1.1 (Goold) famously uses this word to describe how the narrator fell in love with Cynthia; cf. e.g. *Stat. Silv.* 4.633, *Met.* 14.372–373, *Am.* 2.19.10. The active verb takes one person’s emotion (infatuation) and recasts it as action on the part of the person who inspires the emotion; it effectively displaces responsibility onto the person inspiring, turning ‘he fell for her’ into ‘she seduced him’. This is a dubious characterization when the person inspiring the infatuation is, in the case of Rhea Silvia, asleep during the episode and unaware of Mars’ presence. It has the further effect of emasculating Mars, the ferocious god of war who was nevertheless “captured” by a sleeping girl (cf. the sexual innuendo of *inermis*).

with the result Heyworth 78 calls this a “teleological *ut*.” “When used of a god, what might seem best taken as a consequence can be treated as a purpose.” Cf. 4.123, *Met.* 15.760–761.

origin While *semina* refers to the beginnings of Rome in an abstract sense, it also has a more crassly physical meaning that foreshadows Mars impregnating Rhea Silvia.

3.12 to wash The future participle *lavaturas* has the force of a purpose construction here, which is more conventional in Greek but not alien to Latin. The verb *lavo* is construed as either first or third conjugation, and the fourth principal part appears as *lavatum*, *lotum*, or *lautum*. The perfect passive participle is usually *lautus* in classical prose, but the supine is usually *lavatum*. The future active participle *lavaturus* occurs only here.

sacred objects The *sacra* in question might be any tools used by the Vestals to perform rituals.

3.13–20 The Riverbank The riverbank here is presented as a *locus amoenus*, which, as is typical in Ovid, will shortly be disrupted by sexual violence (on *locus amoenus* in Ovid, see Segal (1969), Hinds (2002)). Running water was essential for Roman cult practices, for which reason it is natural for Rhea Silvia to be on this errand. B&W 205–206 stress the necessity of bringing water into Vesta’s temple every day, since water could not be stored in the temple overnight (water was inimical to Vesta, as a fire goddess). However, fetching water was not only a typical chore assigned to young women in the ancient Mediterranean, it is also frequently construed as an endeavor in which a young woman could be isolated, and might be the locus of a sexual event—if not a rape (e.g. Amydone the Danaid, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.4), a woman’s own sexual attraction to someone else (e.g. Tarpeia, Prop. 4.4.15–22 (Goold)).

3.14 earthen jar The earthen jar denotes the rusticity and noble poverty of Rome’s predecessors. Cf. 1.197–208, 3.179–196.

3.15 on the turf N.b. *humi* (locative) would be more conventional than *humo* (ablative place where).

3.16 disheveled hair Her disheveled hair is typical of women who have been attacked or are otherwise in distress (see 1.503n), and foreshadows the assault she is about to experience from Mars.

3.22 rape *Furtum* is a strange, almost bowdlerizing, word choice to describe Mars’ action. It is related to the word *fur* ‘thief’, and its primary meaning is ‘theft’. In a broader sense, it can be applied to trickery or anything done covertly (including e.g. dining, Mart. 5.50.5), and in an amorous context can

refer to a liaison that is kept secret (either a consensual but illicit romance, or non-consensual sex kept secret due to shame or fear of consequences). Stretching the word to mean a rape so secret that the victim does not realize she has been raped is a novelty. Cf. 2.183 on Jupiter's rape of Callisto.

3.26 supporting herself on a tree The image of a woman leaning on a tree for support while giving birth recalls the birth of another pair of exceptional twins: Leto, the mother of Apollo and Diana, was supposed to have given birth while leaning on a palm tree (or an olive) on the island of Delos (*Hom. Hymn Ap.* 18, 117).

3.29 Trojan flames i.e., the perpetual flame in Vesta's temple, an element of her cult ostensibly imported from Troy by Aeneas (cf. *Met.* 15.730, Verg. *Aen.* 2.296, Prop. 4.4.69 (Goold)). This flame was emblematic of her essential role as goddess of the hearth, fire being a household necessity in antiquity for heat, light, and cooking. A perpetual flame was kept in Vesta's temple in the Roman Forum, which was the source of several conflagrations (Coarelli 85). N.b. Silvia was a Vestal at Alba Longa, not in Rome (Livy 1.20.3, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.77, Tib. 2.5.50), but the narrator implies that the Roman cult's perpetual flame was adopted from the Alban cult. For the uncertain chronology of the origins of Vesta's cult, see 2.282n. Livy 1.20.3 specifies the Alban origin of the Vestals (cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.66.1); evidence provided by the Alban Vestals at the trial of Milo in 52 BCE (*Asc., Mil.*) indicates that the Alban college of Vestals was still operational in the late republic; cf. Juv. 4.60–61. On the religious clout attached to Alban cults, which persisted even as the city lost political importance, see Coarelli 499–500.

3.31 twin palms There are a number of characters in Greek and Latin literature who dream of children not yet born as miraculous trees. The most direct connection here is Astyages' dream of Mandane's child in Hdt. 1.108, in which Mandane gives birth to a vine that overshadows the world. Suetonius also reports that Vergil's mother, while pregnant with Vergil, dreamed that she gave birth to a laurel branch that bore all sorts of flowers and fruit (Suet. *Vit. Verg.* 1). At Enn. *Ann.* 1.34–50 (Skutsch), Ilia describes a dream in which she meets a beautiful man at a riverbank and finds herself wandering in confusion and difficulties. Other 'pregnancy dreams' are reported in relation to the birth of Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 94.4), on which see Krevans (1993) 266.

3.32 one was greater This echoes the statement of the people who abandoned Romulus and Remus at 2.396.

3.35 my uncle i.e. Amulius; see 2.383–384n.

3.37 the woodpecker The woodpecker is a bird historically associated with Rome; Picus was a hero of early Latium who was supposed to have been turned into a woodpecker by Circe (see *Met.* 14.320–396, Verg. *Aen.* 7.189–191, Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 21). He is named as one of the kings of early Italy, as the son of Saturn and father of Faunus (Verg. *Aen.* 7.45–9, August. *De civ. D.* 18.15, Sil. *Pun.* 8.339–442). At 3.285–323 Numa captures Picus to obtain arcane knowledge.

3.38 the wolf For more on the wolf, see 2.413n.

3.41 Quirinus On Quirinus as a name for Romulus, see 1.37n. On Remus, see 2.365n. On the divergent fates of the twins, see 2.486n.

3.44 the radiant god i.e. the sun.

3.43–4 two months short... i.e., after ten months. This is an abstruse phrasing; note that the narrator phrases this in terms of astronomical signs (*signa*) rather than months or moons. On the expected duration of a pregnancy, see 1.33–4n.

3.45–6 Vesta covered her eyes Vesta's virginity is construed as essential to her identity, and her aversion to any suggestion of sex reflects that (see Priapus' attempted rape of her at 6.321–348). For this reason, access to the inner part of her shrine was highly restricted. The Vestals were likewise expected to carefully distance themselves from any possibility of sex, and could be buried alive if convicted of not being a virgin (Beard, North, and Price (1998) 1:51, cf. Plut. *Num.* 10). 6.295–8 claims that there is no cult statue of Vesta in her temple in the Roman Forum, but there is no conflict with this passage necessarily, because Rhea Silvia serves at Alba Longa. Littlewood (2006) 95 and Frazer *ad* 6.295 collect evidence that there were statues of Vesta at Rome, especially outside her temple; there are coins showing a statue on the roof. On the possible connection between the statue of Vesta and the Palladium, see 1.528n.

3.53 the exposed infants The story of the twins' exposure, and their rescue by the wolf, is related in more detail at 2.383–422.

3.55–6 the aid you provided Faustulus and Acca Larentia are the poor shepherds who adopted the twins; see Livy 1.4.6–8. (If the *lupa* of legend is understood as a prostitute rather than a wolf, Acca Larentia is identified as the prostitute in question.) The word *opes* has a broad semantic range and can refer not only to 'aid', but also to power, authority, or material wealth; here "the *opes* of poor Faustulus" oxymoronically signifies Faustulus' (severely limited) wealth, to call attention to Faustulus' generosity: although he has

very little himself, he still shares what wealth he has with the foundlings. Cf. 2.302, Prop. 3.7.46 (Goold), where *opes* is also used to refer to poverty.

3.57–8 you will be honored... Like the reference to the Consualia at 3.199–200, this reference to the description of the Larentalia (on 23 December) looks forward to a citation that does not appear in the *Fasti*. A *genius* is a man's guardian spirit (cf. 2.545n).

3.61 sons of Ilia Identifying any hero by a metronym such as *Iliades* is unusual, particularly since the twins were just identified as *Martia proles*. The twins are identified by the same epithet at *Am.* 3.4.40; Romulus is at *Fasti* 4.23, 5.565, *Met.* 14.781 and 14.824; and Remus is at *Tr.* 4.3.8. Ganymede (as a descendent of the Trojan Ilus) likewise at *Met.* 10.160. Here the epithet also calls attention to the fact that Rhea Silvia has disappeared from the narrative with no discussion of her fate (on which see 2.598n). The question of what happened to Rhea Silvia may be pressing here, since the emphasis on her position as a Vestal Virgin, and Vesta's own shame regarding her pregnancy, suggests a grim future (remembering that Vestals who lost their virginity were supposed to be buried alive).

3.61–2 already giving judgments On the twins' upbringing cf. Livy 1.4–5 and Plut. *Rom.* 6–8. This is a variation on the “prince raised in poverty” story known from heroes like Cyrus (Hdt. 1.108–120) or Daphnis from Longus' novel; one of the typical elements of the story is that the prince's outstanding qualities are noticed from an early age.

3.63 blood of cattle-rustlers Cf. 2.359–380, Livy 1.5.3–1.6.2. The mention of blood undermines the idyllic image of Romulean-era Rome that the narrator has presented elsewhere (1.197–208, 3.179–196).

3.69–70 walls were built Romulus begins construction of the walls of Rome, which Remus mocks by jumping over them, an insult that is avenged by murder. The narrator tells this story in more detail at 4.809–862, 5.451–480; cf. 2.143. On Remus, see 2.365n. The question of whether Romulus bears responsibility for Remus' death (or whether the blame is displaced on Celer) is answered differently by different authors, and is central to Romulus' image in Roman literature and history. The conflict between Romulus and Remus is frequently cast as a metaphor for fratricidal conflict in Roman civil wars.

3.72 eternal city The Augustan concept of the *urbs aeterna* was fairly novel at Ovid's time; it is first attested in Tib. 2.5.23; cf. Livy 4.4.4., Verg. *Aen.* 1.279.

3.75 the beginning of the Roman year *A te principium* quotes Vergil's

invocation of the muse at *Ecl.* 8.11, and recalls the incipit of Aratus' *Phaen.*, ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμεσθα. *Romano anno* is a dative of possession, although a genitive of possession would be more conventional.

3.76 the first month On the historical changes to the Roman calendar and possible reordering of the months, see 1.27–44n and 2.48n, Introduction §2.

3.80 did so *Hoc* does not have a specific noun as antecedent; its antecedent should be derived from the verb *coluere* (i.e., 'they gave worship').

3.79–80 even more ancient people... This couplet is vague and allows for a variety of interpretations, depending on what identity the reader assigns to the *priores* and the *bellica turba*. Given what precedes it, the most logical interpretation is that both groups are the pre-Roman Italians, Romulus' predecessors in Italy, but this idea is contradicted in 3.89–94, when the narrator describes other groups in Italy assigning an inferior status to Mars on their calendars. I have interpreted the couplet in a more general sense, to the effect that 'earlier people worshipped Mars above all other gods, and warlike clans did so with enthusiasm.'

3.81 Cecropidae i.e. Athenians. Cecrops is the first king of Athens, a half-man, half-snake who sprung from the ground of the acropolis (Paus. 1.2.6, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.1–2). Pallas is Athena (see 3.7n).

Diana Here Diana is identified with Britomartis, a Cretan nymph. Callim. *Hymn.* 3 says that Dictynna is another name for Artemis or Britomartis, and Diana is called Dictynna at 6.755.

3.82 Hysipylean land i.e. Lemnos, home of queen Hysipyle who entertained the Argonauts on their journey (*Her.* 6, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.650, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.17). Vulcan's (Hephestus') special interest in Lemnos is mentioned e.g. at Hom. *Il.* 1.593, *Od.* 8.283–284.

3.83 Pelopeian Mycenae is called Pelopeian on account of its location on the Peloponnesus and its famous king Agamemnon, grandson of Pelops. Juno's (Hera's) love of Sparta and Mycenae is mentioned at Hom. *Il.* 4.51–52.

3.84 Maenalian region In Arcadia. On the worship of Faunus/Pan in Arcadia, see 2.271–282.

3.87 other nations Although the narrator proposes to consider *peregrinos fastos*, he does not venture very far: all the calendars mentioned in the following lines are from Italy, and quite close to Rome. For comparison of the Roman calendar with other calendars of the Mediterranean, see Introduction §2. The narrator also mentions other Latian calendars at 6.59–62. Varro (quoted by Censorinus, *DN* 22.10–11) claims that the Romans

adopted the names and order of the months from earlier people of Latium, which claim the narrator contradicts in his survey of Latian calendars here. In general, very few of these statements regarding the other calendars of Latium can be verified (see Whatmough (1931)).

3.91–2 the Alban calendar concords... There is zeugma in the statement that ‘there is concord’ between a group of people (the Aricini) and a location (the walls of Telegonus) and a social institution (the Alban calendar). This sort of ornate variation in phrasing is characteristic of Ovid’s poetry. Telegonus is the son of Odysseus and Circe and was the legendary founder of Tusculum (or possibly Praeneste or Caere; see Bömer *ad loc.*): Livy 1.49.9, Prop. 2.32.4 (Goold), Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.8.

3.94 first after three i.e. the fourth month. (Cf. following couplet.)

3.95 Paelignian soldier The address to “Paelignian soldier” indicates that the place is famous as the origin of many Roman soldiers, and by implication a place where Mars is venerated. Throughout his works, Ovid claims Paelignian origin (*Am.* 3.15.3, *Pont.* 4.14.49), but frequently asserts his resistance to military activity (e.g. 2.9–16).

3.101–2 their defeated arts Cf. Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.156, Verg. *Aen.* 6.851–853.

3.105 Hyades, Pleiades The Hyades and the Pleiades are both groups of stars, both of which are fabled to be groups of daughters of Atlas, although the Hyades are occasionally described as daughters of Oceanus and Tethys or others. The Hyades are strongly associated with rainy weather (from the Greek ὕω, ‘to rain’; Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.111); the narrator describes their appearance in the sky and various stories of their origin at 4.169–78, 5.163–182. The Pleiades (sometimes known as the *Vergiliae*, e.g. Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.112, Plin. *HN* 6.87) are famous as mothers of heroes (six of the seven had children with gods) and, as stars, were occasionally associated with snowy or stormy weather (Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.95, Val. Fl. 2.405–406, 4.268–269). Note that the -as ending is a Greek form (third declension accusative plural), which in this line is variously construed as either long (Hyadās) or short (Pliadās, the short vowel being conventional), after which the line has a spondaic ending (Atlantēas).

3.106 two poles In contradiction of the various mythological descriptions of the sun’s movement that suggest a flat earth surrounded by ocean (see 1.313–314n, 2.490n), here the narrator makes reference to the two poles of the earth and alludes to the idea of earth as a spherical body that rotates on an axis.

3.107 Cynosura i.e. Ursa Minor, named here in Greek as the ‘dog’s tail’.

3.108 Sidonians, Greeks i.e., for navigation. The Phoenicians (Sidonians) were famous for their seafaring skill. Aratus *Phaen.* 36–9 also refers to this difference between Greeks and Phoenicians, as does German. *Arat.* 40–41, Ovid *Tr.* 4.3.1–2.

3.109–10 the sister, her brother The sister and brother being Diana and Apollo, i.e., the moon and the sun.

3.113 In this passage the narrator uses the polysemous word *signa* in a variety of senses, and gives little notice when its meaning shifts.

3.116 the Eagles The Eagles were a military emblem held as sacred. There was a famous incident in 9 CE in which three Eagles were lost in the Battle of Teutoburg Forest (the ‘Varian Disaster’), two of which in 15–16 CE were recovered by Germanicus (Tac. *Ann.* 1.60, 2.25), the addressee of this work.

3.117–8 manipularis Ovid’s etymologies should always be treated with some skepticism: a *manipulus* refers not only to a bundle (of hay as described here), but also to a military unit.

3.120 lustra A *lustrum* is a period of five years; a *lustrum* ten months short indicates that the Romans are observing a ten-month year. The narrator has elsewhere described the obsolete ten-month calendar (1.27–44, 3.100), although it makes a non-sequitur from the description of military standards made of hay.

3.124 a woman gives birth On the expected duration of a pregnancy, see 1.33–4n.

3.125–6 when numbers increase... This is a (very abstruse) description of a decimal numerical system. Note that the narrator is not picturing Arabic numerals with a zero as a placeholder digit, but rather Roman numerals, in which numbers lower than ten accumulate into longer figures until they reach ten (V, VI, VII, VIII, VIII, X). The number ten is reduced to a single character, and the following numbers accumulate into longer figures again (XI, XII, XIII...). The narrator may be contrasting the Roman system to Greek numerical notation, in which the same numbers can be expressed in fewer characters.

3.127 ten groups Like *signa* above, *orbis* here is being used in a variety of senses; the narrator pursues wordplay with a polysemous word (with at least one astronomical significance).

3.129–30 Military Jargon A *hastatus* is a front-line soldier or a unit of the same. A *princeps* is a soldier in the second line (despite the misleading

name). A *pilanus* is a veteran soldier in the third line. Livy 1.43.9 asserts that the Roman army purchased horses for cavalry during the regal period; later in the republican era cavalrymen were required to maintain their own horses.

3.131 as many Note the emphatic repetition of *totidem*.

3.137 Flamines On the *flamines*, see 2.21n, 2.282n.

3.137–8 replaced in March The implication is that the following annual customs connected with religious buildings mark the beginning of the year in a custom older than the calendrical conventions contemporary to Ovid, the reasoning behind which is poorly supported.

3.139 Rex On the Rex Sacrorum, see 2.21n.

Phoebus' tree i.e. laurel.

3.140 ancient Curia The *Curia Prisca* is generally identified as the Curiae Veteres, an ancient edifice in which municipal organizations carried out their religious functions, not the better-known Curia Hostilia. The Curiae Veteres were near the Arch of Constantine (exact site uncertain; see Richardson (1992) s.v. 'Curiae Veteres', Varro *Ling.* 5.155, Tac. *Ann.* 12.24). On the Curiae Veteres as a landmark, see 1.581n. This abstruse mode of rephrasing a formulaic name is seen also in the various re-formulations of SPQR that appear in the *Fasti*, on which see 1.69n.

3.142 Trojan hearth The *Iliaci foci* is located in the temple of Vesta in the Roman Forum, mentioned in connection with Rhea Silvia as a Vestal 3.29. On the new foliage, cf. 2.25–6.

3.146 Anna Perenna Anna Perenna is the goddess of the turning year; both of her names contain a form of the word *annus* (see 3.654n). Various stories associated with her (including stories of her origin) are narrated at 3.523–696.

3.148 our war with you The 'war' refers to the Punic wars: in 153 BCE the Roman elected offices were changed to begin in January rather than March; the Third Punic War began in 149 BCE. The 'Punic' may refer to Hannibal (the most famous Carthaginian enemy), although Heyworth *ad loc.* expresses doubt. Treachery (*Punica fides*) is a quality conventionally associated with Carthaginians in Roman thought.

3.149 Quintilis On the numerical month names, see Varro *Ling.* 6.34, Plut. *Num.* 19.1, Censorinus *DN* 22.13, Macrob. *Sat.* 1.12.34–37. The month once called Quintilis was renamed Iulius after Julius Caesar (Suet. *Iul.* 76), as the month Sextilis was later renamed after Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 31). Although the possible rearrangement of the months within the calendar

belongs to the distant past with respect to Ovid, the renaming of Quintilis and Sextilis occurred within living memory, in 44 and 8 BCE. The months that ‘take their names from numbers’ are September through December. See Introduction §2.

3.151 Pompilius i.e. Numa, cf. Plut. *Num.* 18 (where the pre-Numan calendar is described as much more haphazard than it is here). Numa Pompilius was the second king of Rome and was noted for being peaceful and pious, in contrast to Romulus’ bellicose persona. He was of Sabine origin (Plut. gives an extended narrative of his family background and marriage) and is named as the founder of several Roman priesthoods and religious institutions. Ovid, like Plutarch, claims that Numa had a direct link to the gods via the nymph Egeria. The *Fasti* features him prominently as a character (he is mentioned at least once in every book, e.g. 1.43, 2.69, 3.262, 4.641, 5.48, 6.264); for other sources on Numa, see *Met.* 15.479–551, Plut. *Num.*, Livy 1.18–21, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.57–76, Cic. *Rep.* 2.25–30, Cic. *Leg.* 1.1.4. Plin. *HN* 33.9 mentions a statue of Numa in Rome. For more context on the Numa legend and its realization in the *Fasti*, see Pasco-Pranger (2002), Littlewood (2002). Plutarch’s *Numa* includes many biographical details that may have been drawn from the *Fasti*, although Pasco-Pranger argues that Plutarch drew these details from a Varronian source shared with Ovid.

from the olive groves The narrator’s statement that Numa came “from the olive groves” emphasizes his peaceable personality (in contrast to warlike Romulus), since his quiet agricultural community produces olives, a symbol of peace.

3.151–2 Pompilius first noticed Although the shift from ten to twelve months is typically ascribed to Numa, Censorinus *DN* 20.4 ascribes it to Tarquinius.

3.153 the man from Samos i.e. Pythagoras, a philosopher who famously believed in reincarnation. Livy 1.18.2–3 insists that Numa and Pythagoras were not contemporaries (pace Cic. *Rep.* 2.28–29, contra Plut. *Num.* 1.8). In the *Fasti*, especially at the end of book 2, the narrator uses many details from Livy’s narrative, so it is unusual to see him suggest, contra Livy, that Numa was educated by Pythagoras (cf. 1.618n). His inclusion of this possibility is encompassed under his statement *fabula proposito nulla tegenda meo*; i.e., he proposes to report all the information of which he is aware, even though it may be inaccurate (on multiple aetiologies, see 3.543n). Although the narrator here does not make a firm statement on

whether Pythagoras influenced Numa, in the *Met.* he nevertheless marks Pythagoras as an important character with an extremely long philosophical monologue (15.75–478).

3.154 Egeria Numa was reputed to have a relationship with a nymph named Egeria who instructed him on various matters of religious protocol: Plut. *Num.* 4, Livy 1.19.6, *Met.* 15.479–492, Enn. *Ann.* 113 (Skutsch).

3.156 a concern of Caesar On Julius Caesar's calendrical reforms, see Introduction §2. On the role of Caesar in the *Fasti*, see 3.697n.

3.155–64 Caesar's reforms It is not typical for Caesar's calendrical reform to be linked with his deification (this short passage serves to elevate Ovid's work with the *Fasti* through association with Caesar), but cf. 1.298n, as well as Lucr. 1.79, which describes Epicurus' transcendence through the study of nature.

3.165–6 one day added to a lustrum The Julian calendar calls for one leap day to be added to every 4-year cycle, not a five-year cycle (*lustrum*) as the narrator claims here.

3.167 poets On *vates*, see 1.25n.

3.170 matrons A reference to the Matronalia, a festival celebrated by matrons in honor of Mars at the temple/grove of Juno Lucina (on Lucina, see 2.429–452). Juv. 9.53 calls it the *femineae calendae*. Macrob. *Sat.* 1.12.7 claims that on this festival, matrons prepared and served meals for their slaves, in a social reversal similar to the Saturnalia.

masculine service This phrasing carries a double significance, both that Mars himself performs masculine duties, and therefore also that the duties owed to him should be performed by men.

3.171 Mavors An archaic name for Mars, common in poetry. In the *Fasti* it reappears at 4.828 and 6.53.

Mavors replied Note that the narrator invited Mars to a conversation and asked him to disarm back at 3.1–2. Since then, he has entirely occupied the text with his own narrative. At this point, Mars will finally have the opportunity to speak as a character, although he only partially disarms.

3.173–4 new camps The language in this line recalls his epithet *Gradive* in 3.168.

3.177 painstaking poet of the Latin calendar Janus addresses the narrator with the same phrase at 1.101. *Operosus* has a wide semantic field; it might mean busy, hardworking, powerful, troublesome, sumptuous, elaborate, extravagant, or conscientious. Catullus 1.7 uses a similar phrase, calling Nepos' works *doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis* – implying that Nepos has put

a great deal of work into his writing, perhaps more work than is useful. On *vates*, see 1.25n. The conjunction of the words *operose* and *dierum* implies a connection to Hesiod's *Works and Days*.

3.179 beginning *Prima elementa* is a pedagogical term, referring to first principles, elementary teachings, or the alphabet.

3.181 the city walls Remus famously mocked Romulus for making his walls too small; the narrator here provides an excuse for their small size. On Remus, see 2.365n.

3.184 that house made of reeds i.e. the *Casa Romuli*; see 1.199n.

3.187–234 The Rape of the Sabine Women What follows is a narrative of the rape of the Sabine women, famous from other sources such as *Ars am.* 1.101–130, Livy 1.9–13, Strabo 5.3.2, and Plut. *Rom.* 14–19. According to this legend, neighboring tribes in Latium refused to grant a right of intermarriage to Rome, and the Romans, whose population was overwhelmingly male (see 2.140n on the Asylum), abducted women for forced marriages. When this mass abduction precipitated a military confrontation, the abducted women (the narrator claims) interceded to avert bloodshed. Among the rape stories in the *Fasti*, this one stands out due to the large mass of victims and the political significance attached to the rape (see Miles (1992)); the story is often interpreted in the context of other rapes that are attributed to political rather than private motives (see e.g. Dougherty (1998), who draws overt parallels between Livy's Rape of the Sabine Women and the systematic rape of Bosnian women).

Given that the mass rape/forced marriages in this story lead to permanent relationships between the Sabine women and their rapists, this story is also noteworthy regarding the question of who is responsible for these marriages, and the degree to which the Sabine women consent to their marriages. Initially, the Roman men on a quest to marry are cast as potential sons in law rather than potential husbands, signaling that it is not the women, but their fathers, who have authority in arranging marriages. (N.b. their rejection is presented impersonally, as “the neighborhood” (rather than any individual) rejects the Romans.) Later on, the women's intervention on the battlefield signals their acceptance of their marriages. See Beard (1999), Hemker (1985), and Steele (1989) for further discussion of the consent issue. The narrator gives an unusually large role to Romulus' wife Hersilie (likewise at *Met.* 14.829–851, when her apotheosis into the goddess Hora is narrated; Plutarch's narrative features Hersilie as well). Wiseman (1983) collects peripheral stories about Romulus' family (including a son and a daughter)

from a variety of sources and places them in the context of the Sabine rape stories. On rape in Ovid, see 1.392n. On foundation rape, see 3.9n.

3.191–2 they lived in shacks... These are all signifiers of noble poverty, evoking people who are poor but honest. Cf. 1.197–208, 3.179–196, Baucis and Philemon at *Met.* 8.630–678, or Faustus’ *opes* at 3.56.

3.193–4 partners to bear them children Note that the narrator here presumes a masculine audience (i.e., the individuals need partners to bear them children, not to engender their children). This passage also engages the device of extrapolating human behavior from animal behavior; cf. *Met.* 9.728–734.

3.195–6 no woman In contrast to 3.189–190, where marriage was cast as the decision of the bride’s father, here the narrator implies that the decision to marry rests on the brides themselves. Their willingness or unwillingness to be part of Roman households will be critical to the resolution of this story.

3.198 you have to get by force Sexual aggression is depicted as an innate part of the Roman identity, imbued by their progenitor Mars; cf. his attack on Rhea Silvia at 3.21–22. Note that Mars’ instruction for Romulus to abandon his “prayers” accentuates the divide between Romulus the warrior king and Numa the priest king.

3.199–200 Consus will tell you... This promise looks forward to a reference that does not exist. The Consualia was scheduled for August (as attested in the *Fasti Pinciani* and *Fasti Antiates*), but Ovid’s *Fasti* does not include that month. Cf. the reference to the Larentalia at 3.57–58. Consus was a god of grain, whose festival was celebrated at an underground altar at the Circus Maximus, where the Romans and Sabines celebrate the Consualia with races. On the altar as a landmark, see 1.581n.

3.201 Cures On Cures, see 2.480n.

3.202 fathers-in-law waged war This evokes the conflict between Caesar and Pompey in 48–49 BCE, Pompey having married Caesar’s daughter. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.826–831.

3.203 most The adverb *ferè* most typically conveys the meaning ‘approximately, nearly, almost’, and within this sentence it presents difficulties of interpretation. W&W 45 reads it to modify *raptæ*, ‘the women who had been more or less abducted’, which seems to hedge unnecessarily regarding the violence involved. (There is no question of whether the women are abducted at 3.198.) B&W 60 also take *ferè* as modifying *raptæ*, but translate it ‘recently’ rather than ‘approximately’ (as does Nagle 86). Again this presents a logical difficulty, since the point here is that the rapes have not happened recently; as

is stated in the following line, the war has been dragged out over an unusually long time. Frazer's translation seems to elide the word ("And now the ravished brides could claim the style of mothers also"), unless the *ferē* has been absorbed into the modal 'could'. Heyworth 122 gives the most satisfying interpretation, which I have followed, taking *ferē* to modify *habebant*: "generally those who had been raped had the name of mother too."

the title mother Macrob. *Sat.* 1.6.16 reports that Romulus persuaded the Sabine women to cooperate with their captors by promising a gold amulet for the first child born among them.

3.206 my daughter-in-law i.e. Hersilie.

3.208 we are no longer able... lit. 'We are no longer able to be dutiful in delay'; i.e., delay is no longer compatible with our duty.

3.210 our husbands, our fathers Note the conspicuous caesura between *hinc coniunx/hinc pater*.

3.216 the trumpet The *lituus* here is not an augur's staff (mentioned e.g. in Verg. *Aen.* 7.187, Livy 1.18.7; sometimes seen on Augustan coins; Augustus holds one on the 'Altar of the Lares' in the Uffizi), but a war trumpet of similar shape (mentioned e.g. in Verg. *Aen.* 6.167, Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.23).

3.217 raped women Throughout this passage there is a persistent emphasis on the fact that the women were raped, paired with a jarringly sentimental attitude on the part of the women toward their rapists and the children they were forced to have.

3.218 promises It is common for Ovid to refer to children as *pignora*, 'pledges', (e.g. *Met.* 11.543, *Her.* 6.122). This conveys both the idea that having a child with someone implies a commitment, and that a child represents an investment in the future.

breasts On *sinus*, see 2.404n, where a *sinus* is likewise used for carrying a baby.

3.230 Oebalian On *Oebaliae*, see 1.260n.

3.229 the first day *Diem quae prima* is obelized by AWC, and they note several variant readings. I have followed their reading, which concords with most manuscripts, including the oldest. Heyworth, citing Watt (1995), replaces *Kalendas* with *quotannis*. I have kept *Kalendas* insofar as *quotannis* is not attested in manuscripts.

3.232 martial conflict *Martia bella* sounds redundant, but it may stress the role of Mars in instigating the war (3.198), as well as his connection to Romulus who led the Roman army.

martial conflict, tears This is one of the many points in the *Fasti* that

shows a confrontation between epic (*Martia bella*) and elegiac (*lacrimis*) elements, in which the elegiac elements are shown to be more powerful.

3.235 moreover *Quid quod* indicates a transition to a new subject: “What about the fact that...”

3.242 furnishes its home On *Lar* as metonymy for ‘home’, see 1.136n. The narrator’s use of this word in the context of birds’ nests gives a level of personification to the birds (cf. Verg. *G.* 4.43, in which the same usage is applied to bees). Cf. *Met.* 1.174, where the gods have their own Penates.

3.244 includes fighting and prayers In this awkward segue, Mars attempts to link the fertility of springtime to his own bellicose identity via women’s fertility and the struggles of childbirth (as a response to the question at 3.167–170).

3.246 Esquiliae The plural indicates that the Esquiline has multiple summits.

3.245 the king Heyworth 130 argues that the king in question is Romulus and connects the temple of Juno to the *Iunonis aedem* in 3.205 (where the Sabine women met just before Romulus’ battle with Tatius), as well as the *Iunonis lucus* on the Esquiline at 2.435–436 (another episode from the reign of Romulus, in which the Romans begged Juno to solve their fertility problems). W&W 134 instead assert that the king is Servius Tullius, making a connection to Servius Tullius’ Esquiline home mentioned at 6.601.

kept watch The narrator derives *Esquiliae* from *excubitae*.

3.251 my mother i.e. Juno, goddess of marriage, wives, and childbirth.

3.253 the goddess i.e. Juno.

3.255 light Juno Lucina is a birth goddess; the narrator suggests a connection between the concept of being ‘brought into the light’ and the word *lux*. Cf. 2.436n.

3.257–8 if a woman is pregnant... This couplet is a rephrasing of 2.451–452.

3.259 The Salii A college of priests of Mars who were famous for performing a ritual dance with the *ancile* and its reproductions (on the Salii, see Heyworth *ad* 3.387–88, Beard, North, and Price (1998) 2:126–28, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.70). Livy 1.20 claims that the college of Salii was founded by Numa, and Livy 5.52–4 discusses how the *ancile* (among other religious elements) marks the ritual importance of the site of Rome. Ovid’s story of Numa’s quest for a ritual to expiate lightning functions as an aetiology for the Salii, although this is an Ovidian innovation: prior to Ovid the episode of the *ancile* was not linked to Numa’s interactions with Jupiter. The *Fasti*

Praenestini records that the Salii would celebrate a ritual publicly on 19 March (during the Quinquatrus; see 3.809).

3.260 Mamurius i.e., the person who made the false ancilia.

3.261 nymph i.e. Egeria, cf. 3.154n.

lake of Diana i.e. Aricia.

3.265 Hippolytus The story of Hippolytus' life and death is best known from Eur. *Hipp.* In this story, Hippolytus (the son of Theseus and an Amazon) is a young man devoted to Artemis and completely averse to Aphrodite. In revenge for his rejection, Aphrodite causes his stepmother Phaedra to fall in love with him; after she attempts to seduce him and he rejects her, Phaedra conceals her own offense by accusing him of attempted rape. Theseus prays to Poseidon to kill Hippolytus, and Poseidon causes Hippolytus to be killed by his own horses. The story is continued in *Met.* 15.497–546, in which Hippolytus is rescued by Diana, comes to Italy as the god Virbius, establishes the cult of Diana at Aricia, and founds a priesthood at that shrine (the Rex Nemorensis) to be held by a runaway slave. Cf. 6.733–762.

3.269 having achieved her prayer On *voti potens* cf. *Met.* 8.80.

3.271–2 The kingdom is ruled... This refers to the Rex Nemorensis, the ceremonial king of Aricia. Sketchy details of this position are provided by Strabo and others (Strabo 5.3.12, cf. *Ars am.* 1.259, Paus. 2.27.4, Suet. *Calig.* 35, Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.55, Servius *ad Aen.* 6.136): the Rex was a runaway slave who obtained his position by killing the previous king, and expected to be subsequently killed by his successor. Although the literary references to this cult and its site are meagre (despite the ostensible antiquity of the position, tracing back to Hippolytus, the priesthood is not attested in literature before the late republic/early imperial period), the remains of Diana's shrine in Aricia beside Lake Nemi are well known archaeologically; see Green (2007).

3.275 Camenae The Camenae are Italian water nymphs who are sometimes evoked as muses, e.g. by Liv. Andron. fr. 1, Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.21, Prop. 3.10.1 (Goold). They are associated with Egeria (see 3.154n) insofar as both are water nymphs, and also with Carmentis ('Camena' and 'Carmentis' are both etymologically related to *canere* and *carmen*). On Carmentis see 1.462n.

3.276 consort and councilor On Egeria and Numa, see 3.152n, 154n. By interrogating gods (Egeria, Picus and Faunus, and even Jupiter) about religious customs, Numa takes on a role similar to the *Fasti*'s narrator (see Pasco-Pranger (2002) 292–94, (2006) 86–98 on how Numa in the *Fasti* is equated to a poet). Cf. Jupiter's teasing jab at Numa at 3.344.

3.277–8 pacify the Romans Cf. Livy 1.19.2, 4; Cic. *Rep.* 2.26–27; Plut. *Num.* 8.

3.285–344 The Expiation of Lightning The following story deals with the ritual expiation of lightning bolts. Romans had a significant preoccupation with omens, and lightning was considered a bad omen that required a ritual response to avert possible consequences. On prodigies in Rome, see Beard, North, and Price (1998) 1:37–39. Regarding the religious implications of lightning, there is an Etruscan document, the ‘Brontoscopic Calendar’ (surviving only in Greek translation, the *de Ostentis* of Johannes Lydus) outlining how to interpret thunder as an omen. On Etruscan influence on Roman religion, see 2.444n.

3.289 don’t be so afraid Note the poetic negative imperative with *ne* + *impv.*, rather than the more conventional *noli* + *inf.*

3.291 Picus and Faunus On Picus, see 3.37n. On Faunus, see 1.397n, 2.268n. The interaction between Numa and Picus (apparently in human form) is difficult to reconcile chronologically: Verg. *Aen.* 7.48 makes Picus the father of Faunus, and Faunus the father of Latinus (contemporary with Aeneas), but Numa would not exist until many generations later, after the twelve Alban Kings and the foundation of Rome. In the *Aen.*, Picus was turned into a woodpecker before Aeneas’ arrival in Italy. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.31.2 makes Faunus the king of the aboriginal Italians at the time of Evander’s arrival (shortly before Aeneas’ arrival), but as a god, Faunus is presumably immortal.

3.295–8 a dark grove This grove is heavily discussed in scholarship of Roman religion regarding the use of the word *numen* and the ability of a grove to inspire awe in humans (see Hunt (2016) 184–86). On *numen* see 2.642n. This description is very evocative of a *locus amoenus*, which suggests that something bad is about to come along and disrupt it; see 3.13n. Wiseman (2004) xix locates this grove (as he does others) on a map, although it is hard to be precise about the location of historic ritual groves.

3.301 cups of aromatic wine This offering at a rustic spring recalls Horace’s *fons Bandusiae* at *Carm.* 3.13.

3.312 shaking his horns *Quatiens cornua* is intended to convey intense emotion.

3.317 drag him down *Deducere* is a word that usually diminishes, subordinates, or even humiliates its object, such as in the context of summoning a witness to court, leading a bride to her married home (3.689, 4.153), or even consigning war captives to slavery. Its use in reference to

Jupiter is striking. Cf. its use as a programmatic word in elegy (see 1.709n).
3.322 murky Styx Styx is famous as the enforcer of unbreakable vows of the gods (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 14.271, *Od.* 5.185).

3.343 so be it *Facito* is a future imperative indicating an action that must be consistently applied at every relevant occasion, appropriate for a religious observance (and also used for laws). In Latin usage, this form is for the most part confined to early Latin, and its use by Jupiter stresses not only the formality of the dialogue, but also its archaizing character. *Fac ut* + subjv. can be used as a circumlocution for the imperative, common in classical Latin.

3.346 Cynthius i.e. Apollo, the sun; this line signifies ‘when the sun has fully risen’.

guarantee It is certainly anomalous for the gods to send guarantees to humans, but the idea of a *pignus imperii* does recur in Latin literature; this phrase is applied e.g. to the Palladium (Livy 5.52.7) or to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Tac. *Hist.* 3.72).

Jupiter’s gift of a shield to Numa recalls other famous shields sent by gods to mortals: the Shield of Achilles and the Shield of Aeneas. In the *Il.* and the *Aen.* the audience sees the creation process (both shields are created by Hephaestus/Vulcan and elaborately decorated) whereas here the creation process is not described, leaving open the possibility that Numa is deceiving his people. This narrative continuously engages a theme of belief and disbelief (3.337–338, 3.345–356, 3.365–366, 3.370, 3.386), and repeatedly raises the issue of how a person can know whether information is reliable or not—especially in the context of what ritual knowledge mortals are permitted to know (3.313–314, 3.323–326, 3.336).

power *Imperium* is typically translated ‘empire’ (B&W 64, W&W 49, Nagle 90, Frazer 1:137), but considering that the Roman state at the time of Numa amounts to no more than a few towns in Latium, that seems like a misinterpretation from the perspective of Numa. From the reader’s perspective, the *imperium* may be understood proleptically as the future power of the Roman empire, but from Numa’s perspective it would be better understood (as I have translated it) as the power of the Roman state contemporary to his time.

3.363–4 veiled his head, lifted his hands By veiling his head and lifting his hands, Numa is adopting the typical attitude of prayer for a Roman priest. The statement that the gods often see him in this attitude emphasizes his characterization as a pious man; there is a figure on the Ara Pacis in

this attitude that is interpreted to be Numa (Rehak (2001)). Cf. the marble portrait of Augustus as Pontifex Maximus at the Palazzo Massimo.

3.372 cast their eyes upward *Summittere oculos* can mean either to look upward or look downward, which ambiguity has created a division among interpreters: are the people looking up at the spectacle in the sky (the interpretation followed by Heyworth 155, Nagle 90, B&W 65, Frazer 1:139, and which I have followed in my translation), or are they piously avoiding looking at it (W&W 50)? The former would be a reflexive reaction, but the latter would conform to the convention of priests veiling their heads during rituals, referenced at 3.363, established to prevent the priests from seeing anything forbidden.

3.375–6 a cow that had never... A cow that has never been yoked is more expensive in net terms (and thus a more valuable sacrifice) because it costs just as much to feed and care for but it does no work to offset that cost. Cf. *Il.* 10.292–293, *Od.* 3.382–383, Verg. *G.* 3.160, 4.540.

3.377 the ancile This shield is shaped like a violin or a figure-eight (which was not a typical shape for Roman shields but cf. ‘dipylon’ or ‘hourglass’ shields on geometric Greek vase paintings). the narrator implies that the word *ancile* is derived (as Varro *Ling.* 7.43 claims) from *ambeceisus* that is, ‘cut away on both sides’. By contrast, Plut. *Num.* 13 derives this word from ἀγκύλον, ‘curved’.

3.392 Mamurius Roman calendars mark a festival of Mamurius on the same day as the second Equirria (3.517–522). Lydus *Mens.* 4.49 reports that on that occasion, a man representing Mamurius was dressed in goatskin and beaten with rods, because his false ancilia had brought bad luck to Rome.

3.395 weapons i.e. the weaponry carried by the Salii.

3.397 Flamen Dialis On the Flamen Dialis and his wife the Flaminica, see 2.21n, 2.27n, 2.282n. A group of flamines in their distinctive caps is depicted on the Ara Pacis.

3.398 hair uncombed Restrictions on the Flaminica’s hairdressing and clothing are also reported in Gell. *NA* 10.15. Although the Flaminica’s conventions of combing or not combing her hair seem irrelevant to the surrounding passages, Heyworth 161 argues that this couplet carries an implied connection to the restrictions on the Flaminica reported at 6.219–234, which reinforces the narrator’s advice on scheduling weddings. On the significance of women with loose hair, see 1.503n.

3.399 risen up from the horizon Lit. the night has “moved its risings”, as translated by W&W 50. This is an odd phrasing without many parallels in

Latin; usually *ortus* refers to dawn rather than nightfall. I have followed AWC in reading *ortus*, insofar as it is recorded in the older manuscripts, although one finds the alternative reading *ignes* in later manuscripts (Heyworth 162). Some interpreters follow the reading *ignes* regardless: Frazer 1:140–41 “has shifted her starry fires”, Nagle 91, “has changed the position of the stars.” B&W 66 appears to combine these readings by offering “has shifted her rising stars.”

3.400 the twin Fish The aetiology of the constellation Fish is presented in more detail at 2.457–474, in which Venus and Cupid are saved by fish at the Euphrates.

3.401 Austri, Aquilones In classical mythology, the phenomenon of wind is often imagined as a set of competing gods representing compass directions. Auster is a name for the south wind; Aquilo the north (although the north wind is better known, and more strongly personified, under the name Boreas, e.g. 2.147, 5.203).

3.405 the dawdling boy On Arctophylax/Boötes see 2.153n.

3.406 when the wife... i.e., this constellation sets at dawn. On constellations ‘sinking’ into water, see 1.4n, 1.314n.

3.409 Ampelus Ἄμπελος is Greek for “vine.”

3.411 hanging from the branches of an elm There was an ancient practice of ‘marrying’ vines to elm trees as a support for the vines (see Catull. 62.49–55, Verg. *G.* 2.221, 2.367, *Met.* 10.100). This alludes to the erotic theme of this story.

3.412 takes its name Note the polyptoton of *nomine nomen*.

3.414 Liber raised... Although Ovid frequently describes supernatural transformation, it is unusual for him to specify which god effects the transformation and whether it is a reward or punishment; see 3.808n.

3.415 Phoebus i.e. Apollo, the sun.

3.416 ether The ether is an upper layer of the sky frequently referenced in Ovid’s descriptions of the heavens (see 1.75n), particularly as the home of the gods: 2.131, 2.468, 5.88, 6.427 (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 124). It is part of the mythic cosmology from which the narrator frequently adopts poetic images (alongside the idea of a flat earth surrounded by ocean, or the sun and the dawn as gods in chariots; cf. 1.313–314n), but which was not necessarily endorsed by scientific consensus contemporary to him.

3.417 whoever you are The second person singular addressee of this passage is generalized (*quisquis*), which jars against the idea that this scene takes place in the *penetralia Vestae*, access to which is highly restricted (cf.

the reaction of the cult statue to the pregnant Rhea Silvia, 3.45–46n). Though I have translated *ades* as imperative, it is actually indicative, corresponding to the indicative *colis*.

3.420 which he preferred to earn *Caesar* in this passage refers to Augustus. The date on which he became Pontifex Maximus is commemorated on (fragmentary lines of) the *Fasti Praenestini*, and more clearly on the *Fasti Maffeiani*. The force of *quos maluit ille mereri* is ambiguous: it may mean that Augustus preferred to earn his offices rather than be given them undeserved. Heyworth 165–66 suggests an alternative, that Augustus preferred to earn other titles rather than that of Pontifex: *RG* 10.2 suggests that Augustus held off from accepting the office of Pontifex Maximus while Lepidus held the office. This interpretation seems to run counter to the sentiment of this passage, since the narrator here praises Vesta and the Pontifex Maximus is a major figure in Vesta’s cult. Avoiding this difficulty, *quos* (the reading of manuscript A, which I have followed) is sometimes read as *quem* (following manuscripts G and M), which instead signifies that Augustus preferred the title Pontifex over the others, an interpretation followed by W&W 51. Frazer 1:143 and Nagle 92 finesse the problem by interpreting *quos maluit ille mereri* as a parenthetical question: “which would he rather have earned?”

3.421 eternal More polyptoton, cf. 3.412.

3.423 the person carrying you i.e. Anchises, who transported the Penates out of Troy, allowing Aeneas to establish their cult in Italy. On Aeneas in the *Fasti*, see 3.545n.

3.426 Vesta ... your kinsman The ostensible family connection between Augustus and Vesta is tenuous. Augustus as the adoptive son of Caesar traced his genealogy back to Venus, who could be connected to Vesta via the Olympian family tree (B&W 217). Heyworth 166–67 argues that this connection is seen in broader terms “by the imprecise reasoning of panegyric”, saying that Augustus as a descendent of Aeneas “shared the Trojan origin of the Penates and Vesta.” Frazer 3:97 dismisses it as transparent flattery pushed to improbable lengths; cf. 1.649n on Livia.

3.428 both the leader and the flame The analogy of Augustus to a flame suggests Augustus’ connection to the fiery Julian comet (see 2.144n).

3.429 one note The “note” may refer to a physical annotation on the *Fasti Praenestini* (see Introduction §2). The surviving fragments of the *Fasti Praenestini* on the Nones of March do in fact preserve a mention of Veiovis: ‘JOVI ARTIS VEDIOVIS INTER DUO...LUCOS’; likewise the same date in the *Fasti Antiates* refers to VEDI[OVI] IN CAPITOLIO.

3.430 Veiovis Veiovis is a god about whom little is known, possibly an underworld god (Mart. Cap. 2.166). A cult statue of Veiovis is preserved in the Capitoline Museum, which occupies the site of Veiovis' temple (dated by Livy 35.41.8 to 192 BCE).

3.430 two groves Rome is the site of many groves with religious significance, though it is difficult to securely identify a grove through archaeological remains. Heyworth *ad loc.* states that the "two groves" in question are the the groves occupying each of the two peaks of the Capitoline (Bömer *ad loc.* is generally in concord regarding the location, but stresses the fact that the precise locations of the groves are unknown).

3.431 high stone wall The word *alto* here seems defensive, as if to counter in advance any potential aspersions on the height of Romulus' walls. Note that Romulus is most strongly associated with the Palatine (traditionally he took his auspices there in his contest with Remus, and the Casa Romuli is situated there), but tradition holds that he established the Asylum on the Capitoline, although Tacitus claims that the Capitoline was not included in Rome until after Titus Tatius; see 1.581n.

3.432 anyone may flee here On Romulus establishing the Asylum, see 2.140n.

3.441–2 Pelion, Ossa On the giants Otus and Ephialtes, see 1.307–308n.

3.444 infant Jupiter This is a reference to the infancy of Jupiter, when nymphs kept him hidden from the attacks of his father Saturn. *Pavisse* presents difficulties, since *pāvi* is the third principal part of two different verbs, *pasco* (to feed) and *paveo* (to fear): the nymphs may have fed Jupiter, or they may have feared Saturn's attacks.

3.445–6 vegrandia, vesca *Vegrandia* is supposed to be read as 'not big'. Although the name Veiovis is typically interpreted to include a form of the name *Iupiter, Iovis*, the meaning of the *ve-* prefix is disputed. The narrator here interprets it to mean 'young' or 'small'. If Veiovis is an underworld god, his name is interpreted as 'Jupiter reversed' or 'anti-Jupiter' (L&S s.v. 2. *ve*, the same *ve-* prefix that one finds in words such as *vesanus*, 'not sane'). Gell. *NA* 5.12.8–12 interprets this *ve-* to mean not just 'opposite', but 'harmful'.

3.450 the Gorgon's horse i.e. Pegasus, the offspring of Medusa who emerged from her neck when Perseus decapitated her (*Met.* 4.785–786).

3.451–2 sprung from her neck In a mythic setting, pregnancies are not imagined as being confined to the uterus: Minerva was born from Jupiter's head (3.841–842), Bacchus from Jupiter's thigh (see 3.715n), and Lucian's

moon people incubate children in their calves (*Ver. hist.* 1.22). This idea is stressed by the present description of Medusa's *gravidā cervice*. The idea of pregnancies emerging from various parts of the body is reinforced by spurious beliefs in the 'wandering womb' perpetuated by Hippocratic writings (e.g. Hippoc. *Mul.* 1.32.7).

3.456 the Aonian spring i.e., the Hippocrene, the 'Horse's Spring'. The person who tamed and rode Pegasus was Bellerophon.

3.457–8 Pegasus This story describes the life of Pegasus on earth, followed by a description of his current place as a constellation, without expressly providing a narrative of his catasterism. It is set apart from such other catasterisms in the *Fasti* that provide a narrative of the process of transformation, and frequently an explanation of why the catasterism occurred (e.g. the Dolphin at 2.79–118, Callisto and Arcas at 2.153–192, the Cup, Raven, and Snake at 2.243–266, and the Fish at 2.457–472).

3.459 the Cretan Crown The adjective applied to the crown, *Cnosis*, 'from Knossos', is treated as a Greek loanword, and is given the Greek accusative ending *-a*. The Crown is Cretan because it belongs to Ariadne, daughter of Minos, king of Knossos.

3.459–516 Ariadne's Crown This is a version of the myth of Ariadne, Theseus, and Bacchus/Liber. The story goes that Theseus came to Knossos as a captive, to be fed to the Minotaur in the labyrinth under the orders of king Minos. Minos' daughter Ariadne helped Theseus by providing him with a length of thread and a sword, which he used to navigate the labyrinth and kill the Minotaur. When Theseus escaped the island, he took Ariadne with him as his bride, but on the way home to Athens he abandoned her on Naxos, where Bacchus rescued and married her. Cf. 1.260n on helpful princesses. Ariadne (and her laments) is a major point of interest for Ovid and her story is retold several times in his works (*Her.* 10, *Ars.* 1.525–564, *Met.* 8.169–182); see Boyd (2010). Ovid's Ariadne substantially draws on the Ariadne of Catull. 64.50–266.

3.461 betrayed *Periurus* is legal jargon for someone who breaks a vow or lies under oath. Ariadne's speech is peppered with legal jargon (cf. *causa relata, iurare*), suggesting that she would like to launch a lawsuit against Theseus or Bacchus for abandoning her.

3.465 Liber i.e. Bacchus.

combed-down hair The idea of Indians combing their hair out is not mentioned in many other sources, but this statement is sometimes connected to Curt. 8.9.22 and Nonnus, *Dion.* 25.155, both of which cite hair as a point

of pride for people in India. The manuscripts G and M read *depexus* instead of *depexos*, which would transfer the combed-down hair to Liber, who generally is depicted with long, luxurious hair. I have followed *depexos* as the *lectio difficilior*, as well as the reading given in more (and older) manuscripts.

3.466 returned enriched from the eastern world A standard element of Bacchus' mythology is that, as the son of the mortal Semele, he had difficulty establishing his place among the Olympians. He was said to have made a conquest of India before traveling to Greece and establishing his cult there (opposed by Greeks such as Pentheus).

3.469 devoted wife The phrase *amans coniunx* marks out Ariadne as unusual in a culture where arranged marriages were the norm, especially for daughters of kings: contrary to expectation, Ariadne has romantic feelings toward her spouse. Throughout Ovid's amatory poetry, the audience is encouraged to indulge such feelings, although usually the framework of marriage doesn't enter the question. On the sentiment behind *amare*, see 2.356n.

curved shore Nappa (2020) has examined *litus curvum* as a programmatically ominous phrase in *Aen.* 3. Although there is no obvious reason why Ariadne's present conflict with Bacchus should necessarily be located on the seashore, the setting here evokes the long literary tradition of Ariadne's laments (against Theseus), located on the seashore where he abandoned her.

3.470 hair unkempt Unkempt hair is often a sign of mourning or otherwise suffering an ordeal; cf. 1.503n. This detail creates a contrast between Ariadne and the Indians described above.

3.475 now again I will shout The "now again" statement signals that Ariadne is quoting herself from Catull. 64.132–135, 143.

3.477 if only my fate... i.e., 'If only I had died as expected when Theseus abandoned me.'

3.480 stopped grieving *Dedoleo*, 'give up grieving', is a very rare word in Latin that only occurs at two other loci, both in the Ovidian corpus, *Rem. am.* 294 and *Nux* 180.

3.482 our meeting brought me only grief Lit. 'Bacchus, you who were known resulting in my tears...'

3.483 mistress On the word *paelex*, see 2.179n.

3.486 repeat these words See 3.471n.

3.487 Theseus *Thesea* is treated as a Greek loanword, and is given the Greek accusative ending *-a*.

3.489 I will burn In Ovidian poetry, a person described as ‘burning’ is typically experiencing love rather than any other strong emotion: 3.502–3, 3.545.

3.493 I suppose Ovid typically uses *puto* with a short final syllable, although the first person singular -o is usually long.

3.493–4 fair, dark Traditionally in Latin erotic poetry, beautiful women are characterized as having pale skin (especially “snow white” skin, cf. 1.427, 2.763), and darker colors of skin are disparaged (although cf. *Am.* 2.4.39–40, where the narrator asserts that both light-skinned and dark-skinned women attract him). Ariadne assumes that her skin is lighter in color than that of a person from India, and implies that she should be preferred over the Indian captive on the basis of skin color, and sarcastically suggests that her skin is darker than the Indian captive’s.

3.499 a beautiful bull Ariadne’s mother is Pasiphaë, who was cursed to fall in love with an extraordinary bull and thereby conceived the Minotaur.

3.500 your horns Bacchus is sometimes described as having horns (*Eur. Bacch.* 100, *Soph. frag.* 959 (Lloyd-Jones), *Hor. Carm.* 2.19.29–30, *Tib.* 2.1.3, *Prop.* 3.17.19 (Goold), *Nonnus Dion.* 6.165, *Diod. Sic.* 4.4.2, 3.64.1–2).

3.501 Bacchus Ariadne uses the vocative repeatedly, with the effect of sounding accusatory and relentless.

3.503 you burned me “Burned” is used in the double sense of both ‘inflamed with passion’ and ‘harmed’.

3.503–4 you were born from fire On Bacchus’ birth, see 3.715n.

3.507 listening N.b. the irregular form *audibat* (normally *audiebat*).

3.510 pursue the heights of the sky Although Ariadne is generally reported to have become a goddess, and therefore immortal, see Gantz (1993) 115 on alternative traditions that she died (most notably *Hom. Od.* 11.321–325; cf. *Nonnus Dion.* 48.529–566, where Bacchus is visited by Ariadne’s ghost). *Paus.* 2.23.8 reports that her grave was shown at Argos.

3.513 I will create a monument The grammatical interpretation of the verbs here is difficult. *Faciam* is the main verb, future tense, and *sint* is subordinate, ‘I will arrange that they will be a memorial...’ with the conjunction *ut* omitted.

3.514 Vulcan gave to Venus On the Crown as a gift from Venus, see *Eratosth. Cat.* 5.

3.517 raised the sun six times i.e., six days later.

3.519 the second Equirria The ‘first Equirria’ was described briefly at 2.857–862, which also includes a mention of the Campus Martius and an abstruse phrasing of the date.

3.521–2 but if, by chance, it is overtaken... i.e., if the Campus Martius is flooded (as was prone to happen, since it was a low-lying area near the river), the Equirria can be held on the Caelian hill.

3.523 Anna Perenna The substantial attention given to Anna Perenna may be connected to her role as a goddess of the year (3.146n): she is one of the patron goddesses governing the *fasti*. The Ides of March are famous in Augustan Rome, but for reasons unrelated to Anna Perenna; see 3.697n.

3.524 traveling Tiber On *advena Thybris*, see 2.68n. *Thybris* is a Greek vocative form. Note the interchangeability of the forms Thybris and Tiberis (used just above at 3.520).

3.533 Nestor Nestor is a Greek general from the Trojan War, leader of the forces of Pylos, and notable for his advanced age. He survived the war and returned safely to Pylos, where he was visited by Telemachus in Hom. *Od.* 3.

3.534 the Sibyl The Sibyl of Cumae, a woman who worked as an oracle in southern Italy and guided Aeneas through the underworld in Verg. *Aen.* 6. As described in Ovid's *Met.* (14.129–51), the Sibyl was courted by Apollo and from him obtained supernatural gifts: the gift of prophecy and a thousand-year lifespan. However, when she refused to consummate their relationship, he refused to give her eternal youth. As a result, she grew increasingly ancient but was unable to die.

from her cups On the drunken old woman stereotype, see 2.579–580n.

3.538 hair flying The image suggests a maenad, the ecstatic followers of the wine god Bacchus who occasionally committed unreasoning acts of violence (e.g. 6.507–22, Eur. *Bacch.*). On the connotations of loose hair, see 1.503n.

3.540 fortunate The word *fortunatos* suggests the gods, or the heroes in Elysium.

3.543 who this goddess is The various aspects of Anna Perenna's identity have been explored in a recent volume, McIntyre and McCallum (2019). The narrator presents several explanations for the origin of Anna Perenna (3.657–74) that are, for the most part, mutually exclusive. (E.g., Anna of Bovillae lived in the republican period, and could not be the same Anna as Dido's sister, who lived before the founding of Rome.) His use of multiple aetiologies has interested many scholars: the narrator could have presented one settled answer for this question, but instead chose to present several mutually-exclusive possibilities, as he does in so many other aetiologies (see Beard (1987), Barchiesi (1991), Miller (1992), Harries (1989)). The

effect seems to undermine the narrator's authority on the calendar, but, as Beard has argued, emphasizes how religious rituals must be reinterpreted by successive generations. Overall, the narrator gives the most weight to the possibility that Anna Perenna is Dido's sister, insofar as he begins with this version, and devotes the most verses to that possibility. For examples of multiple aetiologies in other authors, see e.g. Verg. *G.* 1.84–93, Prop. 4.2.7–56 (Goold). Callimachus in the *Aetia* is supposed to have used the same technique, although it is not evidenced in the surviving fragments.

3.545–656 Anna of Carthage This story is a continuation of the history of Carthage as related in *Aen.* 1–4, in which Aeneas arrives in Carthage, has a brief affair with the local queen Dido, and breaks off the relationship to continue his quest. In grief, Dido commits suicide. The narrator conflates Dido's sister Anna with the Italian goddess Anna Perenna, and may have been the first to do so; Wiseman (2019) analyzes the meagre references to Anna Perenna in pre-Ovidian Rome and finds no evidence that any sources prior to Ovid connected Anna Perenna to Dido's sister (though the evidence is sketchy). In building up this story of Anna's later adventures, the *Fasti* draws heavy influence from Vergil; there is a strong similarity between the travels of Aeneas (and Dido) and the travels of Anna (cf. Porte (1985) 144–50, McKeown (1984) 169–87, Chiu (2016) 72–79, Barchiesi (1997) 21–23).

Aeneas is featured in this episode, which calls attention to Aeneas' minor role elsewhere in the *Fasti* (this is surprising considering his importance to Roman legend and religion, the Augustan program, and contemporary literature; see Green 217). Compared to Romulus and even Evander, in the *Fasti* Aeneas is a minor figure. Nevertheless he is invoked at several points as the ancestral hero of the Romans and revered founder of traditions; e.g. 1.527, 1.717, 3.425.

3.545 the flame of Aeneas Having fallen into despair after Aeneas ended their relationship, Dido committed suicide by building up a pyre of his gifts and burning herself on it. Aeneas spotted the flames as he was sailing away from Carthage. There is a metaphorical layer to this statement as well, since fire is a common metaphor for love in Latin poetry (cf. 3.502–3, 3.545).

3.549–50 Aeneas provided... This is the same epitaph Ovid uses for Dido in his letter of Dido to Aeneas (*Her.* 7.195–6).

3.552 African The term *Mauri* encompasses various Berber groups of north Africa, whose name was incorporated into the Roman province of Mauretania. In the middle ages, 'Mauri' became 'Moors', a (usually

derogatory) umbrella term used by European Christians to encompass Africans, Muslims, and middle eastern people.

Iarbas Iarbas is a North African king who appears as a character in *Aen.* 4: he proposes marriage to Dido, is rejected, becomes enraged at Dido's involvement with Aeneas, and prays to Jupiter to interfere with their relationship.

3.553 Elissa Another name for Dido, frequently used in the *Aen.*

3.555 the Tyrians i.e. Tyrians who fled Tyre with Dido and resettled in Carthage. Anna will lead them in fleeing from a hostile environment and resettling in a new place, much in the same way Aeneas leads the Trojans (and Dido leads the Tyrians) in the *Aen.*

3.556 bees often disperse The notion that a colony of bees has a king is a common misconception among Greeks and Romans. It is established in Arist. *Hist. an.* 5.21 and Verg. *G.* 4. The analogy of Carthaginians to bees is also used in the *Aen.* 1.430–6, when Aeneas first sees the city of Carthage.

looking back at the walls This echoes Aeneas' own departure from Carthage, *Aen.* 5.1–4.

3.567 Malta, Cosyra Both these islands are roughly between Tunisia and Sicily. Melite is modern Malta, which was incorporated into the Roman state during the Punic Wars. Cosyra (or Cossyra, Cossura) is modern Pantelleria.

3.570 Battus The name Battus is a reference to Callimachus (and aetiological/elegial poetry), since Battus is the legendary founder of Callimachus' home of Cyrene, and Callimachus refers to himself as a Βαττιάδης, son of Battus (*Callim. Hymn* 2.65–96; *Am.* 1.15.13). The reference is reinforced when Battus stresses his unwarlike nature (Barchiesi (1997) 22). On Callimacheanism, see 1.1n.

3.574 Pygmalion Pygmalion is the brother of Dido and Anna who in *Aen.* 1.340–364 arranges the death of Dido's husband and drives her out of Tyre. He is identified with the historical Tyrian king Pumayyaton (reigned 831–785).

3.576 a new land for exile Anna's exile takes her to Rome, as was the case for Evander. There is again an echo of Ovid's exile, his desire to return to Rome, and his jealousy of those who are exiled to Rome rather than out of it (see 1.540n).

3.582 Camere is treated as a Greek loanword, and is given the Greek first declension accusative ending *-en*. Camere is otherwise unknown. The river Crathis (modern Crati) empties into the Gulf of Tarentum and is mentioned at *Met.* 15.315–316.

3.584 nine slingshot throws The poetic practice of expressing distances

without formal units of measurement goes back to Homer, e.g. *Od.* 6.293–294.

3.589 the helmsman As Heyworth *ad loc.* explains, Ovid uses the word *magister* only once for the helmsman of a ship (*Ars am.* 1.6), but twelve times of his narrator, especially in the role of *praeceptor amoris*, encouraging the reading of this passage as an allegory for his own exile. N.b. the disappearance of Anna's fellow refugees (see 3.605n), in reference to the fact that Ovid claims that he declined any companions in his exile (*Tr.* 1.3.9).

3.595 the Phoenician exile i.e., Anna. The phrase *exul Phoenissa* suggests Dido; this line highlights how Dido and her sister suffer similar experiences of exile and refounding.

3.597 called her sister fortunate *Sorori* is a dative of agent with the passive voice ('Dido was called fortunate by her sister'), a construction that is not generally used in prose but appears sometimes in poetry.

fortunate This shipwreck recalls the shipwreck of Aeneas' fleet in *Aen.* 1, and the connection is underscored by Anna's remark; in the midst of his shipwreck, Aeneas calls those who died at Troy *terque quaterque beati* (*Aen.* 1.94).

3.599 the Laurentian shore The place where Anna comes ashore is Lavinium (near Laurentum, see 2.679n), the city where Aeneas settled and married Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, whose kingdom he gained as Lavinia's dowry. It is supposed to be the same place where Aeneas landed on arrival in Italy, and where he would later achieve apotheosis (*Met.* 14.581–608; cf. Frazer *ad* 3.647). There are substantial archaeological remains of pre-Roman settlement, including a seventh century BCE heroon to Aeneas (Cornell (1995) 68, Alföldi (1965) 250–54) and the altars of the Latin League. It is near the modern town of Pratica di Mare, and the river Numicius/Numicus, which figures later in this story (3.647), is identified with the modern Rio Torto.

3.601 dutiful Aeneas The standard epithet applied to Aeneas in the *Aen.*

3.602 two populations i.e., the Latin people of Italy and the Trojan refugees.

3.603 Achates Aeneas' closest companion in the *Aen.*

3.604 barefoot As Heyworth notes *ad loc.*, this is an odd detail to include; he speculates on various motivations for its inclusion, among which: it may hint at Aeneas' future deification at this site (deities in Roman art are conventionally depicted barefoot), or it may evoke a scene from mime or another dramatic work.

3.605 he spotted her wandering When Anna set out, she was accompanied by a crew of sailors/fellow refugees, but from this point on none of her companions are mentioned again. Despite the many similarities between the travels of Aeneas (as depicted in the *Aen.*) and those of Anna (as depicted in this narrative), the treatment of their fellow refugees is a major divergence between the stories of these two traveling heroes: whereas the migration of Aeneas' Trojan refugees is important in establishing the Trojan heritage of Rome, Anna is not in the end identified as the founder of any state, and her fellow refugees are not essential to any national mythology.

3.610 her sister's tragic death Note that the *miseræ sororis* in question is most naturally applied to *fata* to signify Dido, but it could also be applied to *oculos* to signify Anna, who has lived through a series of disasters and is currently in a state of great distress, especially as Aeneas reminds her of Dido's death.

3.611 the Cytherian hero i.e., Aeneas, the son of Venus (the Cytherian goddess).

3.616 the gods would not let me delay i.e., Aeneas could not stay in Carthage with Dido because the gods forced him to go on to Italy (see the appearance of Mercury at *Aen.* 4.219–278, 553–570). In other words, Aeneas is attempting to escape blame for leaving Carthage and prompting Dido's suicide.

3.618 more determined i.e., more single-minded, more committed to Aeneas, more determined not to live without him.

3.619–20 I myself saw her... In his journey through the underworld, Aeneas meets Dido on the Fields of Mourning, the abode of those who died before their fated time (*Aen.* 6.450–71). When touring the underworld, he passed by Tartarus (the place of punishment for those who committed atrocities) without entering, since the Sibyl told him it would be too terrible to go inside (*Aen.* 6.548–634).

3.623 I owe everything to Elissa *Nil non debemus Elissae* ought to mean, as I have translated it, 'there is nothing I do not owe to Elissa' (pace W&W 56) although some interpreters (Frazer 1:157; B&W 73) have taken *nil non* as the equivalent of *nonnihil*, 'something', in a much more restrained statement: 'I owe something to Elissa'.

3.627 Tyrian clothing i.e. clothing made with expensive purple dye. Purple clothing is a typical indicator of luxury (Omphale at 2.319, Arion at 2.107). Purple dye (and, by extension, luxury in general) is conventionally associated with Phoenicians such as Anna.

3.630 when I was shipwrecked... Here Aeneas himself calls attention to the parallels between Anna's adventures and his own.

3.633–8 Lavinia Lavinia's decisiveness and desire for action here set her apart from her characterization in the *Aen.*, in which she never speaks and never takes action. Her immediate and violent jealousy of Anna seems unfounded and may make Lavinia seem irrational; however, given the constant emphasis on the parallels between Aeneas and Anna, Lavinia may fear that Anna will continue to mirror Aeneas' adventures in Carthage by having an affair with the local ruler (i.e. Aeneas), which in due course will lead to Aeneas' suicide and the destruction of Lavinium (Beek (2019)). Moreover, although the *Aen.* emphasizes the love affair between Aeneas and Dido, there is a separate mythological tradition in which Aeneas was romantically involved not with Dido, but with Anna (Gera (1997) 129).

3.639 it was night... This scene strongly evokes the scene in *Aen.* 2.268–97, in which the filthy and disheveled ghost of Hector appears to Aeneas in a dream and orders him to flee Troy before the sack of the city.

3.643 having thrown herself over... I have followed the reading *super ausa*, which appears in the oldest manuscript (A) and in U. This reading is admittedly confusing because the preposition *super* has no object, so various editors have tried to emend it. The manuscripts G and M give the reading *super arva*; this reading is followed by Frazer 1:158 and W&W 56. Heyworth 213 instead favors *suspensa*, which he admits is a conjecture, calling *super ausa* “nonsensical.”

3.645–53 seized by fear... In this sequence, although Anna is very active (jumping out the window, running away), her actions are described with a series of passive verbs (*rapitur ... creditur ... quaeritur ... visa est*). This passivity emphasizes the fact that apotheosis is dependent on the will of the gods (in this case, Numicius) and not one that the apotheosed person can control.

3.646 a frightened doe Similes that compare women fleeing men to prey animals fleeing predator animals are common in Ovid, e.g. Lucretia 2.799–800.

3.647 horned river god River gods in Greek and Roman myth typically have horns; cf. Achelous in *Met.* 8.882–9.100. Even so, horns are not a feature of river gods exclusively, and in the *Fasti* other gods such as Faunus (3.312) and Bacchus (3.499–500) are also described as horned. As mentioned at 3.599n, the river Numicius is the same place where Aeneas will achieve immortality.

3.649 Sidonian Anna Sidon, like Tyre, is a city in Phoenicia. These two cities are distinct, but often conflated in Roman poetry (Aeneas described Anna as Tyrian at 3.631). More generally, this conflation illustrates the narrator's casual attitude toward geography; cf. Palestine/Euphrates 2.463–4.

3.651 they came On the passive construction, see 1.79n.

3.654 unfailling stream The Latin for “unfailing stream” is *amne perenne*, here provided as the etymology of Anna Perenna's name. Contrary to the narrator's explanation, it is more likely that the “Anna” in Anna Perenna (that is, the Roman goddess) derives from the word *annus*, year (Macrob. *Sat.* 1.12.6). (“Perenna” and *perenne* are both derived from *per-annus*, ‘through the years.’) The name of Dido's sister Anna (a Tyrian character) probably originates from the Phoenician form of הַנָּחַל (Hannah), forms of which were common in ancient Semitic cultures.

3.658 Themis A Greek patron goddess of laws and customs, Themis has a vague connection to Anna Perenna as the one who governs and systematizes the year.

3.659 Inachian cow i.e. Io, the daughter of Inachus, who was transformed into a cow by Jupiter, and later became the goddess Isis; see *Met.* 1.724–747.

3.660 first nourishment On the nymphs who fed the infant Zeus, see 3.443n.

3.664 Mons Sacer On the secession of the plebs in 494 BCE, see Livy 2.32–33. This was a conflict between the upper and lower classes, primarily driven by high levels of debt among the plebs and the practice of debt-slavery. The plebs pressed for debt relief by withdrawing to the Mons Sacer outside of Rome and refusing to participate in Roman society (with greatest pressure felt in the agricultural and military sectors dependent on the labor of the plebs). The secession was resolved with the creation of the Tribunes of the Plebs to advocate for the plebs in the Roman government.

3.677 Gradivus i.e. Mars ‘the Marcher’, seen previously in 2.861, 3.169.

3.690 pretending to be the bride This prank hinges on the idea that Anna Perenna is an old woman (*anus*, 3.684), and not the young, strong, beautiful bride that Mars was expecting.

3.694 entertaining to Venus This is not the only myth of Mars' sexual misadventures: the story of how Mars and Venus attempted adultery and were caught and humiliated by Vulcan is famous from Hom. *Od.* 8.266–367; Ovid remarks on the notoriety of this story at *Am.* 1.9.39–40. On the ostensible humor of this and other stories, see 2.304n.

3.696 she tricked *Verba dare* is an idiom for ‘to trick, deceive, cheat, elude’ (“words” in this context being understood in opposition to anything

more substantial: to give someone empty promises while withholding the thing promised).

3.697 swords driven into the Princeps This is a reference to the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 BCE. *Praeteriturus eram* implies grief: the narrator is so strongly affected by Caesar's death that he cannot bear to talk about it. Although the Senate commemorated the day with the official name *Parricidium* (Suet. *Iul.* 88), B&W point out that no extant Julio-Claudian calendars mention this event, reinforcing its unspeakably tragic character. Note that Julius Caesar does not occupy a prominent place in the *Fasti* (or, indeed, in most Augustan poetry; see Herbert-Brown (1994) chapter 3 'Julius Caesar'), especially compared to political figures such as Augustus, Tiberius, and Germanicus (he does appear briefly at 3.155–164 in his role of reforming the calendar). This fact's significance is underscored when the narrator states he planned to omit this episode.

3.702 only the shade of Caesar The language of *simulacrum ... umbra* to describe a wraithlike image that stands in for a real person recalls the shade of Creusa in *Aen.* 2.772–773 (*imago, simulacrum, umbra*), after the woman herself has been removed by the gods and the image is sent to deliver a message to Aeneas.

3.704 the great forum i.e. the Forum of Augustus, the Temple of Divus Julius.

3.705 blasphemy On the duties and significance of the Pontifex, see 3.420n, which also discusses the Pontifex in relation to the cult of Vesta.

3.707 I call you to witness *Estote* is a future imperative, second person plural.

Philippi This is a reference to the battle of Philippi in 42 BCE, in which the forces of Octavian and Antony defeated those of Brutus and Cassius. The battle is here depicted as retribution for the murder of Julius Caesar and reassertion of the government apparatus that was thrown into disarray by the murder of its head, namely Caesar.

3.708 whiten its landscape The idea that the hills of Philippi were white with bones is a melodramatic exaggeration. Cf. Prop. 1.21.9–10 (Goold), where bones of soldiers are likewise scattered over a mountainous landscape.

3.709 first education Cf. *prima elementa* at 3.179. The reference to *prima elementa* evokes the young age of Octavian (eighteen years) at the time of the battle of Philippi.

3.710 Caesar Although this passage has been describing Julius Caesar (without using his name), this reference to *Caesaris* signifies Augustus. On the multiple identities of *Caesar* within the *Fasti*, see 1.13n.

to avenge The use of *ulcisci* suggests a connection to the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus (a votary temple constructed as a thank-offering for Augustus' victory at Philippi), and with the nearby Temple of Divus Iulius mentioned above.

3.711–2 Scorpion will be visible This couplet has attracted substantial attention for the inaccuracy of its astronomical information; see Frazer *ad loc.*, Bömer *ad loc.* Cf. 2.245n.

3.713 Liberalia March 17th is the Liberalia, a plebeian festival at the Aventine temple of Liber, Libera, and Ceres, founded at the conclusion of the Secession of the Plebs and so connected with the story of Anna of Bovillae above. On Liber/Libera, see 3.511–512.

3.714 Bacchus The narrator refers to Bacchus frequently in the vocative here; cf. 3.501n.

3.715–24 I will not tell the story This extremely long praeteritio suggests that Bacchus has a very fraught life story with many episodes to avoid.

3.715 Semele Bacchus was the son of Jupiter and the mortal woman Semele. Semele died while still pregnant with Bacchus (Juno tricked her into asking to see Jupiter in his divine, elemental form, i.e. lightning, which was fatal to mortals), and Jupiter brought Bacchus to term by enclosing him in his thigh (Eur. *Bacch.* 1–42, *Met.* 3.256–312). Cf. 3.503.

3.716 unarmed and small The text is uncertain here, leading to difficulties with interpretation. I have followed the reading *parvus inermis eras*, which is given in the oldest manuscript (A). This line is interpreted by Nagle 100 to mean that, if Jupiter had not struck Semele with his lightning, Bacchus would have been born mortal. The fact that *eras* is indicative, and not a counterfactual subjunctive, renders this interpretation dubious. (N.b. however that all the alternatives recorded in the AWC apparatus criticus are likewise indicative.) Heyworth 231 emends the text with the conjecture *quacum, nisi tela secunda/Iuppiter adferret, tu periturus eras*.

3.720 Bacchus' triumphs Here the second-person referent has shifted; it is hard to make this sound natural in English.

3.719 Sithones A people of Thrace.

3.721 you are not under discussion *Tacere* is used here in the sense of 'to pass over in silence, to decline to speak about', which L&S describes as 'rare but classical'. Even in this sense, *tacere* does not often appear in the passive voice; for comparable usage see *Am.* 2.18.36, *Ter. Ad.* 3.4.28, *Mart.* 1.49.1.

evil prize The "evil prize" is Pentheus, who (as depicted in *Met.* 3.511–

731, Eur. *Bacch.*) was king of Thebes at the time when the cult of Bacchus first arrived, and attempted to resist the establishment of the cult. When he attempted to spy on the activities he forbade, the participants, including his mother and aunts, hallucinated (under the influence of Bacchus) that he was a wild animal and tore his body to pieces.

3.722 Lycurgus Lycurgus is a king of Thrace who rejected Bacchus' cult and attacked him (*Il.* 6.130–140). In the *Iliad* Lycurgus is punished with blindness, but elsewhere (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.1, Hyg. *Fab.* 132, 242) Bacchus makes Lycurgus attack his family via a delusion.

3.723–4 men turned into fish This refers to the story in which Bacchus was kidnapped by Tyrrhenian pirates, who were subsequently transformed into dolphins, as described in *Hom. Hymn Dion.* and *Met.* 3.572–700.

3.726 Planter of Vines I have adopted the reading *vitisator* following manuscripts U, G, and M, but other manuscripts (followed by Frazer 1:164) read *vilis anus*, which may connect with a remark in Varro *Ling.* 6.14 that on the Liberalia, old women crowned with ivy sold cakes throughout the city. Cakes are a staple offering to the gods and are an essential part of Bacchus' celebration. The reading of manuscript A is *ultus anus*.

3.727–8 the altars were neglected On the dilapidated temples of the late republic, see 2.58n.

3.733–4 take their names from their inventor i.e. Liber. L&S derives *libum* from *libare*; *libamen* is from the same root; *libare* is cognate with λείβω, λοιβή, root λιβ-; *Liber* also from λείβω 'to pour', λοιβή 'drink offering'. In short, the narrator identifies three words that do share a common root.

3.736–7 Hebrus ... off-putting jokes Following the mention of satyrs, who were typically associated with indecent behavior, the force of this statement is "there are jokes in this story, but, despite the reference to satyrs, they are not inappropriate ones." The story has the same sort of farcical, slapstick tone that the audience sees in several other episodes in the *Fasti* such as Faunus' attempted rape of Omphale, on which see 2.304n (like those episodes, this one is also described as a *iocus*). The reader might expect indecent stories here because, as described by August. *De civ. D.* 7.21 (cited to Varro), festivals of Liber prominently included rituals involving enormous representations of genitalia. Hebrus was a river in Thrace associated with the worship of Bacchus (it was the home of the maenads who dismembered and killed Orpheus (*Met.* 11.50)).

3.739 Pangaeus A mountain in Thrace, near Philippi, paired with Rhodope in Verg. *G.* 4.462.

3.740 cymbals Bacchus' entourage is typically depicted performing ecstatic music, and cymbals are a fixture of this image, cf. Catull. 64.261–262.

3.741 unfamiliar creatures The novel nature of the bees foreshadows Silenus' misidentification of hornets as bees, which will set up the punchline of this comic vignette. The sacrifice of the bull in 3.732 also suggests a connection with Verg. *G.* 4.315–558, where the sacrifice of a bull generates a new swarm of bees.

3.745 the bald old man i.e. Silenus; see 1.413n.

3.759 smear himself with mud i.e., as a prophylactic against beestings.

3.765–6 enamored of the gifts of the bountiful vine On the stereotype of the drunken old woman, see 2.580n. I have followed the reading of the manuscript G (*haec est* rather than the *haec erat*), since it harmonizes the tense *est* with the following *amat*.

3.770 his stepmother i.e. Juno. In Ovid's works Juno is frequently cast as the evil stepmother.

3.771 toga libera The *toga libera* or *toga virilis* is the characteristic dress of adult male citizens in Rome. The age of assuming the toga is around 14.

3.772 your festival day Lucifer is the morning star, here metonymy for day (1.45n).

3.786 torch-bearing goddess i.e. Ceres, a reference to her search for Proserpina, cf. 4.417–620. The festival in question is the Cerialia (4.679–712).

3.789 your harmless horns On Bacchus' horns, see 3.499–500n.

3.790 the sails of my work On the nautical metaphor, see 1.4n.

3.791 Argei The Argei are mentioned by Varro *Ling.* at 5.45 and 7.44 (quoting Enn.). Their procession, in which they throw straw dummies into the Tiber from the Pons Sublicius, is described at 5.621–662.

3.792 which *Haec* has to refer to *stella* simply because Ursa Major never “becomes visible”; it is always visible, as Ovid remarks at 2.191–192, *Met.* 2.527–531.

3.793–4 The Kite This predatory bird is not otherwise attested an ancient constellation or star, although kites are migratory birds and their return from winter migration is sometimes used as a seasonal marker. Plin. *HN* 18.237 contains a reference to the kite's reappearance, quoting Caesar's commentary on the calendar. In modern astronomy, ‘the Kite’ can be used to refer to a subset of bright stars in Boötes, based on their resemblance to a diamond-shaped toy kite (i.e., not the bird).

3.793 Lycaonid bear i.e. Ursa Major identified as Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, cf. 2.153–192.

- 3.797 Titans to war** On the Titanomachy, see 2.461n.
- 3.802 Parcae** The Parcae are the goddesses who create and control fate.
powerful Styx On the role of Styx as a divine enforcer, see 3.322n.
- 3.803–4 there was a prophecy...** The magic bull mentioned here recalls the conflict of Atreus and Thyestes, in which whichever of them owned a particular ram was destined to become king (and Thyestes stole the ram in question from Atreus). Livy 1.45.3–7 reports a similar story, in which a Sabine possessed a cow that, when sacrificed, was supposed to guarantee power to those who sacrificed it; a Roman priest tricked the Sabine into leaving the cow long enough for the Roman to sacrifice it himself.
- 3.804 overthrow the eternal gods** Greek and Roman mythology includes several stories of gods being overthrown by a younger generation: Uranus was overthrown by his son Saturn, and Saturn by his son Jupiter. For this reason, Jupiter is alert to threats to his own regime, as illustrated by the story of Thetis (a goddess who was prophesied to have a son who would be more powerful than his father, for which reason Jupiter forbade her to have children with a god).
- 3.805 Briareus** Briareus is one of the hecatoncheires, hundred-handed giants who fought with the Titans to overthrow their father Uranus, but later fought against the Titans on behalf of Jupiter and his siblings. His role in the narrative here suggests, however, that he is fighting with the Titans against Jupiter.
- 3.808 earned its ascent to the stars** Although supernatural transformations in Ovid's works are often implied to be a divine reward (or punishment), it is unusual to see the narrator specify this. See Segal (1998) 10; Beek (2015) 4–6, 126–27, 186–87.
- 3.810 five days joined together** i.e., the Quinquatrus, elaborated at 6.651–694.
- 3.811 no bloodshed** i.e., no gladiatorial games. In contrast, the “groomed sand” on the following days refers to the gladiatorial arena.
- 3.815 Pallas** i.e. Minerva. Her epithet ‘Pallas’ (on which see 3.7n) will be frequently repeated throughout this passage.
- 3.818 unburden their full distaffs** i.e. to spin.
- 3.822 prepares bronze tubs for fleece** i.e., for dyeing.
- 3.824 Tychius** A proverbially famous shoemaker from Boeotia. Cf. Plin. *HN* 7.196, Hom. *Il.* 7.220.
- 3.825 Epeus** The engineer who designed the Trojan Horse (Verg. *Aen.* 2.264, Paus. 2.29.4, Apollod. *Ep.* 5.14).

3.827 you who drive off diseases i.e. doctors, Apollo (Phoebus) being their patron god. Insofar as medicine is an art or skill, it is here represented as a province of Minerva also.

3.829 defrauded of your wealth The “fraud” refers to the income lost by schoolteachers, since the Quinquatrus was a school holiday.

3.831 you who burn tablets with colors i.e. painters of encaustic pictures.

3.839–46 Capta Minerva In effort to explain the title *Capta Minerva*, the narrator presents a parade of dubious etymologies, most of which derive from the word *caput*, head. On multiple aetiologies, see 3.543n.

3.843–4 This appears to be the correct aetiology for *Capta Minerva*: the Romans captured a statue of Minerva from Falerii (a town in Etruria whose people are called Falisci) in 241 BCE and made it the cult statue of a shrine on the Caelian hill.

3.848 aegis aegida is treated as a Greek loanword, and is given the Greek accusative ending *-a*. The aegis was a special shield made by Jupiter (possibly of goat skin, hence its derivation from the Greek αἴξ, ‘goat’). Jupiter later gave the aegis to Minerva, who mounted Medusa’s head on it as extra defense against her enemies.

3.849–50 Tubilustrium The narrator here claims that the Tubilustrium was a festival of Minerva as part of the Quinquatrus, but *deae* is sometimes read as *deo*, which would concord with Varro’s statement (*Ling.* 6.14) that the *Tubilustrium* was a festival of Mars. By contrast, Lydus (*Mens.* 4.60) claims it was a festival of Mars and his wife Nerio.

3.852 yesterday Here is a variant of the adverb *heri*.

he rode “He” is the Sun; this is a reference to the sun’s progression through the zodiac signs.

3.853–76 Phrixus, Helle, and the Golden Ram The Ram in the zodiac is here used as a launching point for the story of Phrixus and Helle, whose stepmother Ino attempted to have them killed (*Apollod. Bibl.* 1.9.1, *Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 2.1141–1151). First Ino engineered a famine by baking and thus ruining the seed corn, then she contrived an oracle to demand the sacrifice of her stepchildren to end the famine. The children were saved by the golden Ram, which delivered Phrixus to Colchis (where he married Medea’s sister) and sacrificed the Ram, converting it into the famous golden fleece. Helle by contrast fell off the Ram into the sea.

The story of Ino and her husband Athamas was apparently popular among Greek dramatists, although the plays that cover it have not survived (see Heyworth 259). In the works of Ovid, Ino (sister of Semele) is characterized

in startlingly divergent ways. In this story she is the archetypal evil stepmother; nevertheless, Ovid's stories of her exile to Italy and apotheosis as Leucothea treat her sympathetically; cf. *Fasti* 6.485–550, *Met.* 4.416–562. Beek (2015) 51–71, Parker (1999), Salvadori (1982).

On toasting grain, cf. the Fornacalia at 2.515–526, which celebrates grain toasted to good effect (in preparation for eating).

3.855–6 the Delphic tripods On the Delphic oracle see 2.713n.

3.863 their mother Their mother is the goddess Nephele, whose name means 'cloud' (hence her place in the sky).

3.864 struck her bare breast A gesture of grief or distress.

3.865 the dragon-born city i.e. Thebes, which was initially populated by the *Spartoi*, people Cadmus grew from the teeth of a dragon (*Met.* 3.99–128). Note that Apollod. and Ap. Rhod. make Athamas the king of Orchomenos, not Thebes.

3.869–70 an insecure, left-handed grip i.e., she lost her grip and fell off the Ram; the body of water she fell into (the Hellespont) was named after her. A similar story is told of Icarus and the Icarian Sea, that is the sea is named after someone who died by falling into it (*Met.* 8.233–235).

3.874 married to the blue sea god On Helle's marriage to Neptune, see Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.20.1. Helle is one of many mythological women who has an ambiguous death/disappearance, but in a variant tradition is saved, immortalized, and married to a god. (cf. Rhea Silvia *Am.* 3.6.47–82; Anna Perenna 3.639–654) This is presented as a consolation, insofar as her apparent death is reframed as a marriage and apotheosis.

3.878 daytime hours equal to nighttime i.e., three days later is the date of the equinox.

3.882 Altar of Peace On the Ara Pacis, see 1.709n.

3.883–4 the moon on the Aventine hill The Aventine festival of the Moon is attested on the *Fasti Praenestini*.

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