

VII. *Natalis urbis and Principium anni*

VAN L. JOHNSON

TUFTS UNIVERSITY

In a recent study¹ of the Roman nundinal system, I put forward the view that F was the original nundinal letter; that it was also a ferial letter—in fact, to begin with, an abbreviation of *feriae* itself; that use of the letters A to H made this F-day the sixth day of a Roman market-week; and that this could be explained only by assuming the existence of an original four-month year of 120 days with thirty days in each month. Applying this argument to an examination of those festivals which would have come on the first *nundinae* of such a year, viz. on the sixth day of March, we find some new correlations and further corroboration, I think, of my general hypothesis.

I assume that the Ides of each month fell, as it did in the historical calendars, sixteen days or two Roman weeks before the last day of each month. The reason for this is that the Ides, as Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.15.17) knew, divides the month in half; and half of thirty on the duodecimal system, which the Romans used in computing fractions,² is exactly sixteen. Furthermore, the words *Nonae* and *Quinquatrus* indicate that all other days of the month were reckoned back from and forward from the Ides. This means that the Nones always fell on the sixth day and the Ides on the fourteenth day of a thirty-day month.

In reconstructing a calendar for this 120-day year,³ one finds that there was only one Nones of any religious significance, viz. the Nones of March. It is the only ferial Nones in the entire four-month year; yet against this date in the historical calendars there is only a single entry—a fact which Ovid (*Fasti* 3.429) thought worthy of mention: “Una nota est Marti Nonis, etc.” This “one mark,” of course, is *Vediovi inter duos lucos*.⁴

Now if the earliest calendar was only a list of *feriae*, as I believe

¹ *AJP* 80 (1959) 133–49.

² Vid. *Harper's Dict. Class. Lit. & Ant.* (New York 1897), s.v. “Abacus.”

³ See Table I, page 120, for the reconstructed calendar.

⁴ *CIL* I.1².233; cf. W. W. Fowler *Roman Festivals* (London 1899 [1925]) 43.

it was, it is clear that the rites for Vediovis began the prehistoric year on March 6, just as rites for this same god began the historic year on January 1.⁵ Moreover, it is interesting that the last *nundinae* in the four-month year—June 28 in such a calendar—would be sacred to Jupiter Stator. This certainly suggests that the mysterious Vediovis was simply Jove the Starter of the year, and thus represented (vid. Ovid, *Fasti* 3.437) as a young Jupiter, while Jupiter Stator was Jove the Stayer of the year, later developed in myth (cf. Livy 1.12.6, 10.37.15; Ovid, *Fasti* 6.793–94) as the Stayer of Romulus' army in flight before the Sabines. All *nundinae* were in some sense sacred to Jove, for the Flaminica Dialis sacrificed a ram to him on every such occasion (vid. Macr. *Sat.* 1.16.30.). This would have necessitated special epithets (such as Starter and Stayer), special rites, and probably special sacrifices for Jove on those two ferial days when it was his added function to start and to stop the *annus vertens*. (Macr. *Sat.* 1.14.4.)

This "turning year," I now believe, turned in a very concrete manner, viz. as a four-sided calendar which, with one month on each face, turned a new side to the viewer four times a year.⁶ The terminology used by Macrobius (*loc. cit.*) suggests that each

⁵ *CIL* 1.1². 231; Fowler (above, note 4) 277. Rites for Vediovis involved the sacrifice of a goat *humano ritu* (Gell. 5.12), whatever the meaning (vid. *OCD*, s.v. "Vediovis") of that puzzling phrase. Vediovis had a temple on the Capitol *inter duos lucos*, perhaps another on the Tiber Island (vid. Platner-Ashby, *Top. Dict. Anc. Rome* [Oxford 1929], s.v. "Vediovis, Aedes,," and D. Robathan, *Mon. Anc. Rome* [Rome 1950] 175–76), and probably a cult statue—at least Pliny (*NH* 14.216) mentions an image of Vediovis made of cypress wood and located on the Capitol. According to both Gellius (5.12) and Ovid (*Fasti* 3.443), Vediovis in his representations was attended by a *capra* or she-goat. In addition Gellius has Vediovis armed with bow and arrows like an Apollo; Ovid makes him *inermis* and interprets his name as meaning little Jupiter (*Fasti* 3.448). Cicero (*Div.* 2.85) mentions a statuary group at Praeneste representing a *puer Iuppiter* and an infant Juno suckled by Fortuna; Servius (*in Aen.* 7.799) states that a *puer Iuppiter*, called Anxurus, was worshipped in the Campania; and of course Romans learned the story of the infant Zeus on Crete. But common notions that Jupiter was old and Apollo young must have affected the representations of Vediovis and distorted the identity which Ovid makes so clear. The view that Vediovis is an anti-Jupiter or god of the underworld (cf. Dion. Hal. 2.10.3, and F. Altheim, *Hist. Rom. Rel.* [New York 1937, trans. H. Mattingly] 262–63) rests, I believe, on a misinterpretation of the prefix *ve-*. We are dealing, I am convinced, with Jupiter in some special function which requires a special sacrifice, the slaughter of a goat, in some special fashion, *humano ritu*. A god who began the year would certainly merit this kind of attention. For a complete survey of the subject, see *RE* 8A.1 (1955), s.v. "Veiovis."

⁶ It appears to me that the four-sided calendars known as *Menologia Rustica* (*CIL* 1.1². 280–82) may be survivals of a four-month calendar. The three months

face represented an *annus lunaris* or *annus brevis*, and all four sides an *annus magnus*. Thus when the calendar had turned from March back to March, the fifth side—counting inclusively as the Romans did—concluded a *lustrum*⁷ of five *anni lunares* and continued the never-ending year-cycle of Anna Perenna.

As this never-ending year-cycle increased from four to ten months and then from ten to twelve months (in at least six stages of development),⁸ some of its festivals got dislodged from the month or day of their origin; but if we plot the course of such cycles through the solar year, we can discover the original dates for some of these misplaced *feriae*. Moreover, one may assume that *feriae* are as old as the calendar in which they would first have fallen on F-days. This procedure is especially rewarding for the Nones of March, for it means that this date is no longer barren of all *notae* except *Vediovī*: we must add to *Vediovī* all entries for the Nones of July, since this would have been the Nones of March in a four-month year. Now the Nones of July is particularly rich in *feriae* (there are no less than four, and all of these have ramifications in *feriae* of other dates). Moreover, it is the only Nones with a name, *Nonae Caprotinae* or “Nones of the Goat,” an honor of obscure significance for the Nones of July but thoroughly suitable for the Nones of March, the only ferial Nones in the four-month year and the day when a *capra* or she-goat was sacrificed to Vediovīs.

In historical times the rites of the Caprotine Nones involved sacrifices to Juno Caprotina under a *caprificus* or wild fig-tree. The celebrants were women, the white sap of the fig-tree was used instead of milk as an offering, and a branch or *virga* was cut from the fig-tree for some ceremonial purpose (or simply to get the sap used as an offering). (Cf. Macr. *Sat.* 1.11.36–40; Varro, *LL* 6.18; Plut. *Rom.* 29, *Camil.* 33–36.) With this festival all of our ancient authorities associate the second entry against July 7, viz. the *ancillarum feriae* or Rites of the Serving-Girls, which were thought to commemorate the deception of enemies who demanded Roman

on each face of these later calendars is quite unnatural, for in Italy this is not a seasonal arrangement; it looks more like a result of the simple arithmetic of putting twelve months on the four sides of a calendar which already existed.

⁷ It now seems to me that this use of the word *lustrum* is basic, deriving its “lustral” significance from the ceremonies of the Tubilustrium which occurred on the third *nundinae* of every March in the first calendar. For its later confused connections with the census and with solar *quinquennia*, see Lewis and Short *New Lat. Dict.*, s.v. “Lustrum.”

⁸ Vid. *AJP* 80 (1959) 133–49.

wives at the time of the Gallic invasion and got their hand-maids instead. The leader of the *ancillae* was said to be one Philotis, Tutela, Tutula, or Tutola.

The third entry against the Caprotine Nones is a *sacrificium Conso*, a sacrifice to Consus, presumably at his underground altar in the Circus Maximus (Tertul. *Spect.* 5). This is located by Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.24) at one corner of the Palatine pomerium, the first boundary of ancient Rome. This altar was sacred to Consus or to an unmentionable god (Dion. Hal. 2.31), and it was uncovered only at the various Consualia, i.e. three times a year in the historical period.⁹ In general, Consualia consisted of horse and mule races in the Circus Maximus (Dion. Hal. 2.31), the garlanding of these same animals (Plut. *Quaest. rom.* 48), and *ludi* portraying the rape of the Sabine women (Varro, *LL* 6.20), who were supposed to have been abducted by Romulus and his men at a celebration of the Consualia (Livy, 1.9.) Some or all of these ceremonies were eventually associated with the Consualia of August 21 and December 15, but this must be a development: the Consualia of August would have been non-ferial in the four-month year, while the Consualia of December would have fallen in April, though on a ferial day coinciding with the Fordicidia. Certainly the *ludi* look very much like a duplication¹⁰ of the story abstracted from the ritual of the *ancillarum feriae* celebrated on the Caprotine Nones.

The fourth entry against the Caprotine Nones is *Palibus II*, which must stand for *Palibus duobus* or *Palibus geminis*; in any case it refers to the god or goddess Pales¹¹ in a dual form. Both the duality of the god or goddess and the existence of his or her *feriae* on the Caprotine Nones are new facts brought to light by the calendar of Antium.¹² We have no indication of what rites were performed for Pales on this date, but we may infer that they resembled in part the ritual of the Parilia or Palilia, a great festival of Pales which occurred in historical times on April 21, a date

⁹ Vid. Platner-Ashby (above, note 5), s.v. "Consus."

¹⁰ Cf. Fowler (above, note 4) 178.

¹¹ Vid. Roscher, *Lex.* 3.1277; H. J. Rose, *Anc. Rom. Rel.* (London 1948) 74-75; F. Altheim (above, note 5) 102-103. Rose is perspicacious, I think, in regarding the two Pales as gods of stock-breeding, but he errs, I am convinced, in thinking their festival a late importation from the north. I see no basis in calendar study for Altheim's suggestion that Pales is Etruscan.

¹² *Notiz. degli scavi* 18 (1921) 73-141.

which would have been non-ferial in the four-month calendar. The Parilia, as we know it, was essentially a rite of purification which involved the cleansing of sheep and sheep-folds, and the leaping of celebrants over fires of burning bean-straw. Certain *februa* or purifying agents were used in the ceremony, viz. bean-straw, blood from the October Horse, and the ashes of unborn calves taken from cows slaughtered at the Fordicidia. Among the offerings were cakes of millet and warm milk, and milk was drunk by the worshippers before leaping the flames (Ovid, *Fasti* 4. 721 ff.). In these developed ceremonies there are no doubt accretions to what the ritual might have been on the Caprotine Nones: there is no evidence, for example, that sheep or cows were involved in the other *feriae* of that date; and the Fordicidia indeed would have followed it in the calendar. The blood of the October Horse may be an original element since, as we have noted, Consus, a god of horses, had rites on the Caprotine Nones.

In addition to these four specific entries against July 7, Plutarch (*Rom.* 29; *Camil.* 33–36) connects the *feriae* of July 5 with those of the Caprotine Nones: these are *feriae Iovi* and the *Poplifugia*, the only so-called *fastus antiquissimus* to occur before a Nones in the historical calendar. This latter festival was supposed to commemorate either a flight of the Roman people at the time of the Gallic invasion or a flight of the people when Romulus disappeared from the earth at a convocation in the Goat Swamp, the *Caprae Palus* or *Caprea Palus*, which Livy (1.16.1; cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 2.491) and Plutarch (*Rom.* 29) locate in the Campus Martius. Plutarch says that these rites were characterized by the calling out of first names; and Varro (*LL* 6.18) states that there are *vestigia fugae* or traces of flight in the ritual.

Now all of these six items associated with the Caprotine Nones, curious and bewildering in their July context, take on new meaning and clearer significance when we transfer them to March and make them concurrent with the year's beginning and with the sacrifice of a *capra* to Vediovis. For example, Warde Fowler years ago suggested¹³ that the Poplifugia might represent a flight of celebrants from the slaughter of a victim, as at the Buphonia in Athens, or from the expulsion of a scape-goat, as at the Thargelia in Athens; and he quotes evidence to show that scape-goats were used in Italy. But he had no way of connecting an animal

¹³ *Op. cit.* (above, note 4) 176.

sacrifice with any of the *feriae* of July 5 or 7. If now we bring into conjunction with them the March rites of Vediovis, as my theory of calendar development permits, we do have the sacrifice of a goat which seems to confirm his conjecture. Moreover, it now occurs on the first *nundinae* of the year, exactly the right time for ridding the people of old ills. Since the goat was slaughtered *humano ritu* (Gell. 5.12), we may also have an explanation of the story (Dion. Hal. 2.56) that a human being, viz. Romulus, was murdered in the Goat Swamp. Moreover, the *capra* may have represented Caprotina herself, and this would suggest that the victim was not only a scape-goat but a *numen* of some kind like the bull in Athens. Thus the cries and panic when a deity was slain, the resulting myth that it was not really slain, and the tale of Romulus ascending to the gods.

The *feriae Iovi* of July 5 likewise become more explicable when referred to the first *nundinae* in March; obviously this is another term for the rites to Vediovis or Jupiter the Starter and incidentally confirms the identification of Vediovis with Jove. Reconstruction of the calendars shows clearly how these *feriae Iovi* (and the Poplifugia) got dislodged from the Caprotine Nones: they were moved to July 6 in Numa's calendar and to July 5 in the Republican calendar to keep them ferial.¹⁴ This means apparently that they had more sanctity in later times than did those *feriae* left on the Nones. It is reasonable to suppose that rites connected with Jupiter would have such distinction.

As for the Parilia, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.88) says that it came at the beginning of spring; but we know (vid. Varro, *RR* 2.28.1) that the Romans regarded February 7 as the first day of spring, and April 21 comes well after the vernal equinox. It appears that Dionysius is attempting to explain some aspect of the Parilia for which we have epigraphic evidence in the calendar of Praeneste¹⁵ which, under an entry for the Parilia on April 21, bears the phrase *PRINCIPIO AN*, restored by Mommsen to *PRINCIPIO ANNI PASTORICII*. Tibullus (2.5.82), Propertius (4.4.74–75), and Ovid (*Fasti* 4.775–78) all emphasize the annual character of the Parilia; and Ovid (*Fasti* 4.721 ff.) in particular represents it as a festivity connected with the beginning of a new year. This makes no sense at all for April 21, but it

¹⁴ See Table II, page 120.

¹⁵ *CIL* I.1². 236; Fowler, *op. cit.* (above, note 4) 79.

would exactly fit the festival for two Pales on the Caprotine Nones, if we concede that this fell on the first *nundinae* in March in the four-month year. This interpretation would also explain another famous crux in the evidence: Ovid (*Fasti* 4.778) speaks of addressing Pales four times in prayer. The usual number is three, and I surmise that we have here some reference to one prayer for each of the four *anni lunares* of the four-month year.

Now the Parilia was regarded as the birthday of Rome; in fact, Ovid (*Fasti* 4.820 ff.) follows a tradition which suggests that the Parilia was older than the city itself, and that Romulus laid the foundations of the city at a celebration of this festival. The Parilia of April 21 gives no clue to this association, but the festival of two Pales, beginning the year as it may, might also in primitive speculation begin the city itself. After all, Rome must be as old as the first *feriae* in her calendar.

Turning to Consus, we now have evidence from the *Fasti Antiates*¹⁶ that he too had rites connected with the beginning of the year in historical times: this calendar records an entry for Consus, as well as for Vediovis, against January 1 in the Republican calendar. This may certainly reflect a prehistoric situation where rites for Consus fell on the first *nundinae* of the four-month year.

The *ancillarum feriae* are very puzzling, but it seems to me that, in discounting the stories to which they gave rise, viz. the deception of the Fidenates or the rape of the Sabine women, we must also allow that the *ancillae* were not mere serving-maids but the servants of some deity. One is reminded that Ancus Martius, the legendary fourth king of Rome, bore a name meaning "servant of Mars." It is not exactly clear what deity the *ancillae* served, but their legendary leader, whatever her name—Tutela, Tutula, or Tutola¹⁷—certainly looks like a tutelary deity of some kind; and we do know of a goddess Tutilina or Tutelina: according to Varro (*LL* 5.163) the poet Ennius lived near her shrine on the Aventine, Tertullian (*Spect.* 8) mentions a statue of her in the Circus Maximus, and Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.16.8) says that whoever mentions her name is keeping *feriae*. If she is the goddess of the *ancillarum feriae*, I would think that, like Caprotina, she is another

¹⁶ See note 12.

¹⁷ Mac. *Sat.* 1.11.36–40; Varro, *LL* 6.18; Plut. *Rom.* 29, *Camil.* 33–36. We may exclude consideration of the name Philotis, a transparently Greek invention.

by-form of Juno and perhaps a protectress of the fig-tree. Certainly the *ancillae* used a branch of the wild fig-tree¹⁸ in their rites (cf. Varro, *LL* 6.18), and this was no doubt cut to get the white sap (cf. Macr. *Sat.* 1.11.40) offered to Caprotina on the same day. Now the fig is particularly interesting because in Roman religion it had a special felicity and one which may indeed have been associated with New Year's day in the historical calendars. The Flaminica Dialis, who sacrificed a ram to Jove on every *nundinae*, wore a *surculus de arbore felici* (Gellius 10.15) in her head-dress; and the *figus alba*, according to Macrobius (*Sat.* 3.20.2) was *ex felicibus arboribus*. Even more important, the *strenae* connected with January 1 in the historical period were *verbenae felicitis arboris* (Sym. *Ep.* 10.35; cf. Varro, *LL* 5.47). In its primary sense *felix* means "fertile" and would apply to the *caprificus* which contained the male flowers necessary to the fertilization of the domestic fig. Its extended meaning is "lucky" or "auspicious," and Macrobius (*Sat.* 3.20.3) mentions unlucky trees, *infelices*, which are fruitful but *in tutela* of the gods of the underworld. He does not say so, but presumably the *arbores felices* are *in tutela* of the gods above, and I would think that Tutilina is one of them. The cutting of a lucky bough from her tree, the fig, is appropriate to any *nundinae* and particularly appropriate to the first *nundinae* of the year.

In the beginning, of course, the bough must have been cut for more than felicitous reasons: it was cut, as I believe, to get a flow or at least a good drip of the white sap offered to Caprotina. We have only one indication of the economic use of this sap, but it connects with goats in at least two ways, and this suggests the propriety of offering it to Caprotina, the Goat-goddess.¹⁹ Varro

¹⁸ Scholars have suggested that the *virga* was used in a fertility rite or in the process called *caprificatio* (vid. Fowler, *op. cit.* [above, note 4] 178-79.) A *virga* of some tree was used for sweeping at the historic Parilia on April 21 (Ovid, *Fasti* 4.736), and this may be a vestige of something done on the Caprotine Nones when the two Pales were worshipped. The fig is a tree usually propagated from sucklings, *ex surculo* (Columella, *Arb.* 1.2; Varro, *RR* 1.41.5; cf. *Enc. Brit.*, s.v. "Fig."); resettings are frequent; in Mediterranean areas today, where the fig is still the poor man's food, two crops a year are possible—in July and October (roughly four months apart!); and even the leaves are stored for fodder. My own Italian neighbors, following ancestral practice, I assume, dig a trench in the autumn, then bend and bury the entire fig-tree to protect it from winter frosts. The twigs used in the *ancillarum feriae* may therefore symbolize the planting of fig-trees; or the storage of figs, fig-leaves, or even fig-trees, perhaps in an underground receptacle sacred to Consus; or even the value of the fruit which, oddly enough, sometimes matures underground on a certain species of fig.

¹⁹ Juno Caprotina was a Latin goddess at Falerii, and there was a statue of Juno

(RR 2.11.4) tells us that this white sap or milk *de fici ramo* was used as a substitute for rennet to coagulate milk in the making of cheese, and we may assume that in a primitive community the cheese was usually goat-cheese. Moreover, he states that rennet from kids (and hares) is superior to rennet from lambs. Both statements seem to shed some light on the odd etymology of *caprificus* or goat-fig; they likewise involve the interesting implication that by using the sap of the fig-tree in cheese-making, one need not slaughter one's kids to make rennet from their stomachs.

Now we must recall that a *capra* or she-goat was slaughtered for Vediovis on the first *nundinae* of the four-month year. If she represented Caprotina herself, as I have suggested, she was probably the best of her kind, viz. the constant mother of twins, for Varro again in another revealing passage (RR 2.3.4) tells us that the best breeding male goats are selected from the issue of a dam that bears twins. He goes on to say that a *capra* with two *haedi* was put in the heavens as part of the constellation Auriga, and that this she-goat was associated with the story of the infant Zeus on Crete (cf. RR 2.3.7; also Horace, *Carm.* 3.7.6 and Cicero, *Nat. deorum* 2.43.110.). The core of this story, it seems to me, may well contain some reference to Caprotina and Vediovis, traditionally a young Jupiter, and also to the two Pales worshipped on the same day.

I am suggesting, of course, that the two Pales were twin kids; and the etymology of the word "Pales" appears to support this suggestion. It is generally agreed that this word is derived from the root found in *pascere*, "to pasture," and that the same base occurs in Palatium, the Roman name for both the Palatine hill and the earliest city.²⁰ As pasturage, the Palatine slopes would be particularly well adapted to goats; they are much too steep for sheep or cows.

Now situated at the base of this goat-hill or Palatine was a grotto called the Lupercal where the *lupa* or she-wolf was said to have

Sospita at Lanuvium clad in a goat-skin (cf. Fowler, *op. cit.* [above, note 4] 178). The strips of goat-hide used at the Lupercalia were called *amiculum Iunonis* (Arnob. 2. 21-23). See *RE* 10. 1 (1919), s.v. "Iuno."

²⁰ Pales seems to be a variant of Palatua, the name of a goddess whose Flamen participated in the rites of the Septimontium on December 11 of the historical calendar (Varro, *LL* 7.45; Festus 348); and Festus (245) says that the Palatium was *in tutela eius deae*. Our sources represent Pales as either male or female; see *RE* 18.3 (1949), s.v. "Pales."

nursed the famous set of twins, Romulus and Remus; and near it stood the Ruminial fig-tree. According to Varro (*RR* 2.1.20), *ruma* or *rumis* was an old word for *mamma* or "teat," and sucklings taken from a milkless mother and put *sub alterius mammam* were called *subrumi*. Festus (270) mentions *haedi* or kids as animals which are sometimes made *subrumi*. The Ruminial fig-tree was planted near a shrine of the goddess Rumina (Plin. *N.H.* 15.20.77) to whom milk (goat-milk?) or perhaps fig-milk was offered instead of wine and sucklings (Varro, *RR* 2.11.5). Moreover, the fig-tree was planted near Rumina's shrine because (vid. Varro, *loc. cit.*) the milk of the fig was used to coagulate milk in the making of cheese (probably goat-cheese, as I have suggested above). In addition Festus (222) gives us a twisted derivation of Parilia from *parere*, "to give birth," but on the very reasonable grounds that the rites of the Parilia were performed *pro partu pecoris*, "for the issue of the flock."

It seems to me that all these facts and legends, with the interlacing of evidence which they provide, may refer to the Caprotine Nones at some prehistoric period when it began the year as the first *nundinae* in the calendar. I would reconstruct the situation somewhat as follows: in that particular epoch the Roman economy was based particularly upon the raising of goats, the culture of figs, and the making of cheese; each year had to be productive in these things; and consequently the first rites of each year were concerned with them. A most valuable creature, a *capra* or she-goat, the mother of twins, was sacrificed to Vediovis or Jupiter the Starter of the year. This goat represented Caprotina, the Goat-goddess herself, and citizens fled in panic from this necessary but awful sacrifice. Yet the goddess survived in her stock, the twins; and gratitude for this was expressed in an offering of fig-milk because in a sense it saved them from slaughter: it was a substitute for the rennet which might have been made from their stomachs. Thus Tutilina, the fig-goddess, was also honored by women under the guidance of her priestesses, the *ancillae*. The twins, i.e. the two Pales, were given a new mother to suck, viz. Rumina, on the ground that Caprotina was now milkless, a euphemism for her death. An offering of milk or fig-milk was also poured to Rumina at her shrine near the Ruminial fig-tree as a token of unbroken sustenance for the twins. The twins themselves were honored with an offering of warm milk; and

finally there was a sacrifice to Consus, god of the store—a store of cheeses and figs.

The twins were eventually sanctified and even anthropomorphized as tutelaries of their hill, the Palatine, and as founders of the city, a corollary to Consus as founder of the store. At some time they were endowed with magical immunity by turning the foster-mother, Rumina, into a *lupa* or she-wolf, the proverbial enemy of wild she-goats (cf. Horace, *Carm.* 1.33.8.) When Greek notions of eponymous gods and eponymous heroes were introduced at Rome, it was natural to rename the Pales and to neglect one of them. It was easy to do this since the word was identical in the singular and plural forms of its vocative case, the case of invocation. The two Pales became Romulus and Remus, then Romulus alone. The sacrifice of their mother *humano ritu* led to stories of Remus' murder and the murder or ascension of Romulus. In fact large portions of the legend of Rome's founding look like abstractions from the rites of the Caprotine Nones: the birth and suckling of the twins, the founding of a city on the Palatine, and the rape of the Sabine women.

Thus the rituals of this day, though ultimately dislodged from their association with the beginning of the year, retained at new dates in later calendars some connection with the beginning of the city. This is especially true of the Parilia which finally turned up in its most developed form on April 21 but was still celebrated as *natalis urbis*, along with a dim recollection that it had once been *principium anni* as well.

Table I
THE FOUR-MONTH YEAR

		<i>MARCH</i>	<i>July</i>	<i>November</i>
6	Non.	Vediovī	Nonae Caprotinae Ancillarum Feriae Conso Palibus II POPLIFUGIA? Iovi?	
14	Id.	Annae Perennae		Feroniae Fortunae Feriae Iovi
22	X Kal.	TUBILUSTRIUM*	NEPTUNALIA	
30	Pr. Kal.	Lunae in Aventino		
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		<i>APRIL</i>	<i>August</i>	<i>December</i>
8	VII Id.			
16	XVI Kal.	FORDICIDIA		CONSUALIA
24	VIII Kal.	VINALIA	VOLCANALIA	LARENTALIA Feriae Iovi
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		<i>MAY</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>January</i>
2	V Non.			
10	V Id.	LEMURIA II		AGONIA
18	XIV Kal.			
26	VI Kal.			
<hr/>				
		<i>JUNE</i>	<i>October</i>	<i>February</i>
4	III Non.	Bellonae	Mundus patet	
12	III Id.	MATRALIA Fortunae	FONTINALIA	
20	XII Kal.	Minervae in Aventino		
28	IV Kal.	Laribus publicis Iovi Statori		

Table II
SHIFTING OF THE POPLIFUGIA

		<i>Latin, or four-month calendar</i>	<i>Calendar of Romulus</i>	<i>Calendar of Numa I</i>	<i>Calendar of Numa II</i>	<i>Republican calendar</i>	<i>Caesar's calendar</i>	
III	Non.	4D	5G	5E	5E	5F	5B	POPLIFUGIA
Pr.	Non.	5E	6H	6F	6F	6G	6C	
	Non.	6F	7A	7G	7G	7H	7D	Nonae Caprotinae

* So-called *fasti antiquissimi* are printed in capital letters