

# Renaissance Scholarship and the Athenian Calendar

*Paul Botley*

THERE WERE MANY calendars in use in the ancient Greek world. That the Athenian calendar survived them all was principally due to the enduring attractions of her literature. Subsequently, this calendar was used by writers who did not fully understand its complexities, and the surviving references to it in ancient texts are often difficult to reconcile. The fifteenth century saw the first attempts since antiquity to reconstruct this ancient system of reckoning.

The first part of this paper draws attention to a lost work of Manuel Chrysoloras on the months. It examines what the Greek and Latin reference works available to contemporaries had to say on the subject of the Athenian calendar, and it assesses their value in establishing the correct sequence of the months. It looks at a number of versions of this calendar which were used by fifteenth-century translators. Finally, it details the production and diffusion of Theodore Gaza's influential treatise on the Athenian calendar, *De mensibus*.

This first part touches on the erratic and inconsistent appearances of the Athenian months in a number of fifteenth-century lexica. The second part provides a detailed account of the Athenian calendar as it appeared in all the Greek-Latin lexica printed between 1478 and 1530. This calendar, very widely diffused, was quite different from that promulgated in Gaza's *De mensibus*.

These surveys were conducted in the belief that the history of scholarship is a subject worth studying for its own sake.<sup>1</sup> In this

<sup>1</sup> Three works are valuable for the periods before and after this study: P. Tannery, "Les noms des mois attiques chez les Byzantins," *Mémoires scientifiques*, eds. J. L. Heiberg and H. G. Zeuthen (Toulouse 1912–1950) IV 223–

case, however, an examination of the evolution of scholarship has a practical consequence: a number of early printed books, dated according to contemporary conceptions of the Athenian calendar, can now be more precisely dated. This dating occupies the third part of this article.

1. *The Athenian calendar and western scholarship, 1396–1478*

The influential Greek teacher Manuel Chrysoloras, who arrived in Italy in 1396, appears to have compiled a guide to the Greek calendar. In a letter written immediately after Chrysoloras' death in 1415, Ambrogio Traversari wrote to Francesco Barbaro from Florence:<sup>2</sup>

Mitto ad te duas epistolas longiores nostri Chrysolorae: *De amicitia* alteram ad me; *De mensibus* secundam ad Pallantem, scriptas olim manu mea; tertiam ad nostrum Guarinum mittere non curavi.

The letter on the months addressed to Palla Strozzi, who studied Greek under Chrysoloras at Florence in the last years of the fourteenth century, appears to be lost. That this letter was written in Greek is clear: the first and last of these three letters have survived and are both in Greek,<sup>3</sup> while the addressee of Traversari's letter, Barbaro, was a competent Greek scholar. Chrysoloras did sometimes write to students of the language on specific issues: Coluccio Salutati, for example, received a letter from him on the subject of the Greek breathings.<sup>4</sup> We may also

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239; M. V. Anastos, "Pletho's Calendar and Liturgy," *DOP* 4 (1948) 183–305, at 215–218; A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* I–II (Oxford 1983–1993).

<sup>2</sup> L. Mehus, *Ambrosii Traversarii generalis Camaldulensium aliorumque ad ipsum* (Florence 1759) II 278. The letter is dated 20 Oct. s.a.; it is dated to 1415 in F. P. Luiso, *Riordinamento dell' Epistolario di A. Traversari* (Florence 1898–1899) I 35.

<sup>3</sup> S. Cyrillus, *Codices graeci manuscripti Regiae Bibliothecae Borbonicae* II (Naples 1832) 259–278 (to Traversari), 224–239 (to Guarino).

<sup>4</sup> Salutati asked for guidance on the breathings in 1396: F. Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati* (Rome 1891–1911) IV 269–271. Chrysoloras replied in 1397–98 with a letter and a treatise. The letter survives in part: G. Mercati, "Una lettera negletta di Manuele Crisolora al Salutati e un' altra datata male," *RendIstLomb* SER. II 51 (1918) 227–234; B. L. Ullman, "Chrysoloras' Two Letters to Coluccio Salutati," in *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*<sup>2</sup>

conclude that Chrysoloras' letter on the months was substantial, apparently comparable in length to the letter *De amicitia*, which in the nineteenth-century editio princeps runs to twenty pages. A substantial work is not likely to have been a simple list of the various Greek calendars of the ancient world. It probably included some discussion of the sources from which these calendars could be reconstructed.

### 1.1 Papias

Such a reconstruction was hardly possible from Latin sources. One Latin work of reference could have brought only confusion to the investigation. This, the eleventh-century lexicon attributed to Papias, is full of a great deal of garbled Greek learning, and a diligent search by a fifteenth-century scholar might have extracted a calendar of sorts. This, set out below, is the first of a number of possible calendars which will appear in this article.<sup>5</sup>

Ecatombeon	Januarius
Pianeption	Martius
Memastenon	Aprilis
Boedromion	Maius
Posteon	Maius
Gameon	Julius
Possideon	Augustus
Elaphebolion	Augustus
Antesterion	September
Munition	September
Scyrophorium	November

The lexicon of Papias is confusing for several reasons. First, it

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(Rome 1973) 279–283. Salutati made a copy of the treatise from Chrysoloras' lost autograph: "Omissa responsione graecis litteris scripta a Manuele, tractatum eius illico subieci et ex eius manu exaratum transcripsi" (S. Bernardinello "La grammatica di Manuele Caleca," *RSBN* N.S. 8–9 [1971–1972] 203–218, at 209 n.6). The *responsio* is the letter; the *tractatus* is the treatise.

<sup>5</sup> For Papias, I consulted the ed. pr., Milan, 12 Dec. 1476. The work was printed four times in the fifteenth century, but the complete text has not been printed since. The letter A has been edited: V. de Angelis, *Papiae elementarium* I– (Milan 1977–). The ed. pr. prints *Scytophorium*, which I take to be a typographical error for *Scyrophorium*.

attributes these months not to the Athenians, nor even to the Greeks, but to the *Teuceri* or Trojans. Second, the spelling of the months is eccentric: “Posteon” and “Possideon,” variants on the same Athenian month Ποσειδεών, appear as separate entries in the lexicon. Third, no entry in Papias corresponds to the Athenian months Μεταγεινιῶν or Θαργηλιῶν.<sup>6</sup> Finally, the lexicon contradicts itself: the entry for *Junius* states “graece ἑκατομβαιῶν”; that for *Augustus* reads “graece βοηδρομιῶν”; and that for *October* “attice gamelion γαμηλιῶν.” In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the lexicon of Papias was not used to establish the calendar by any scholar of the fifteenth century. However, as will be shown, it was certainly consulted on the matter.<sup>7</sup>

### 1.2 The order of the months

During the first half of the fifteenth century a number of Greek works of reference became available in Italy.<sup>8</sup> To bring all these learned works to bear on the reconstruction of the Athenian calendar would have been no easy task for a contemporary scholar, but from them the correct sequence of the months might have been tentatively established. Not all of these new tools were useful: the lexicon attributed to Cyril, for example, does not record the name of any Athenian month;<sup>9</sup> the lexicon attributed to Zonaras records only two, *Anthesterion* and *Gamelion*, and has nothing to say on their relationship to the calendar.<sup>10</sup> Others works were more helpful. From the

<sup>6</sup> Joannes Tzetzes’ twelfth-century commentary on Hesiod’s *Works and Days* 502 lists the Athenian months (T. Gaisford, *Poetae minores graeci* II [Leipzig 1823] 309); Tzetzes also omits *Metag.* and *Tharg.*

<sup>7</sup> For the calendars of Papias, see L. O. Bröcker, “Beiträge zur antiken Monatskunde,” *Philologus* 2 (1847) 246–261; K. F. Hermann, “Bemerkungen zu den menologischen Glossen des Papias,” *Philologus* 2 (1847) 262–272; J. F. Mountford, “De Mensium Nominibus,” *JHS* 43 (1923) 102–116.

<sup>8</sup> The availability of these works in the fifteenth century will be discussed in my book, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529*.

<sup>9</sup> For ps-Cyril, I consulted London, BL MS. Harley 5792, the source of all later copies of the lexicon.

<sup>10</sup> For ps-Zonaras, I consulted J. A. H. Tittmann, *Johannis Zonarae Lexicon* I–II (Leipzig 1808). This has: (1) γαμηλιῶνος. ὄνομα μηνός. (2) Ἀνθεστήρια. τὰ

*Etymologicum Magnum* our scholar would learn that *Thargelion* was the eleventh month.<sup>11</sup> The *Suda*, available in Italy since at least 1408, states that *Metageitnion*, *Poseideon*, *Anthesterion*, and *Scirophorion* are the second, sixth, eighth, and twelfth months.<sup>12</sup> The lexicon of Valerius Harpocration, widely available in Italy in the second half of the fifteenth century, would have been particularly valuable. In compiling his lexicon, Harpocration seems to have made use of a lost treatise *Περὶ μηνῶν* of one Lysimachides, and consequently he is able to give the number of five months: *Metageitnion* is second, *Maemacterion* fifth, *Poseideon* sixth, *Anthesterion* eighth, and *Mounychion* tenth.<sup>13</sup> A fifteenth-century scholar who collated these works would find that five months were left unnumbered.<sup>14</sup> This information permits the construction of the following fragmentary calendar:

- [Ἑκατομβαιῶν]  
 2. Μεταγειτινῶν  
 [Βοηδρομιῶν]  
 [Πυανεψιῶν]  
 5. Μαϊμακτηριῶν  
 6. Ποσειδεῶν  
 [Γαμηλιῶν]  
 8. Ἀνθεστηριῶν  
 [Ἐλαφηβολιῶν]  
 10. Μουνυχιῶν

Διώνυσα [*sic*]. οὕτω γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἑορτὴν λέγουσι καὶ ἀνθεστηριῶνα τὸν μῆνα.

<sup>11</sup> T. Gaisford, *Etymologicum Magnum* (Oxford 1848) 443. The ed. pr. has the same reading (Callierges: Venice 1499) sig. O5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Ed. Adler III 369, IV 179, I 223, IV 381. In the ed. pr. of 1499, and in its first reprint of 1514, *Anth.* and *Scir.* are said to be the eighth and twelfth months, *Poseid.* is not numbered, and both *Metag.* and *Moun.* are said to be the second month.

<sup>13</sup> I consulted the ed. pr. (Aldus: Venice, Oct. 1503). Lysimachides is cited twice: sigs. vv3<sup>r</sup> and xx5<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> An abridgement of the lexicon of Hesychius survived into the fifteenth century in a single manuscript. The ed. pr. (Aldus: Venice, Aug. 1514) reads: Γαμηλιῶν [*sic*]. ὁ τῶν μηνῶν τῆς ἡρας ἱερός. The second edition (Junta: Florence, Aug. 1520) and the third (Anshelm: Hagenau, Dec. 1521) reprint this reading. The latest edition reads ὁ ζ' τῶν μηνῶν (ed. Latte I 361). This conjecture is based on the modern understanding of the calendar.

11. Θαργηλιών
12. Σκιροφοριών

Had our scholar been in a position to see the lexicon of Photius, he would have found his task much easier: in this lexicon all the months of the Athenian calendar are clearly and consistently numbered from one to twelve in this order.<sup>15</sup> This order is the same as that established by Joseph Scaliger in his landmark work on chronology, *De emendatione temporum*, in 1583, and it is the order accepted by modern scholars.<sup>16</sup> As we shall see, a calendar that listed the months in this order was certainly available to western European scholars in the early years of the fifteenth century.

### 1.3 The calendar and fifteenth-century translators

The classroom texts read by Chrysoloras and his students contain numerous references to the Athenian calendar. Prominent among these texts were the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch. The calendrical observations in Plutarch's *Lives* were important to fifteenth-century attempts to reconstruct the Athenian calendar and align it with the Roman one. Plutarch himself clearly did not believe that the Athenian months could be exactly mapped onto the Roman.<sup>17</sup> There is, however, a consistency to his passing observations on the relationship between the two calendars which suggests that he—or his sources—referred to some sort of table for his equations. This table must have looked something like this:<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> A very rare work. Most of the lexicon was first printed by Porson from an incomplete copy of the twelfth century, now Cambridge, Trinity College MS. O.3.9: R. Porson, *Photii lexicon* (Leipzig 1823). A complete text is now in progress: C. Theodoridis, *Photii Patriarchae lexicon* (Berlin/New York 1982–).

<sup>16</sup> J. J. Scaliger, *Opus de emendatione temporum* (Geneva 1629) 28–36; C. Trümpy, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen* (Heidelberg 1997) 6–9.

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Plut. *Rom.* 12.2.

<sup>18</sup> Three months are attested directly: *Metag.* in *Publ.* 14.3, *Poseid.* in *Caes.* 37.2, and *Anth.* in *Sull.* 14.6. From *Dem.* 28.1, it appears that *Metag.*, *Boed.*, and *Pyan.* are consecutive months. From *Ages.* 28.5, it appears that *Hecat.* follows *Scir.* From *De Is. et Os.* 69 (*Mor.* 378E) *Pyan.* = the Egyptian month Ἄθούρ, and from 13 (356c) it appears that Ἄθούρ is around November.

Ἑκατομβαιών	Augustus
Μεταγειτνιών	September
Βοηδρομιών	October
Πυανειών	November
Μαιμακτηριών	December
Ποσειδεών	Januarius
Γαμηλιών	Februarius
Ἄνθεστηριών	Martius
Ἐλαφηβολιών	Aprilis
Μουνυχιών	Maius
Θαργηλιών	Junius
Σκιροφοριών	Julius

This calendar seems also to have been used by Plutarch's younger contemporary, the historian Appian, who says that the date of Caesar's assassination, the Ides of March, corresponds to the middle of *Anthesterion*.<sup>19</sup>

Francesco Barbaro, the recipient of Traversari's letter and of Chrysoloras' treatise, made a translation of Plutarch's *Aristides*. In this work Barbaro met two Athenian months, *Boedromion* and *Maemacterion*, which cannot be neatly aligned with the Boeotian calendar which the work also cites: as Plutarch notes, ἄλλην ἄλλοι μηνὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν ἄγουσιν.<sup>20</sup> Barbaro's version of *Aristides* was complete by the summer of 1416, by which time he must have received Traversari's letter quoted above and a copy of Chrysoloras' *De mensibus*. It is possible that Plutarch's comments in his life of Aristides kindled Barbaro's curiosity about the Athenian calendar and prompted an inquiry to Traversari.

Chrysoloras' students also studied the works of Demosthenes and Aeschines, in which the Athenian calendar regularly occurs. The recipient of Chrysoloras' letter on the months, Palla Strozzi, is known to have made some versions of Demosthenes. These versions were extant in the fifteenth century in rough

<sup>19</sup> App. *B.Civ.* 2.149. Pier Candido Decembrio translated this work around 1456: P. Viti, "Decembrio, Pier Candido," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 33 (1987) 488–498, at 496.

<sup>20</sup> *Arist.* 19.7, cf. 21.3; Barbaro, transl. *Arist.* in *Plutarchi Chaeronei Graecorum Romanorumque illustrium vitae* (Victor a Rabanis et socii: Venice 1538) fols. 112D–113A, 113B.

drafts and may have been part of his Greek exercises.<sup>21</sup> A list of Strozzi's books, dated 1431, includes among the Greek volumes "grammatica et sermones Demostenis," which might have been one of his student texts,<sup>22</sup> and we know that Strozzi owned a manuscript of Aeschines at his death in 1462.<sup>23</sup>

Leonardo Bruni, who studied with Strozzi under Chrysoloras in Florence, translated a number of works which contain references to the Athenian calendar. Athenian months appear in the spurious *testimonia* and *leges* transmitted with Demosthenes' *De corona*. Bruni translated this speech in 1406–07, but chose to omit the *testimonia* and *leges* from his version.<sup>24</sup> Bruni translated Aeschines' *Contra Ctesiphontem* in 1412 and rendered *Thargelion*, *Scirophorion*, *Anthesterion*, and *Elaphebolion* as *Februarius*, *Martius*, *November*, and *December*.<sup>25</sup> Bruni subsequently translated Demosthenes' *Third Olynthiac*, in which he rendered *Maemacterion*, *Heca-*

<sup>21</sup> "Sermoni di Demostene, non choretti": A. Perosa, *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone I* (London 1960) 64. They have not come to light.

<sup>22</sup> G. Fiocco, "La biblioteca di Palla Strozzi," in G. Mardersteig (ed.), *Studi di bibliografia e storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis II* (Verona 1964) 289–310, at 310. Diller's proposed identification of this manuscript is, as he acknowledges, unlikely: A. Diller, "Greek Codices of Palla Strozzi and Guarino Veronese," *JWarb* 24 (1961) 313–321, at 316. Paris, BN MS. gr. 2489, a composite manuscript, has a descriptive note on fol. 88r: "grammatica et sermones demosthenis," while Paris, MS. gr. 2508 has a description on fol. 1r: "grammatica et demosthenis sermones." Both have been connected with Chrysoloras: N. Zorzi, "I Crisolora: personaggi e libri," in R. Maisano and A. Rollo (eds.), *Manuele Crisolora e il ritorno del greco in occidente* (Naples 2002) 87–131, at 109.

<sup>23</sup> Strozzi owned Milan, MS. Ambr.J. 22 sup, which has Themistius and Aeschines, and may have been the manuscript from which Leonardo Bruni made one or more of his versions: A. Diller, "The Manuscript Tradition of Aeschines' Orations," *ICS* 4 (1979) 34–64, at 50–51. It seems to be the manuscript mentioned in Strozzi's will (Fiocco, in Mardersteig, *Studi* 296).

<sup>24</sup> Bruni's translation has been edited: M. Accame Lanzillotta, *Leonardo Bruni traduttore di Demostene: La 'Pro Ctesiphonte'* (Genoa 1986).

<sup>25</sup> Dem. *De cor.* 27, 98, 67, 73. Bruni's version was first printed with rhetorical works of Cicero at Venice in 1485: *The Illustrated Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (Primary Source Media, British Library CD Rom, VBIA Ver. 1.5 [= *ISTC*]) ic00662000. I consulted London, BL MS. Harley 2462, made at Florence in the 1430s (J. Hankins, *Repertorium Brunianum: A Critical Guide to the Writings of Leonardo Bruni I* [Rome 1997] 90–91), fols. 47r, 60v, 54r, 54v.



*tombaeon*, *Metageitnion*, and *Boedromion* as *Martius*, *Aprilis*, *Maius*, and *Junius*.<sup>26</sup> Bruni also translated a number of Plutarch's *Lives*, among which was a version of *Demosthenes*, completed before the end of 1412. One passage of this work states that Macedon won the battle of Crannon in the month of *Metageitnion*, that Macedonian troops garrisoned Munychia in *Boedromion*, and that Demosthenes died in *Pyanepsion*. Plutarch implies that the months are consecutive, and Bruni translated them as *Maius*, *Junius*, *Julius*.<sup>27</sup>

We thus have nine Athenian months as rendered by Bruni. Eight of these equations are consistent with the order of the months used by Plutarch and with the order established by modern scholarship. Bruni seems to have had before him a calendar that looked like this:

Ἑκατομβαιών	Aprilis
Μεταγειτνιών	Maius
Βοηδρομιών	Junius
Πυανεψιών	Julius
[Μαιμακτηριών	Augustus]
[Ποσειδεών	September]
[Γαμηλιών	October]
Ἀνθεστηριών	November
Ἐλαφηβολιών	December
[Μουνυχιών	Januarius]
Θαργηλιών	Februarius
Σκιροφοριών	Martius

Among the nine months recorded there is one inconsistency which requires explanation. In 1412 Bruni rendered *Scirophorion* as *Martius*; when he later came to translate the *Third Olynthiac*, he rendered *Maemacterion* as *Martius*. This inconsistency may be explained as follows. Demosthenes uses four Athenian months in close succession in his *Third Olynthiac*. The last three of these months—*Hecatombaeon*, *Metageitnion*, and *Boedromion*—are clearly consecutive, and Bruni translated them in accordance with the calendar above as *Aprilis*, *Maius*, and *Junius*. But he seems to

<sup>26</sup> *Olynth.* 3.4, 5; London, BL MS. Harley 2462, fol. 24r.

<sup>27</sup> Plut. *Dem.* 28.1; Bruni, in *Plutarchi Chaeronei* fol. 290B. Bruni again renders *Pyan.* as *Jul.* at *Dem.* 30.4: fol. 290C.

have believed that Demosthenes' words in this passage imply that *Maemacterion* precedes *Hecatombaeon*, and accordingly he translated the month as *Martius*.

It is tempting to identify this calendar with a scheme propounded in Chrysoloras' lost letter. It seems to have been in existence before his death, and it was used by one of his most able students. We know that Chrysoloras read and praised Bruni's *Demosthenes* in 1412.<sup>28</sup> Whatever its source, this calendar appears to have been used by other translators of Plutarch: by Lapo da Castiglionchio in the 1430s;<sup>29</sup> by Alamanno Rinuccini in 1455;<sup>30</sup> and by Donato Acciaiuoli in the same decade.<sup>31</sup>

#### 1.4 The calendar in Greek-Latin lexica

The calendar used by Bruni has not, to my knowledge, been noticed before. As we shall see, it was incorporated into a Greek-Latin lexicon that was first printed around 1478. The

<sup>28</sup> "Chrysoloras, qui nuper eam legit, miris laudibus elegantiam et conversionis fidelitatem extollit" (26 Dec. 1412; book 4, no. 1: L. Mehus, *Leonardi Bruni Aretini epistolarum libri VIII* [Florence 1741]; F. P. Luiso, *Studi su l'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni* [Rome 1980]).

<sup>29</sup> His version of Plut. *Thes.* was made by 1436: *Moun.* = *Jan.* (*Thes.* 18.1; *Plutarchi Chaeronei* fol. 3A); *Hecat.* = *Apr.* (*Thes.* 12.1; fol. 2B); 16 *Hecat.* = 15 *Kal. Mai.* (*Thes.* 24.4; fol. 4A); *Hecat.* = *Apr.* (*Thes.* 36.3; fol. 6A). *Boed.* = *Jun.* (*Thes.* 27.3; fol. 4C); *Pyan.* = *Jul.* (*Thes.* 22.4; fol. 3D).

<sup>30</sup> His version of *Nic.* was dedicated 24 Dec. 1455. This version is attributed to Guarino in early editions of the *Vitae*: see V. R. Giustiniani, "Sulle traduzioni latine delle 'Vite' di Plutarco nel quattrocento," *Rinascimento* SER. II 1 (1961) 3–62, at 32–33. Plutarch wrote ἡμέρα δ' ἦν τετράς φθίνοντος τοῦ Καρνέιου μηνός, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι Μεταγειτνῶνα προσσαγορεύουσι. Rinuccini translated "Est autem dies hic quartus supra vigesimum eius mensis quem illi *Carinum* [sic], Athenienses *Metagitnionem* vocant, Latine vero *Maium* arbitror appellari" (*Nic.* 28.1; *Plutarchi Chaeronei* fol. 203B). Rinuccini counted forward from the start of the third decad of the month. In 1470 Theodore Gaza correctly stated that the third decad of the month was numbered backwards (*De mens.*, PG 19.1201).

<sup>31</sup> His version of *Demetr.* was made 1454–1459: Giustiniani, *Rinascimento* SER. II 1 (1961) 39. *Anth.* = *Nov.* (*Demetr.* 26.1–2; *Plutarchi Chaeronei* fol. 303C); *Boed.* = *Jun.* (*Demetr.* 26.1–2; fol. 303C); *Moun.* = *Jan.* (*Demetr.* 12.2; fol. 300D). One date is not rendered according to this calendar: 5 φθίν. θαργ. = 5 *Kal. Apr.* (*Demetr.* 8.3; fol. 300B). A similar date in Donato Acciaiuoli's contemporary version of *Alcibiades*, 6 φθίν. θαργ., is omitted by the translator. Dates in the third decad of the month seem to have caused some confusion.

date of its incorporation into contemporary lexica is not known. An examination of three dated lexica shows that uncertainty was widespread:

(a) The lexicon of Zomino of Pistoia seems to have been compiled in the 1420s. It includes only four months: *Boedromion* and *Mounychion* are both glossed simply “nomen mensis”; *Thargelion* is defined as “nomen cuiusdam mensis forte Junii”; while *Anthesterion* is described as “nomen mensis scil. aprilis secundum Macrobius.”<sup>32</sup> Zomino, it seems, had encountered only these Athenian months in his own reading. It may not be a coincidence that these four months—and only these four months—appear in Plutarch’s life of Demetrius.<sup>33</sup> In his difficulties, Zomino had turned not to Chrysoloras or his students, but to the Latin work of Macrobius.<sup>34</sup> The suggestion of *Junius* for *Thargelion* may have come from a reconstruction based on Plutarch: I know of no other possible source.

(b) The lexicon copied at Florence in 1441 by Christopher Benna includes five Athenian months. Four are vaguely defined: *Boedromion* (“Nomen mensis apud Athenienses”), *Pyanepsion* (“Mensis Atheniensis”), *Maemacterion* (“Nomen mensis Atheniensis”), *Thargelion* (“Nomen mensis apud Athenienses”). A fifth, *Poseideon*, is defined “Mensis Atheniensis. Latine Ianuarius.”<sup>35</sup> This last claim indicates that the compiler of the dictionary had been reading Plutarch’s life of Julius Caesar (37.2).

(c) The lexicon copied by the Cretan scribe Michael Lygizos,

<sup>32</sup> Zomino’s Greek-Latin lexicon is London, BL MS. Harley 6313. The verso of the first leaf has a note in Zomino’s hand: “Greci habent usque in presentem annum. viz Mccccxx. annos mundi .6927. et incip[iunt] annum [de] mense Septembris. et discrepant a nobis q[uonia]m usque in presentem diem ha[be]mus annos mundi 6621.”

<sup>33</sup> The first extant Latin translation of *Demetr.* was made by Donato Acciaiuoli: see n.31.

<sup>34</sup> The reference is to Macrobius *Sat.* 1.12.14. Niccolò Perotti’s *Cornucopiae* also draws on this part of Macrobius and make *Anth.* equivalent to *Apr.*: J.-L. Charlet and M. Furno, *Nicolai Perotti Cornu copiae seu, linguae Latinae commentarii* (Sassoferrato 1989–) V 33. No other Athenian month is detailed in the *Cornucopiae*.

<sup>35</sup> London, BL MS. Add. 14083, fols. 34<sup>v</sup>, 149<sup>r</sup>, 108<sup>v</sup>, 79<sup>v</sup>, 142<sup>v</sup>.

whose recorded activity falls between 1462 and 1475,<sup>36</sup> offers seven Athenian months: *Boedromion* (“Nomen mensis apud athenienses”), *Pyaneption* (“Mensis atheniensis”), *Maemacterion* (“N. p. apud athenienses”), *Mounychion* (“N. p. mensis”), and *Thargelion* (“Nomen mensis apud athenienses”); *Hecatombaeon* is glossed “Nomen mensis augusti,” while *Metageitnion* appears to be glossed *December*.<sup>37</sup> The rendering for *Hecatombaeon* may come from a calendar compiled from Plutarch’s work, or it may come from Guarino Veronese’s translation of the life of Alexander.<sup>38</sup>

This small sample suggests the importance of Plutarch’s *Lives* for fifteenth-century lexicographers. Nine different months appear in these three lexica, but two months that do not occur anywhere in Plutarch—*Elaphebolion* and *Gamelion*—are absent. These fragmentary and inconsistent notices indicate the confusion surrounding the Athenian calendar in Italy in the early decades of the fifteenth century. For many students, it seems, Chrysoloras’ letter was either unavailable or unhelpful. Traversari, through whose hands it passed, chose simply to transliterate the Athenian months in his Latin translation of Diogenes Laertius, finished in 1433.<sup>39</sup>

### 1.5 Marsilio Ficino

Both Zomino of Pistoia and Niccolò Perotti noticed Macrobius’ equation of *Anthesterion* with *Aprilis*.<sup>40</sup> In his youth Marsilio Ficino, the translator of Plato, copied a set of Greek-Latin vocabularies which provided a calendar with the months in the

<sup>36</sup> For Lygizos, see E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600* (Vienna 1981–) I no. 282, II no. 386, III no. 465.

<sup>37</sup> Paris, BN MS. Coislin. 179, fols. 60<sup>v</sup>, 251<sup>r</sup>, 183<sup>r</sup>, 194<sup>r</sup>, 135<sup>r</sup>, 93<sup>r</sup>, 188<sup>r</sup>. The gloss for *Metag.* is abbreviated.

<sup>38</sup> Complete by 1412. *Boed.* = *Jun.* (*Alex.* 31.3; *Plutarchi Chaeronei* fol. 237C), which corresponds to the calendar used by Bruni; *ιστ. ἐκατ.* = *circa id. Aug.* (*Alex.* 3.3; fol. 232C). Guarino corresponded with Chrysoloras over the meaning of a word in this life (Cyrillus, *Codices* II 224–239).

<sup>39</sup> I consulted the ed. pr. of the translation (Rome, ca. 1472), *ISTC* id00219000. For Traversari’s version, see M. Gigante, “Ambrogio Traversari interprete di Diogene Laerzio,” in G. C. Garfagnini (ed.), *Ambrogio Traversari nel VI centenario della nascita* (Florence 1988) 367–459.

<sup>40</sup> See sect. 1.4 above and n.34.

correct order and which agreed with Macrobius on this equation. This is as follows:<sup>41</sup>

Ἑκατομβεῶν	September
Μεταγειτνίων	October
Ἴπποδρομιών	November
Πιανεψιών	December
Μαιμακτηριών	Januarius
Ποσειδεών	Februarius
Γαμηλιών	Martius
Ἀνθηστιριών	Aprilis
Ἐλαφηβολιών	Maius
Μουνηχιών	Junius
Θαργιλιών	Julius
Σκυρροφοριών	Augustus

Ficino subsequently took an interest in the Athenian calendar for a rather different reason. From Diogenes Laertius' biography of Plato, Ficino discovered that the philosopher was born on the seventh of *Thargelion*.<sup>42</sup> When in 1468 he set out to celebrate Plato's birthday he looked this month up in a table which must have looked something like this:<sup>43</sup>

Ἑκατομβαιών	Januarius
Μεταγειτνίων	Februarius
Βοηδρομιών	Martius
Πιανεψιών	Aprilis
Μαιμακτηριών	Maius
Ποσειδεών	Junius

<sup>41</sup> Perhaps copied between 1456 and 1462: R. Pintaudi, *Marsilio Ficino: Lessico greco-latino Laur. Ashb. 1439* (Rome 1977) 38. This arrangement of the months also appears in a collection known as the *Hermeneumata Einsidlensia*, named after the manuscript from which they were published, Einsidl. 19, copied in Germany in 1503, described in H. Omont, "Catalogue des manuscrits grecs des bibliothèques de Suisse," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 3 (1886) 385–452, at 428, edited in G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* III 242–243. This later manuscript does not have the peculiar spellings of the months which distinguish Ficino's copy. The first month of the year, *Hecat.*, is aligned with the first month of the indiction, which may indicate that it is a Byzantine scheme.

<sup>42</sup> He may have consulted it in Greek or in Traversari's Latin version. Traversari simply transliterates the month: see n.39.

<sup>43</sup> For this reconstruction, see Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger* II 27–28.

Γαμηλιών	Julius
Ἄνθεστηριών	Augustus
Ἐλαφηβολιών	September
Μουνυχιών	October
Θαργηλιών	November
Σκιροφοριών	December

Both the Athenian lunar calendar and the Roman solar calendar had twelve named months. If it was assumed that the Greek and Latin months were the same length, and further assumed that these months began at the same time, then the two very different calendars might be neatly aligned. Consequently, once the order of the Athenian months was established, a single Latin equivalent would enable the calculation of the Latin equivalents for the remaining months. This calendar used by Ficino to calculate Plato's birthday may have emerged from a decision to equate the first month of the Athenian year with the first month of the Roman one. Ficino celebrated Plato's birthday on 7 November.<sup>44</sup>

#### 1.6 Theodore Gaza's *De mensibus*, 1470

If Plutarch's *Lives* supplied one stimulus to work on the Athenian calendar, the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus on natural science provided another. Aristotle's works on animals were translated into Latin by George of Trebizond in 1449–50.<sup>45</sup> Writing on the *Historia animalium*, George says:<sup>46</sup>

Atqui feruntur apud Grecos eorum nominum expositiones, quas apud Latinos etiam qui de verbis scripserunt invenio. Sed Aristotelis ipse me docuit omnes mendosas esse. Nam cum Possideona mensem alii Septembrem, alii Augustum dicant, ipse in tertio quinti libri capitulo eundem mensem ante brumale solstitium esse dicit. Ita Possideon November, non alius est.

<sup>44</sup> A similar calendar is found in Monac.lat. 13002, copied in 1158, and in Monac.lat. 22201, copied in 1165. Both read “targelion nouembrius” [*sic*]. See *Corpus Glossariorum* III 210. Grafton notes that Ficino's early glossary gave a better equivalent for *Tharg.*, *Julius* (*Joseph Scaliger* II 28 n.8).

<sup>45</sup> J. Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana* (Binghamton 1984) 706–707.

<sup>46</sup> Monfasani, *Collectanea* 299–300; cited in Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger* II 28. The reference is to Arist. *Hist.An.* 543a11.

*Poseideon* is equated to *Augustus* in Papias.<sup>47</sup> George is the only scholar known to have looked at Papias for information about the calendar, and he rejected what he found there. The other calendar rejected by George—the one which made *Poseideon* equivalent to *September*—was that used by Bruni in the early years of the fifteenth century.<sup>48</sup> Thus far we have seen that *Poseideon* alone has been equated to *Augustus*, *September*, *November*, *Januarius*, and *Februarius*. The earliest surviving attempt to put an end to this confusion, and to make a systematic study of the ancient evidence for the Athenian calendar, was by Theodore Gaza.

In the 1450s Gaza made new translations of all the works of Aristotle on animals which George had already translated, and he produced a version of Theophrastus' *De plantis*. In the course of his work as a translator, Gaza was often obliged to find Latin equivalents for Greek months. His response to this problem, and his answer to the renderings proposed by his rival George, finally emerged many years later in the form of a treatise on the ancient Athenian calendar, *De mensibus*. This treatise was written in 1470, presumably at Rome where Gaza then lived.<sup>49</sup>

Gaza points out (*PG* 19.1193) that the lunar calendar of the Athenians and the solar calendar of the Romans could not be simply aligned. Nevertheless, in *De mensibus* the Greek and Latin months are arranged as follows:<sup>50</sup>

Ἑκατομβαιῶν	Junius
Μεταγειτνίων	Julius
Βοηδρομιών	Augustus
Μαιμακτηριών	September
Πυανειῶν	October
Ἀνθεστηριών	November

<sup>47</sup> See sect. 1.1.

<sup>48</sup> See sect. 1.3.

<sup>49</sup> The date appears from the treatise itself: *PG* 19.1205, 1216. Francesco Filelfo wrote to Gaza 9 Dec. 1469 (E. Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres grecques de F. Filelfo* [Paris 1892] 152–154); from this letter, Gaza seems to be at Rome with Bessarion.

<sup>50</sup> This list of Greek months is from the ed. pr. of *De mensibus: Theodori introductivae grammatices libri quatuor* (Aldus: Venice, 25 December 1495) sig. a1v.

Ποσειδεών	December
Γαμηλιών	Januarius
Ἐλαφηβολιών	Februarius
Μουνιχιών	Martius
Θαργηλιών	Aprilis
Σκιροφοριών	Maius

With this calendar, Gaza rejected not just the equations established by his predecessors, but also the order of the months: the seven months from *Elaphebolion* to *Boedromion* are in their true ancient sequence, but the remaining months have been re-ordered.

Gaza's treatise is scholarship in a recognisably modern mould. It was not, however, a purely theoretical study. At the beginning (1168–69), he points out that one of the fruits of his investigation will be to enable those who write Greek to do so without including Latin words. The practical aim of writing pure Attic Greek is used to introduce and justify his exploration of the chronology of the ancients. Gaza was true to his word: he subsequently used the calendar which he had established to date four of his extant Greek letters.<sup>51</sup> *De mensibus* deserves the respect it inspired among its contemporaries, but it is unfortunate that one of the most able Greek scholars of his day, and one who made use of many of the sources used by modern scholars, managed to confuse the order of the months in his work. As the most learned treatise available on the subject, it influenced conceptions of the Athenian calendar for many

<sup>51</sup> None of these letters has a year attached, but all may be securely or plausibly dated to the period following the publication of his treatise on the calendar: (1) Gaza to Alexios. The month is *Hecat.*, *Jun.* in *De mens.* Pinto dates this July 1471: L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann* III (Paderborn 1942) 581; E. Pinto, *Teodoro Gaza: Epistolae* (Naples 1975) 122, 175. (2) Gaza to Filelfo. The month is *Pyan.*, *Oct.* in *De mens.* Mohler (589–592) dates this 1473–76; Pinto (107–111, 156) dates it Nov. 1471. (3) Gaza to Callistus (Mohler 576–577; Pinto 92–93, 144). The date is 9 *Boed.*, *Aug.* in *De mens.* It is after Sixtus' election (consecrated 25 Aug. 1471) and before Bessarion's death (18 Nov. 1472). (4) Gaza's *De origine Turcarum*, addressed to Filelfo (*PG* 161.997–1006). It is dated *Boed.*, *Aug.* in *De mens.* Pinto (100–106) dates it Oct. 1470; Bianca tentatively places it in 1474 (C. Bianca, "Gaza, Teodoro," *Diz. biogr. degli Italiani* 52 [1999] 737–746, at 744). The basis of Pinto's dates is unclear.



decades to come.<sup>52</sup>

The earliest dated manuscript of *De mensibus* was made at Rome by the prolific Greek scribe Joannes Rhosos in 1471.<sup>53</sup> Rhosos also made a copy of an intriguing relic of another calendar. The latter manuscript lists the Athenian months alongside their Roman equivalents on a single leaf as follows:<sup>54</sup>

Ἑκατομβαιῶν	Junius
Μεταγειτνιῶν	Julius
Βοηδρομιῶν	Augustus
Πιανεψιῶν	September
Ἀνθεστηριῶν	October
Μεμακτηριῶν	November
Ποσειδεῶν	December
Γαμηλιῶν	Januarius
Ἐλαφηβολιῶν	Februarius
Μουνυχιῶν	Martius
Θαργηλιῶν	Aprilis
Σκιροφοριῶν	Maius

The origins of this calendar are unclear, although it is certainly much closer to Gaza's scheme than to any other: only the three months *Pyanepsion* to *Maemacterion* are reordered. It may have been copied shortly after the publication of *De mensibus* in 1470. If so, it was very likely copied by 1475: part of the manuscript was copied by Gaza's cousin, Andronicus Callistus. Since it later passed to Giorgio Valla and Alberto Pio, it may be supposed that Callistus' portion at least was complete before

<sup>52</sup> In the ed. pr. of the *Suda* in 1499 (for which see n.12), *Gamel.* is identified with *Jan.*, while *Poseid.* is identified with *Dec.* These equivalents may have been derived from Gaza's work.

<sup>53</sup> Milan, MS. Ambr. N 182 sup, which is signed and dated by Rhosos: A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* II (Milan 1906) 666. Madrid, BN MS. 4636, fols. 217–249, may be another early copy. It was copied by Constantine Lascaris' pupil Manuel. Lascaris wrote on fol. 249 Μανουὴλ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐξέγραψε: G. de Andrés, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid 1987) 169–172. For Rhosos' work, see Gamillscheg and Harlfinger, *Repertorium* I no. 178, II no. 237, III no. 298.

<sup>54</sup> Modena, MS. α.T.9.2 (gr.39) fol. 50v. In the manuscript, the Roman months are transliterated into Greek characters. I thank the staff at the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria for providing me with a facsimile of this leaf.

he left Italy in 1475.<sup>55</sup> It may well have belonged to Callistus' library, the bulk of which was sold at Milan in that year. Alternatively, it may represent a distillation of Gaza's work on the calendar in the years immediately preceding the completion of *De mensibus*. The watermarks of the manuscript, which place it in the 1460s, are consistent with this explanation.<sup>56</sup>

Callistus may have been the medium by which Gaza's calendar first reached northern Europe. He travelled with the Spartan George Hermonymus from Milan to France in 1475, and they were both in England in 1476. That same year, perhaps following Callistus' death, Hermonymus returned to France and made a copy of the *Posthomerica* of Quintus of Smyrna. In the colophon to this manuscript Hermonymus notes that *Hecatombaeon* is what the Latins call *Junius*.<sup>57</sup> Hermonymus used the same calendar as Gaza, and he felt that this information was sufficiently novel or obscure for his readers to need advising on its significance. In this connection, it is worth noting that a lexicon copied by George, apparently after his departure from Italy, records only three months, all beginning with the same letter—*Maemacterion*, *Metageitnion*, *Mounychion*—but does not equate them with any Latin month.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Rhosos copied fols. 2<sup>r</sup>–50<sup>v</sup> (ps.-Phalaris *Epistolae*; calendar); Georgios Alexandrou, fols. 52<sup>r</sup>–65<sup>v</sup> (ps.-Brutus, *Epistolae*); Callistus, fols. 68<sup>r</sup>–98<sup>r</sup> (Nic. Ther.); Michael Lygizos may have copied fols. 99<sup>r</sup>–130<sup>r</sup> (*Orphic Argonautica*); Callistus, fols. 132<sup>r</sup>–177<sup>r</sup> (Soph. *Ant.*). See H.-C. Günther, "Andronikos Kallistos und das Studium griechischer Dichtertexte," *Eikasmos* 10 (1999) 315–334, at 333; M. Centanni, "La biblioteca di Andronico Callisto," *AAPat* 97 (1984/5) 201–223, at 212. The tentative attribution of the *Orphic Argonautica* to Lygizos is by F. Vian, "La tradition manuscrite des 'Argonautiques orphiques,'" *RHT* 9 (1979) 1–46, at 6.

<sup>56</sup> Modena, MS. α.T.9.2 (gr.39) has the same watermarks as Modena, MS. α.T.9.14 (gr.51) (Günther, *Eikasmos* 10 [1999] 323). The watermarks in the latter have been dated to ca.1460–70 (M. L. West, "The Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts of Hesiod's *Theogony*," *CQ* 14 [1964] 165–189, at 179), which suggests a similar date for the former.

<sup>57</sup> τρίτη φθίνοντος ἑκατομβαιῶνος μηνὸς κατ' Ἀθηναίους, ὃν Ἰούνιον Ῥωμαῖστὶ καλοῦσιν, a colophon first printed in H. Hody, *De graecis illustribus linguae graecae literarumque humaniorum instauratoribus* (London 1742) 235.

<sup>58</sup> Paris, BN MS. gr.2628, fols. 203<sup>v</sup> ("Nomen mensis"), 211<sup>r</sup> ("Nomen mensis atheniensis"), and 219<sup>r</sup> ("Nomen mensis").

Because the availability of Gaza's treatise is relevant to its use by lexicographers and printers, it is useful here to rehearse its early history in print. The first printed edition of *De mensibus* accompanied the Aldine editio princeps of Gaza's Greek grammar in 1495. It was reprinted at Florence in 1515 and in 1520, and again by the Aldine Press in 1525. All of these editions printed it with Gaza's grammar.<sup>59</sup> Later in the same year, it was printed again at Venice by Sessa and De Ravanis in their Greek-Latin dictionary,<sup>60</sup> an indication that the work had attracted the attention of lexicographers. It was reprinted at Florence in 1526 with Gaza's grammar.<sup>61</sup> Two translations projected in the 1520s failed to appear: in 1523 Valentine Curio stated that Conrad Heresbach was working on a translation,<sup>62</sup> while in 1524 a French scholar asked Erasmus to translate the work.<sup>63</sup> The work did not become available in Latin until the 1530s: the Latin translation of Johannes Perellus first appeared at Paris in 1533, and was reprinted at Paris in 1535 and at Basle in 1536.<sup>64</sup> This translation was printed alongside the Greek work in the nineteenth century in *PG* 19.

<sup>59</sup> *Theodori grammatices introductionis libri quatuor. Eiusdem de mensibus. Georgii Lagapeni [sic] de constructione verborum* (P. Junta: Florence, 28 March 1515); identical title (Heredes P. Juntae: Florence, 28 March 1520); *Theodori grammatices libri IIII. De mensibus liber eiusdem. Georgii Lecapeni de constructione verborum. Emmanuelis Moschopuli de constructione nominum et verborum. Eiusdem de accentibus* (Aldus: Venice, June 1525). The edition of 1520 seems to have reprinted part of the colophon of that of 1515.

<sup>60</sup> For which lexicon, see sect. 2.15.

<sup>61</sup> *Theodori grammatices libri IIII. De mensibus liber eiusdem. Georgii Lecapeni de constructione verborum. Emmanuelis Moschopuli de constructione nominum et verborum. Eiusdem de accentibus. Hephæstionis Enchiridion* (Heredes P. Juntae: Florence, April 1526).

<sup>62</sup> *Theodori Gazæ introductionis grammaticæ libri quattuor, una cum interpretatione Latina, eorum usui dicati, qui vel citra præceptoris operam Graecari cupiunt* (V. Curio: Basle, August 1523) sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> Johannes Angelus to Erasmus, 1 Jan. 1524: P. S. Allen et al., *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi* (Oxford 1906–1958) V 377 no. 1407.

<sup>64</sup> *Theodori Gazæ ... Liber de mensibus atticis, Ioanne Perrello interprete. Eiusdem interpretis de ratione lunæ et epactarum secundum Gazam, cum tabula perfecti ambitus annorum intercalarium* (S. Colinaeus: Paris, 1533 and 1535); same title plus *Accessit præterea ... idem Theodori libellus graecæ* (Lasius and Platterus: Basle 1536).

## 2. *The Athenian calendar and Greek-Latin lexica, 1478–1530*

We have seen the Athenian-Roman calendar used by Bruni in the early years of the fifteenth century. Some time before 1478 this calendar was incorporated into a Greek-Latin lexicon. One such manuscript lexicon became the exemplar for the first printed Greek-Latin lexicon, and consequently these equations between the Athenian and Roman months were widely diffused.

I have examined the Athenian calendar as it appears in all of the Greek-Latin dictionaries printed between 1478 and 1530. In the following entries I record only the most significant variants and developments. Minor typographical variations are noticed when they help to identify the provenance of each dictionary's calendar. Such relationships between the printed dictionaries as I suggest below must ultimately be established on the basis of an analysis of a larger sample than that used here. The Latin-Greek *vocabulista*, printed three times in the fifteenth century, ca. 1480, 1483, and 1497, has been excluded from this survey because it simply transliterates the Latin months into Greek characters.

### 2.1 Milan: Bonaccorso, [by 28 March 1478]<sup>65</sup>

Some time before 28 March 1478, Bonaccorso of Pisa's new Greek press at Milan produced the first printed Greek-Latin lexicon, perhaps from a manuscript which had belonged to the library of Andronicus Callistus.<sup>66</sup> The dictionary was edited for publication by the Carmelite monk Giovanni Crastoni. Crastoni explains that he added the genitives and articles to the nouns, but we do not know how much else he took it upon himself to supply. In this printed dictionary, the calendar is as follows:

<sup>65</sup> *ISTC* ic00958000.

<sup>66</sup> In 1456 Francesco Filelfo introduced Bonaccorso, a young student of Greek, to Callistus: see Filelfo's letter to Andronicus Callipolites (i.e. Callistus), Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres* 80–81. In 1475 Bonaccorso entered a partnership to purchase Callistus' library of Greek manuscripts. For the fortunes of Callistus' library, see E. Motta, "Demetrio Calcondila editore," *Archivio storico lombardo* 20 (1893) 143–166, at 154; G. Cammelli, "Andronico Callisto," *Rinascita* 5 (1942) 104–121, 174–214, at 202–211.

ἑκατομβαιῶν. ὄνος. ὄ.	aprilis attica lingua.
μεταγειτνίων. ὄνος. ὄ.	Mensis.
βοηδρομιῶν. ὄνος. ὄ.	iunius.
πιεννεψιῶν. ὄνος. ὄ.	iulius mensis.
μαιμακτηριῶν. ὄνος.	augustus mensis attica lingua vocatur.
[ποσειδεῶν]	[absent]
γαμηλιῶν. ὄνος. ὄ.	october.
ἀνθεστηριῶν. ὄνος. ὄ.	november.
ἐλαφηβολιῶν. ὄνος. ὄ.	december.
μουνυχιῶν. ὄνος. ὄ.	Ianuarus.
θαργηλιῶν. ὄνος. ὄ.	februarius.
σκιρροφριῶν. ὄ.	martius mensis.

It is worth noting the peculiar spelling of *Pyanepsion* and the absence of *Poseideon*. In fact, the month *Poseideon* did not appear in any Greek-Latin dictionary until 1524. We should also note the absence of the article after *Maemacterion* (which persisted throughout the period), the capital for *Ianuarus*, and the absence of the genitive after the misspelt *Scirophorion*.

### 2.2 Vicenza: Bertochus, 10 November 1483<sup>67</sup>

Crastoni's edition remained at the heart of Greek-Latin lexicography for many years. It was first reprinted at Vicenza in 1483. Its calendar closely follows that of the editio princeps, from which it must have been set. It preserves most of the accidents of the first edition. The error in the spelling of *Scirophorion* has been corrected to Σκιρροφριῶν, although its genitive is still missing. The double ρ in this month was first corrected in 1521, but persisted in lexicography after that date.

### 2.3 Venice: Aldus, December 1497<sup>68</sup>

The calendar from the first printed Greek-Latin dictionary was repeated in the influential Aldine dictionary of 1497. The accents on the final syllables have been turned around, and the entry for *Metageitnion* has been corrected to read *Maius* rather than simply *Mensis*. The Πιεννεψιῶν of the first two dictionaries has been improved a little to read Πιανεψιῶν, although the word has been left in its original position between πείρα and πειρία. The word retained this anomalous position in all

<sup>67</sup> *ISTC* ic00959000.

<sup>68</sup> *ISTC* ic00960000.

subsequent dictionaries until 1525. It seems that the Aldine lexicon was set from a copy of either 1478 or 1483. Whichever edition was used as an exemplar, it had been corrected since Σκιρροφοριών now has its genitive ending supplied.

**2.4** Modena: Bertochus, 20 Oct. 1499–after 5 July 1500<sup>69</sup>

The spelling Πεννεψιόν shows that this was not set from its immediate predecessor and rival, the Aldine of 1497. The erroneous Σκιρροφριών shows that it was, in fact, set from the edition of 1478, rather than from that of 1483.

**2.5** Ferrara: Maciochus, [after 27 September 1510]

The correction of *Metageitnion* from “Mensis” to “maius,” the spelling of Σκιρροφοριών, the fact that it has its article, the spelling of πιανεψιών, and the fact that the accents on the Greek months are acute, all indicate that this edition was set from the Aldine of 1497.

**2.6** Paris: De Gourmont, [after 25 December 1512]<sup>70</sup>

The correction of *Metageitnion* from “Mensis” to “maius,” the spelling of Σκιρροφοριών, the fact that it has its article, the spelling of πιανεψιών, and the fact that the accents on the Greek months are acute, all indicate that this edition was set from the Aldine of 1497 or the Ferrara of 1510. Of all the Roman months only *Ianuarius* is capitalised (Ferrara capitalises *Ianuarius*, *Februarius*, and *Martius*), which allows us to prefer the former edition. The entry for *Scirophorion* is also worth noting: “maius mensis,” where all its predecessors read “martius mensis.” This is probably a simple error of composition, *maius* for *martius*, but it is possible that a corrector consulted Gaza’s treatise where *Scirophorion* is indeed *Maius*. The Latin-Greek dictionary which follows has “martius mensis” for this month.

<sup>69</sup> *ISTC* ic00961000.

<sup>70</sup> H. Omont, “Essai sur les débuts de la typographie grecque à Paris,” *Mémoires de la société de l’histoire de Paris* 18 (1891) 1–72, at 28–31; D. Harlfinger et al., *Graecogermania: Griechischstudien deutscher Humanisten. Die Editionstätigkeit der Griechen in der italienischen Renaissance* (Weinheim/New York 1989) 118–120; B. Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1972–) II 146 no. 396.

**2.7** Basle: Cratander, 24 March 1519<sup>71</sup>

One entry deserves comment: “\* μεταγεινιῶν. ὠνος. ὁ. Maius, secundus mensis Atheniensibus.” The asterisk indicates that the entry has been revised. The information that it is the second month was derived either from the *Suda* or from Harpocration.

**2.8** Paris: Vidovaeus, July 1521<sup>72</sup>

Scirophorion has, for the first time, been spelt σκιροφοριῶν. An asterisk beside the entry for *Metageitnion* does not indicate that this entry was revised by an editor, but that the Paris lexicon was set from the Basle edition of 1519 in which this revision was first introduced.

**2.9** Basle: Curio, March 1522<sup>73</sup>

*Pyaneption* has been misspelt πιανεξιῶν. This was set either from the Paris edition of 1521 or from the Basle edition of 1519. Since *Scirophorion* has been spelt Σκιρροφοριῶν, the Basle edition is more likely. *Metageitnion* is no longer marked as a revision. The most significant new variant is “θαργηλιῶν. ὠνος. ὁ. Februarius, licet plerique Maium existiment.” The additional equivalent for *Thargelion* does not come from any calendar known to me. It is the first time that any doubt has been registered in a printed dictionary as to the identification of the Roman equivalent. All earlier dictionaries presented their readers with false certainties.

**2.10** Rome: Callierges, [March or May] 1523<sup>74</sup>

Zacharias Callierges printed the lexicon of Guarino of Favera in 1523.<sup>75</sup> This dictionary, a very scholarly work, is in Greek only, and its entries are often lengthy. Guarino clearly used Harpocration, from whom he takes his reference to the lost work of Lysimachides, Περὶ μηνῶν. Guarino numbers five of his months, the same five as Harpocration, and he does not

<sup>71</sup> G. W. Panzer, *Annales typographici* I–XI (Nuremberg 1793–1803) VI 215, no. 308; *Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen* (Basle 1992) 40–43, no. 22.

<sup>72</sup> Moreau, *Inventaire* III 68, no. 73.

<sup>73</sup> Panzer, *Annales* VI 235, no. 454; *Griechischer Geist* 50–52, no. 25.

<sup>74</sup> E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique* I–IV (Paris 1885–1906), no. 68.

<sup>75</sup> For its date, see below, sect. 3.1.

number any of the others. He does provide Roman equivalents for two months: *Maemacterion*, he says, is *Januarius*, while *Poseideon* is *December*. The first of these agrees with the calendar of the *Hermeneumata Einsidlensia*, and may ultimately derive from the same source as Ficino's youthful calendar.<sup>76</sup> The second equation was probably drawn from the *Suda*—both the first edition of 1499 and the second of 1514 have this reading. Guarino might have taken it from Gaza's work, but it would be odd if he had consulted *De mensibus* for this month alone and ignored it elsewhere. Neither of these two equations can be reconciled with Harpocration—who makes them the fifth and sixth months—and they are not consistent with the calendar of the dictionaries.

**2.11** Paris: De Gourmont, April 1523<sup>77</sup>

This was set from the previous Paris edition of 1521, not the rival Basle edition of 1522: it does not reproduce the distinctive reading for *Thargelion* from the Basle edition of 1522; it spells *Sciophorion* *σκιροφοριών*, following Paris 1521, not Basle 1522; and *Metageitnion* is still marked as a revision, as it was in Paris 1521, but not in Basle 1522. The article has also disappeared from the entry for *Thargelion*, a simple slip which appears in no other lexicon surveyed here.

**2.12** Basle: Froben, July 1524<sup>78</sup>

The addition to the entry for *Thargelion* and the spelling of *σκιροφοριών* suggest that this Basle dictionary was set from a copy of the Basle dictionary of 1522, not from its Parisian rival of 1523. The spelling of *Πιανενσιών* has been corrected, although the entry still occupies its anomalous position between *πίειρα* and *πειρία*.

<sup>76</sup> See above, sect. 1.5.

<sup>77</sup> Moreau, *Inventaire* III 170, no. 475

<sup>78</sup> Panzer, *Annales* VI 242, no. 524; C. Dufrane and M.-T. Isaac, "Un helléniste hollandais à Tournai: Jacques Ceratinus et son dictionnaire (1524)," in *Écoles et livres d'écoles en Hainaut du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Mons 1971) 119–155; Harlfinger et al., *Graecogermania* 120–121.



**2.13** Venice: Aldus, December 1524<sup>79</sup>

The entries of the second Aldine lexicon are sufficiently different from those of its contemporaries to warrant a full transcription here:

ἐκατομβαιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	Iunius, Attica lingua, apud Theod.
μεταγειτνιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	Maius, secundus mensis Atheniensis, vel potius Iulius.
βοηδρομιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	Iunius.
πιανεψιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	Iulius mensis.
μαιμακτηριών. ὠνος.	Augustus mensis Attica lingua vocatur. aut potius September apud Theod.
ποσειδεών. ὠνος. ὁ.	December.
γαμηλιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	Ianuarus.
ἀνθεστηριών. ὠνος. ὁ.	November.
ἐλαφηβολιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	Februarius apud Theod.
μουνοχιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	Ianuarus, vel potius Martius. Suid. ὁ. β'. μὴν παρ' ἄθηναίοις.
θαργηλιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	Aprilis.
σκιβροφοριών. ὠνος. ὁ.	Martius mensis.

The Venetian editor has consulted both the *Suda* and Gaza's *De mensibus*, although he has not consistently recorded the opinions of either work. Gaza's opinion has ousted that of the earlier lexica for *Hecatombaeon*, *Gamelion*, *Elaphebolion*, and *Thargelion*. Πιανεψιών still occupies its anomalous position between the words *πίειρα* and *πειρία*, but the month *Poseideon* now appears for the first time in a Greek-Latin dictionary alongside Gaza's equation of *December*. Those who compiled, and those who consulted, this dictionary were now well aware of the uncertainty surrounding these equations.

**2.14** Basle: Curio, March 1525<sup>80</sup>

The entries of this Basle lexicon warrant a full transcription:

ἐκατομβαιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	Aprilis, Attica lingua.
μεταγειτνιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	secundus mensis Atheniensis, qui apud Latinos Maius dictus, teste Plutar. in vita Niciae.
βοηδρομιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	Iunius.
πιανεψιών. ὠνος.	mensis apud Athenienses is qui

<sup>79</sup> A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde* (Paris 1834) 99.

<sup>80</sup> Panzer, *Annales* VI 252, no. 599.

	Romanis est october, si Theodoro credimus, in quo celebrabantur πυανένια festa Apollini sacra, quibus πύανα coquebant, hoc est, fabas et legumina quaedam, et unde et nomen mensi.
μαιμακτηριών. ὠνος. ὀ.	Augustus mensis Attica lingua vocatur.
ποσειδεών. ὠνος. ὀ.	mensis apud Athenienses septimus, qui a nonnullis september.
γαμηλιών. ὠνος. ὀ.	October, Ianuarius, si Theodoro credimus. ab aliis december esse creditur.
ἀνθεστηριών. ὠνος. ὀ.	november.
ἐλαφηβολιών. ὠνος. ὀ.	December.
μουνυχιών. ὠνος. ὀ.	Ianuarius, Theodorus Martium esse vult.
θαργηλιών. ὠνος. ὀ.	Februarius, licet plerique Maium exstiment.
σκιροφοριών. ὠνος. ὀ.	Martius mensis.

For the first time, *Pyanepsion* has been placed in a position appropriate to its spelling, although in the transition it has managed to lose its article. A new source is introduced: Plutarch's *Nicias* is cited for the equation between *Metageitnion* and *Maius*. Plutarch, in fact, makes no such statement and the editor of the lexicon took this piece of information not from the Greek text, but from the Latin translation of Alamanno Rinuccini.<sup>81</sup> It is significant that this awareness of the difficulties in the calendar does not appear to be dependent on the Aldine edition printed a few months earlier. Instead, something seems to have happened around 1524 which stimulated thinking about the calendar in Venice and Basle simultaneously. Certainly, Gaza's *De mensibus* was discussed by scholars in 1523–24: in 1523 Conrad Heresbach was working on a translation, and in 1524 Erasmus was asked to translate the work.<sup>82</sup>

## 2.15 Venice: Sessa and De Ravanis, December 1525

Despite the advances of the Aldine dictionary of 1524 and the Basle dictionary of early 1525, this edition reverts to the

<sup>81</sup> See above, 404 n.30.

<sup>82</sup> See above, 413.

simple equations of their predecessors. The entry for *Thargelion*, “Februarius, licet plerique Maium existiment,” indicates that it was set from the Basle edition of 1522 or 1524.

**2.16** Paris: Morrhuis, February 1530<sup>83</sup>

This dictionary combines entries from Gaza’s *De mensibus* and the earlier lexica:

ἐκατομβαιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	Aprilis, Attica lingua.
μεταγειτνιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	secundus mensis Atheniensis qui apud Latinos Maius dictus, teste Plutar. in vita Niciae.
βοηδρομιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	Iunius.
πυανειών. ὠνος.	Mensis apud Athenienses is, qui Romanis est October, si Theodoro credimus, in quo celebrabantur πυανέψια festa Apollini sacra, quibus πύανα coquebant, hoc est, fabas & legumina quaedam, vnde & nomen mensi.
μαιμακτηριών. ὠνος.	Augustus mensis Attica lingua vocatur.
ποσειδεών. ὠνος. ὁ.	mensis apud Athenienses septimus, qui a nonnullis September, ab alijs December esse creditur.
γαμηλιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	October, Ianuarius, si Theodoro credimus.
* ἀνθιστηριών	Atheniensibus mensis quidam appellabatur, quod is plurimos flores progigneret: quidam hunc Novembrem interpretantur. In hoc festa quaequam agebantur & convivia liberiora, quemadmodum apud Romanos olim in Saturnalibus. Sonat autem quasi dicas floralia. Vide proverbium in Chiliad. Eras. Foras Cares, non amplius Anthisteria. Alij scribunt ἀνθεστηριών.
ἐλαφηβολιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	December.
μουνυχιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	Ianuarius, Theodorus Martium esse vult.
* θαργηλιών. ὠνος. ὁ.	Februarius, licet plerique Maium

<sup>83</sup> Moreau, *Inventaire* III 575, no. 2182.

existiment. Vide Coelium lib.ix.cap.lv.

σκιροφοριών. ὄνος. ὀ. Martius mensis.

The entry for *Pyaneption*, the spelling, the missing article, and the fact that it is correctly placed in the alphabetical sequence indicate that this lexicon was set from the Basle dictionary of 1525. The erroneous reference to Plutarch's *Nicias* confirms this.<sup>84</sup> Two entries are marked as revisions. The first, for *Anthesterion*, is the longest yet and draws on Erasmus' *Adagia*.<sup>85</sup> The second, for *Thargelion*, draws on the work of Ludovicus Caelius Rhodiginus, or Lodovico Ricchieri (1469–1525). Ricchieri's miscellany of classical learning was first published at Venice in 1516, reprinted at Basle the following year, and immediately copied by the printers at Paris.<sup>86</sup> Here Ricchieri writes:<sup>87</sup>

Thargeliona esse quidem Graecis mensem, haud fere ambagiosum est. Qui vero sit is, non constat magnopere. Sunt qui Februarium putent ac interpretentur, Aprilem malunt alii, quos, etiam si non latet quam difficilis haec censeatur ratio, in qua multum desudasse Theodorus animadvertitur, probabiliora dicere contenderim.

Ricchieri records the rendering of the dictionaries (*Februarius*) and that of Gaza (*Aprilis*) but the editors of the 1530 dictionary have not eliminated the unusual rendering of *Maius* which first appeared at Basle in 1522.

This dictionary of 1530 also prints a brief discussion of the calendar by Philip Melanchthon. It is worth quoting the relevant portion at length before we leave this survey of the

<sup>84</sup> See above, 420.

<sup>85</sup> M. L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk et al., *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi* I (Amsterdam 1981) 282–284, no. 165.

<sup>86</sup> L. Ricchieri, *Sicuti antiquarum lectionum commentarios concinnarat olim Vindex Ceselius* (in aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri: Venice, February 1516); *Ludovici Caelii Rhodigni [sic] lectionum antiquarum libri XVI* (J. Froben: Basle, 18 March 1517); *Antiquarum lectionum commentarios sicuti concinnarat olim vindex Ceselius* (J. Badius: Paris, 13 June 1517). The editors of the Paris lexicon probably used the Paris edition. They certainly did not use the Venice edition, in which Coelius' treatment of *Tharg.* is at cap. 54 rather than 55.

<sup>87</sup> Ricchieri (Basle) 482, book 9, cap. 55.

dictionaries:<sup>88</sup>

Non conveniunt Attici menses cum nostris. Nam illi, sicut et Hebraeorum menses, tantum ad lunae cursum computabantur. Luna et auspicabatur et finiebat mensem. Nostris menses alia ratione descripti sunt: nempe ut in conficiendo anno magis ad solis cursum quadrarent. Auspicantur autem annum Athenienses ab aestivo solstitio, ut testatur Simplicius cum ait ἄς δὲ ἡμεῖς ποιοῦμεθα ἀρχὰς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὲν περὶ θερινὰς τροπὰς, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι· ἢ περὶ μετοπωρινὰς, ὡς οἱ περὶ τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Ἀσίαν· ἢ περὶ χειμερινὰς, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι· ἢ περὶ ἐαρινὰς, ὡς Ἀραβες καὶ Δαμασκηνοὶ. Et cum ad lunae cursum Attici menses computentur, non conveniunt cum Latinis, nec possunt commode singulis nostrorum mensium nominibus reddi, si quando Attica nomina interpretari velis. Mensis primus is est qui solstitio aestivo proximus est, juxta intercalandi rationem. Proinde partem quandam Junii primus mensis occupat. Quare, si primum *Junium* expones, caeteros ordine subiicere poteris tametsi id, ut dixi, sit incommode. Verum docendi causa adscripsimus.

He then proceeds to give the Athenian months and their Latin equivalents in Gaza's order, although Gaza's name is not mentioned. This is a very sensible summary of *De mensibus*, and one which makes no great claims for the validity of the resulting calendar.

### 3. *The Athenian calendar in early printed Greek books*

Some early printed Greek books are dated in their colophons according to the Athenian calendar. Bibliographers have usually assumed that these dates correspond to the calendar expounded in Gaza's *De mensibus*. However, some editions are clearly dated in accordance with the calendar used by Bruni in the early fifteenth century and recorded in the Greek-Latin dictionaries printed between 1478 and 1523. The following observations do not resolve all the problems of dating such books, but it is hoped that they will bring the difficulties surrounding these dates into sharper focus.

<sup>88</sup> The opusculum bears the title: *Quibus modis apud Graecos dies singulorum mensium, quos Latini Calendarium, Nonarum, atque Iduum vocabulis appellant, designentur*; this passage is from sig. \*3r. The quotation from Simplicius is from his commentary on Arist. *Ph.* 5 (*Comm. in Arist. Graeca* X 875); this quotation also appears in Gaza's *De mensibus* (PG 19.1177).

### 3.1 Italy

The first printed book to be dated with a Greek month was the Byzantine lexicographical compilation known as the *Etymologicum Magnum*. It was printed by Zacharias Callierges at Venice and dated Μεταγειτνιῶνος, ὀγδὴ ἰσταμένου.<sup>89</sup> This month is *Julius* according to Gaza's treatise, *Maius* according to the dictionaries. Callierges' edition of Simplicius emerged at Venice in 1499 with the date Πυανεψιῶνος πέμπτη φθίνοντος.<sup>90</sup> The pioneering bibliographer Emile Legrand rendered this date 26 October, in the belief that Callierges must have been following the calendar set up in Gaza's *De mensibus*.<sup>91</sup> Legrand's date has been used ever since, but it could equally have been *Julius*. The following year, Callierges printed two more Greek books: Ammonius, dated σκιροφοριῶνος ἐνάτη φθίνοντος, and Galen, dated πυανεψιῶνος πέμπτη ἰσταμένου.<sup>92</sup> Once more, Legrand dated these editions according to Gaza's calendar, May and October.<sup>93</sup> It is possible that they should be dated March and July in accordance with the dictionaries. It is probable that four books printed over two years by the same person would make use of the same calendar, but it is not clear which calendar was used. Whichever calendar Callierges adopted, the order in which the books were printed remains unchanged. However, if he followed Gaza's calendar the editions are more evenly distributed over the period of two years. If he used the calendar of the dictionaries, then there were two books printed between May and July 1499 and a further two between March and July 1500.

At about the same time, the Athenian calendar appears in the Aldine edition of the Greek epistolographers of 1499.<sup>94</sup> The printing of this volume was as follows. First, part one was printed. This part ends with Marcus Musurus' postscript, in Greek, and the first colophon, in Latin. The postscript, which

<sup>89</sup> See n.11. I consulted Cambridge, UL Inc.1.B.3.146 [1849].

<sup>90</sup> *ISTC* is00535000.

<sup>91</sup> Legrand, *Bibliographie* I 62.

<sup>92</sup> *ISTC* ia00565000, ig00038000.

<sup>93</sup> Legrand renders these dates 22 May and 5 Oct.: *Bibliographie* I 72, 74.

<sup>94</sup> *ISTC* ie00064000.

mentions the date μουνιχιῶνος φθίνοντος τρίτη 1499, and the colophon, March 1499, are printed in the same gathering. Next, the printing of the second part began. This part was prefaced by Aldus' dedication to Antonio Urceo Codro, dated 17 *Aprilis* 1499. This preface is part of the same gathering as the text which follows and was not printed last. Since *Mounychion* is *Martius* in *De mensibus* and *Januarius* in the dictionaries, it is likely that Musurus preferred to follow Gaza's calendar when he wrote his postscript for this book.

Callierges' fine editions were very demanding works of scholarship and he may have found it difficult to find buyers for them. Within two years, Aldus Manutius had acquired at least some of the remainder of these books. He seems to have had copies of Callierges' editions of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, Simplicius, and Ammonius, by the summer of 1502: in August 1502 Aldus sent Johann Reuchlin a copy of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, and told him that Callierges' edition of Ammonius was available;<sup>95</sup> in November 1502 Reuchlin wrote to Aldus to ask for a copy of Callierges' Simplicius.<sup>96</sup> Certainly, by June 1503 Aldus was able to offer all three works of Callierges to his customers in his catalogue.<sup>97</sup> Perhaps Aldus was sufficiently impressed by the fine printing of these books to model some of his own practices on them, for in 1502 he printed three books dated with the Athenian calendar.

The first of these, the Aldine edition of Stephanus' *De urbibus*, is dated in Greek and Latin: *Mounychion* and *Januarius*.<sup>98</sup> This equation is in accordance with the calendar of the dictionaries, not that of Gaza's *De mensibus*. This date, it should be noted, is January 1502 new style: the prefatory letter, printed last, is dated 18 April 1502, and the volume was certainly printed by August 1502 when Aldus sent Reuchlin a copy.<sup>99</sup> The second

<sup>95</sup> L. Geiger, *Johann Reuchlins Briefwechsel* (Tübingen 1875) 77–78, *ep.* 83.

<sup>96</sup> P. de Nolhac, "Les correspondants d'Alde Manuce," *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto* 8 (1887) 247–299, 9 (1888) 203–248, no. 15.

<sup>97</sup> The catalogue of June 1503 is reproduced in G. Orlandi, *Aldo Manuzio editore* (Milan 1975), *tav.* XII.

<sup>98</sup> Renouard, *Annales* 38–39. I consulted London, BL 679.h.2 (2).

<sup>99</sup> Geiger, *Johann Reuchlins Briefwechsel* 77–78, *ep.* 83.

Aldine edition dated in Greek is the *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux of the same year, also dated in Greek and Latin: *Thargelion* and *Aprilis*.<sup>100</sup> This time, however, the printer chose to follow Gaza's calendar. The third, the Aldine Sophocles of 1502, is also dated in Greek and Latin: Μαίμακτηριῶνος τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτη [*sic*] in Greek, *mense augusto* in Latin. This time, the Press returned to the calendar of the dictionaries.<sup>101</sup>

It appears that in 1502 there was either confusion or indifference at the Aldine press as to the Athenian calendar. These are the only books printed by Aldus to be dated according to this calendar in their colophons, but they were not the last to make use of it. In the following year, in 1503, the Aldine edition of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, Pletho, Herodian, and the scholia on Thucydides emerged with the date October 1503 in the Latin colophon. Aldus' prefatory Greek letter is dated at Venice ἀνθεστηριῶνος τετάρτη καὶ δέκα 1503. This month is *November* in both the dictionaries and Gaza, and consequently tells us nothing about which calendar prevailed at the press in 1503.<sup>102</sup>

I know of a single book dated in Greek by the Juntine Press at Florence from this period. The Juntine Pollux of 1520 is dated, like its Aldine exemplar, in Greek and Latin: *Anthesterion* and *November*.<sup>103</sup> This, unfortunately, is of no use for our investigation, since *Anthesterion* is the single month on which Gaza and the dictionaries agree.

Guarino of Favera's lexicon of 1523 was printed at Rome by Callierges, and dated Σκιροριῶνος, τετάρτη φθίνοντος.<sup>104</sup> The

<sup>100</sup> Renouard, *Annales* 32–33. I consulted London, BL 679.h.2 (1).

<sup>101</sup> Legrand always uses the calendar of Gaza except in his entry on the Aldine Sophocles (*Bibliographie*, no. 30), where he follows the Latin translation.

<sup>102</sup> The signatures are consecutive throughout the volume, but the preface, the *Hellenica*, and Pletho were printed together; Herodian was printed separately; and the scholia were printed separately. The colophon is in the same gatherings as the scholia. It seems that the preface, the *Hellenica*, and Pletho were printed after the scholia.

<sup>103</sup> Renouard, *Annales* xlv. I consulted Cambridge, CUL M\*.9.21 (C).

<sup>104</sup> Legrand renders this 27 May (*Bibliographie* I 174). For the lexicon, see above, sect. 2.10. I consulted London, BL G.7646, and Cambridge, UL Aa\*.2.17.



edition of the Greek Psalter at Venice by Stefano Nicolini da Sabio in 1524 is dated Σκιροριῶνος, πρώτη φθίνοντος.<sup>105</sup> The spelling error in this month, common to both editions, can hardly be a coincidence. None of the preceding dictionaries make this mistake. Either they used a common, flawed, source for this date, or (more likely) the 1524 edition made use of the colophon of Callierges' edition of 1523.

### 3.2 France

At Paris, Gilles de Gourmont printed at least five books dated according to the Athenian calendar. The first is Gourmont's Chrysoloras of 1512. This is the first dated use of Gourmont's new Greek font, which has breathings and accents cast with the letters. The colophon reads Μεταγεινιῶνος ἐπὶ δέκα τρίτη, which Omont renders 13 July.<sup>106</sup> *Metageitnion* is *Julius* in *De mensibus*; in the dictionaries it is *Maius*. The preface of François Vatable, which was not printed last, is dated 29 May. Since it is unlikely that the rest of the volume was set and printed between 29 and 31 May, the calendar of *De mensibus* would appear to have prevailed.

The second is a reprint of the first, the Chrysoloras of 1516.<sup>107</sup> The colophon reads Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἰσταμένου πέμπτη. This is *Februarius* in *De mensibus*, in the dictionaries it is *December*. The date of Vatable's preface, 29 May, is not relevant to the date of the colophon, since it was copied from the first edition of 1512.

The third, also of 1516, is an edition of Gaza's Greek grammar.<sup>108</sup> Each of the four books has its own title page. Books I–III are undated, while the colophon at the end of the fourth book reads: σκιροφοριῶνος ἐννάτη ἐπιόντος 1516. This month is *Maius* in *De mensibus*; it is *Martius* in most of the dictionaries,

<sup>105</sup> Legrand renders this 31 May (*Bibliographie* I 179).

<sup>106</sup> Omont, *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris* 18 (1891) 27; Moreau, *Inventaire* II 118. I consulted London, BL 624.c.4.

<sup>107</sup> Omont, *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris* 18 (1891) 38; Moreau, *Inventaire* II 358. I consulted London, BL G.7531 (3).

<sup>108</sup> Omont, *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris* 18 (1891) 36–37; Moreau, *Inventaire* II 370. I consulted London, BL 624.c.7, BL 1568/3159, and Oxford, Bodl. Byw.N.6.8.

although Gourmont's own dictionary of 1512 also made this month *Maius*.<sup>109</sup> Omont makes this 9 June. If both editions of 1516 made use of *De mensibus*, then Chrysoloras was printed before Gaza; if both used the calendar of the dictionaries, then Gaza preceded Chrysoloras. The uncertainty is frustrating because these editions are the first dated books to make use of Gourmont's second device.

The fourth Gourmont edition considered here was issued some years later. This is of Aristophanes, the first time that the dramatist had been printed in France. Each of the nine plays (*Thesm.* and *Lys.* are excluded) has its own title page and signatures, but they were intended to form a single edition. Each play also has its own Greek preface by Jean Chéradame, none of which is dated. The plays were very likely set—although they are not always found bound—in the order in which they appeared in the exemplar.<sup>110</sup> All the ornamental title pages have the same date, 1528, while seven of the nine plays have colophons:<sup>111</sup>

<i>Plutus</i>	19 <i>Maemacterion</i>
<i>Nubes</i>	4 <i>Poseideon</i>
<i>Ranae</i>	15 <i>Poseideon</i>
<i>Equites</i>	s.d.
<i>Achamenses</i>	30 <i>Poseideon</i>
<i>Vespae</i>	29 <i>Gamelion</i>
<i>Aves</i>	s.d.
<i>Pax</i>	29 <i>Elaphebolion</i>
<i>Ecclesiazusae</i>	30 <i>Elaphebolion</i>

These months are *Augustus*, *September*, *October*, and *December* in

<sup>109</sup> See above, sect. 2.6.

<sup>110</sup> Moreau, *Inventaire* III 382. They were probably set from the ed. pr. (Aldus: Venice 1498), possibly from the second edition (Junta: Florence 1515), certainly not from the third (Junta: Florence 1525). The Paris edition does not fill the *lacuna* in *Pax* (lines 948–1011), which the third edition supplies. All three editions print the plays in the same order.

<sup>111</sup> I consulted four copies of this edition. London, BL G.8582 preserves the most complete set of the colophons know to me. The colophon to *Plut.*, standing alone on an otherwise blank final leaf, is often lost. The last leaf of *Eq.* is sig. H3: the colophon to the play may survive in another example on sig. H4.

the dictionaries, *September*, *December*, *Januarius*, and *Februarius* in Gaza. Because the colophon to *Ecclesiazusae* indicates that *Elaphebolion* has at least thirty days, these months must come from the calendar of the dictionaries. Thus, printing started in August and finished at the end of December. This means that it certainly postdates Melanchthon's edition of *Plutus* and *Nubes*, dated June 1528.<sup>112</sup>

The knowledge that the calendar of the dictionaries was being used in Gourmont's shop in 1528 allows us to suggest a date for a fifth Greek edition. Gourmont and Petrus Vidovaeus also printed Demosthenes' *Olynthiacs* at Paris in 1528. Chéradame's preface is undated, but the colophon has *Gamelion*—*Januarius* in *De mensibus*, *October* in the dictionaries.<sup>113</sup> If, as seems likely, this too was dated according to the calendar of the dictionaries, then the additional work for the typesetters may account for the slower progress of the edition of Aristophanes after September 1528.

A final notice of the Athenian calendar in France in this period comes from Winther von Andernach's Greek grammar, printed at Paris in 1527. Here Andernach cites "Demosthe[nes], *Adversus Aeschinem*: ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος," which he renders "cum regnaret Policleus, mense Junio."<sup>114</sup> *Junius* is from the dictionaries, not from Gaza.

### 3.3 Germany

An edition of a translation of the *Batrachomyomachia* was printed at Wittenberg.<sup>115</sup> The prefatory letter is dated 1 February 1513; the colophon, in unaccented Greek, is 5 μουνιχιῶν 1513. *Mounychion* is *Januarius* in the dictionaries and *Martius* in *De mensibus*. The translation begins in the middle of the first

<sup>112</sup>J. Secer: Hagenau 1528.

<sup>113</sup>Moreau, *Inventaire* III 400. For the preface, see M. Veissière, "Une dédicace de Jean Chéradame à Guillaume Briçonnet (1528)," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance* 53 (1991) 397–403. I consulted London, BL G.8206 (1).

<sup>114</sup>Moreau, *Inventaire* III 347. I consulted London, BL 12923 (3). The quotation is from sig. e6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>115</sup>*Batrachomyomachia Homeri Philymno interprete. Et eulogia funebria* (Gronenberg: Wittenberg 1513). I consulted London, BL G.8781.

gathering, immediately after the prefatory material. This situation makes it very unlikely that the preface was printed last, and very likely that the final colophon postdates the prefatory letter. Confirmation that Gaza's calendar was used comes from the fact that the month is spelt *μουνιχιών*; that is, it follows the spelling of the Aldine editio princeps of *De mensibus*, not that of the dictionaries.

In 1519 Philip Melanchthon edited two essays from Plutarch's *Moralia*. The first, *An recte dictum sit latenter esse vivendum*, was printed with Pindar's fourteenth *Olympian Ode* at Leipzig by Valentin Schumann and dated δύο καὶ δεκάτη θαρρηλιῶνος ἰστιμένου [sic] 1519.<sup>116</sup> *Thargelion* is *Februarius* in the dictionaries and *Aprilis* in *De mensibus*. The second essay was *De liberis educandis*, printed at Cologne by Eucharius Cervicornus. The colophon to this book dates it 6 *Metageitnion* [1519], and a Latin translation helpfully tells us that this is 6 July.<sup>117</sup> Since this second edition of 1519 certainly follows the calendar of Gaza, and since Melanchthon gave qualified support to Gaza's calendar in 1530, it is very likely that it was also used for the Plutarch/Pindar of 1519.

Two books printed at Basle by Froben are dated with the Athenian calendar. The first of these is of Gaza's grammar, books I–II, in Greek with Erasmus' translation and the Greek-Latin *Colloquia*.<sup>118</sup> The colophon after the Greek text of book II gives the date as Σκιροφοριῶν 1518. Allen, following Gaza, dated the volume May 1518, but found it difficult to reconcile this date with the fact that Froben wrote to Erasmus towards the end of March 1518 stating that the volume had been printed.<sup>119</sup> This problem disappears when we realise that

<sup>116</sup> For the edition, which I have not seen, see R. Wetzel et al., *Melanchthons Briefwechsel* I (Stuttgart 1991) 118–119; J.-E. Girot, *Pindare avant Ronsard: De l'émergence du grec à la publication des Quatre Premiers livres des Odes de Ronsard* (Geneva 2002) 410. Melanchthon's preface is s.d.

<sup>117</sup> For this edition, which I have not seen, see Wetzel et al., *Melanchthons Briefwechsel* I 113. The colophon is s.a., but certainly 1519.

<sup>118</sup> *Griechischer Geist* 39, no. 20. I consulted London, BL 12924.f.15.

<sup>119</sup> Allen et al., *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi* III 771 note. "Theodori librum secundum, quem nuper vertisti, excudi" (III 256).

Froben dated it according to the calendar of the dictionaries, where the month is *Martius*. Froben also dated his edition of the Greek gnomic poets in the same way.<sup>120</sup> The edition carries the date *Thargelion* 1521 in the colophon, while the preface to this volume is dated in Latin 1 *Februarius* 1521. *Thargelion* is *Aprilis* in *De mensibus* and *Februarius* in the dictionaries.

Georg Rithaymer's edition of Chrysoloras' grammar was printed at Vienna.<sup>121</sup> The colophon dates it 14 *Anthesterion* 1523 in Greek and 14 *November* 1523 in Latin. Since Gaza and the dictionaries agree on *Anthesterion* it is not clear which calendar was followed, but at least in this case the date of the edition is certain.

An edition of the works of Lucian printed at Hagenau by Secer in 1526 is dated *Boedromion*.<sup>122</sup> I know of no way to secure this date, which is *Junius* in the dictionaries, and *Augustus* in *De mensibus*.

There are no doubt other books to be added to those detailed above. It is clear that the calendar of *De mensibus* was not consistently used by printers in the period. It is some help to the bibliographer to know that in no instance can it be proved that neither the calendar of *De mensibus* nor that of the dictionaries was used. In those cases where we cannot supply a certain date for an edition with a Greek colophon, we must hope that other evidence comes to light which will permit greater precision.

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The Warburg Institute  
Woburn Square, London  
WC1H 0AB, U.K.  
paul.botley@sas.ac.uk

<sup>120</sup> *Griechischer Geist* 59, no. 35.

<sup>121</sup> *Erotemata per Georgium Rithaymer pro rei necessitate nonnihil aucta. Anomala verba. Formationes temporum Georgii Rithaymer. Sententiae monostichi ex variis poetis* (J. Singrenius: Vienna 1523). I consulted Cambridge, UL F152.e.7.1.

<sup>122</sup> I consulted Oxford, Bodl. Baden Powell 64, 1 and 2.