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9. Roles and Individuality in the Chronograph of 354

The luxurious calendar book called the *Chronograph of 354*¹ has been used as a principal source for the history of religion—paganism as well as Christianity.² Its calendars, in the form of Roman *fasti*, supply isolated evidence for the religion of the fourth century. As Christian *ferialia*, they offer the first extant evidence for a Christian liturgical calendar.³ Since there has never been

I am grateful for the critical remarks in the discussion, in particular to Marlis Arnhold, Kim Bowes, Kate Cooper, Richard Gordon, and Éric Rebillard. Alice Namaste Brigance was of invaluable help in improving the English text.

1. For the title of the work see Richard W. Burgess, “The Chronograph of 354: Its Manuscripts, Contents and History,” *Journal of Late Antiquity* 5 (2012), 345, n. 1, and in general, Richard W. Burgess and Michael Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time: The Latin Chronicle Traditions from the First Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D. 1: A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre from Its Origins to the High Middle Ages*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 33 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 30.

2. On paganism see, e.g., Michele Renee Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 17 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). On Christianity see, e.g., Hansjörg Auf der Maur, “Feste und Gedenktage der Heiligen,” in *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit II/1*, ed. Philippe Harnoncourt and Hansjörg Auf der Maur (Regensburg: Pustet, 1994), 65–357; Karl-Heinrich Bieritz, “Gottesdienst und Gesellschaft,” in *Gottesdienst der Kirche: Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft 2: Theologie des Gottesdienstes Bd. 2: Gottesdienst im Leben der Kirche: Christliche und jüdische Liturgie*, ed. Martin Klöckener, Angelus A. Häußling, and Reinhard Messner (Regensburg: Pustet, 2008), 83–158.

3. See Jörg Rüpke, *The Roman Calendar from Numa to Constantine: Time, History and the Fasti*, trans. David M. B. Richardson (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011) and Jörg Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit: Die Geschichte der Repräsentation und religiösen Qualifikation von Zeit in Rom*, RGVI 40 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 527–31 for the genres.

any question about the Christian identity of the producer or the original recipient, analysis has concentrated on the degree of Christianization evidenced by the contents of the document. The simultaneous presence of pagan and Christian material has been seen as an indicator of the process of Christianization of the Roman aristocracy during the fourth century.⁴

An inquiry into multiplicities of religious roles offers an opportunity to question the binary opposition underlying many analyses of the document and to reclaim it for the history of religious individualization, thereby opening the way for a new perspective on the place of religion in late ancient society and on the complex nature of religion. It is the aim of this paper to identify more clearly the social and cultural place of a codex which has not been preserved, but which can be reconstructed, as a result of the interest and care of later users and copyists, in its contents, wording, and visual shape.⁵ This offers the basis for a careful analysis of the book, not only as a compilation and object of *Quellenforschung*, but as a fairly unified creation.

The analysis is an analysis of a text. It opens a way into the worldview, the mind-set of the producers and the presumed expectations of the intended

4. Salzman, *On Roman Time*; Michele Rene Salzman, "How the West Was Won: The Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy in the West in the Years after Constantine," in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, ed. Carl Deroux (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1992), 451–79; Michele Rene Salzman, "The Christianization of Sacred Time and Sacred Space," in *The Transformations of Urbs Roma in Late Antiquity*, ed. W. V. Harris (Portsmouth, R.I.: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999), 123–34; Michele Rene Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy: Social and Religious Change in the Western Roman Empire* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2002); Michele Rene Salzman, "Kalender II: Chronograph von 354," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, t. 19 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2001), 1171–91; Johannes Divjak, "Der sogenannte Kalender des Filocalus," in *Textsorten und Textkritik: Tagungsbeiträge* (Wien: Akademie, 2002), 19–38; Theodor Mommsen, "Über den Chronographen vom J. 354," *Abhandlungen der Königlich-Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Cl. 1* (1850), 547–693; Karl Kemper, "Der Kampf des römischen Staates gegen die fremden Kulte," *Diss.* (Tübingen, 1941); Gerhard Binder, *Der Kalender des Filocalus oder der Chronograph vom Jahre 354* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1970; reprint, *Analecta monumentorum omnis aevi Vindobonensia* ed. Adam Franz Vollar 1); Wolfgang Wischmeyer, "Die christlichen Texte im sogenannten Filocalus-Kalender," in *Textsorten und Textkritik: Tagungsbeiträge* (Wien: Akademie, 2002), 45–67; see also Raban von Haehling, *Die Religionszugehörigkeit der hohen Amtsträger des Römischen Reiches seit Constantins I. Alleinherrschaft bis zum Ende der Theodosianischen Dynastie (324–450 bzw. 455 n. Chr.)*, *Antiquitas*, R. 3, 23 (Bonn: Habelt, 1978).

5. Comprehensively, Salzman, *On Roman Time*, 249–68. The calendar was copied in Carolingian times and its record of birthdays of emperors seems to have inspired the celebration of Carolingian anniversaries of the emperors' birthdays or accessions to the throne, see Wolfgang Eric Wagner, "Walafrid Strabo und der Chronograph von 354 oder: Wie Karl der Kahle darauf kam, Anniversarien für seinen Geburtstag zu stiften," in *Gestiftete Zukunft im mittelalterlichen Europa: Festschrift für Michael Borgolte zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Wolfgang Huschner and Frank Rexroth (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2008).

readers. It does not offer a reliable basis for the reconstruction of actual roles performed or perceived by contemporaries. In light of these considerations, I have chosen concepts articulated by two different theorists for my reading of the text: On the one hand, the term “appropriation” as used by Michel de Certeau helps me to conceptualize the creative and selective use of traditions by the producer(s) and thereby introduces the notion of the individual agent in history. Despite the institutional origins and backgrounds of many texts in the codex calendar, their usage and modifications are strategic, even subversive.⁶ On the other hand, I am inspired by Pierre Bourdieu’s notion of “field” and his analysis of the processes for the differentiation of dispositions and interests and the resulting acts of positioning oneself within the field(s) (and thereby forming dispositions or *habitus*).⁷

The Social Place of the Codex Calendar

The first, dedicatory page of the codex offers two names, but no author. The dedicatee is a Valentinus. Given our knowledge of the Roman senatorial class, with which such a luxurious book⁸ must surely be associated, he must be identified as a member of the family of the Symmachi: either the consularis of Numidia of 330 or the consularis of Campania from 364 to 375, a brother of the famous orator and priest Q. Aurelius Symmachus,⁹ or his nephew.¹⁰ The dedication “flourish in god” and the exhortation “read” are more fitting to a juvenile. This impression is supported by the *bullae* worn by the male *putti* on the same page.¹¹ The fact that the Easter cycle is carried forward to the year 411, that is, far into the future, but within plausible life expectancy, points in

6. In general Michel de Certeau, *Arts de faire*, new edition by Luce Giard (Paris: Gallimard, 2007); for the term *appropriation* see Marian Füssel, “Die Kunst der Schwachen: Zum Begriff der ‘Aneignung’ in der Geschichtswissenschaft,” *Sozial Geschichte* 21, no. 3 (2006).

7. See Pierre Bourdieu, *Raisons pratiques: Sur la théorie de l'action* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1994).

8. For this quality see Burgess, “Chronograph,” 354, basing this traditional judgment on clear traces of the extensive use of *capitalis quadrata* (otherwise attested in manuscripts of Vergil) in a total of about twenty pages in the original manuscript.

9. Jörg Rüpke, *Fasti sacerdotum. A Prosopography of Pagan, Jewish, and Christian Religious Officials in the City of Rome, 300 B.C. to A.D. 499*, trans. David M. B. Richardson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), no. 876.

10. Salzman, *On Roman Time*, 201.

11. Codex Vaticanus Romanus 1 ms., Barb. lat 2154, fol. 1.

the same direction.¹² The brother of Q. Aurelius Symmachus owned a large library and had a copy of Livy made for Valerianus's edition.¹³ Given this evidence, the likely dedicatee, and the most probable patron, if not "author" of the text, would be their father L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus, orator and perhaps poet.¹⁴ The elder Symmachus was also a member of two prestigious priestly colleges at the time of his death in 376.¹⁵

The actual producer of the codex identifies himself unambiguously with the phrase *Furius Dionyius Filocalus titulavit*, set into the two lateral handles of the *tabula ansata*, which frames the dedication. The same Filocalus identifies himself as the producer of a fragmentary inscription, giving a list of dedications (*scripsit Furius Dion[nysius Filocalus]*), and as the admirer and friend of Damasus on the latter's epitaph for the martyr Eusebius.¹⁶ He must have been the inventor of the extravagant Filocalan letters, which are characteristic of the martyrs' and bishops' epitaphs commissioned by bishop Damasus after 366.¹⁷

Word choice and form are relevant. *Titulavit* is a rare word, a *prima vista* indicating the execution of an inscription.¹⁸ Like the emblematic form of the *tabula ansata*, it is an oddity on the title page of a codex. If this design was intended to signal a distancing from the contents, "I am not the author, but a mere scribe," thus removing the ambiguities of a *scripsit*, an author should have been indicated. It is therefore more likely that the wording and image are intended to impress on the reader a certain idea about the contents, an idea which is not consistent with the notion of an individual author. The use of *tituli* is suggestive of official documents, of titles publicly earned or acknowledged, of facts rather than fiction—a conflict inherent in historiography in all its genres from early on and still important.¹⁹ This impression is sustained by the codex's texts frequently assuming an unusually (for their respective genres) technical form, as will be shown below. Anonymity seems to be a characteristic of the genre.²⁰

12. The date of the extension is controversial and seen as a later addition by recent *communis opinio*. However, the very idea of a list of Easter dates is prognostic, not documentary.

13. Alan Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 516.

14. Cf. Symmachus *epist.* 1.2.

15. Rüpke, *Fasti sacerdotum*, no. 808.

16. Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Chronica Minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII*, vol. 3, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi 9.11.13 (Berlin: 1892), 15 f.

17. Hieron, *vir ill.* 103.

18. Thus in *CIL* 8.4487.

19. See e.g., Frank R. Ankersmit, *Historical representation* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001); Jörg Rüpke, "History," in *The Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in the Study of Religion*, ed. Michael Stausberg and Steven Engler (London: Routledge, 2011).

20. Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*.

For the purposes of sociological analysis, the concept of authorship should be replaced by that of the appropriation of cultural capital. The transcription of thousands of rolls of literary texts hosted by private and public libraries into codices is a central feature of the period and crucial for the transmission of all classical texts.²¹ A case in point is the editorial activities based on Q. Symmachus's library.²² This activity (attributed to male intellectuals) surely dwarfs the authoring of a few new texts as exemplified by the "other" gender, for instance the Roman aristocrat Betitia Faltonia Proba, a contemporary, who wrote a (lost) poem about the usurpation of Magnentius in the immediately preceding years (351–53) and a cento, a pastiche of Virgilian (demi-)verses praising Christ.²³ A contemporary observer, the travelling philosopher Junior, characterizes the senatorial class in his *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (55) not as interested in political offices, but as enjoying their rural property and honoring the gods. Here, religion is primarily an arena not of political conflict but of the *otium cum dignitate*, which characterized senatorial living.²⁴ Against this backdrop, the words (and emblem) *floreas in deo* in the upper half of the dedicatory page, is a wish (and exhortation) that a young man will cultivate a particular way of life. It is not an indication of confessional affiliation, that is, Christianity, as the isolated phrase has been usually interpreted.²⁵

21. For the arrangement of rolls in late ancient libraries see, e.g., Allen Brent, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension before Emergence of a Monarch Bishop*, Vigiliæ Christianæ Supplements 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

22. According to Cameron, *Last Pagans*, 498–516, there is no evidence supporting the direct and intensive involvement of the family supposed, e.g., by Egbert Türk, "Macrobius und die Quellen seiner Saturnalien: Eine Untersuchung über die Bildungsbestrebungen im Symmachus-Kreis" (Diss. Freiburg am Breisgau, 1962); Richard Klein, *Symmachus: Eine tragische Gestalt des ausgehenden Heidentums*, Impulse der Forschung 2 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971); Jelle Wytzes, *Der letzte Kampf des Heidentums in Rom*, Etudes Préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1977); Michaela Zelzer, "Symmachus, Ambrosius, Hieronymus und das römische Erbe," in *Papers Presented to the Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 1991: Latin Authors (Other than Augustine and His Opponents), nachleben of the Fathers*, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, Studia Patristica 28 (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 146–57.

23. John Matthews, "The Poetess Proba and Fourth-Century Rome: Questions of Interpretation," in *Institutions, société et vie politique dans l'empire romain au IV^e siècle ap. J.-C.*, ed. Michel Christol (Roma: École française, 1992), 277–304; Henriette Harich-Schwarzbauer, "Proba," *Brill's New Pauly*, t. 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 356. She died before 380.

24. For the latter, Alexander Demandt, *Die Spätantike: Römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian 284–565 n. Chr.*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 3,6 (Munich: Beck, 1989), 286 f., to whom I owe the quotation of Junior.

25. See, e.g., Salzman, *On Roman Time*, 26.

The Parts of the Text

The *Chronograph of 354* is a richly illustrated codex containing chronological and historiographical information; it is passed down in numerous manuscripts.²⁶ The history of the composition of individual parts can, in some cases, be traced back to the beginning of the fourth century. For the overall composition—notwithstanding later additions—the year 354 is not only a certain *terminus ante quem non*, but may also be assumed as the dedicatory date.²⁷ Furius Dionysius Filocalus must likely have started writing the calendar shortly before 354.

The *Chronograph* begins with a dedicatory title page (I).²⁸ This is followed by the depiction of the four urban deities (II), a dedication to the ruling emperors in the name of the owner Valentinus, and a calendrically dated list of emperors' birthdays (III). Under the heading *Natales Caesarum*, are listed the names of the emperors.²⁹ These are written in the genitive, followed by the date, for example, *Divi Traiani. XIII. Kal. Oct.* The list is arranged in two columns and the emperors listed by month. It is interesting to note that the calendar also lists months, June and July, without (recorded) emperors' birthdays.

The next element is a set of images of the planetary deities, given in the order of the weekdays, beginning with Saturn, that is, in the traditional sequence (IV). The twenty-four hours of the day and night are listed for any given weekday with the indication of their planetary deity and of their character (good, bad, indifferent). At the bottom there is a short general description of the planetary deity.

Saturn offers a good example: "On the day of Saturn, whether during the nightly or the daily hours, everything becomes dark and difficult: those born will be at risk; who will go astray will not be found; who is sick will be in dan-

26. A comprehensive description and analysis in *ibid.*, with Henri Stern, *Le calendrier de 354: Étude sur son texte et ses illustrations*, Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth: Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 55 (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1953), and now Burgess, "Chronograph." For the text of the calendar, see *Inscr. It.* 13.2.238–61.

27. Salzman, *On Roman Time*, 279–82; Stern assumes it to be a gift presented on the new year to the Valentinus named on the title page (Stern, *Le calendrier de 354*, 45). The dating follows the suggestions by *Chronica minora*, ed. Mommsen, and Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1620).

28. I follow the traditional numeration of the sections.

29. Technically, in 354 the plural *Augusti* is incorrect (see Salzman, *On Roman Time*, 281–82 for an attempt at explanation; it may refer back to Magnentius's quality as Augustus).

ger of dying; a theft will not be recovered.”³⁰ For the rest of the deities the same structure is used with negative or positive variations: *utile est* instead of *laboriosa*, newborn might be *vitales*, lost and stolen things might be found or not, ill people might quickly recover (*cito convalescet*).

Similar information on the twelve signs of the zodiac follows (V). The activities which are to be preferred during each phase of the moon are indicated. Again, the list, organized into three groups of signs, is fairly standard. For Aries, Cancer, Libra, and Capricorn the text runs as follows: “When the moon is in these zodiacal signs, it is advantageous to give or receive money, to make one’s testament, to weave a web, to wash wool, to castrate cattle, to carry out lease contracts, to migrate.”³¹ Education (*pueros puellas in disciplinas mittere*) is among the activities mentioned; religion is not. The accompanying illustrations have been lost during their transmission over the centuries.

The calendar proper, consisting of twelve double pages, begins after this section (VI). Facing the text, which lists the holidays of the month, is a full page image of that month, represented as a person conducting an action typical for the season. These complex and allusive images mainly feature ritual or agricultural activities.³²

A fully integrated reading, combining text and image, is not possible. There are no descriptions that clearly summarize or emphasize specific features of the illustrations. The distichs that are located at the bottom of the two pages of each month are as independent from the images of the month as the images themselves are independent from the text of the calendar. The tetrastichs that offer the missing integration of text and image are later additions.³³

The information on the calendar is arranged in five columns. The first column, on the far left, gives the lunar letters *A–K* separated by three days each. In some cases—for a twenty-nine-day lunation—only one day separates *E* from *F*. The use of these letters follows a system like that of the nundinal let-

30. *Chronica minora*, ed. Mommsen, 42: “Saturni dies horaque eius cum erit nocturna sive diurna, omnia obscura laboriosaque fiunt: qui nascentur periculosi erunt; qui recesserit non invenietur; qui decubuerit periclitabitur; furtum factum non invenietur.”

31. *Ibid.*, 47: “In his signis tropicis luna cum erit, nummos dare vel accipere, testamentum facere, telam ordiri, lanas lavare, pecora castrare, conductum facere, migrare utile.”

32. Contrary to Stern, *Calendrier de 354*, Salzman, *On Roman Time*, stresses the innovation in the imagery. Against her identification of secularizing processes see e.g., Pierre P. Koemoth, “Autour du prêtre isiaque figuré dans le calendrier romain de 354,” *Latomus* 68 (2008): 1000–9.

33. See Burgess, “Chronograph,” 363.

ters: if the first full moon (or any other moon phase) in January corresponds, for example, to the letter *D*, all further dates for the following full moon phases of the year are set. All one had to do was to read the days which are again marked *D*. The three day intervals of the lunar letters reflect the limit of the system's exactitude: the monthly divergences resulting from the need for measuring months in full days does not allow for any greater precision.³⁴ The second column, again beginning with *A* on January 1, gives the consecutive series of weekday letters *A–G* for a seven-day cycle, while the following column gives the eight-day series of the nundinal letters (*A–H*). Next to this last column, somewhat set apart, a column with letters of the same size gives the orienting days of the month (*Kal(endis)*, *Non(is)*, *Idib(us)* with some minor differences) and the number of days that separate each day from them. The last and distinctly broadest column contains the description of what happens on each day. That aesthetical considerations in aligning and separating the columns were paramount is obvious from the content of the last column, which is aligned to the left. Indeed, it contains amendments which should have been placed in the fourth column (e.g., for January: *Non* after *IIII* in the first column; *Feb.* after *Kal.*). It also lists games, emperors' birthdays, and senate gatherings (*senatus legitimus*). Various astrological (*dies aegyptiaci*) and astronomical details (e.g., *Solstitium*) complete this column. Christian holidays are not given anywhere. The list of *depositio* dates of Roman bishops and martyrs given in the larger document is not included in the calendar proper.

Since the calendar is fairly up to date as far as holidays related to Constantine are concerned, it can be seen that it reflects the conventions of genre and not cultic reality. In terms of details, the *Fasti Furi Filocali* are an exact match for traditional calendars. As was common since the second century, the older denominators of *dies fasti*, *nefasti*, and *comitiales* are lacking. The letters ascribed to the seven-day-week can already be found in editions from the Augustan age, that is, the *Fasti Sabini*, *Foronovani*, and the later *Nolani*. The nundinal letters of the eight-day-week were no longer in use in the following generation. The naming of the *ludi* is inconspicuous, and, as in the case of further

34. The popularity of calendars giving the lunar letters of the *Fasti Filocali* can be discerned in a contemporary inscription from the richly decorated private catacomb on the Via Latina, preferring the calendrical style of *G III Idus Octobres* to *dies lunae*. Picture in Antonio Ferrua, *Catacombe sconosciute: una pinacoteca del IV secolo sotto la Via Latina* (Firenze: Nardini, 1990), 53.

imperial holidays, probably reflects actual use. The solar declination through the zodiac could be given ever since a stable system had been introduced by the Julian calendar. Corresponding indications are to be found in the Apulian *Fasti Venusini* dating to the end of the first century B.C., as well as in the Tiberian *Fasti Antiates ministrorum*. The notation of the *dies aegyptiaci*, unlucky “black” days, reveals an interest in providing as much astrological information as possible in a calendar intended for long-term use.

The codex consistently speaks of dictators until 705 A.U.C.³⁵ After a portrait of two consuls, probably of 354 (VII), a list of consuls is given from 509 B.C. onward, down to the present (VIII).³⁶ It is well researched, but restricted to two names per year, enriched by the indication of intercalatory years (pre-supposing the existence of the Julian-Augustan rules of quadriennial intercalation since regal times), and the specification of the day of the planetary week and the age of the moon for the 1st of January of every year. Far from approaching the chronicle-like form of consular lists such as the *Fasti Ostienses* from the early empire (and their indication of suffect consuls, censors, and the like), only four years show further historical information, here quoted in full:

[A.D. 1] Under this consul, the lord Jesus Christ was born on December 25, on a Friday on the 15th day of the lunation.

[A.D. 29] Under these consuls, the lord Jesus Christ has suffered on a Friday on the 13th day of the lunation.

[A.D. 33] Under these consuls, Peter and Paul came to Rome in order to fill the episcopate.

[A.D. 55] Under these consuls, Peter and Paul have suffered on June 29.³⁷

The dates of Easter from 312 to 354 (and projected for a full century to A.D. 411) (IX) and a list of the praefectus urbis (X) follow. The latter starts from the “time of Gallienus”; from 288 onward the dates of accession are given precisely, and occasionally even the dates of short-term replacements due to absence(s).³⁸

35. *Ibid.*, 56.

36. On later continuations (and mistakes) see Burgess, “Chronograph,” 389.

37. *Ibid.*, 56–57: “[A.D. 1] Hoc cons. dominus Iesus Christus natus est VIII Kal. Ian. d. Ven. luna XV. [A.D. 29] His consulibus dominus Iesus Christus passus est die Ven. luna XIII. [A.D. 33] His cons. Petrus et Paulus ad urbem venerunt agere episcopatum. [a.d. 55] His cons. passi sunt Petrus et Paulus III Kal. Iul.”

38. E.g., for A.D. 318 (see *ibid.*, 67).

The section is followed by a calendrically ordered list of burials of Roman bishops (XI) from 255 to 310–II, with two additional mentions for 336 and 352.³⁹ For the very last, an exceptionally precise location is given: *Iuli, in via Aurelia miliario III, in Callisti* (“at the third milestone of the via Aurelia, in the cemetery of Callistus”). A similar list is given for the *depositiones* or *dies natales* of martyrs (XII). The list starts in the second half of December (*ante diem . . . kalendas Ianuarias* in Latin); in Roman terminology the date uses the name of the first month of the year. The same holds true for the depositions of bishops, listing Dionisius (A.D. 269) for *VI kal. Ianuarias*. In XII it is Christmas, *natalis domini*, which heads the list. This is the earliest attestation of this date.⁴⁰

A more detailed examination of this newly composed list is in order. Since Constantine had publicly endorsed the cult of Christ, the general visibility of Christianity steadily increased. The Constantinian building program both encompassed places emphasizing ecclesiastical hierarchies and those devoted to the martyr cult.⁴¹ Large Christian basilicas were erected on the outskirts of the city, an adaptation of a secular form for sacred buildings.⁴² The institutionalization of the cult is reflected in this list, both in its architectural form and in the celebration of individual anniversaries (in its calendrical form already known to the cult of the dead).⁴³ Here is an English translation of the list:

39. *Ibid.*, 70.

40. E.g., Michel-Yves Perrin, “Die neue Form der Missionierung: Die Eroberung von Raum und Zeit,” in *Die Geschichte des Christentums 2: Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250–430)*, ed. Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (Freiburg: Herder, 1996; reprint, *Naissance d'une chrétienté [250–430]*), 692. The authenticity is questioned by Hans Förster, *Die Feier der Geburt Christi in der Alten Kirche*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 4 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 95–103; see also Wischmeyer, “Wischmeyer 2002,” 49; but see now Józef Naumowicz, “Le calendrier de 354 et la fête de noël,” *Palamedes* 2 (2007).

41. The process was not restricted to Rome: Perrin, “Die neue Form der Missionierung,” 681.

42. Michael L. White, *Building God's House in the Roman World: Architectural Adaptation among Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 127–39, on previous and displaced practices; on the Constantinian building program, Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome. 1: A History. 2: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 368 f.; John R. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century*, Oxford Classical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

43. E.g., Paul-Albert Février, “A propos du repas funéraire: Culte et sociabilité,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 26 (1977); Jean Guyon, “Les représentations du cimetière ‘Aux deux lauriers,’” in *La mort, les morts et l'au-delà dans le monde romain*, ed. François Hinar (Caen: Université, 1987); Peter Karpinski, *Annua dies dormitionis: Untersuchungen zum christlichen Jahrgedächtnis der Toten auf dem Hintergrund antiken Brauchtums*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, R. 23, 300 (Frankfurt: Lang, 1987).

December 25: Christ, born in Bethlehem, in Judaea.

Month of January

January 20: Fabian in the cemetery of Calixtus and Sebastian at Catacumbas.

January 21: Agnes on via Nomentana.

Month of February

February 22: Birthday of the Chair of Peter.

Month of March

March 7: Perpetua and Felicitas in Africa.

Month of May

May 20: Parthenus and Calocerus in the cemetery of Calixtus when Diocletian was consul for the ninth time and Maximianus for the eighth [A.D. 304].

Month of June

June 29: Peter at Catacumbas, Paul on via Ostiense, when Tuscus and Basus were consuls [A.D. 258].

Month of July

July 10: Felix and Filippus in the cemetery of Priscilla. And in the cemetery of the Jordans: Martialis, Vitalis, Alexander. And in the cemetery of Maximus: Silanus. This Silanus martyr was stolen by the Novatians. And in the cemetery of Praetextatus: Januarius.

July 30: Abdon and Sennen in the cemetery of Pontianus, which is located at "Ad ursum piliatum."

Month of August

August 8: Xystus in the cemetery of Calixtus. And in the cemetery of Praetextatus: Agapitus and Felicissimus.

August 10: Secundus, Carpofores, Victorinus, and Severianus at Albano. And at the seven mile of via Ostiense, at "Ad Ballisteria," Cyriacus, Largus, Crescentianus, Memmia, Iulianus, and Ixmaractus.

August 12: Laurentius on via Tiburtina.

August 13: Hippolytus on via Tiburtina. And Pontianus in the cemetery of Calixtus.

August 22: Timotheus, on via Ostiense.

August 28: Hermes in the cemetery of Basilla on via Salaria Vetus.

Month of September

September 5: Acontius at Portus and Nonnus, Herculanus and Taurinus.

September 10: Gorgonus, on via Labicana.

September 12: Protus and Hyacinthus in the cemetery of Basilla.

September 14: Cyprian in Africa. In Rome he is celebrated in the one of Calixtus.

September 22: Basilla, on via Salaria Vetus, when Diocletian was consul the ninth time and Maximianus for the eighth [A.D. 304].

Month of October

October 14: Calixtus on the Via Aurelia, at the third mile.

Month of November

November 9: Clement, Sempronianus, Clavus, Nicostratus at "In Comitatum".

November 29: Saturninus in the cemetery of Traso.

Month of December

December 13: Ariston at Portus.⁴⁴

It is worth noting that the anniversaries are dated according to the Julian calendar. The use of the Easter cycle, which might seem to better fit the religious contents of the dates, would have provided a calendar that was stabilized in relation to the date of Easter. Instead, the Christians in Rome opted for a Roman calendar. In it, they integrated the *dies depositionis* (burial days), which may, however, also be understood as spiritual birthdays, *dies natalis*.⁴⁵ In late antiquity, there were numerous attempts to place the recorded *dies depositionis* (which was not necessarily identical with the day of death) as closely as possible to the *dies natalis*.⁴⁶ Further dates are given for secondary cultic events, such as the completion of church buildings over the graves.⁴⁷

44. *Chronica minora*, ed. Mommsen, 71–72.

45. See Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, Subsidia Hagiographica 20 (Bruxelles: Bollandistes, 1933), 35–36: *Dies natalis* and its Greek equivalent are often used as an unspecific term for "anniversary"; similarly, in Walter Dürig, *Geburtstag und Namenstag: Eine liturgiegeschichtliche Studie* (Munich: Zink, 1954): 26–29. The first Christian evidence in Tertullianus *Coron.* 3.2; *monog.* 10.4; *resurr.* 13.2 (see Auf der Maur, "Feste und Gedenktage der Heiligen," 92–94).

46. See Yvette Duval, *Loca sanctorum Africae: Le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IV^e au VII^e siècle*, 2 vols., Collection de l'École française de Rome 58 (Rome: École française, 1982), 571.

47. See Joh Peter Kirsch, *Der stadtrömische christliche Festkalender im Altertum: Textkritische Untersuchungen zu den römischen "Depositiones" und dem Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen 7/8 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1924), 237, 241; Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre, 1945), 377 ff.

The *depositio martyrorum* might reflect the practice of a unified organization. Indeed, it notes anniversaries on an average of two days a month and sets aside a large period for the Easter celebrations. Thus, the commemorative days seem to have been selected with a concern for the time available for devotion. It cannot be determined with any certainty whether they resorted to changing dates of a given martyr for the sake of convenience or whether they selected a martyr because the date associated with her or him was more suitable. The underlying principle is a traditional one. The dates seem to be arranged very similarly to those of other Roman festivals, that is, near or on the structuring days, sometimes at the end of *ludi*, on their last day or the following day. Such a competition was dangerous. More than once it was noted that the churches remained empty while popular races were crowded.⁴⁸ The anomaly of the second feast of Peter on February 22 (in addition to a memorial day on June 29) coincided with the traditional celebration of *Caristia*, a family celebration concluding the commemorative days for the dead.⁴⁹

We cannot state with any certainty who were the participants in the celebrations listed in the calendar. The list is for all of Rome, not for a few parishes only, nor for only one congregation within the city. But it was not just Roman martyrs who were worshipped. Roman Christians also commemorated three prominent martyrs from Carthage: Perpetua and Felicitas, and the bishop Cyprian. In these cases, the Romans were, of course, unable to visit grave sites. They needed alternatives to a long pilgrimage to Carthage. This cult was, doubtlessly, promoted by Carthaginian immigrants themselves. Cyprian's correspondence in the middle of the third century constantly mentions people who have moved from one place to another. We must assume that similar "lobbying groups" promoted other martyrs and made their cults popular enough to find their way onto the list. We do not know, however, whether the presence on the list placed real cultic obligations on the organization or community imagined as logical subject of the list.

A chronologically arranged list of Roman bishops (XIII) follows, start-

48. Perrin, "Die neue Form der Missionierung," 694. Concerning the free dates for Easter, see Charles Pietri, "Les origines du culte des martyrs (d'après un ouvrage récent)," *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 3 (1984), 301-2.

49. Charles Pietri, *Roma christiana: Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie, de Miltiade à Sixte III (311-440)*, 2 vols., Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 224 (Rome: École française, 1976), 381-89.

ing with the succession from the crucified Christ to Peter, information used as a headline for the ensuing list: “During the reign of Tiberius Caesar our lord Jesus Christ has suffered under the consuls Geminus and Geminus on March 25. And after his ascent (to heaven) the most holy Peter filled the episcopate. From that time onwards it is indicated in a list of successions who presided as a bishop, for how many years and under whose reign.”⁵⁰

The wording of the following entries is again fairly standardized: “Peter was bishop for 25 years, 1 month, 9 days under Tiberius Caesar, Gaius, Claudius and Nero, from the consulship of Minucius and Longinus until the consulship of Nero and Verus. He suffered together with Paul on June 29 under the named consuls during the reign of Nero.”⁵¹ In very few instances is any additional information is given:

—Pius: “Under his episcopate, his brother Hermas wrote a book, which contains the mandate given to him by an angel, who came to him in the shape of a shepherd.”⁵²

—Pontanus (235): his exile and that of Hippolytus is noted (similarly for Lucius).

—Fabius: “He distributed the regions among the deacons and had many structures built in the cemeteries. . . . At this time Novatus came from Africa and he separated Novatianus and some confessors from the Church.”⁵³

—Cornelius: “Under his episcopate, Novatus ordained outside the Church Novatianus at Rome and Nicostratus in Africa.”⁵⁴

—Marcellinus: “at this time there was a persecution.”⁵⁵

—Iulius (337–52): “this one built many buildings.”⁵⁶ A list of five basilicas follows.

50. *Chronica minora*, ed. Mommsen, 73: “Imperante Tiberio Caesare passus est dominus noster Iesus Christus duobus Geminis cons. VIII kal. Apr. et post ascensum eius beatissimus Petrus episcopatum suscepit. ex quo tempore per successionem dispositum quis episcopus quot annis preluit vel quo imperante.”

51. *Ibid.*, “Petrus ann. XXV mes. uno d. VIII. fuit temporibus Tiberii Caesaris et Gai et Tiberi Claudii et Neronis, a consul. Minuci et Longini usque Nerone et Vero. passus autem cum Paulo die III kal. Iulias consul. ss. imperante Nerone.”

52. *Ibid.*, 74: “Sub huius episcopate frater eius Hermes librum scripsit, in quo mandatum continetur, quae ei precepit angelus, cum venit ad illum in habitu pastoris.”

53. *Ibid.*, 75: “hic regiones divisit diaconibus et multas fabricas per cimiteria fieri iussit. eo tempore supervenit Novatus ex Africa et separavit de ecclesia Novatianum et quosdam confessores.”

54. *Ibid.*: “sub episcopatu eius Novatus ordinavit extra ecclesiam Novatianum in urbe Roma et Nicostratum in Africa.”

55. *Ibid.*: “quo tempore fuit persecutio.”

56. *Ibid.*, 76: “hic multas fabricas fecit.”

The *Notitia regionum urbis* and the *Liber generationis* (XIV and XV) as well as further chronicles, for instance the *Origo gentis Romanorum, ex quo primum in Italia regnare coeperunt*, a list (XVI) of Laurentian, Alban, and Roman kings, “dictators” and, finally, the *imperia Caesarum*, cannot have formed part of the original codex—I follow here the conclusions reached by Richard Burgess in his analysis of the manuscript tradition.⁵⁷ The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* was written at the beginning of the fifth century as a further addendum to the lists of Filocalus.⁵⁸ It was a period of central importance for the production of liturgical texts arranged according to the calendar in the western empire.⁵⁹

The Ensemble

The codex is more than a conglomerate. The collection is certainly inspired by the accretive genre of the *fasti*, which had combined a calendar with consular lists from the start, and had added images of the months since the imperial period. If the reconstruction of the original codex as given above is accepted, the resulting book would have been dominated by the twelve double pages of the *fasti* and the consular list, which was perhaps even slightly longer. The possibilities of the codex, as demonstrated by the transcription of *volumina* in many contemporary cases, did invite for additions. Evidently, other types of lists, sharing the calendrical and chronological interest of the *fasti*, were carefully sought out and integrated. However, if the interest of the compilation had been extended to any parahistoriographical material, the result would have been unpredictable. In particular, the choice of images offered many opportunities for insertions and additions.⁶⁰

Thus, the framing of the text is important; according to the sequence of the first pages, it is religious, universal, imperial, and astrological.

57. Burgess, “The Chronograph of 354.”

58. On this text and generally on the development of the calendar of the city of Rome, Kirsch, *Der stadtrömische christliche Festkalender im Altertum*; Hans Lietzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom: Liturgische und archäologische Studien*, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1927), 29–82. On the sources see Noëlle M. Denis-Boulet, *Das Kirchenjahr*, Der Christ in der Welt 9,6 (Aschaffenburg: Pattloch, 1960; original, *Le calendrier chrétien*, Paris: Fayard, 1959), 59–62; see also H. Achelis, *Die Martyrologien, ihre Geschichte und ihr Wert*, Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., NF 3,3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1900).

59. See Klaus Gamber, *Missa Romensis: Beiträge zur frühen römischen Liturgie und zu den Anfängen des Missale Romanum*, Studia Patristica et Liturgica 3 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1970), 91; see also 99–106.

60. I am grateful to Richard Gordon for this observation.

It is easiest to start with the astrological dimension. Interest in astrology is an interest in orientation, grafting the necessity of decision-making under uncertain conditions onto a systematic taxonomy of time; if you are not able to control the dangers of a journey you might minimize anxieties by finding a predetermined date for departure.⁶¹ This interest not only accounts for the first major section, about ten pages at the start of the codex, but it also pervades further lists. There is no other extant list of consuls giving information about the planetary and lunar quality of the start of their years. The astrological frame is even extended to the birth and death of Christ: its basic mechanism, a cycle of eighty-four years, is the instrument by which the list of future Easter dates is generated. Despite the availability of information about the history of the Roman calendar and its reforms (as narrated in Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, based on much older sources), this system is projected back into the early republic without any interruption.

This, however, is the attraction of astrology. Social events are naturalized; they are connected to a natural, cosmological order that transcends human history. Despite the criticism uttered by some intellectuals in antiquity, astrology must be regarded as the most elaborate cosmological view of all those shared by a majority of the Roman Empire's population.⁶²

The imperial orientation is also not contested. The inscription *Salvis Augustis felix Valentinus* by a winged Fortuna onto the circular shield (part IIIa of the manuscript) marks the appropriation of the emperor by the dedicatee and connects him directly to the highest echelon of society. Of course, what is fitting for such a luxury codex would not be fitting for every calendar.⁶³ Fortuna's stylus is pointing to the word *felix*, making an extremely condensed statement about the quality of life wished for the dedicatee. It is an imperial *feriale* (IIIb), which offers the first example of the dated lists represented by the *depositiones*.

The personifications (more precisely the Fortunaes of Rome, Alexandria,

61. Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit*, 563–92.

62. Kocku von Stuckrad, *Das Ringen um die Astrologie: Jüdische und christliche Beiträge zum antiken Zeitverständnis*, Religionsgeschichte Versuche und Vorarbeiten 49 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000); Kocku von Stuckrad, "Jewish and Christian Astrology in Late Antiquity: A New Approach," *Numen* 47 (2000), 1–40.

63. See Franz Alto Bauer, "Prestigegüter und Kaisernähe in der Spätantike," in *Der Wert der Dinge: Güter im Prestigediskurs*, ed. Berit Hildebrandt and Caroline Veit (Munich: Utz, 2009), 373–98.

Constantinople, and Trier) produce an (earthly) universal frame for the dedicatee, whose shield is inscribed by a typologically identical female figure, that is, Fortuna. She reinforces or, rather, prefigures the even larger astrological framework. But, unlike astrology, geographical universalism is *only* framing, and the internal focus is on the single city of Rome. This would have seemed natural to a Roman senator, but it is a clear bias against other places. The codex was written shortly before Constantinople acquired greater institutional weight and prestige from important relics transported to the city in 357, and from the introduction of the office of a praefectus urbis by analogy to Rome.⁶⁴ Another factor was perhaps a curia built for the “second rank senate” of the eastern capital by Julian.⁶⁵ Against such a backdrop, the inclusion, perhaps compilation, of a list of urban prefects (X) is highly significant and should be read as a statement or strategy of differentiation and positioning.

The same holds true for the list of bishops (XIII), suggesting a unique line of succession from Christ to the current holder of office at Rome, thus naturalizing or universalizing the urban institution. The first three entries of the *fasti* are *senatus legitimus* (January 1), *dies aegyptiacus* (January 2), and *ludi—votorum nuncupatio* (January 3). These are specimens of systematic indications, but neither is the first entry, the mentioning of the *senatus legitimus* which was to be expected in a calendar from the fourth century, nor the second, the term *dies aegyptiacus*, an expression without alternatives, indicating unlucky, “black days.” In their sequence, the three entries proclaim Rome as the center of the world—in a somewhat over dramatic manner, if I may say so. The entries relating to Africa in the list of bishops, as in the martyrs’ list, may produce a similar effect. Again, they are historically justifiable, but they point back to political and religious constellations of the third century and emphasize the persecutions.

A similar positioning occurs in the realm of religion. This is particularly true of the emphasis placed on conflicts with the Novatians, who, like the Donatists, had a Roman bishop of their own, and, surely, succession lists recording names different from those of Filocalus. Contemporary Christian matters were complicated. The bishop Liberius, who, in exile, had attached himself to Magentius, was soon to return and face his rival, Felix, elected in 355. These

64. Demandt, *Spätantike*, 87.

65. *Ibid.*, 396.

were not isolated incidents, but characteristic of the rivalries and pluralism of Roman Christendom, as the course of events in the following years and the actions of Damasus would demonstrate.⁶⁶ A unified genealogy was as clear a statement as the modification of consular *fasti*. The legitimacy of traditions, of certain cults, and the places of martyr cults were contested, as Charles Pietri has shown with respect to the consular date added to the deposition of Peter and Paul, probably referring to the institution of that particular cult.⁶⁷ Whereas the *fasti* are comparatively poor in toponyms—an attribute of their quasi-universal character—the cults of the deposition list require that locations be specified. The date of Easter was a recent (and ongoing) controversy.⁶⁸ Listing the dates according to the Roman method of reckoning for the next half century (if this was already part of the original manuscript, which cannot be proved and is controversial) was to take a side in the conflict about the dating of Easter, the victorious side, of course.

The Place of Religion

Religion is given a prominent place in the codex, from the first page onward. It is the glue that binds the different parts together, for instance, in the case of the few historiographic notes in the consular list. While Christ is given importance here, the planetary deities are also stressed in the same list. The historicization of Christian traditions offered opportunities for an amalgamation of genres, which is very restrictively handled in the codex, limiting the introduction of such instances to very few dates. In an age of an intensive discussion about the canon of the “New Testament,” a reference to an urban author of a canonical text is important enough to be included among the few

66. Ammianus Marcellinus 27,3,12–13; Jean Guyon, “Die Kirche Roms vom Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts bis zu Sixtus III. (312–432),” in *Die Geschichte des Christentums 2: Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250–430)*, ed. Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (Freiburg: Herder, 1996; reprint, *Naissance d'une chrétienté* [250–430]), 886–87.

67. Piétri, *Roma christiana*, 376–80.

68. Briefly, Charles Piétri and Christoph Marksches, “Theologische Diskussionen zur Zeit Konstantins: Arius, der ‘arianische Streit’ und das Konzil von Nizäa, die nachnizänischen Auseinandersetzungen bis 337,” in *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250–430)*, ed. Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (Freiburg: Herder, 1996), 316; for details, Joachim Mayr, “Der Computus ecclesiasticus,” *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 77 (1955), 301–30; and Alden A. Mosshammer, *The Easter Computus and the Origins of the Christian Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

narrative notes on the list of bishops, rivaled only by notices about building. (The reference was to the Hermas, identified as the author of the second century *Pastor Hermae*.)⁶⁹ Again, a Roman positions himself and his reader(s) in among these rivalries.

As a result of this inquiry, I take it as a given that the codex is a private compilation, and its parts are individual versions of underlying traditions. Religion offered a framework for the orientation of a Roman senator's son who was to be interested in distinctions other than that between paganism and Christianity. This was particularly true of historicized religion.⁷⁰ The religious framework would be in keeping with a senatorial self-image of being "above" vulgar differences.⁷¹ Christian cults and traditions could be included in a framework characterized by astrology, images of gods, and age-old Roman institutions. Sharp differentiation (against the Novatians, for instance) and passing over seeming contradictions (Christianity and paganism) were part of the individual appropriation of religion. For a senator, however, Christianity was a religion to be read and thought about in private, not to be practiced in public. After all, the codex calendar was a book, a collection of lists and images, that left a lot of space to read between the lines and pages.

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69. On the specifically Roman character of the text, see Jörg Rüpke, "Apokalyptische Salzberge: Zum sozialen Ort und zur literarischen Strategie des 'Hirten des Hermas,'" *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 1 (1999), 148–60.

70. For the concept of "historicized religion," see Rüpke, "History." For the historiographical context of the codex calendar, Markus Schlmeyer, *Geschichtsbilder für Pagane und Christen: Res Romanae in den spätantiken Breviarien*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 272 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 165.

71. I am grateful to Kate Cooper for this contextualization.

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