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Notes on

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on the basis of
Pliny's Natural History
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BY
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ON THE BASIS OF PLINY'S NATURAL HISTORY L. XXVIII. 22—29

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ON THE BASIS OF PLINY'S NATURAL HISTORY I. XXVII. 23–39

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PROEFSCHRIFT

TER VERKRIJGING VAN DEN GRAAD VAN DOCTOR IN DE LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE AAN DE RIJKS-UNIVERSITEIT TE UTRECHT OP GEZAG VAN DEN RECTOR-MAGNIFICUS, Dr H. BOLKESTEIN, HOOGLEERAAR IN DE FACULTEIT DER LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE, VOLGENS BESLUIT VAN DEN SENAAT DER UNIVERSITEIT TEGEN DE BEDENKINGEN VAN DE FACULTEIT DER LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE TE VERDEDIGEN OP WOENSDAG 10 JULI 1935, DES NAMIDDAGS TE 4 UUR

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AAN MIJN VROUW

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CONTENTS.

ARGUMENT

The fact that Pliny's great work, for all who are not occupied exclusively with the isolating philological science of religion but also follow comparative methods [1], is an almost inexhaustible source of folklore data, gave birth to the desire to make a research into a coherent part of one of the most frequently quoted passages; in this instance, however, working in the opposite direction by applying the comparative method to Pliny and making the author himself the subject of a research.

§ 22—29 *in relation to the beginning of Lib. XXVIII.*

When, after a discussion of herbs and the forms of flowers and many other rare and unusual things, Pliny begins to treat of remedies supplied by man himself and by animals [2], he immediately finds himself confronted with difficulties [3]. Unnatural acts are committed in the name of medicine, such as the drinking of the blood of fallen gladiators, the application of human bones [4] and other horrible things [5], which, fortunately(!) are not of Roman origin [6]. These, however, he does not intend to investigate, but desires only to give such remedies (*auxilia*), and not outrages (*piacula*), as mother-milk, saliva, contact with bodies and other suchlike natural remedies [7].

Then an important — still unsolved — question arises, *Valeantne aliquid verba et incantamenta carminum* [8]. Pliny quotes striking examples of this word-magic [9]; while it must be added that the fulfilment sometimes also lies in our own power: *ostentorum vires et in nostra potestate esse ac prout quaeque accepta sint valere*. Even the doctrine of the *augures* explicitly teaches that the observation of signs is of no advantage or disadvantage to those who do not purposely observe them [10].

People go so far as to write luck-bringing words or words to avert fire on walls [11]. After mentioning some examples to show the

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[1] Pfister, P. W.s.v. Kultus 2110. [2] § 1. [3] § 4. [4] ib. [5] § 6. 7. [6] § 5. 6. [7] § 8. [8] § 10. [9] § 10—21. [10] § 17. [11] § 19.

power of carmina, Pliny makes an appeal to the private experience of the reader himself in regard to such matters by giving a collection of superstitious customs. This, therefore, is the beginning of the treatise which I have made the subject of this thesis.

Subdivision of § 22—29.

The passage divides itself into specific parts. There are two main divisions, viz. 22—26 giving customs not specifically Roman, but rather universally human, here and there amplified with a specially Roman custom; then § 27—29 which are preponderously Roman in quality. Further § 22—26 fall into two parts i.e. § 22—24 in which the power of the magic word is mentioned, and § 25—26 giving the *mutae religiones* or inarticulate sounds. In § 26 the underlying thought is that of a death rite. § 27 contains the same idea.

Further, the second part § 27—29 deals with subjects based on a loss or emanation of a mysterious power, while with *carmina quidem exstant* at the end of § 29 an apparently forgotten passage connected with 23—24 is added.

Emendation of the text.

In virtue of this division I have printed the text in a modified form, and made certain emendations necessary for the connected reading of the passage.

Sources.

The first important question is, to whom did Pliny owe his material.

It will be shown under the heading "Attalus" that a part was probably derived from Xenocrates of Aphrodisias, whom Pliny also quotes among the *auctores externi* Lib. I. 28. As regards the specifically Roman customs these might be placed to the account of Sextius Niger [1]. But as surely as he served as a source for these books, as certainly can he not be held responsible for the details of superstition since, as is known, he was strongly opposed to such matters [2].

Münzer has pointed out the great influence exercised by Varro

[1] Wellmann. Hermes XLII 1907, p. 614. [2] ib.

on the compilation of Pliny's Natural History [1]; but it is impossible to say from which of Varro's books various quotations originate [2]. Münzer tries to prove [3] that the reference to Servius Sulpicius can be traced back to Varro who, not only was in correspondence with Sulpicius [4], but also, like Cicero, made use of him [5]. On the other hand Münzer [6] points out that the remark about M. Servilius Nonianus may very well be an original one of Pliny himself, seeing the personal relations of Pliny with Nonianus [7]. Supported by Münzer's [8] statement that he investigated various passages in Pliny where problems of Roman social life were dealt with in a connected fashion and always discovered the actual source to be Varro, though he is nowhere prominent, we may perhaps come to the conclusion that besides Xenocrates of Aphrodisias Pliny's principal source was Varro, amplified probably with remarks of his own.

That Varro was a probable source for this passage may also appear from the discovery of Oehmichen [9] that an *auctor exquisitissimus* in Pliny stands at the head of his index [10]. Further that Varro is probably quoted in § 21, regarding word magic, which immediately precedes our text. However, it seems impossible to me to offer any certainty on these points.

Attitude of the educated Roman towards Magic.

We now come to a second important point. What was the attitude of the intellectual Roman, and especially that of Pliny, in regard to magic?

Though Pliny's subject matter certainly falls under the heading of magic, we should first make some clear distinction between magic and superstition [11]). Magic is in a certain sense the abuse of superstition; that is, an attempt to usurp those very powers which superstition strives to avert [12]. Whereas superstition, ever

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[1] Münzer, Beiträge z. Quellenkritik der Naturgeschichte des Plinius, Berlin 1897, p. 137 sq. [2] p. 137. [3] p. 163. [4] Gell. II. 10. 1.
[5] *L. l.* V. 40. cf. Münzer o.c., p. 163. [6] p. 404.
[7] *N. H.* XXIV. 43; XXV. 87; XXX. 63. [8] p. 198.
[9] Oehmichen, Plinianische Studien, Erlangen 1880, p. 91.
[10] As is here the case with Varro, cf. Index I. 28.
[11] See for this subject: Wagenvoort, Varia Vita $_2$, p. 64.
[12] Cf. Riess, P. W. s.v. Aberglaube 32.

conscious of the subjectivity of the supersensual, is, in general, merely an excrescence of the oldest relations of civilisation, magic, on the other hand, is for the Romans a science, derived from abroad, and possible to acquire [1]. Superstition is passive, an attitude of mind, inactive; but, as in the case of religion, which does not remain a belief in a divinity, but develops into a cult, so superstition takes its practical form in magic, which must be considered as a cult of superstition [2].

Active magic was abhorred by the State authorities, and not only were zealous efforts made to banish it from public rites [3], but active measures were taken against its practice; as witness *legg. XII tabb.* [4] and the well-known laws against astrologers [5], magicians and mathematicians [6]; while the regulations of Tiberius were renewed by Claudius [7] and Vitellius [8]. Even in the provinces, the State took action against evil practices [9]. In general, it may be said that cultured Romans were opposed to such doings. Pliny [10] calls magic "*fraudulentissima artium*". Though Virgil is not unacquainted with love charms [11] (they seem to have been introduced into Italy only in the first century B. C. [12]), and has a knowledge of magical practices [13], it may still be considered that he did not accept magic seriously [14]. Horace takes a serious stand against magic in the person of Canidia [15]. Ovid, indeed, needs magic for his poetical works but denies belief in it [16].

According to Tacitus the Senate did not think it beneath its dignity to make an investigation into the magical practices of Libo who was said to have provided their names and those of the Caesars

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[1] ib. [2] id. a. l. 33.

[3] Fowler, Rel. Exp. p. 57.

[4] Bruns, Fontes Juris Ant. 7, p. 30. 8.; see also note *b*.

[5] Cass. Dio XLIX. 43, p. 756.

[6] Tac. *Ann.* II. 32. Probably reference may be made here to Tac. *Ann.* II. 85.

[7] Tac. *Ann.* XII. 52. [8] Suet. *Vit.* 14; Tac. *Hist.* II. 62.

[9] Plin. *N.H.* XXX. 4. [10] *N.H.* XXX. 1.

[11] *Buc.* VIII. cf. Pl. *N.H.* XXVIII. 19.

[12] O. Hirschfeld, De incantam. et devinct. amat. apud Graec. Romanosque, Königsb. 1863, p. 17 sq.; cf. Friedländer, S. G. I, p. 308.

[13] *Aen.* IV. 478—98; 507—21.; 635.

[14] Wagenvoort, Varia Vita $_2$, p. 70. 2.

[15] Hor. *Ep.* V.; XVII. *Sat.* I. 8.

[16] See: De Jong, Magie bij Gr. en Rom. Haarlem 1921, p. 62—65.

with magical symbols. Even Tiberius took part in the investigation on the sly [1].

The reason why poets allowed magic to be practised in their works is apparent. In general, magic seems to have had its domain among the lower classes of women, its scope being too mean and low for intellectuals to have truck with [2]. But even the intellectuals were not entirely free from fear of magic, as is proved by the serious statement of Tacitus as to the means by which it was believed that Germanicus' health was undermined [3].

Pliny's own attitude towards Magic.

We shall now take Pliny's point of view in regard to magic. In his opinion it contains three things which explain its great influence on the people. Born of medicine, it inspired religions with new force, and even extended its sway to astrology [4]. It is spread over the whole world [5] even to the Gauls [6]. Magic is concerned not only with *carmina* (of which there are traces remaining even in Italy [7]) but with "water, globes, air, stars, lamps, basins, axes, and promises the divine in many other ways, moreover also colloquies with shades in the underworld" [8].

Pliny himself is strongly [9] opposed to magicians, of which his violent words against the mage Osthanes, who accompanied Xerxes in the war against Greece [10], and the frequent occasions on which he decries against the "*vanitas*" [11] peculiar to their art, bear witness.

As an example of their *falsa ars* Nero may serve [12].

All this concerns impetrative magic [13]. As regards prohibitive

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[1] *Ann.* II. 30. See for this and other law-suits: Eliane Massonneau, La Magie dans l'Antiquité Romaine. Paris 1934, p. 177 sq.

[2] Friedländer, S. G. I, p. 308. [3] Ann. II. 69.

[4] Plin. *N.H.* XXX. 1. 2. [5] XXX. 11. [6] XXX. 13. [7] XXX. 12.; XXVIII 12, 18, 19, 29. [8] XXX. 14. [9] XXX. 17. [10] XXX. 8.

[11] *Vanitas* was apparently a coined word with regard to *Magi* and *Astrologi* cf. Ps. Quint. X. 16. „. . . . . *Tu sic filium tuum clusisti tamquam nocentes ad inferos revocari soleant animae quae inter languentium familiam et tristes penatium morbos vagae errantesque magica vanitate captantur?*"

[12] *N.H.* XXX. 14.

[13] In regard to the terms *impetrative* and *prohibitive* magic, I would refer to Nilsson, Primitive Religion, Tübingen 1911, p. 11: „Wer Magie ausübt, betrachtet die magischen Kräfte von einem anderen Standpunkte, als wer sich vor ihnen zu hüten sucht. Wer sich davor *hütet* weisz gewöhnlich nicht

magic, which even Pliny applauds when applied against magicians [1], matters are different, as the commentary which is to follow will prove.

In the beginning of this book when discussing man as opposed to the rest of nature, and the curative properties that are in him [2], he finds himself faced by a great difficulty [3] with regard to the value to be ascribed to "*ostenta et incantamenta*". As has been said at the beginning of this Introduction, it is not his intention to discuss obscene practices such as the drinking of human blood as a medicament [4], or the application of parts of the human body as a cure for certain diseases [5], even with animals [6]; life, indeed, being of not so much value as to warrant its being preserved by all possible ghastly means [7]. If value is to be attached to *carmina et incantamenta*, it should be consistent with our duty that these be accepted for the use of mankind. On being asked the question, however, no sensible person believes in them. But what happens in practice? That men believe in things without justifying the fact to themselves. Besides, do not certain *carmina* exist which have proved their value in history? One example of which can even boast of a successful practice of 830 years. He who accepts that fact may consider the gods capable of anything [8].

That words have power appears even from the fact that events and omens can be led in certain paths [9]. For the power of *incantamenta* a lance is broken by *legg. XII tabb.* [10] and there is no living person who is not afraid of *defixiones* [11].

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genau, welchen Folgen er sich aussetzt, wenngleich mitunter auch bestimmte Übertretungen mit bestimmten Strafen verbunden werden.

Wer sie ausübt *gebraucht* bestimmte Kräfte; und um sie praktisch zu verwenden, musz er wie in anderen Dingen sich von seinem Denkvermögen leiten lassen; d.h. er führt eine Handlung aus, durch die er aus diesem oder jenem Grunde die gewollte Wirkung herbeizuführen glaubt".

And to Fowler, Rel. Exp. p. 47. „Magic in the proper or usual sense of the word (is) active or positive magic, as we may call it. By this we are to understand the exercise of a mysterious mechanical power by an individual or man, spirit or deity, to enforce a certain result . . . . Religion on the other hand, is an attitude of regard and dependence; in a religious stage man feels himself in the hands of a supernatural power with whom he desires to be in right relation".

[1] XXVIII. 85. [2] XXVIII. 1. [3] XXVIII. 14 sq. [4] ib. § 4. [5] § 4. 5. 6. 7. [6] § 8. [7] § 10. [8] § 12. 13. [9] § 14. [10] § 18. [11] § 19.

Looked at from a common sense point of view, the credibility of *carmina*, designed to bring about all kinds of delightful things, is diminished by the fact that outlandish jargon is always used, or queer Latin words; although one might expect that the will of the gods ought to be forced by means of dignified language [1]. After a few examples from the past [2], in which is shown how *carmina* can act in a curative and preventive manner, he puts the question to the reader whether, on consideration, everybody, at one time or other in his life, has not done actions which are really magical in themselves, but which one does not really account for to oneself as such [3]. In other words, customs and habits which, originating from a world with primitive civilisation, and applied there magically, have lost their power and now survive in folklore.

But all this, as we shall see, is prohibitive magic; for the power which exists in the heart of every race, and finds its parallel throughout the whole world, among all peoples, is in itself, for a primitive, a weapon of defence. Magic stands in an attitude of defence (even though it sometimes becomes positive i.e. fructifying magic) against the surrounding imminent perils, which soon become personified in evil spirits; since even death, from which the spirits are born, is for him a peril, and unnaturally, nay, maliciously caused [4].

In short, Pliny's point of view might be summed up as follows: prohibitive magic is acceptable superstition; impetrative magic is a science to be rejected.

Definition of the main ideas.

Before making a comparative study of the customs mentioned by Pliny, it would be as well to come to a clear understanding of the fundamental ideas. Let us begin with a definition of *Magic* [5].

Magic is coercion by means of words or acts brought to bear upon a power without him (also against another human being) by a person (that is, the sorceror) in possession of certain knowledge, who thereby brings about certain results [6].

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[1] § 20. [2] § 21. [3] § 22. [4] Seligmann, die Zauberkraft des Auges, p. 2.
[5] Nobody has given a better survey of the fundamental definitions on which magic and everything connected with it is based than Pfister in P. W. s. v. Kultus 2107 sq. From him I have derived the following. [6] 2109.

In order to exercise this coercion the sorceror must be endowed with a power greater than that of his opponent; this power is called "orenda", [1] a term derived from the religion of the Iroquois, which represents an impersonal power or witchcraft, which can adhere to all objects, and even to a person, and become active through him [2].

In the first place, of course, this power or orenda of an individual is not applied to other individuals to obtain results which could also be obtained by natural means, but is principally applied to superhuman powers or forces to obtain by force or threat things lying within the power of those forces.

Thus, for example, the Greeks and Romans lived in such climatological circumstances that their lives were immediately influenced by nature, so that they made it their task to exercise such power over possible catastrophic natural phenomena that these could be prevented. Besides prayers and sacrifices there therefore exists, even in non primitive civilisation, a belief in the possibility of coercing those higher powers that govern the events of nature [3].

The task of providing for this belongs, among primitive races, to the medicine man, who is endowed with a more than ordinary orenda. He is the sorceror who makes magic, i.e. makes use of his orenda [4]. This orenda attaches not only to persons (next to the priest [5], the King is best endowed with orenda [6]), but places too can be filled with sacred power to which a Polynesian name is given, namely "taboo", meaning especially named, marked, proscribed, excluded. Everything filled with taboo arouses awe or aversion, disgust or worship [7]. Times, too, can be imbued with orenda [8], also sounds [9] and words [10], and just as there are two sides to orenda, one bringing advantage and the other injury, [11] so the objects mentioned can have the same effect.

As in the case of inarticulate sounds there is also a magic power in words, whether it be a name, a prayer, or even a single letter or a row of letters strung together [12]. There is even power in human motions of which dancing [13] probably occupies a prominent place,

[1] 2113. [2] See too Pfister, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr. 1920, 645 sq.; 1921, 396 sq. [3] W. Fiedler, Antiker Wetterzauber, Stuttgart 1931, p. 1. [4] Pfister, K. 2113. [5] 2125. [6] 2127. [7] 2115, 2138 sq. [8] 2149. [9] 2151. [10] 2154. [11] 2149. [12] 2154. [13] 2160. cf. G. v. d. Leeuw, In den Hemel is eenen dans, Amsterdam 1930, passim.

but among which processions [1], mere emotions, and kissing [2] may also be reckoned as being transmitters of orenda.

Orenda which can be translated as *δύναμις* = *virtus* is not equal to *ψυχή* or soul. The orenda of the individual as such disappears at his death [3], the *ψυχή* survives.

Of course we must suppose that the orenda still adheres to his remains, which explains the appetite for cannibalism and scalp-hunting among primitive peoples and also the cult of dead bodies [4].

Finally animals, too, possess orenda [5]. The hunter must bring his orenda in opposition to that of the wild animal [6].

Experience teaches the primitive that there are certain mysterious powers; but he is unable to seize them in the abstract. It is impossible for him to separate the forces from the matters to which they are inherent. Power and matter are an inseparable unity in the beginning of his philosophy of life [7].

It requires already a great power of abstraction to refer the idea of various expressions of power of isolated cases back to one dominating power, which we have just named orenda, or which some call mana. We then reach a following stage which Tylor [8] once called "animism", but for which Marret [9] substituted the name "animatism".

The latter goes out from the point of view that the primitive sees an animating power in everything that he meets or that makes a strong impression on him [10]. Animatism is the most primitive form of a philosophy of life, in which the active powers in all phenomena of inanimate, vegetable and animal elements are the same as those in man.

Animism again points to a further development in which man separates his own person from the outer world and makes his observations accordingly [11]. It is the belief in a special idea of life, the soul idea, in bodies or outside them, which forms the religion and philosophy of all non civilised races, and is the first stage of

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[1] *lustra*, 2162. [2] 2158. [3] 2117. [4] 2113. [5] 2117. [6] 2113. [7] Nilsson, o. l., p. 6.
[8] Tylor, Primitive Culture, London 1891. I. 23.; 425.
[9] Threshold of Religion $_2$, 1914, see Beth, Hdwb. d. D. A. s.v. Animatismus 439.
[10] Criticised by Wundt, Mythus u. Religion $_2$, p. 173 sq.
[11] Nilsson, o.l., p. 14.

all development [1], or, as Goblet d'Alviella describes it [2], "the belief in the existence of spiritual beings, some attached to bodies of which they constitute the real personality (*souls*) others, without necessary connection with a determinate body (*spirits*)."

In pure animism the spirits are nameless; when their residence and functions are more clearly recognized they acquire names [3].

The remarkable thing is that the survivals of all these three stages are to be found in Pliny. We shall stumble against phenomena to which the orenda idea still adheres. In the case of some customs the animatistic idea still forms the undertone. The animistic element is most clearly recognizable in the beginning of § 27 where Pliny explicitly states that these customs owe their existence to those who saw themselves surrounded by daemons, and therefore took their magical precautions from the very beginning and handed these down to posterity, or, to remain in Pliny's train of thought, pointed out what must be avoided in order not to disturb the daemons.

My task is now to explain the following passage on the foregoing principles.

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[1] Tylor, l. c. [2] Hastings, Encyclop. of Relig. and Eth., s. v. Animism, p. 535. [3] Fowler, Rel. Exp., p. 148.

TEXT

22 Libet hanc partem singulorum quoque conscientia coarguere. cur enim primum anni incipientes diem laetis precationibus invicem faustum ominamur? cur publicis lustris etiam nomina victimas ducentium prospera eligimus? cur effascinationibus adoratione peculiari occurrimus, alii Graecam Nemesin invocantes, cuius ob id Romae simulacrum in Capitolio est, quamvis Latinum nomen
23 non sit? cur ad mentionem defunctorum testamur memoriam eorum a nobis non sollicitari? cur inpares numeros ad omnia vehementiores credimus, idque in febribus dierum observatione intellegitur? cur ad primitias pomorum haec vetera esse dicimus, alia nova optamus? cur sternuentis salutamus, quod etiam Tiberium Caesarem, tristissimum, ut constat, hominum in vehiculo exegisse tradunt, et aliqui
24 nomine quoque consalutare religiosius putant? Quin et absentes tinnitu aurium praesentire sermones de se receptum est. Attalus adfirmat, scorpione viso si quis dicat duo, cohiberi nec vibrare ictus. et quoniam scorpio admonuit, in Africa nemo destinat aliquid nisi praefatus Africam, in ceteris vero gentibus deos ante obtestatus
25 ut velint. quin etiam mutas religiones pollere manifestum est; nam si mensa adsit anulum ponere translatitium videmus[1]. alius saliva post aurem digito relata sollicitudinem animi propitiat. pollices, cum faveamus, premere etiam proverbio jubemur. in adorando dextram ad osculum referimus totumque corpus circumagimus, quod in laevum fecisse Galliae religiosius credunt. fulgetras pop-
26 pysmis adorare consensus gentium est . incendia inter epulas nominata aquis sub mensam profusis abominamur. recedente aliquo ab epulis simul verri solum, aut bibente conviva mensam vel repositorium tolli, inauspicatissimum iudicatur. Ser. Sulpicii, principis viri, commentatio est quamobrem mensa admovenda[2] non sit [nondum enim plures quam convivae numerabantur][3], nam sternu-

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Detlefsen secutus sum. [1] *nam-videmus:* a Sillig post *iudicatur* (§ 26) transpositum; quia *„muta religio"*, post *quin etiam* posui, quod mihi initium § 25 videtur. *Quin etiam:* cod. Chifflet.; Harduini ed. Paris. 1685; l. vulg.: *quoniam etiam. si mensa adsit:* pro: *mens afflicta sit*, quod unus Detlefsen proposuit.

[2] mensa *admovenda:* ego pro *linquenda* (vid. comm.). [3] delevi.

mento revocari ferculum mensamve, si non postea gustetur aliquid,
27 inter diras habetur [aut omnino non esse] [1]. Haec instituere illi qui omnibus negotiis horisque interesse credebant deos, et ideo placatos etiam vitiis nostris reliquerunt. quin et repente conticescere convivium adnotatum est non nisi in pari praesentium numero, isque famae labor est ad quemcumque eorum pertinens. cibus etiam e manu prolapsus (non) [2] reddebatur utique per mensas, vetabantque munditiarum causa deflare, et sunt condita auguria, quid loquenti cogitantive id acciderit, inter execratissima, si pontifici accidat dicis causa epulanti. in mensa utique id reponi adolerique
28 ad Larem piatio est. Medicamenta priusquam adhibeantur in mensa forte deposita negant prodesse. ungues resecari nundinis Romanis tacenti atque a digito indice multorum persuasione [3] religiosum est, capillum vero contra defluvia ac dolores capitis XVII luna atque XXVIIII. Pagana lege in plerisque Italiae praedis cavetur ne mulieres per itinera ambulantes torqueant fusos aut omnino detectos ferant, quoniam adversetur id omnium spei, prae-
29 cipue frugum. M. Servilius Nonianus princeps civitatis non pridem in metu lippitudinis, priusquam ipse eam nominaret, aliusve ei praediceret, duabus litteris Graecis P A chartam inscriptam, circumligatam lino, subnectebat collo, Mucianus ter consul eadem observatione viventem muscam in linteolo albo, his remediis carere ipsos lippitudine praedicantes. carmina quidem extant contra grandines contraque morborum genera contraque ambusta, quaedam etiam experta, sed prodendo obstat ingens verecundia in tanta animorum varietate. quapropter de his ut cuique libitum fuerit opinetur.

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[1] delevi; Mayhoff lacunam indicavit: (ostenta eiusmodi observare quis spernendum arbitretur) *aut omnino inane esse.* pro *omnino: omnia:* Ven. ed. (Palmarii 1499); *inane:* Cod. Leid. Voss.; Florent. Riccard., Paris. Lat. 6797; Tolet;. Alex. Bened. ed.; *nam* cod. Paris. Lat. 6795; *non* Gelenii ed. Basil. 1554. *autem:* vett. edd. [2] *non:* addidi (vid. comm.).

[3] Cum Mayhoff: *multorum persuasione*; hoc et alibi passim invenitur. *mulierum peculiare*: Detlefsen; *pecuniae* ll. mss. et vett. edd. *opinione:* Haupt, Herm. VI 390. (Opusc. III. 566). Vid. coll. Mayh.

22 I should like to test this matter by everybody's private feeling. For why on the first day of the year do we wish each other a prosperous New Year? Why do we choose people with favourable sounding names to lead the sacrificial animals on the occasion of the public lustra? Why do we counteract the evil eye by a special attitude of prayer, while some people invoke the Greek Nemesis, whose statue stands for that purpose on the Capitol, although no Latin name exists for her?

23 Why, when speaking of the dead, do we aver that their rest is not disturbed by us? Why do we believe uneven numbers to be more effective for everything, and why, in the case of fever, is attention paid to this in the observance of the days? Why, at the sacrifice of first-fruits, do we declare those present to be old ones and ask for other new ones? Why do we wish health to those who sneeze, which Tiberius Caesar, without doubt a very sullen person, is said to have demanded of other people in his carriage, and which others think even more effective if the name is mentioned too?

24 It is even generally admitted that absent people feel by the buzzing of the ears that they are being spoken about. Attalus assures us that if anyone on seeing a scorpion says "duo" the animal holds back and makes no attempt to sting. And talking of a scorpion reminds me that in Africa nobody undertakes anything before having said "Africa", while other nations, on the other hand, invoke the benevolence of the gods.

25 Nay, it is even evident that customs to which one feels bound and in which no words are spoken, can have their power too. For we find it a generally accepted custom to take off the ring when going to table. Another person will put spittle behind his ear with a finger in order to calm excitement. If we wish to be well-disposed to anyone we must, also according to the proverb, enclose the thumb. In the act of praying we bring the right hand to our mouths and make a complete circle with our body, which the Gauls consider more effective if done to the left. Throughout the

whole world it is the custom to salute the lightning by clucking with the tongue.

26 We avert the evil omen caused by speaking about fire at a meal by pouring water under the table. It is considered to be a very unfavourable omen if anyone leave the table while the floor is being swept or if the table or dumb waiter be removed while a guest is drinking. There is a treatise by Servius Sulpicius, a prominent man, dealing with the case in which a table should not be brought in — for if a table or dumb waiter were recalled by a sneeze and nothing, even if only a trifle, were eaten of it, it would be considered a very unfavourable omen.

27 All these things have been established by those who believed that daemons were present at all their affairs and at all times and therefore they left them reconciled to us, even to our imperfections. Indeed it has been considered remarkable for a company at table to fall suddenly silent, but only when there was an even number of people present, and the effect of this idea still exists and extends to each one of those present. It was not the custom to put back on the table, at least between the courses, any food that had fallen out of the hand and it was forbidden to remove it for cleaning purposes. And we have still records of auguries treating of what anyone says or does during this occurrence, and the auguries are of a most unfavourable kind if this should occur to a priest when officially present at a meal; in any case putting it back on the table and burning it before the Lar counts as a sin.

28 Medicaments that happen to have been placed upon the table before being applied are said to have lost their efficacy. Many people feel themselves bound to pare their nails on the Nundinae Romanae in silence and moreover to begin with the index finger, and to cut their hair, on the other hand, on the XVII and XXVIIII day of the moon against the falling out of the hair and headache. The rural customs on very many farms in Italy forbid women to turn their spindles while walking on the roads or even to carry them uncovered, since this disappoints expectations in all possible matters, especially concerning the crops.

29 M. Servilius Nonianus, a prominent man of the city, who was formerly never afraid of lippitude till he himself mentioned it or another person talked to him about it, used to hang a paper round his neck inscribed with the Greek letters P A and tied round with

thread. Mucianus, thrice consul, had, for the same purpose, a living fly in a white bag; and they both declared openly, that for this reason they were never troubled by lippitude. And certainly there exist charms against hail-storms and certain kinds of diseases, and against burns, some even applied with success. But I feel too much shame to record them, as there is too great a divergence of opinion. And therefore let everyone please himself on this point.

conscientia . . . .

The word first occurs in the time of Sulla [1] and is equal in meaning to the word *συνείδησις*, which was originally thought to have been coined by the Stoics [2], though probably it was first introduced into philosophy by Epicurus [3].

In examining the development of the word *συνείδησις* it appears that *συνειδέναι τι ἑαυτῷ* and *σύνεσις* occur in the sense of "cognisance", therefore "awareness", mostly in relation to an intellectual or ethical state of affairs; *συνείδησις* in the form of "conscience" only occurs in the Hellenistic period [4].

Although Greek mythology gives examples of the worst possible deeds, nowhere before the Tragedy is there any allusion to the workings of conscience either before or after the deed, added to which it must be borne in mind that the Erinyes were not the personification of a troubled conscience but were originally the dismayed spirits of the dead that bring to the murderer's mind the consequences of a bloody vengeance [5].

Till the time of the Sophists *σύνεσις* signifies the consciousness of evil deeds; when Protagoras declares *ἄνθρωπος μέτρον ἁπάντων* this might imply theoretically the moral appreciation, and, moreover, a subjective moral appreciation of all acts and thoughts, but an idea of "conscience" in our sense of the word has not yet been reached [6], and in Sophist times the stage of "consciousness of the deed perpetrated" is not surpassed, except for the addition of appreciation of the fact that freedom from guilt has been maintained; thus the establishment of a good conscience in a verbal sense [7]. The latter is also expressed in the popular morality that endows the Seven Sages with its own wisdom [8]. Conscience is still rudimentary; is a r e t r o s p e c t i v e conscience.

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[1] Rhet. ad. Her. II, p. 216, 5. 10; 253, 2 Marx. For a full treatment of this subject see Fr. Zucker, Syneidesis-Conscientia, Jena 1928.

[2] Zucker, p. 18. [3] id. p. 20. [4] id. p. 4. [5] id. p. 5. [6] id. p. 8.

[7] Antiphon. *Prooem. de chor.* 1 and Fab. inc. fr. 269 Kock; Zucker ib.

[8] Stob. III, p. 603 H. No. 11 and 12.

It might be expected that Socrates would analyse and expand this idea, of whom von Wilamowitz testifies that we are inclined to consider him as the peripatetic conscience for the masses, although he never made use of the word. Nor did Plato [1]. Socrates' "daimonion" is not conscience but the inward voice of a personale disposition [2].

From the beginning of Hellenistic times the notion gets a more inward meaning, as is clearly shown in the New Comedy, while even in Plautus a treatment of the problem is to be found [3].

As already stated, it is doubtful where the word first made its entry into philosophy.

But neither with the Stoics — at least not among the older Stoics — nor with Epicurus does *συνείδησις* either play a part or take any place in the system. Epicurus simply borrows the ideas of good or bad conscience from vulgar ethics [4].

Suddenly it becomes a widespread idea with Cicero, Sallust, Seneca, but it must immediately be added that even here a good and evil conscience is mostly meant [5].

Howbeit, the frequency with which Seneca handles the idea, and the prominence of performances connected with *conscientia* must testify that the idea had greatly gained in inwardness, even though a treatise such as *"de tranquilitate"*, which should actually demand a treatment of *conscientia* within the limits of a philosophic system, does not do so. It is only at a later time, however, that conscience becomes introspective.

Although, therefore, in the time of Pliny, *conscientia*, especially in philosophic language, was beginning to approach our meaning of the word "conscience", it occurs nowhere in Pliny's works in that sense. In three other places [6] *conscientia* appears, but always, as in this case, in the meaning of "consciousness".

cur enim .... ominamur?

If we may believe the tradition of the ancients New Year with the Romans began not on January 1st but on March 1st [7]. It is

[1] v. Wilamowitz, Platon I. 104. [2] H. Maier, Socrates. 447 sq.
[3] Zucker, p. 17. [4] Zucker, p. 21. [5] id. pp. 23—24.
[6] Plin. *N. H.* XXXVII. 49.; VII. 111.; XXXIII. 40.
[7] Ov. *Fasti* I. 39; III 75 sq.; Varro *L. l.* VI. 33; Macr. *Sat.* I. 12. 9; Solinus I. 35; Censor. *de D. nat.* XX. 2, 3; Plut. *Num.* 18.; Plut. *Qu. Rom.* XIX.

of course difficult, if not impossible, at the end of a long period of development to transpose oneself entirely back to the beginning of it, since, of necessity, many links in the chain must be missing. It is, therefore, no matter of wonder that those who traced their luni-solar year back to the earliest times of antiquity should make such a mistake. There is indeed strong evidence to show that the earliest culture knew nothing of such time reckoning.

The court of civil law, which was necessarily a very conservative element in Roman political economy, and which certainly had its origin in an agrarian world, only distinguished between summer and winter [1]. This is mostly the case with agricultural peoples, where the year is divided into a period of harvest and a period of work, at both of which periods the year can begin [2].

Going no further for a comparison than Greece [3], it is obvious that the Roman peasant, too, must in very early times have made use of the never failing certainty with which new seasons are introduced by certain constellations in order to fit in his necessary points of contact with the cycle of nature. In this case we stand at the cradle of the natural year, a circle that has no natural division, no beginning and no end, the seasons following each other without break [4]. There are at the present time still to be found primitive tribes who maintain such a calculation of time [5].

In later times the Romans still spoke of the year having originally consisted of 10 months [6], beginning on March 1st and ending with December [7], to which January and February were afterwards added [8]. According to Plutarch, however [9], the years before the reform of Numa must have been a conglomerate of 10 periods rather than of months, for some consisted of even less than 20 days while others counted 35 or more. Moreover if we consider that the

[1] *Dig.* XLIII. 13. 1. 8.

[2] Nilsson, Primitive Time Reckoning, Lund 1920, p. 268.

[3] Hesiodus, *Erga.* [4] Nilsson, o. c. p. 91. [5] Frazer, Fasti II p. 8 sq.

[6] Censor. XX. 2; Macr. *Sat.* I. 12. 9; Gell. *N. A.* III. 16. 16. Preller's opinion (Röm. Mythol. I 189 and 334. 1.) that an original division into 12 months might be based on the 12 *ancilia* originates in the wrong reading of Ennius frg. 120 (Vahlen): *menses* instead of *mensas*. See for the year of 10 months: Frazer, Fasti II 8 sq.; Bickermann, Einleitung Alt. Wiss. III. 5. 1933 p. 17.

[7] Censor. XX. 3; Macr. *Sat.* I. 12. 9; Solinus I. 35. [8] Censor. XXII. 13.

[9] Plut. *Numa* 18.

Albani still had such a method of calculating time [1], we may take it as an indirect proof that such a method was not unknown to the Romans. Then, on examining the case of present day primitive civilisations, which are leaving the stage of primitive culture, we mostly find that they divide the year into 10 or 14 periods, seldom 12.

In such cases these periods have no connection with the motions of sun or moon [2], but are distinguished one from another by striking events in the animal or vegetable kingdom, and are therefore unequal in length [3]. In like manner the Romans will also, probably, have had 10 periods, with December as the final one, followed by a rest period from mid-winter to spring, as Frazer suggests in Fasti II p. 15.

Then, according to tradition, comes the calendar reformer Numa [4], who added two monthscounting together 51 days to four of 31 days and six of 30 days; but this story can certainly be relegated to the realms of fiction as being a reconstruction of later times [5].

The idea of the natural year may still be abundantly strengthened by remembering that a part of the old calendar of feasts is connected with it, cf. Robigalia and Vinalia; the Fordicidia, 15th April, Parilia, 21st April and Cerealia, 19th April, were all spring feasts [6].

The year, therefore, originally opened for the peasant on March 1st (traces of this still remained later on [7]) and closed with the Saturnalia [8]. This feast, which was only in later times connected with the New Year celebrations [9], was, of course, that in which

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[1] Censor. XXII. 6. [2] Nilsson, o. c. p. 173.

[3] See (also for fuller details) Ginzel, Zeitrechnung der Juden, Naturvölker, sowie d. Griechen u. Römer (Hdb. d. mathem. u. techn. Chronologie II) 1911, p. 224.

[4] Plut. *Numa* 18, 19. [5] Ginzel o. c. p. 225. [6] id. p. 184—5.

[7] *a.* from the fact that "December" was the "tenth" month; *b.* the renewing of the fire in the temple of Vesta on March 1st (Wissowa, R. u. K. 159); *c.* various festivals, e. g. of Anna Perenna, (Wissowa R. u. K. 241; cf. 244, 9) sacrifices and processions of the Salii in March; *d.* the various witnesses already mentioned, among others Serv. ad Verg. *Georg.* I. 43.

[8] Perhaps it is useful to point out that the Phoenician God Ba'alkammân, identified with Saturn, bears the name of "Frugifer", Wissowa, R. u. K. 207.

[9] Wissowa, R. u. K. 207.

the corn, stored in the summer, was broached. It was always coupled with some festivities implying that this was the end of the agricultural period, seeing that the sowing of seed in autumn only takes place by way of exception [1]. Then there still remained a period in which the peasant, in forced idleness, experienced on the one hand the dying off of nature and coupled with it the cult of his dead relations [2], and on the other hand was able to occupy himself with fructifying magic for the coming season. Compare the Lupercalia that serve both purposes, i. e. fructifying magic as well as purification and conciliation [3].

The Terminalia, too, in which the stone is crowned and sprinkled with the blood of a sacrificial animal, may also have been fructifying magic. Side by side with those two thoughts there is, of course, for the primitive the idea of danger to which he is exposed at this period when those powers that he endeavours to lead in his own favour, may cause him great injury. In any case the memorial time of the dead will, in his mind, have coupled itself as a matter of course with the death of nature [4]. Everything that recalls the thought of the dead must be conjured by sympathetic magic, in the same way as that man must actively promote by magic the growth of the field and the multiplication of the cattle stock.

A sign of this is to be found in the fact that the husbandman — *boni ominis causa* — must perform something of every kind of work on the first day of the year [5], one thing excepted — digging in the earth [6]. This, to my mind, is meant to imply that the period has begun for him in which the "taboo", classified by Dr. Frazer as negative magic [7] attaching to the soil, may not be broken. Probably chthonic elements also played a part in this [8]. The cult of the dead is indeed intimately related to that of the chthonic divinities [9]. The tiller of the soil will certainly also have taken

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[1] Fowler, Rel. Exp. p. 102.

[2] Frazer, Fasti II p. 29. [3] Wissowa, R. u. K. 209.

[4] Fowler, Rel. Exp. p. 102. For a parallel cf. the Gr. Choes, the feast of All Souls, in Anthesterion (= Febr.). See Wächter, Reinheitsvorschr. im Gr. Kult, R. V. V. IX. 1. (1910) p. 54.

[5] The custom declined, Sen. *Ep.* 83. 5. [6] Colum. *d. R. R.* XI. 2. 98. [7] Frazer G. B. I. 111 sq. [8] Frazer, Fasti III p. 385.; Rohde, Psyche I p. 119. 2.

[9] Samter, Familienfeste p. 12.

heed not to alter those things which might be of evil omen for himself.

When in later times the significance of the feasts forming an integral part of the agricultural calendar was lost [1], and the whole system was fitted into the luni-solar year, the commencement of the period of the dead became the commencement of the year, and the magic against ill-luck that was instituted for this period, added to the fructifying magic, was made applicable to the whole year. In this manner, therefore, the positive New Year customs sprang chiefly from the negative ones. Hence people wished each other a Happy New Year [2] and sent presents at the same time [3].

The New Year presents were called *"strenae"* and were given *"ominis causa novi anni"*. As for their origin it is important to know what Symmachus says *Rel.* XV 1, *"ab exortu paene urbis Martiae strenarum usus adolevit auctoritate Tatii Regis, qui verbenas felicis arboris ex luco Streniae anni novi auspices primus accepit"*. They were, therefore, originally lucky twigs [4]. The *strenae* were hung on the outside of houses and sacred places [5]. The twigs were of laurel and were probably woven into wreaths. Laurel was supposed primarily to bring health, cf. Geop. XI 2, 6. *λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο περὶ τῆς δάφνης, ὅτι ὑγιείας ἐστὶν ἐργαστική. ὅθεν καὶ φύλλα αὐτῆς ἐπιδίδονται τοῖς ἄρχουσι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου μηνός* [6]. This was, therefore, a stick endowed with orenda, as may be deduced from the fact that it was hung on houses. This orenda was that of Nature and must originally have had a fructifying significance [7] and was, of course, only hung on to the house in a sense of sympathetic magic.

Later on such things as figs and honey were given too, but especially money, which must consist of ancient coins. [8] Those who had no such coins used leaden plaques [9]. Etymologically *strena* is connected with *strenuus* and *στρηνός*.

[1] Fowler, Rel. Exp. p. 103.
[2] Ov. *Fasti* I. 72, 178 sq.; negatively Tac. *Ann.* IV 79.
[3] Nilsson, P. W., s. v. Kalendae Januariae 1562.
[4] Nilsson, P. W., s. v. Strena 351. [5] Deubner, Archiv. XXX (1933) p. 72.
[6] Deubner, ib.
[7] It is strange that de Waele, The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity, Gent 1927, does not mention *strenae*.
[8] Nilsson, P. W., s. v. Kal. Jan. 1562. [9] Nilsson, P. W., s. v. Strena 353.

Evil omens occurring on New Year's day had so much the more significance [1], so that one might say that the gods chose this day especially to announce calamities [2].

The women's feast in honour of Juno Lucina [3], of which the giving of presents was probably a survival [4], was fundamentally a fructifying magic. The fact that their feast fell on March 1st I should wish to connect with the commencement of the new nature year.

As a survival of the custom of applying fructifying magic to the farms we may mention the fact that in present day Greece the farmer goes round the house on the morning of New Year's day and strows out fruit and confectionery from within [5]. Sweets and pastries are still considered as presents on New Year's day in our own times [6].

The word "*strenae*" still exists in modern French in "étrennes" while in the neighbourhood of Veurne the West Flemish word "strene" or "strijne" is still in use [7].

We can now give an answer to Pliny's question. The day is charged with "orenda"; for time, as we have seen, could also be filled with it. Hence it is well to chase away evil omens by magical prayers on this day, it being the real beginning of the death period, and only in much later times established as the beginning of the year. For a "*precatio*" is fundamentally a magical occurrence. "*Precatio*" and "*carmina*" are in their beginnings, from a psychological point of view, one and the same thing; the difference being that the "*precationes*" are addressed to a divinity, while the *carmina* take up action against impersonal powers and daemons (see further under "*carmina*"). We can go further and suppose that originally the primitive tried to rid himself of the menacing idea of death by obscure conjurations. Later on, when people began to get some idea of personal gods, the *carmen* also changes into a *precatio*. This retains its magical basis, but does not coerce but supplicates.

What personal divinities will the Romans have invoked in their

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[1] Tac. *Ann.* IV. 79. [2] Suet. *Nero* 46; *Galba* 18. [3] Wissowa R. u. K. p. 185. [4] Plaut. *Miles* 695. [5] Wachsmuth, d. Alte Griechenl. im Neuen p. 94 n. [6] Sartori, Sitte u. Brauch, Leipz. 1910/14 III. p. 57.
[7] Schrijnen, Ned. Volkskunde, Zutphen 1915/16 I p. 142.

"precationes" on the first day of the year? No one gives a clearer answer to this than Ovid. *Fasti* I 63 sq.

Ecce tibi faustum, Germanice, nuntiat annum
inque meo primus carmine Ianus adest.
Iane biceps, anni tacite labentis origo,
solus de superis qui tua terga vides,
dexter ades ducibus, quorum secura labore
otia terra ferax, otia pontus habet:
dexter ades patribusque tuis populoque Quirini,
et resera nutu candida templa tuo.
prospera lux oritur: linguis animisque favete!
nunc dicenda bona sunt bona verba die.
lite vacent aures, insanaque protinus absint
iurgia; differ opus, livida lingua, tuum!

The divinity was Janus; and if we take it to be so the difficulty that Frazer (Ovid Fasti II p. 82) sees in the matter no longer exists. Ovid means to say nothing more than that by invoking Janus he wishes Germanicus a Happy New Year [1]. As a matter of fact the invoking of Janus immediately follows, but, as we have already said and as one can see, the magical undertone in the *precatio* is not absent:

nunc dicenda bona sunt bona verba die.

Bona verba means here not "good words" but words filled with luck-bringing power — *bona die*, on this day that is so full of significance and so full of orenda [2].

precationibus....

As regards *precatio* it must be mentioned that Fowler [3] points out that this word in *N. H.* XXVIII. 13 means "spell". Fowler supposes that Pliny had a divinity in mind; this is true. But examining the various places where Pliny makes use of the word, it is unmistakably evident, or else made apparent by a special addition, that everywhere a "fixed, formulated prayer" is meant [4]. This existed indeed

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[1] *inque .... adest: because* he is present.
[2] See introd.; for *bona verba:* see *"precationibus"*.
[3] Fowler, Rel. Exp. p. 53.
[4] Plin. *N. H.* II. 140; XXV. 49; XXVIII. 10. 11. 12. 13. 42. XXXVII. 124.

in every day life [1], as, for instance *"quod bonum felix faustumque sit"* [2] and suchlike words that were spoken on birthdays, when the *Genius* (*natalis*) was addressed. They were then called *bona verba* or *bonae preces* [3]. The custom of wishing each other a Happy New Year by means of a fixed formula is still in vogue.

publicis lustris ....

Lustrum, originally ablution, then the offering of a sacrifice for purification purposes, whence *lustro*, to cleanse, and also *circumire* with the sacrificial victim [4], acquired the significance of "viewing" so that *lustrum* came to mean "viewing by walking round".

Besides *"lustra* for the public welfare" we also know *"lustratio"* of the land of the private agriculturalist [5]; by *lustra publica* only *"lustra* for the public welfare" can be meant.

The *lustra* divide themselves into two principal classes, (we shall not discuss here the meaning of *lustrum* as a period of time in the calendar) [6] those which were celebrated by the censor and those which were not [7]. Seeing that a similar statement as that of Pliny and made by Cicero refers to the first-named *lustrum* [8] this only shall be mentioned.

After the censors had cast lots [9] for the celebration, the celebrating censor had to guard himself against ritual maculation [10]. He walked at the head of the people with the *vexillum* and caused the *suovetaurilia* to be led round the ranked citizens by people with favourable sounding names [11] after which the animals were sacrificed to Mars [12].

It is believed that the magic rites were primary in place and

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[1] Hopfner, P. W., Mantike 1283.
[2] Appel, de Romanorum precationibus p. 170—172, 73; Pease, ad Cic. *Div.*, I. 102, Univ. of Illin. Stud. in Language and Lit. 1920 VI. 2 p. 282.
[3] Ov. *Trist.* XIII 18 *preces*; XIII 24 *verba*; id. V. 6 *verba*.
[4] Muller, Altit. Wörterb. p. 244. [5] Cato, *de Agric.* 141.
[6] For this: Ginzel, Handbuch p. 205—7.
[7] Berve, P. W. s.v. Lustrum 2046—55.
[8] Cic. *de Div.* I. 102; cf. Pease ad l. p. 283.
[9] Varro, *L. l.* VI 93; Liv. I. 44. [10] Cass. Dio LIV. 28.
[11] Liv. I. 44.; Cic. *de Div* I. 102. [12] Cic. *de Or.* II. 268.

that the sacrificial rites were introduced later [1]. Wissowa thinks that the sacrifice to Mars is not to be thought of as a sacrifice to a vegetation god [2]. According to him Mars is a god of war and supplications to him are for the purpose of averting the calamities of war from the fields. This pronouncement he afterwards partly revoked [3]. He is apparently wrong in what he says, as Mars is considered as a god of vegetation in the song of the *Fratres arvales* and in the prayers of the Italic paterfamilias handed down by Cato [4]. Latte strikes the nail on the head [5] when he supposes Mars to be a complex personality not exclusively a god of war nor exclusively a vegetation god. For an explanation of his functions one must have recourse to etymology [6]. Mars is the virile god whose power is especially exercised in the two main functions of the ancient Italic agricultural existence, namely the averting of disasters and the growing of the crops. Thus on the one hand we come to his function as god of war and on the other to that of a vegetation god [7].

The *lustratio*, that actually consists of drawing a magical ring, can have its effect either on the person describing the circle or on whatever is being taken round the circle or on that which is enclosed within the circle [8]. In this way the *lustratio* by the censor must be deemed to be a magic action with apotropaeic effect on the army that stood drawn up in battle array [9].

victimas....

It is already clear from the etymology of the word (sans. Vinakti- separates) that *victimae*, the sacrificial cattle, are withdrawn from profane use and dedicated to the divinity and are therefore taboo [10].

prospera nomina....

The name given to the person counts as the person himself [11].

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[1] Deubner, Neue Jahrb. XXVII (1911) p. 330.
[2] Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 143. [3] Phil. Wochenschr. 1921. 994.
[4] Marbach, P. W., s.v. Mars 1935. [5] Archiv. XXIV (1926) p. 250 sq.
[6] Marbach 1936—7. [7] id. 1937. [8] Eitrem, Opferritus p. 13.
[9] Eitrem, o. c. p. 16; see Eitrem p. 9 sq.
[10] Pfister, Burs. Jahresber. Suppl. B. 1930 Bd. 229 p. 115—16.
[11] Stemplinger, Volksmedizin p. 45; Frazer, Fasti IV p. 281 sq. For the Name as such: Fraenkel, P. W. s.v. Namenwesen 1612 sq. Hirzel, der Name, Abh. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 1921.

When a name was given to a child, the name came by that fact into being, and was conceived as a physical and living thing, and the knowledge of the name, which is the soul of the possessor, gives him entirely into the power of the utterer [1]. This is why people tried to keep the name secret and considered it as a possession to be kept safe against magicians and daemons [2] and why it was changed at certain periods of life and after serious illnesses [3]. That the name was considered as substantial is apparent from a custom in the Malaccas, where the name chosen is engraved on a piece of bark by the emdicine man who puts it on the head of the person about to be named, whereby it is absorbed by that person [4]. According to Servius ad Verg. *Aen.* III. 552 the name of the person writing it on the temple of Hera remained there just as long as he lived [5].

The name is bound inseparably with the bearer. This is clearly illustrated in German Folklore by the belief that a loaf on which the name of a drowned person has been written, floats to the place where his corpse lies [6].

If, therefore, it is possible by knowing the name to work magic on the bearer, it is of great importance to know the names of daemons and gods so as to move them by one's prayers [7]. It is for this reason that the names of gods are complicated; and all Mysteries have a natural desire to possess names and words of prayer that are incomprehensible to laymen [8], for the name of a god is one of the most primary forms of prayer [9]. The ordinary names of the gods are not coercive. It occurs too frequently that they are not heard or answered, which gives rise to the conclusion that they are not the true names and therefore do *not* include the whole divine being. Hence the origin of epithets that attempt to give a closer description of that being [10], and in the time of syncretism

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[1] Dieterich, Kl. Schr. p. 314.; id. Mithraslit. p. 110 sq.; id. Mutter Erde p. 34; Pfister, P. W. s.v. Kultus 2155; Abt, Apol. p. 120.

[2] Abt, Apol. p. 119.

[3] C. Meyer, Aberglauben des Mittelalters p. 229; Abt, o. c. p. 119.

[4] Mrs. M. Stevenson, Ann. Rep. Bur. of Ethnol. XI p. 132; A. Hilka, Ind. Forsch. III H. Breslau 1910 p. 8.

[5] Stemplinger, Volksmedizin p. 45; ref. to W. Schmidt, Bedeutung des Namens im Kult u. Aberglauben, Progr. Darmstadt 1912.

[6] Abt, o. c. p. 119. [7] Hirzel, o. c. p. 17. [8] Dieterich, Mithraslit. p. 39.

[9] ib. [10] Hopfner, P. W. s.v. Mageia 334—5.

those names imported from abroad were deemed more efficacious by that very fact [1].

If therefore the knowledge of a name gives power over the person the use of a name means exercising power over the bearer, and whether the god likes it or no, he must obey [2]; but to have complete power over a daemon it is necessary to know his complete name [3].

It is obvious that only few know such names and those that know them must keep them a dead secret. The profaning of a name is severely punished. For this reason the names are called *κρυπτά, ἄρρητα, ἄφθεγκτα* [4], and the warning *κρύβε* is applied to them [5].

In regard to cities these too have secret names [6].

The greater and mightier the god, the greater his name must be. Thus the name of the Creator of the world is insupportable and kills the hearer [7].

The very etymology of the word *ὄνομα* points to magical power. Idg. *ono* to mean, to give something a mark or meaning, is the same as tapui = to sanctify, to make taboo. Whatever receives the name, as well as the *ὄνομα* itself is therefore sacred, i. e. filled with magic power [8].

By this it can be explained that a power can be exercised by the name, a power as well for good as for evil. This gives rise, of course, to the idea that people with ill-sounding names must not be charged with leading the sacrificial cattle to the altar, in which case a positive method is preferred by choosing people with favourable sounding names. That great value was attached to *prospera nomina* we find indicated elsewhere [9].

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[1] ib. p. 335; Dieterich, Mithraslit. p. 39; Orig. *c. Cels.* I. 24; V 45.
[2] Pap. Paris. 1533; Hopfner, P. W. s.v. Mageia 336.
[3] Deissmann, Licht vom Osten$_4$. 1923 p. 223, 8: „so erklärt sich auch die Frage an den Dämon, Mark. 5. 9 = Luc. 8. 30."
[4] Pap. Leid. V. Col. VII. 26.; Paris. 1609; Lond. 121. 569; Paris. 1265; Hopfner o. c. 336.
[5] Pap. Berol. I. 146; Hopfner o. c. 337.
[6] Plin. *N. H.* III. 65; Macr. *Sat.* III. 9. 2—9. See too Frazer, G. B. II. 391.
[7] Lactant. Placid. ad Stat. *Theb.* IV 516; Hopfner, o. c. 338.
[8] Pfister, P. W. s.v. Kultus 2155. [9] Cic. *de Div* I. 102.

Before the battle of Actium, Augustus, on his way to the fleet, met on the beach an ass-driver with his ass. The driver's name was Eutychus, the ass's Nikon. After the victory a statue was raised to both in the temple built on the place where his camp stood [1].

Thus, when work for the state was let out to contract, they first asked tenders for the dredging of the *lacus Lucrinus*, as the name *Lucrinus* brought *lucrum* to mind [2], and, on enlisting soldiers or taking a *census*, those persons were taken first that bore names as Valerius, Salvius, Statorius [3]. At the work of restoration on the Capitol, which had become necessary owing to the excesses of the troops of Vespasian, the ground belonging to the temple was marked off with garlands and entered by soldiers with favourable sounding names, carrying branches of fruit trees [4].

Pease [5] discusses a family consisting of the following members, (CIL XIII 2255), Salvius Victor, Valeria Agathemeris, with the children Salvius Felix and Salvia Valeriana. In races too people tried to find lucky names for horses [6]. Pease also collected some *nomina improspera* as Atrius Umber [7], Calvitor [8], cf. Verres [9] and Scaurus [10], also names like Curtius, Minucius, Furius, Hostilius.

effascinationibus....

For the etymology of the word *"fascinum"* Muller [11] refers to a connection with *"fascina"* = bundle, so that *effascinatio* may be classified as enchantment by means of binding [12]. According to Porphyrio [13] the *fascinum* = phallus was used as a charm against enchantment.

Charms against *effascinatio* have their place under prohibitive magic.

Already in ancient times theories were built up explaining the

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[1] Suet. *Aug.* 96. [2] Festus, p. 121 M. [3] ib. [4] Tac. *Hist.* IV. 53.

[5] Pease ad Cic. *de Div.* I. 102. p. 284.

[6] Wünsch, Ant. Fluchtaf. 1912, 11 and note; Pease p. 284. For Greek parallels see Artemid. III. 38. and Bechtel—Fick, die Gr. Personennamen$_2$ (1894) 12; Pease, ib.

[7] Liv. XXVIII. 284, *nominis etiam abominandi ducem.*

[8] Anthol. Lat., Riese II 902, 11—12: *est omine nomine tetrum.*

[9] Cic. II *Verr.* 2. 18—19. [10] *pro Scaur.*

[11] Muller, Altit. Wörterb. p. 173.

[12] cf. Riess, P. W. s.v. Aberglaube. 33—4. [13] ad. Hor. *Ep.* VIII. 18.

working of the evil eye. Democritus explains it by the working of vague forms [1] moving through the air, while Plutarch in his *Quaest. Conv.* [2], nowise doubting of the existence of "*jettatori*", explains the evil action of the eye by an efflux which he can best compare with the influence of the beloved upon the lover, where the eyes are the organs affected. Thus he thinks himself justified, in contrary sense, in supposing that the eye being passive can also be active.

In the revised edition of "der Böse Blick und Verw.", "die Zauberkraft des Auges" [3], Seligmann treats of the two motives from which the injurious magic of the evil eye may spring, i. e. envy and admiration.

These two motives were also brought forward by Pliny [4]. Seligmann explains the significance of the eye for uncivilised man, in my opinion, with great exactitude when he lays stress on the inexplicable enigma that the eye was to people at all times — even to scholars, not to mention the masses who could make nothing of it [5]. Hence the fact that the imagination endows it with all possible secret powers. All attempts to localise the beginnings of the incredibly widespread belief in the evil eye must fail, as this belief is found always in the same form even among races that have had no contact with others. One must therefore suppose that it arose everywhere spontaneously, and that it must be based on general causes which lie deep in the nature of man [6]. The evil eye is principally to be found in persons of an envious disposition, on which theory both the ancient and modern Greek proverbs are based: *δυσμενὴς καὶ βάσκανος ὁ τῶν γειτόνων ὀφθαλμός* and *ἐχθρὸ καὶ φθονερὸ τὸ μάτι τῶν γειτόνων* [7].

Now *effascinatio* may be something innate in man and the most innocent persons of all ranks and stations are sometimes burdened with it [8], and even, as Pliny avers, whole families, so as to cause, as in Africa, by their mere praises, the death of cattle, crops and children [9].

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[1] Sext. Emp. IX. 19. [2] *Qu. Conv.* V. 7. 2. [3] Hamburg 1922 p. 2.
[4] Plin. *N. H.* VII. 16, *quorum laudatione intereant*; and XIX. 50, *contra invidentium effascinationes*.
[5] Seligmann, o. c. p. 1. [6] id. p. 15.
[7] B. Schmidt, N. Jahrb. XXIX (1913) p. 580.
[8] Seligmann, o. c. p. 94. [9] Plin. *N. H.* VII. 16.

On the other hand there were those among the Triballi in Illyria who in wrath could cause the death even of adults [1].

Some further explanation is required as to Pliny's statement as regards the Bitiae in Scythia and the Thibii from Pontus of whom he says that they had a double pupil in one eye and the image of a horse in the other [2].

He seems to have taken the image of the horse literally though it appears to have been a disease of the eye, called by the ancients ἵππος, and mentioned also by Hipparchos and Galenos [3] and known at the present day as nystagmos [4], while the story of a double pupil with which whole tribes of people were said to have been born, must, in the light of modern science, be consigned to the realms of fiction [5].

The double pupil is indeed known to exist, but it is very rare, excepting, of course, those cases that owe their existence to accidents or medical operations and which with the progress of technical inventions are steadily increasing.

If we consider the means of avoiding the influence of the evil eye, we find that, on the one hand the phallus was kept by imperators underneath their triumphal chariots and on the other hand worn by children to protect them against invidious influences [6]. Side by side with this, Pliny as a protection also mentions spitting [7], and date pips polished for that purpose [8]; moreover hyena skin taken from the forehead [9], and finally as a preserving charm the *antipathes nigra*, a precious stone used to guard against magic [10].

But these things quoted by Pliny are nothing beside all the material used in ancient times, among which the image of an eye — as a contra optic — even painted on ships and town walls, and the phallus, take a prominent place [11].

All this concerns the more unconscious averting of the evil eye, that is to say, the fear of coming under its influence without knowing it.

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[1] ib. [2] Plin. *N. H.* VII. 17. 18. See for the double pupil also Ov. *Am.* VIII. 15. 16.

[3] O. Jahn, Verh. d. K. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., Phil. Hist. Cl. VII 1855. p. 35.

[4] Seligmann, a. l. p. 236. [5] id. p. 239. [6] Plin. *N. H.* XXVIII. 39.

[7] id. XXVIII. 35. [8] id. XIII. 40. [9] id. XXVIII. 101.

[10] id. XXXVII. 145.

[11] Jahn, o. c. p. 28 sq.; Kühnert, P. W. s.v. Fascinum 2009 sq.

If, however, one should suspect an immediate attack, the thumb and little finger are protruded and the remaining fingers folded into the palm, thus forming a horned hand; or else the thumb is stuck out from the first between the other fingers.

Of these methods only one place in ancient literature seems to make mention [1].

In Italy these actions are still in vogue under the name of "la fica".

It is remarkable what an intense belief in the evil eye is maintained in that country by almost everybody [2], and it is striking to hear that Pio Nono († 1878) was one of the most dreaded *jettatori* of modern Italy, the man whom everybody strove to avoid in the streets and whose blessing was feared [3], and that Francesco Crispi, "the Italian Bismarck", was always armed with his coral horns, even in parliament, to point against his opponents [4]; while, moreover, the averting signs are always made behind the backs of Mendicant Friars [5].

adoratione peculiari ....

The use of the word *adoratio* will in the long run not have remained restricted to the meaning of a gesture of homage to the gods, but will have been extended to mean another gesture that had a religious or magical significance. If I am right, what is meant here is exclusively the gesture "la fica", of which Dr. Frazer thinks there is only one place in classical literature that alludes to it [6], at least explicitly, as stated above. The very addition of *peculiari* makes my supposition probable.

Nemesin ....

Although Nemesis, in the form in which she is here quoted, is certainly a specifically Hellenistic goddess [7], there was in Greece a long period of development of her divinity. Originally she was,

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[1] Ov. *Fasti* V 433; see Frazer, Fasti IV p. 47.; Kühnert o. c. 2010.
[2] Seligmann o. c. p. 54—5. [3] id. p. 102.
[4] Leopold, Uit de Leerschool v. d. Spade, Zutfen I. p. 91. [5] id. p. 94.
[6] Frazer, Fasti IV p. 47.
[7] Bickermann, Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1929. 2165.

indeed, not a goddess of luck or chance at all [1]. She first appears (as an independent divinity) in the *Κύπρια* and in Hesiodus [2], and in Smyrna we find her as a dual personality, as is supposed, as a power for good or evil [3]. Her name is connected with *νέμειν* as they even knew in antiquity. Thus her name means the meting out of everything that accrues to a person [4]. Among the *Tragici* she was the avenger of evil and punished all that displeased the gods [5], and in her person she must therefore be considered as an avenger, *ultrix* [6]. The worship of Nemesis in Rhamnos was renowned in Greece [7]. In her very quality of avenger of malefactors she became the envious antagonist of happiness, a quality that she already possessed in ancient times, [8] wherefore the supremely happy prayed that they be not afflicted with her enmity [9].

Soon she became connected with *Τύχη* and the *Μοῖραι* [10] and from that time her worship extended steadily, and by appearing beside other goddesses she absorbed their qualities and became sometimes *Τύχη* and sometimes *Ἐλπίς* [11]. Having grown to her full power in Hellenistic times, in which she also occupies a prominent place in erotics, not indeed as Venus, but as the punisher of *ὕβρις* [12], it is not surprising that she should be widely worshipped in Hellenistic countries, as for instance in Egypt [13]. This was also the home of Isis, who was afterwards identified with Nemesis [14]. And although only rarely to be found in magic papyri, she was closely connected with wizardry [15].

She and her worship were particularly known in theatres, where she was even in early times worshipped as a goddess of luck [16],

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[1] Carter, Religion of Numa p. 50.
[2] Rossbach, Roscher M. L. 118—20. [3] id. 122.
[4] Herter, P. W., s.v. Nemesis 2338. [5] Rossbach o. c. 122. [6] Herter, o. c. 2365. [7] Rossbach, o. c. 125—8.
[8] id. 137.; cf. Herod. I. 34; Plut. *Philop.* 18; Artemid. II. 37; Aesop. (Anthol. Pal. X. 123.).
[9] Rossbach o. c. 135; cf. Chariton III. 8. [10] id. 137.
[11] Heinze, ad. Hor. *Od.* I. 35. 21—24. [12] Herter, o. c. 2370.
[13] Volkmann, Stud. z. Nemesiskult, Archiv. XXVI (1928) p. 303 sq.; Herter o. c. 2371.
[14] Rossbach o. c. 140.; See too Bickermann, o. c. 2165.
[15] Volkmann, o. c. p. 306.
[16] v. Premerstein, Philol. LIII (1894) p. 400; Herter, o. c. 2372.

especially in the Eastern Roman Empire and chiefly in the Danube countries [1], where there was a strong admixture of Greeks among the population, and whither the legions brought her worship with them from the East [2], which was less widespread in Italy and least so in the Western provinces [3].

As such she appears in a Pannonian soldiers' inscription [4], where she is shown with a whip and a dragon at her feet, holding in her left hand a square shield bearing a torch, a laurel and a trident, with a wheel at her feet, while the inscription states that it was made *ex voto:* Nemesis in this case having become the goddess of good fortune and the equal of Fortuna [5]. Now there was certainly no parallel to Nemesis as "Wahrerin des rechten Maaszes" among the Romans and they knew no other name by which to represent her in her character of *μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον* [6], to which Pliny himself very plainly alludes and which we find confirmed once more at a much later time when Ausonius says *"Romana procul tibi nomina sunto"* [7], though on the other hand Pliny himself admits that in a similar case Fortuna was invoked [8]. He even describes Fortuna-Nemesis — and gives in another place a picture of her widespread worship and says there that throughout the whole world, everywhere, always and by everyone Fortuna is invoked .... and cursed [9].

Why then, when she was invoked against the evil eye, was this done in a Greek form?

The explanation is simple. It is well known that one sometimes finds in magic texts the letters written upside down [10] and that in Latin speaking territories Oscan was deliberately used in magic by a person who most certainly could speak and write Latin, in which text Latin peculiarities came plainly to the surface, thereby

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[1] Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 377. [2] Volkmann, o. c. p. 316 and note. [3] Herter, o.c. 2359. [4] C. I. L. III 4008; cf. Rossbach o. c. 160.

[5] Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 377.; see too: C. I. L. III. 1125: *Deae Nemesi sive Fortuna*, and Dio Chrys. *Orat.* LXIV. 8. 2. p. 149 v. Arnim; cf. Rossbach 137; Herter 2374.

[6] Bickermann, ib. [7] Auson. *Ep.* XXVII. 60. [8] Plin. *N. H.* XXVIII. 39.

[9] Plin. *N. H.* II. 22. Dürer's etching is worth mentioning: *„Das grosze Glück oder die Nemesis"* (± 1504).

[10] Wünsch, Def. Tabb. Att. p. 24, No. 96.

proving the supposition [1]. Moreover a Latin magical text was written in Greek letters [2] and a Latin magical text originating from Carthage written with the names of the gods in Greek [3]. We see from this that in the world of magic great value was attached to the extraordinary, and that by the use of strange things more power could be exercised. A similar example of this will be shown presently in § 29. Pliny himself, moreover, bears testimony to this [4]. Hence the fact that popular custom adhered constantly to the name of Nemesis, even in the Roman world, where Nemesis was in significance practically the equal of Fortuna.

Probably only after Sulla did foreign divinities such as Isis, Sarapis, Nemesis penetrate with their images of worship into the Capitol [5].

As regards the images of Nemesis, Schweizer [6] distinguishes various types, among which is the favourite one of Alexandrian-Roman times, made according to the Erinys type, winged, in a short *chiton*, even partly armoured, and in swift pursuit. There was also a type found with Nike motifs [7]. It is, however, characteristic of most types that Nemesis stands with downcast eyes slightly raising the garment covering her breast [8]. This has been explained since the time of Jahn as a transference to Nemesis of the habit of spitting in one's own bosom to avert the evil eye. Others [9] explain the attitude as a motif of modesty.

The manner in which she was represented on the Capitol is unknown [10].

Among others she was given the names of *ultrix vehemens, vindex, victrix, regina sancta, omnipotens, Augusta* [11].

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[1] For this see: Dieterich, Kl. Schr. 222.
[2] Maspéro, collection du Musée Alaoui I. 1890 p. 57 sq.; Dieterich, ib.
[3] Wünsch, Rh. Mus. LV. p. 260. [4] XXVIII. 20.
[5] H. Jordan, Topogr. d. Stadt Rom im Alt. 1885 I. 2. p. 46.
[6] Arch. Jahrb. XLVI. p. 175 sq. [7] Herter, o. c. 2374.
[8] Volkmann, o. c. 302 sq.
[9] e. g. Eitrem, Rossbach, Herter 2374.
[10] Arien le Grand, Dictionn. s.v. Nemesis p. 54.; cf. Herter 2356.
[11] Herter o. c. 2363. Herter 2380 gives as literature also, Posnansky, Nemesis u. Adrasteia, Breslau, Phil. Abh. V. 2. 1890; Eitrem, die Göttl. Zwillinge bei den Gr. Skrifter udg. af Videnskabsselsk. Christiania 1902. II. 2. p. 33 sq; Volkmann, Archiv. XXXI. (1934) p. 57 sq.

mentionem defunctorum ....

The ideas of Pliny as regards survival after death are known to us [1], and his thoughts on this subject are clearly formulated by the words, "*Post mortem vanae* [2] *manium ambages*". His proof for this is that man after his death returns to the same condition as he was in before his birth [3]. So that the thought of immortality was puerile for him and merely a desire to remain in existence [4].

We find here, of course, the solitary opinion of an individual person of a very rationalistic nature. On the other hand, there is the popular belief that the body survives even after death (death offerings!). It is full of orenda, the power that can express itself for good or evil [5]. Since the custom quoted by Pliny is purely prohibitive magic, we shall only discuss the latter of the two developments arising from this, that is, the beneficial and the apotropaeic, although of course both can be combined [6].

As a matter of fact all customs applied to the cult of the dead are concentrated round these two ideas: either the dead are looked upon as friends and are enticed, or they are considered as injurious and made innocuous [7]. As regards fear of the dead this was and is still very general [8]. Thus, according to Strabo [9], the Albanians of the Caucasus abstained from all mention of the names of the dead, a custom which is still in use among many savage tribes [10].

Hence the practice of binding the dead to their graves, where they were not particularly comfortable and whence they arose to haunt the houses of the living [11], as can be read in old Germanic ghost stories, where the driving of a stake through the heart of the corpse — which in other cases, however, was considered as a punishment — was an excellent means of binding the dead to the place of interment i. e. the earth, and of preventing the ghost from walking [12]. Corpses were also bound together and other

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[1] Plin. *N. H.* VII. 188.
[2] Detlefsen, rightly, seeing what follows later: *eadem vanitas*.
[3] VII. 188 and 191. [4] VII. 189.
[5] Pfister, Burs. Jahresber. Vol. 229 (1930) p. 140. [6] Pfister, ib.
[7] Pfister, P. W. s.v. Kultus 2179. [8] Frazer, G. B. III p. 221.
[9] Strabo XI. 4. 8.; cf. G. B. III p. 349. [10] Frazer, ib.
[11] Wagenvoort, Varia Vita$_2$, p. 60.
[12] Mogk, Altgerm. Spukgesch. N. Jahrb. XLIII (1919) p. 111.

suchlike methods were applied in order to render the dead innocuous [1].

The burial rites too were complicated for fear that the ghost should walk and return to the house where he lived [2]. This, however, was not sufficient for the ancients, for magic was practised by the strowing of beans and the clanging of copper instruments during the Roman feast of the Lemuria [3].

Of course, the dead could be purposely influenced, a matter that, among others, was considered by the magicians as evil[4], the discussion of which may well be omitted here.

The mentioning of the name gave, as we saw, power over a person, and so spirits, too, gave ear when called on. Think, for example, of the calling up of the souls of the dead in Homer [5] and Virgil [6], who were thereby compelled to return to the homeland where a new grave awaited them [7]. It was possible also to disturb their rest by too violent lamentations — a belief widespread among many nations; while Plato explicitly causes the spirits to say that weeping and lamenting was of no advantage to them [8].

Since, therefore, the knowing of a name was a magical means of power, a ghost, when his name was pronounced, would be disturbed and called up by it, and this could never be to the advantage of the invoker — whence the apology.

impares numeros ....

Numerous places in ancient literature — not principally the literature of magic — testify to the fact that the odd number was better than the even. Pliny himself mentions this repeatedly and it plays a great part, especially in his medical prescriptions, while he adds that in many other of nature's territories the odd number, which is "therefore" called the masculine number, is the superior [9].

Thus for ulcers an odd number of flies rubbed to pieces by the

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[1] Andrée, Archiv f. Anthrop. 1907. p. 282 sq.; 347; 1909. p. 561; Rohde Psyche I. 322, 326; Papenstecher, Archiv XV. 315 sq.; Grüneisen, der Ahnenkultus u. d. Urreligion Israëls p. 121 sq.; Hellwig, Archiv. XVIII. 292 sq.; cf. Pfister, P. W. s.v. Kultus 2179.

[2] Fowler, Rel. Exp. p. 84. [3] Ov. *Fast.* V. 441 sq.

[4] Abt, Apol. p. 129. 6.

[5] *Od.* IX. 65—66. [6] *Aen.* VI. 506.; cf. III. 68.

[7] Rohde, Psyche I. p. 66—67. [8] id. I. 223. 2. [9] *N. H.* II. 129.

middle finger [1] was successfully applied; for headache, an odd number of laurel berries rubbed with oil and warmed [2], for the stomach, the consuming of an odd number of snails was to be recommended [3], rinsing the mouth with cold water in the morning an odd number of times was a preventive against tooth-ache, while rinsing with *"posca"* was a certain cure for diseases of the eye [4]. North winds always stop with an odd number of gusts [5], birds lay eggs in odd numbers [6], and on hatching out eggs, attention must always be paid to whether the day on which the hen begins to sit is odd or even [7].

One is, of course, inclined to think of Pythagoras and his great influence, which after long years was still able to keep alive such a firm belief in numbers. But the Pythagoreans followed in their rules, as for instance, regarding the eating of beans, and also in this case, a native prejudice of Italy; while this belief in numbers is also to be found among other peoples. A parallel can be pointed out among the Hindus [8]. In Italy this belief in numbers is most active in the calendar, in which feast-days always fall on odd days, while the prolonging of the term by one day always occurs after an interval of the even days [9]. According to Plutarch [10] the even number is imperfect and incomplete, while the odd number is the contrary; a thought which is also expressed by Aristotle [11].

Thus we find instructions to leave the number of the herd always odd [12], while in the art of strategy ditches round camps were to be made at least nine feet and at most seventeen feet wide [13].

The rule of odd and even is known from Festus [14] and Censorinus [15], and Virgil expressly states, *'numero deus impare gaudet'* [16].

According to Usener [17], primitive man could originally count only up to two, of which number nature gives abundant examples,

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[1] XXX. 108. [2] XXIII. 156. [3] XXX. 44.
[4] XXVIII. 56. Riess in P. W. s.v. Aberglaube 49 gives other different places.
[5] II. 129. [6] X. 165. [7] X. 151, 161.
[8] Fowler, Rel. Exp. p. 98; for the Hindoos: Crooke, Popular Religion and Folklore of India II. 51 sq.
[9] Fowler, l. c.; see also Frazer, Fasti IV p. 45.
[10] *Qu. Rom.* 25 and 2. [11] *Met. A.* 986*a* 23 sq. [12] *Geopon.* I. 18.
[13] Veget. I. 3. 8. [14] Festus s. v. *imparem* p. 109 M.
[15] Censor. *de D. N.* XX. 4. [16] *Buc.* VIII. 75 = *Cir.* 373.
[17] Usener, Dreiheit, Rhein. Mus. LVIII, p. 342.

e.g. the contrasts life and death, birth and death, rising and setting of the sun, east and west, day and night, morning and evening, waxing and waning of the moon, summer and winter, and in the joy of the discovery of the number three man must have fixed the most important and holiest arrangements of life in threes [1].

The latter theory is, in my opinion, rightly criticised by Kroll when he says that the division into threes arose on practical grounds [2]. It is gladly accepted, however, that the number three became very important because it was originally the final number of primitive man [3]. I believe that the reasons for man's preference for odd numbers must indeed be looked for in the days considered as critical by medical science, which are intimately connected with the hebdomadal theory developed by Roscher [4]. The seventh day, month and year mean for Homer and Solon a κρίσις [5]. The value of the number seven and the seventh day must be sought in the influence of the moon and its ever changing seven day phases on the life of the earth and its inhabitants [6]. In so far as eastern influences can be accepted, the number can be traced back to the planetary week, and these influences go far back into ancient times [7]. In the same way the endless application of the (even!) number twelve found its origin in the reckoning by months [8]. As the moon influences not only growth but disease, the phases of the waxing and the waning moon were therefore taken into account, and the recurring seventh day considered to influence the course of an illness [9]. The ancients were already aware of the influence of the moon on the occurrence of the critical days [10]. It appears that of all the odd numbers of days observed in the course of an illness the hebdomadal comes most to the fore [11], and the influence of this hebdomadal theory is repeatedly to be found in Pliny's botany and agriculture [12].

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[1] id. p. 335. [2] Kroll, Burs. Jahresber. vol. 137 (1908, Suppl.) p. 361.
[3] Usener, o. c. p. 362.
[4] Roscher, die Hebdomadenlehre d. Gr. Philos. u. Ärzte 1906 (Abh. d. Sächs. Ges. Wiss. XXIV 6) p. 1—58.
[5] id. p. 60—61. [6] Roscher, Abh. d. Sächs. Ges. Wiss. I. 48 sq.
[7] Usener, Dreiheit p. 349. [8] id. p. 350—51.
[9] Roscher, Abh. d. Sächs. Ges. Wiss. I. 48.
[10] Roscher, Hebdomadenlehre p. 61, 98. [11] id. p. 63.
[12] For many quotations: Roscher, Hebdom. p. 103.

The number five might be expected to play a great part in connection with the possibility of counting on the fingers. This is, however, not the case and we may safely say that it played no part at all. Even the *lustrum* was not determined by five but by six, that is to say, periods of 5×304 and 1×306 [1]. To this number of the days of a year, which was calculated at about 300 days, is attached the significance of 300 as a large number, also expressed by 600 [2].

It would be almost impossible to mention all the examples in which, apparently for the sake of the odd number, the number three occurs in the life of the ancients. For instance it is very prominent in the Greek cult of the dead. The deceased was buried on the third day, he received three suits of clothes for the underworld where he was to meet the three-headed Cerberus and the three judges of the dead and the trio Hades, Demeter and Persephone. During three days the watch was kept by his grave and on the thirtieth day or after three months the time of mourning expired; his name was called three times and three animals were slaughtered [3].

Diels points out [4] another remarkable case. In 217 B. C. the sum set aside for the *Ludi Romani* was raised from 200,000 to 333,333⅓ H. S. [5].

Side by side with three, nine is found as an especially important number and afterwards 3×9 [6]. From the use of the odd numbers 3, 7, 9 and their multiples, as has already been said, the preference arose for odd numbers in general. And this preference remained especially in magic.

As an example we may refer to the *climacterica tempora* in human life [7], which is the notion, that certain years in the life of man are not without danger. This is especially the case with 7 and its multiples (even 28!) probably owing to the critical periods of 7 days; which belief was based on the periods of the moon [8].

Especially dangerous are 7^2, 9^2 and 7×9. Thus the life of man

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[1] Usener, Dreiheit p. 356. [2] id. p. 352—3.
[3] Diels, Sibyllinische Blätter, 1890, p. 40. 1.
[4] ib. [5] Liv. XXII. 10. 7. [6] Diels, Sibyll. Blätter p. 41—43.
[7] Boll, P. W. s.v. *Κλιμακτῆρες* 843.
[8] Roscher, Abh. d. Sächs. Ges. Wiss. 1903. p. 51 sq.

finishes at 81, and 63 is called *ἀνδροκλάς, quod omnem vitae substantiam frangit* [1].

vehementiores....

Vehemens — charged with *orenda, virtus, δύναμις*. Hence Plin. *N. H.* XXVII. 144, *omnes herbae vehementiores effectu viribusque sunt in frigidis et in aquilonis, item siccis*, cf. XXIV, 7, 19. Thus it is said of a medicament, *medicamentum efficacius et vehementius* [2].

in febribus....

Fever was and is one of the most widespread illnesses in Italy, and till recently was considered due to the extremely variable temperatures of day and night [3]. Experience taught that stagnant water in midsummer caused certain diseases, and that the infection spread itself low down over the ground so that it was of first necessity to live at some height [4]; while the facts are, as Laveran discovered in 1880, that the spread of malaria is caused by the malaria mosquito. That no one had made the discovery before is owing to the incubation period which precedes the breaking out of the fever [5]. It is remarkable that the exploitation of the *latifundia*, on which journeymen were employed rather than expensive slaves, helped to depopulate Italy, as the soil was not drained but simply transformed into meadowland, so that Pliny's words [6] were true ones in another sense, *'latifundia perdidere Italiam'* [7], at least in those districts where malaria occurred. In the second century it was not only from certain central points, such as the Pontine swamps, that the fever spread, but it was general throughout Italy [8], although some measures seem to have been taken against it [9]. At the end of the first century only the coastal district of Latium [10] seems especially to have been complained of.

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[1] Firm. Mat. IV. 20. 3.; Boll, ib. [2] Scrib. Larg. 70.
[3] Nissen, Ital. Landeskunde 1883. I p. 415.
[4] id. p. 413; Cic. *Rep.* II. 11; Liv. VII. 38. 7.
[5] G. Romijn, Natuur en Vernuft, 1903 p. 292 sq.
[6] *N. H.* XVIII. 35. [7] Nissen, o. c. p. 416.
[8] Galenus XVII. 1. 21 Kühn; cf. Amm. XIV. 6. 23.
[9] Frontin. *Aquaed.* 88; Nissen, o. c. p. 417, 2 and 5.
[10] Mart. IV. 60.

Of course there was a goddess *Febris* [1] who was called upon to effect cures. She had her chief sanctuary on the Palatine [2], and was as much the personification of the disease as the hoped for healer of it (cf. Vulcan who was invoked as the averter of fire [3]). The special kinds of fever, too, were personified, so that there was a *dea Tertiana* and a *dea Quartana* [4].

Three kinds of fever were known, the quotidian, tertian and quartan. The last is the most innocuous. It begins with ague and is followed by fever, at the end of which there is an interval of two days, when the process is repeated on the fourth day.

The tertian fever either begins like the quartan and ends with a feverless interval of one day, or — and then it is more dangerous — with an interval of two days, during which time it recurs in severe bouts. The quotidian fevers are multiple. They can begin with ague, with fever, or a feeling of cold. It may be mentioned in general that fever need not necessarily involve vomiting or affection of the skin [5]. In his discussion of the various means of curing fever Celsus remarks that the Ancients *potissimum impares (sc. dies) sequebantur, eosque, tamquam tunc de aegris judicaretur, κριτίμους nominabant.* Among these numbers, however, (three, five, seven, nine, eleven, fourteen, twenty-one) there is also an even number, that, of course, owes its great power (*in quo esse magnam vim antiqui fatebantur*) to the fact that it is a multiple of seven, as has been discussed above. But with Asklepiades he denies all belief in this, as for him personally, the number fourteen conflicts with the whole theory, for which reason he condemns this doctrine of Hippocrates [6].

It is most probable that the old, popular beliefs that were accepted and extended by the schools of medicine were from time to time opposed by individual persons. It may safely be doubted whether Asklepiades and with him Celsus, found many adherents in their opposition.

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[1] see Wissowa, P. W. s.v. Febris 2095.
[2] Plin. *N. H.* II. 16. [3] Wissowa, P. W. s.v. Febris 2095.
[4] Stemplinger, Volksmedizin p. 9.
[5] For this exposition Cels. III. 3. [6] Cels. III. 4.

primitias pomorum . . . .

The custom mentioned here seems to me to have been commented on by nobody, although the meaning of it appears to deviate considerably from the accepted opinion on this point.

Frazer [1] suggests that the sacrifice of first fruits was originally a sacrament, that people supposed them to be instinct with a divine spirit or life. Later on, when the fruits were considered as creatures rather than animated by a divinity, the thought would have arisen that it was a duty to pay one's contribution to the bestowing god — albeit that they thought them necessary to his existence — so that the firstlings sacrifice acquired the character of a thank offering. As a proof of this Frazer gives a long series of examples among primitive peoples [2].

The nomad brings the firstlings of his herds, the husbandman those of the crops [3], while there was a Greek custom of setting aside a part of the sacrifice before it was enjoyed by man, to which the name *ἀπαρχή* was given, which subsequently developed semasiologically from a firstling sacrifice into a "votive offering" in general [4]. The law laid down for the Israelites for the offering up of firstlings made a special provision for firstborn sons whereby they might be redeemed [5], which in itself proves that these belonged to God and were to be sacrificed in times of need [6]. Wissowa [7] considers the *primitiae* among the Romans as a survival from the "Naturalwirtschaft" in which man offered to the gods the portion that was their right, in the same way as the serf to the landowner, and quotes for this Pliny *N. H.* XVIII. 8. *ne degustabant quidem novas fruges aut vina, antequam sacerdotes primitias libassent* [8], after having remarked explicitly beforehand, however, that in the oldest times magic itself was applied earlier than the beseeching of help from divinities and daemons. Fowler comes to the same conclusion as Wissowa [9] and deduces from this the regulated system of tithes, which in its turn gave rise to the giving of *decumae*

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[1] Frazer, G. B. VIII. p. 109 sq.
[2] ib. About this subject especially Frazer, Fasti II. p. 425.
[3] Heckscher, Hdwb. d. D. A. s.v. Erstlinge 976.
[4] Stengel, P. W. s.v. *ἀπαρχή*, 2666; cf. Dittenberger, Syll.$_1$ 367. 114.
[5] *Exod.* XIII. 13.; XXXIV. 20. [6] Heckscher, o. c. 977. [7] R. u. K. p. 409.
[8] id. p. 409. 5. [9] Fowler, Festivals, p. 195.

of war booty when the state had undergone a stronger military development, and of mercantile gain when commercial traffic had increased [1]. We know, however, that among Indian peoples the firstlings were not used as thank offerings so much as prayer offerings for the coming year [2]; and here I should like to draw a parallel with the custom mentioned by Pliny.

He, indeed, points to a magical character of the offering of tree fruits. When at the offering of the *primitiae* it was said that these were old fruits and that new ones were desired, this implies unmistakably that this offering was made with an eye to obtaining "sympathetically" new fruits for the coming year; which, of course, for primitive man, would run to a continuous chain of harvests. That this was said of tree fruits only, does not exclude the possibility that the same ritual was formerly employed for field crops and wine. This custom would seem to me to be primary in view of that in Pliny *N. H.* XVIII. 8, just quoted, where *primitiae* of corn and wine were offered to the priests before the people made use of the harvest. Frazer's explanation that after the harvest a part of it was offered to the divine beings or to those who represented them, i. e. the priests, seems to me rightly to refer to this [3]. It is, however, a custom which arose after the period in which a good harvest was extorted by magic, and the creating power taken into account; so that the two customs, concerning different crops, if overlapping in one point, need not exclude each other. It would, therefore, in my opinion, be better to say that the offering of *primitiae* was a magic act, or one, at least, born of magic, to which the custom mentioned by Pliny and preserved in folklore bears an undeniable testimony [4]. It is well-known that in Germany almost all field produce, and certainly the fruit trees, were imported by the Romans [5]. The remarkable fact is that in many districts

[1] id. 195—196; cf. Mommsen, CIL. I. 150. [2] Franz, die Kirchl. Benediktionen im Mitt.A. I. p. 361. [3] Frazer, G. B. VIII. 109.

[4] cf. Frazer, Fasti II. 427 (quoting Roscoe, The Northern Bantu, Cambridge 1915, p. 167 sq.) concerning the Bagesu: ". . . . some of the first fruits are gathered and sent *with a little of the last year's corn* . . . . Such an offering frees the village from taboo and enables its members to begin eating the new crops of the year".

[5] U. Jahn, die Deutschen Opfergebräuche bei Ackerbau u. Viehzucht, Breslau 1884 p. 207.

it is still the custom to leave some fruit on the trees, though explained in another fashion by folklore [1], but with the same basis, as I would suggest, as the custom mentioned by Pliny.

It is, moreover, not applied to fruit alone but also to other field produce [2], which might serve to strengthen the theory I suggested above.

With *primitiae*, indeed, still more magic was practised. Plutarch [3] relates that in the *'mundus'* [4], a pit on the Palatine, ἀπαρχαί of ὅσοις νόμῳ μὲν ὡς καλοῖς ἐχρῶντο, φύσει δὲ ὡς ἀναγκαίοις — were placed. If, with Fowler [5], we consider the *'mundus'* as the *'penus'* of the new city, a sacred place used for storing grain, which was open on IX Kal. Sept., III Non. Oct., VI Id. Nov. [6] —, it appears more clearly than ever that *primitiae* were not in origin a portion which "der Mensch der Gottheit darbringt wie der Hörige seinem Grundherrn" [7], but magical fructifying rites. (If an explanation is needed for the difference in the above dates it may be pointed out that grain, fruit and wine are not ripe for harvest all at the same time.)

sternuentes . . . .

Sneezing is no act of the will, but an involuntary reflex respiration act caused by irritation of the nerve endings of the mucous membrane of the nose or by stimulation of the optic nerve by a bright light. Pliny has nowhere ventured on an explanation and the only thing he says of sneezing itself — except in those cases where the significance of sneezing is spoken of — is that it is a cleansing of the head [8]. Of course, it can also be induced by a cold or other causes, in which case he gives remedies for it [9]. And one may wonder if in ancient times people were accustomed to taking snuff [10]!

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[1] id. p. 208. [2] id. p. 203—5. [3] *Rom.* 2.
[4] On this subject see especially Deubner, Hermes LXVIII. 1933. 276 sq.
[5] Festivals p. 211—12.
[6] Festus p. 156 M.; Macr. *Sat.* I. 16. 17; cf. Fowler, Festivals p. 211.
[7] Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 409.
[8] *N. H.* XXVIII. 57; XXI. 142; XX. 237.
[9] *N. H.* XXIV. 38.; XXIV. 97; XXIII. 54.
[10] *N. H.* XXV. 173: *Ranunculus* dried and rubbed to powder induces sneezing!

Let us now discover what explanation was attached to the act of sneezing. Aristotle explains it [1] as a sudden exit of air *σημεῖον οἰωνιστικὸν καὶ ἱερὸν μόνον τῶν πνευμάτων* and in Probl. 33, it is said that sneezing was a discharge of the only sacred wind in the body, so that it was taken as a sign of health of the most important part of the human body, and as a good omen. In other places [2] we find that the head was considered sacred, and sneezing, which originates in the head, was venerated as sacred.

In any case sneezing was an omen, mostly good [3] but sometimes not [4], and we may also suppose that there were people who felt themselves superior to the ominous significance of such things [5].

It is known to us from more places than one that a wish was uttered when a person sneezed. When, as we read in Petronius [6], Giton, who had hidden under the bed, sneezed three times, Eumolpus *salvere Gitona jubet*, while in another place [7] a certain Proclus was mocked for having such a long nose that his hands were too short: *οὐδὲ λέγει Ζεῦ σῶσον ἐὰν πτάρῃ* because he could not hear his own sneezing as it was so far away, from which may be concluded that in the absence of others, the customary good wishes were uttered by the sneezer himself.

Probably on the analogy of omens in the sky, sneezing from a particular direction played a part too [8]. What can have been the reason for the ominous significance of sneezing and the good wishes accompanying it? The breath, as the bearer of the soul possesses a magic power [9]. The invisible agent of the exhaled air became a kind of spirit, and from this the idea developed that by blowing, a visible or invisible activity could be called forth [10].

Thus, by whistling, the wind could be enticed [11], but whistling

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[1] *Hist. An.* I. 2. 48. [2] Athen. II. p. 66. c.
[3] *Od.* XVII. 545; Theocr. XVIII. 16; VII. 96; Xen. *Anab.* III. 2. 9.; Cat. XLV. 8; Herod. VI. 107.
[4] Prop. II. 3. 23 (aridus!); Plin. *N. H.* VII. 42.
[5] Cic. *de Div.* II. 84. [6] *Sat.* 98. [7] Anthol. Pal. XI. 268.
[8] See Kroll, ad Catull. XLV. 8. (1927).
[9] Stemplinger, Hdwb. d. D. A. s. v. Atem.
[10] Aly, Hdwb. d. D. A. s. v. Blasen 1354.
[11] R. Lasch, das Pfeifen u. seine Beziehung z. Daemonengl. u. Zauberei, Archiv. XVIII (1915) p. 589.

also irritated and annoyed the daemons [1]. Just as blowing could cause wind, by imitation [2], so blowing, exercised unconsciously, would disturb the wind spirits, so that according to popular belief whistling must be avoided [3].

The addition of the name to the wish seems to be very easily explained. The primitives added the name to the figures scratched on *tabulae defixionum* in order to prevent the daemons invoked from inflicting evil upon the wrong persons [4], so, in the same way they expressed the name to make sure that the good wishes should accrue to the right person. There seems to be no evidence for any other explanation.

Tiberium Caesarem, tristissimum . . . .

He can best be described, and Tacitus so depicts him, as "a bear with a sore head" [5].

When towards the end of Augustus' life his successor was discussed, people were not sure what to think of Tiberius. For *ne iis quidem annis, quibus Rhodi specie secessus exsul egerit, aliud quam simulationem et secretas libidines meditatum* [6]. And also, on his accepting government, Tacitus states that there was more dignity in his words than power of conviction, *Tiberioque etiam in rebus quas non occuleret seu natura sive adsuetudine suspensa semper et obscura verba* [7]. He was a terror for those dependent on him, so that when Piso, at his wits' end, and urged by his sons, entered the senate, in order to endeavour by so doing to place himself above suspicion of the death of Germanicus, *nullo magis exterritus est quam quod Tiberium sine miseratione, sine ira, obstinatum clausumque vidit* [8].

When at last Tiberius withdrew to Capri and passed the time with evil pleasures, even then *manebat . . . . suspicionum et credendi temeritas* [9]. As a conclusion, Suetonius sketches him most clearly in this way: *incedebat cervice rigida et obstipa, adducto fere vultu plerumque tacitus: nullo aut rarissimo etiam cum proximis sermone eoque tardissimo: nec sine molli quadam digitorum gesticulatione.*

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[1] id. p. 592. [2] ib. [3] ib.

[4] Leopold, uit de Leerschool van de Spade I. p. 69.

[5] cf. Tac. *Ann.* IV. 7. [6] id. *Ann.* I. 4. [7] id. I. 11. [8] id. III. 15.

[9] id, IV. 67.

Quae omnia ingrata atque arrogantiae plena animadvertit Augustus . . . .[1]. Nothing much, however, is known about his superstitions[2]. Tiberius deserves to be better judged for his statesmanship[3].

vehiculo . . . .

Although Caesar laid down regulations for traffic by horse-drawn vehicles in Rome, which ordered that only the last two hours should be free for traffic while the other ten hours were only free for the conveyance of special persons, (Vestals, *rex sacrorum*, *flamines* at public sacrifices, triumphant generals) or those betaking themselves to the public games[4], the emperors will not have kept to these regulations[5]. Of course we cannot say for certain whether this concerned the conveyance of the emperor in the city, or on his journeys, although the latter is probable. A carriage for the conveyance of royal persons was probably a *plaustrum*[6], a heavy kind of carriage, originally a cart intended for the cartage of heavy goods[7]. Through the *lex Julia*, mentioned above, a *plaustrum* became a class noun, and meant freight-cart and carriage. *Currus*, indeed, has the same extended meaning[8], and was also used as a carriage for magistrates, from which *sella curulis* may be derived, because of the fact that the magistrates with their *sella* made use of a carriage[9]. *Etiam in vehiculo* would therefore mean that though one might expect the emperor to take it for granted if his sneezing was not heard on account of the rumbling of the carriage, yet he drew the attention of those accompanying him to the fact, and required them to express their good wishes.

tinnitu . . . .

Tingling of the ears can arise from fluxional or inflammatory disturbances of nutrition in the labyrinth, auditory nerve or auditory centre.

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[1] Suet. *Tib.* 68. [2] id. 69.
[3] Kornemann, Forsch. u. Fortschritte V (1929) p. 342.; Kenneth Scott, Amer. Journ. of Phil. (LIII) 1932, p. 139 sq. (151).
[4] C. I. L. I. 2. 593; cf. Friedländer S. G. IV p. 22.
[5] id. IV p. 23. [6] Dictionn. s. v. Vehiculum p. 668.
[7] Illustration, Dictionn. No. 5707, ib.
[8] Dictionn. s. v. p. 1633. [9] Gellius *N. A.* III. 18. 4.

Undoubtedly there are places in ancient literature known to us in sufficient quantity to allow us to come to a conclusion as to the general spread of the superstition that by the tingling of the ears one can tell that one is spoken or thought of.

No one attaches more value to it than a lover; so Catullus, in imitation of Sappho, experiences a tingling of the ears merely on beholding the beloved, *sonitu suopte tintinant aures* [1], and Propertius complains [2], *nec mihi consuetos amplexu nutrit amores Cynthia, nec nostra dulcis in aure sonat;* compare also Meleager [3].

But the nicest description we certainly find in the little poem ascribed to Seneca [4].

Garrula quod totis resonas mihi noctibus, auris
nescio quem dicis nunc meminisse mei.
hic quis sit, quaeris? resonant tibi noctibus aures,
et resonant totis: "Delia te loquitur".
non dubie loquitur me Delia: mollior aura
venit et exili murmure dulce fremit:
Delia non aliter secreta silentia noctis
summissa ac tenui rumpere voce solet,
non aliter, teneris collum complexa lacertis,
auribus admotis condita verba dare.
agnovi: verae venit mihi vocis imago,
blandior arguta tinnit in aure sonus.
ne cessate, precor, longos gestare susurros!
dum loquor haec, iam vos opticuisse queror.

But also beloved persons of the same sex betray their thought of the other by causing the ears to tingle; thus M. Aurelius says [5], "we had long been talking of you — *itaque nec tibi dubito ibidem in foro diu tinnisse auriculas*"; and Statius [6],

non ego nunc vestro procul a sermone recedo;
certum est, inde eorum geminas mihi circuit aures.

But since good and kind things spoken or thought announce

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[1] Cat. LI. 10. 11. — cf. Sappho, frgm. 2. 11: . . ἐπιρρόμβεισι δ'ἄκουαι . .
[2] Prop. I. XVII. 12.
[3] Anth. Pal. V. 212. 1. αἰεί μοι δύνει μὲν ἐν οὔασιν ἦχος ἔρωτος.
[4] Anthol. I. I. 452 R. (Poet. L. M. IV. 62. B.).
[5] Fronto, p. 28. 3 Naber.
[6] Stat. *Silv.* IV. 4. 25—6.

themselves through the ears why should not unpleasant things be audible in the same place. Thus the *leno* Labrax when close pressed says to Daemones who announces to him that the *clavator* approaches [1], *"illud quidem edepol tintinnimentum est aurium."*

When Apuleius in his apology [2] adds contemptuously to the accusers that he had not enchanted the woman who had fallen down before him but had only asked her *"ecquid illi aures obtinnirent et utra earum magis"* there was a hidden sting. The tingling of the ears has in fact something in common with *incantare* [3] as is illustrated by a papyrus [4], "You utter this down into his head for 7 times. When you utter this his ears speak. If his two ears speak, he is very good, if it be his right ear, he is good, if it be his left ear, he is bad."

The accusers could in this way, therefore, set a trap for Apuleius by putting this seemingly innocent question to him, for the fact of asking a person if his ears tingle and which of them tingles most, may have a magical significance [5]. As a matter of fact Apuleius did ask this question but explained it as an enquiry as to the *ἱερὰ νόσος* which *in caput redundavit.* If the right ear tingles more than the left it is a proof of a disease *penitus adacti, nam dextra corporis validiora sunt* [6].

Furthermore the tingling of the ear is mentioned by Hippocrates [7] as a means of diagnosis, but no mention is made there of the *ἱερὰ νόσος.*

Of course it is also possible that the tingling of the ears may be a disease or weakness. In this case carraway [8], black beets [9] and storax [10] are efficacious, when poured into the ears in the form of juice or an extract.

Riess [11] agrees, as regards the point of view, with Aelianus [12], where the tingling of Pythagoras' ears is considered as the voice of the gods; on the same grounds the common people find something significant in this. This point of view seems to me not the right

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[1] Plaut. *Rud.* 806. [2] Apul. *Ap.* c. 48. [3] Abt, Apol. p. 249.
[4] Griffith-Thompson, Col. III. p. 35. (18) sq.; cf. Abt, Apol. p. 250.
[5] Abt, Apol. p. 250. [6] Apul. *Ap.* c. 51.
[7] Prognoseis I p. 262 (Med. Graec. XXI Kühn) cf. Abt, ib.
[8] Plin. *N. H.* XX. 162. [9] *N. H.* XX. 69. [10] XXIV. 24.
[11] P. W. s.v. Aberglaube, 87. [12] Ael. *Var. Hist.* IV. 17.

one, however. The deliberate arousing of *tinnitus* in another person's ears, or the imagined arousing, may well be considered as primary — being therefore magic. Subsequently the idea spread that merely speaking of a person or the mentioning of a person's name was sufficient to cause the ears to tingle.

The superstition of tingling ears still survives in folklore [1]; the right ear announcing the good spoken of one, the left the evil. Witness, among others, the proverb, "If the right ear burns, someone is talking well of you — left — ill" [2].

Attalus....

In the Index to Pliny's works we find the name Attalus mentioned under three different titles:

1. Attalus medicus L. 33.
2. Attalus rex Ll. 8, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18.
3. Attalus not further defined Ll. 28, 31.

The question now arises whether three different Attali are meant or whether the Attalus mentioned under 3. is identical with the one mentioned under 1. or 2.

It is a well known fact that Pliny probably used, as much as possible, a Roman writer for his compilations [3], looked up his sources superficially, and derived from this the right to publish them as his own.

It was, humanly speaking, impossible that he should examine all the sources, but according to the method followed, Pliny's honour need not suffer [4]. Now although Pliny mentioned in his index the authors consulted by him in the same order as that in which he had made use of them in the compilation of his work [5], it occasionally happened that he forgot names which he afterwards added at the end of the index [6]. Thus at the end of the index of book 11 the name of Philometor rex occurs, which in the books 8, 14, 15, 17, 18 is always to be found beside that of Attalus rex.

[1] Wuttke—Meyer$_3$ § 308 p. 218 sq.; cf. Abt, Apol. 272.

[2] Riess, Superstition coll. at Rifton and Woodst. Ulster County N. York. Archiv. XII (1909) p. 577.

[3] Brunn, de Auct. Plinian. disp. isagog. Bonn 1856 p. 47.

[4] Oehmichen, Plin. Stud. Erlangen 1880. p. 87.

[5] Brunn. a. l. p. 1.

[6] Oehmichen a. l. p. 92.

It is supposed on definite grounds that these two names arose from the separation of the name Attalus Philometor [1]; which would make it certain that the name cannot be identical with that of the Attalus medicus of book 33, as put forward by Wilcken [2].

It has been fixed with great probability that the source for book 28—30 is Xenocrates of Aphrodisias who wrote *περὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῶν ζῷων ὠφελείας* [3]. Now when Pliny quotes from Xenocrates, the authors mentioned by the latter are given first and Xenocrates himself closes the list [4]. He was therefore one of the *exquisiti auctores*, numbering a hundred, whom Pliny excerpated [5]. The work of this physician was a compilation. *παραπλήσια δὲ τῷ Ξενοκράτει καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἔγραψαν περὶ ζῴων, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ξενοκράτης ἐξεγράψατο τὰ πλεῖστα* [6]. But it is very remarkable that he is defined as *ἄνθρωπος τἆλλα περίεργος ἱκανῶς καὶ γοητείας οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος* [7]. Now on comparing the indices of books 33 and 12, given below, it appears that Attalus medicus together with other physicians is to be found under the wing of our Xenocrates; while it is also apparent from the more or less regular sequence of both lists that Heraclides, Botrys, Archedemus, Dionysius, (Democles?) Mnesides although not given the title, are yet the same physicians, and in contrary fashion, it follows that the occurrence of Attalus — also without title — immediately before the name of Xenocrates gives great probability to the supposition that this was the author mentioned by Xenocrates.

28	33	12
omitt. 6 *nom.*		
Theophrastus	Theophrastus	Theophrastus
		omitt. 24 *nom.*
	Democritus	Democritus
		omitt. 3 *nom.*

[1] Münzer, Beiträge zur Quellenkritik d. Naturgesch. d. Plin. Berlin 1897. p. 376—7. 1. [2] P. W. s. v. Attalos 2175.
[3] Gal. XII. 248. 252.261, see Wellmann, Xenocrates aus Aphrodisias, Hermes XLII (1907) p. 614—20. [4] Oehmichen a. l. p. 92.
[5] *N. H. praef.* XVII; cf. Oehmichen p. 91.
[6] Gal. XII. 250; Wellmann p. 622.
[7] Gal. XII. 248; Wellmann p. 628.

	Iuba	Iuba
	Timaeus	Apollodorus
	Heraclides	Heraclides medicus
	Andreas	
	Diagoras	
	Botrys	Botrys medicus
	Archedemus	Archedemus item
	Dionysius	Dionysius item
	Aristogenes	
	Democles	Democedes item
		Euphro item
	Mnesides	Mnesides item
		Diagoras item
Lysimachus		Iollas
Attalus	Attalus medicus	Heraclides Tarentinus
Xenocrates	Xenocrates item	Xenocrates Ephesius

One may also take into consideration in this connection the surroundings [1] in which Attalus is placed, though it may be as well to point once more to the quotation from Galenus XII. 248.

A further indication that this Attalus is the same as Attalus medicus of L. 28 is to be seen in the fact that L. 28 and L. 31 — if this is sufficiently proved for our Attalus, the same may in all probability apply to Attalus L. 31 — deal respectively with the *medicinae de animalibus* and *de aquatilibus*.

It may be concluded from the foregoing that two Attali are quoted by Pliny — supposing at least that Xenocrates of Aphrodisias did not make a mistake in quoting Attalus Philometor as Attalus medicus, seeing that he must have known him well — Attalus Philometor rex (8. 11. 14. 15. 17. 18) and Attalus medicus 28. (31) 33., an unknown personality [2].

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[1] cf. Münzer, p. 377. 1.

[2] Moreover Attalos Philometor maintained connections with Nikander of Kolophon, who dedicated a poem to him of which Suidas gives evidence: ἅμα γραμματικός τε καὶ ποιητὴς καὶ ἰατρός. That he was an ἰατρός is denied by Susemihl (Gesch. d. Griech. Litt. i. d. Alex. Z. I. 6. 302), but on what grounds?

scorpio .... duo ....

The scorpion, considering the innumerable remedies quoted by Pliny against its sting, must have been a greatly dreaded insect in ancient times.

Its dangerous sting and its unpleasant appearance were reason enough for the existence of so much superstition [1]. Thus its sting was fatal to maidens (men died only when stung in the morning) [2], and the great bare spaces on this side of the Ethiopian *Cynamolgi* were said to be a territory robbed of its inhabitants by the scorpion [3].

Dead lobsters [4] laid under a stone were changed into scorpions when the sun was in Cancer. They fed on earth [5], and most remarkable are the relations in a scorpion generation [6]. Burnt to a cinder and drunk in wine they are a weapon against the sting of their own species [7]. Of course there are more preventive measures. For instance, *Telephonum* i. e. scorpion herb, was also drunk as a preventive [8] as well as heliotrope [9]. Even simply wearing the herbs was sufficient [10]. Persons who had been stung need never fear the stings of hornets or wasps [11]. To touch a scorpion with aconite caused it to become rigid, even to grow pale and surrender [12]; but white hellebore caused it to revive [13]. It did not sting on the flat of the hand nor on hairy parts [14]. Besides the land scorpion there is also a sea scorpion [15]. The remedies, among which are also some of sympathetic magic, are too numerous to mention.

An example of sympathetic magic is, for instance, the rubbing to powder of the scorpion, mixing it with wine and then applying it to the sting [16]. Pebbles with the side on which they lay on the earth laid on the sting assuage the pain [17]. Further there are plants as remedies and also such products as dung [18]. As a matter of fact sensible remedies were also known in ancient times: Celsus [19] speaks of a vinegar poultice, or blood-letting.

Abt quotes a form of magic healing from papyri [20]:

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[1] Steier, P.W. s.v. Spinnentiere 1807. [2] *N. H.* XI. 86. [3] VIII. 104. [4] XI. 99. [5] X. 198. [6] XI. 91. [7] XI. 90. [8] XXV. 122. [9] XXII. 59. [10] XXV. 163. [11] XXVIII. 32. [12] XXVII. 6. [13] XXV. 122. [14] XXIX. 91. [15] XXXII. 151. [16] XI. 90. [17] XXIX. 91. [18] XXVIII. 154.

[19] Cels. V. 27. 5; cf. Steier, o. c. 1808.

[20] Pap. Lond. 121. 193. K. W. cf. Abt, Apol. p. 278.

Πρὸς σκορπίου πληγήν.
ἐν χάρτῃ καθαρῷ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας ἐπίγραψον, ἔπιθες ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ ἡ πλήγη, καὶ ἐπίδησον τὸν χάρτην καὶ ἔσται ἄπονος παραυτά.

Besides all this there is a species of spell. The sons of Autolycos even healed the wound of Odysseus with spells [1], Plato says that midwives used spells to aid birth, while spells were useful against bites of poisonous animals [3]. And Galenus, who began by ridiculing spells, afterwards published a book of Homer's medicine in which he defends spells and repudiates his former point of view. He was gradually convinced that there are powers in magic spells, of which he had experienced the virtue, among others against scorpion stings [4].

Word magic is a thing of frequent occurrence [5]. Remarkable in this connection are the following four amulets from Oxyrrh. pap. [6]:

1. *Ορ ορ φορ φορ, Σαβαώθ Ἀδωνέ, Σαλαμα Ταρχει Ἀβρασάξ, δέννω σέ σκορπίε Ἀρτεμισίας, τριακόσια δεκάπεντε Παχων πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ.*

2. *Ὧρ ὦρ φωρ φωρ, Ἰάω Ἀδωναεί Σαβαώθ Σαλαμαν Ταρχχει, δέννεω σαί, σκορπίε Ἀρτεμίσου ιγ'.*

3. *Ὧρ ὦρ φωρ φωρ, Ἀδωναί Σαλαμα ρθαχι, δέννο σε, σκορπίε Ἀρτημίσιε Φαμενωθ τέσσαρο, φωρ ορ ορ οσοα δδδ ρρρ.*

4. and [7] *Ὧρ ὦρ φωρ φωρ, Ἰάω Σαβαώθ, Ἀδονέ, δένο σε, σκορπίε Ἀρτερήσιε, ἀπάλλαξον τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ ρπετοῦ καὶ πράγματος, ταχύ, ταχύ. ὁ ἅγιος Φωκᾶς ὧδέ ἐστιν.*

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[1] *Od.* XIX. 457. [2] *Theaet.* 149. [3] *Euthyd.* 209.
[4] Alex. Trall. XI. 1. cf. Stemplinger, Volksmedizin, p. 49—50, and Abt a. l. p. 278.
[5] Riess, P.W. s.v. Aberglaube 88—89 and Rohde, Psyche II. 77. 1, who refers to Welcker, Kl. Schr. 70. 14, 15 where lions and snakes are soothed by incantation.
[6] Preisendanz, *Pap. Gr. Mag.* II 1931 p. 154. (Oxyrrh. pap 2061/3.)
[7] Preisendanz, a. l. p. 189 (Oxyrrh. pap. 1060).

We see that in these papyri the forms *δέννω, δέννεω, δέννο, δένο* occur consecutirely. Preisendanz gives the meaning as "ich binde", which meaning is also given by Liddell and Scott.

Now if we admit that *DUO*, the word quoted, originates from a Greek physician, whether via Xenocrates or not, we might suppose either corruption in a manuscript or a copying error on the part of Pliny (DUO for DENO).

Prof. Eitrem whose opinion I asked as to this explanation was so kind as to give me the following information. "I have tried to explain the saying *Duo*, in order to keep scorpions away, as the reflex of "*magic* (i. e. apotropaeic) *reiteration*" (cf. Eitrem, Pap. Osloenses I p. 59, *πρὸς δύο οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς*). I do not think that the combination with *δέννω* semasiologically is possible". As an excellent illustration he quotes from Codrington, Journ. of Anthrop. Institute XIX p. 216 f. "A young native of Leper's Island, out of affection for his dead brother, made his bones into arrow-tips. Thereafter he no longer spoke of himself as "I" but as "we two" and was much feared".

As a third explanation I may give Heim's opinion (Incantamenta p. 543) that Duo is simply a number which was used magically. He quotes Hipp. p. 148 c. 1214; Alex. Trall. II p. 319 as parallels.

De his ut cuique libitum fuerit opinetur, as Pliny says.

Therefore, solely by the great power of the word [1], the power of the sting was nullified. Thus simply by a mere statement the pain of the scorpion sting was transferred to asses [2]. It seems that traces of this form of magic were already to be found in Egypt [3].

In art the scorpion is a favourite motif, while most representations are connected with magical, apotropaeic, or astrological ideas [4]. This also goes back to very ancient times. A seal stone, which was probably imported in Argolis from Crete is discussed by Vollgraff [5]. On this there is a scorpion (not completely drawn) and a figure of a man (made small) who is probably making an apotropaeic gesture.

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[1] Riess. a. l. 89. [2] XXVIII. 155. [3] Riess, ib. [4] Steier, a. l. 1809.
[5] Mededeelingen Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch. Amsterdam. 1927—28 serie B. p. 15—16.

quoniam admonuit.... Africa....

As the name *"Africa"* is explicitly mentioned in contrast to the "gods", one would be inclined to think, at first sight, that the abstract appellation of the continent is meant, where simply the name in itself plays a great rôle. As a matter of fact, as we have seen, names were of great significance, and by pronouncing them, great power could be exercised over the bearer even if the latter were a god [1]. This was the reason for secrecy with regard to names and for the adoption of secondary names, as also occurred in the case of cities [2].

All this only applies to individuals or city states, which counted as individuals. But in regard to Africa, which in the narrowest sense of the word [4] can hardly be considered even as a country, there can be no question of a name, in which case the magical use of it must, practically speaking, be impossible. This could, moreover, only apply to Roman immigrants, as it can hardly be supposed that the word *"Africa"* should occur in the Phoenician language. The word itself is a purely adjectival formation from *"Afri"* [5], while the name *Afri* is certainly non-Greek and is probably related to that of the Hebrews [6]. For this reason the question raised by Vivien de St. Martin [7], who connects it with Ifrîkis, the Arabian heros eponymos, is of no further interest, since it is absurd to look for the origin of an Arabic word in a Phoenician one [8].

Now we know that *Africa* was personified in the time of Hadrian, as a woman, represented in divers ways on bronze coins [9], with a scorpion in her hand [10] or on her head, in other cases also

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[1] Dieterich, Mithraslit. p. 110 sq.

[2] Pfister, P. W. s.v. Kultus 2155.

[3] Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* I. 277.

[4] Schmidt, P. W. s.v. Africa 713.

[5] Meltzer, Geschichte d. Karthager I p. 432—3.

[6] Mommsen, Röm. Gesch. *Ib* p. 143.

[7] Le nord d'Afrique, p. 150 ff.

[8] Meltzer, a. l. p. 433. Well-known is the place of Servius ad Verg. *Aen.* I. 22: *dicta ante Libya vel quod inde Libs flat, h. e. Africus, vel ut Varro ait, quasi λιπνία egens pluviae*; ad Verg. *Aen.* VI. 312: *„inmittit apricis" quasi ἄνευ φρίκους i. e. sine frigore .... unde etiam nonnulli Africam dictam volunt.*

[9] Perdrusi, Caesari VI. 29. 1; cf. Dictionn. s. v. Africa p. 128.

[10] ib. See too: Imhoof—Keller, Münze u. Gemmen VII 42—46; cf. Steier, P. W. s.v. Spinnentiere 1809.

with elephant attributes [1], that is, an elephant's skin with trunk and tusks drawn over her head [2], and with ears of corn and a plough shown beside her, which attributes are characteristic of her as a mother of wild animals and as the giver of fruitfulness [3] — one thinks involuntarily of Mela [4]: *multiformes ibi animalium partus . . . . unde etiam volgare Graeciae dictum: semper aliquid novi Africam adferre* [5].

This shows us why the scorpion reminds Pliny of *Africa:* it was the attribute for the personification of the hot countries [6].

Is it, therefore, quite unthinkable, that, in a time in which no more new gods were created, and at most syncretism took place — mark well that Pliny contrasts Africa with the gods — and in which Africa is personified, but owing to lack of tradition not exalted to a deity, she should nevertheless be invoked by popular religion?

The fact that Africa is everywhere imaged as the representative [7] of another world and, as has been said, as the donor of faithfulness, too, shows that the step to deification was only prevented by the altered spirit of the times, which may explain the surprise of Pliny who cannot think why "*Africa*" is invoked where others invoke the aid of the gods.

religiones . . . .

Although, gradually, some degree of clearness seems to have been reached in regard to what is understood by *'religio'*, it might be as well to sum up the various modern conceptions concerning the basic meaning of the word.

a. In 1899 Fowler [8] wrote, "His fear of the unknown was thus for the primitive Roman a wholesome discipline; and his attitude towards it he aptly and characteristically called *religio* because it *bound* him to the performance of certain regulated duties, cal-

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[1] Dictionn., ib.
[2] Höfer u. X., Roscher M. L. s.v. Libye 2039.
[3] Höfer u. X., 2040. [4] VIII. 42.
[5] See also Otto, Sprichw. p. 8 for Greek version.
[6] Steier a. l. 1809.
[7] See for the various representations, Höfer u. X., 2039—41.
[8] Fowler, Festivals p. 347.

culated to keep his footsteps straight as he walked daily in this unseen world" — where *religio* is clearly derived from *religare*.

b. Then in 1909 [1] the opinion of Otto was published that *religio* = "das Bedenken, die Gewissenhaftigkeit angesichts irgendeiner wichtigen, "bedenklichen" Sache." This is a negative understanding of the word [2] and Otto agrees with Cicero in his derivation from "*relegere*" [3].

c. In 1911 Warde Fowler [4] wrote, "The effective desire to be in right relation with these mysterious powers, so that they might not interfere with his material well-being .... this is what we may call the religious instinct, the origin of what the Romans called *religio*" [5], and explained it further in his publication "Roman essays and interpretations", [6] saying that it is merely a question of feeling whether one takes *ligare* or *legere* as the root word — which in his case inclined strongly to (*re*)*legere* = to string together, to arrange. This makes *religio* in its original meaning to be "the feeling of awe, anxiety, doubt or fear which is aroused in mind by something that cannot be explained by a man's experience or by the natural course of cause and effect and which is therefore referred to the supernatural".

d. In 1910 there appeared a dissertation of M. Kobbert [7] of which the result may be summed up as follows: the *religio* in its original form was for the Romans a power that acted independently of man, a taboo adhering to certain places, times and things,whereby man, robbed of his own will, is impeded, shackled and bound. Derivation from *religare* [8].

This opinion is now also shared by modern scholars [9]. We can therefore distinguish four cases:

a. subjective: feeling bound to the performance of certain rites in order to live in agreement with divine powers.

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[1] Archiv XII. p. 533 sq. [2] Otto, a. l. p. 537. [3] Otto, a. l. p. 540.
[4] Relig. Exp. p. 9. [5] cf. Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 380.
[6] "The Latin History of the word *Religio*", p. 7—8.
[7] De verborum "*religio*" atque "*religiosus*" usu apud Romanos, Regimonti 1910.
[8] Kobbert, a. l. p. 55.
[9] See Wagenvoort, Varia Vita$_2$ p. 62—63; W. Kroll, Die Kultur d. Cic. Zeit II p. 8. (Erbe d. Alten, II R. 1933, p. 23).

b. subjective: awe, circumspection for things imbued with taboo.

c. subjective: the invention of a *modus vivendi* in regard to things embosoming fear and awe.

d. objective: being bound by taboo.

or:

religare / the taboo notion binds (*d*)
religare \ binding oneself to ritual (*a*)
relegere / attempt to come to an arrangement (*c*)
relegere \ being filled with veneration for taboo (*b*).

As is known, the antitheses are based on the two contradictory explanations handed down to us from antiquity, the one from Cicero [1], *qui autem omnia quae ad cultum deorum pertinerent, diligenter retractarent et tamquam relegerent, sunt dicti religiosi ex relegendo ut elegantes ex eligendo, ex diligendo diligentes, ex intellegendo intellegentes* [2], the other from Lactantius [3], *hac enim condicione gignimur ut generanti nos deo iusta et debita obsequia praebeamus, hunc solum noverimus, hunc sequamur. Hoc vinculo pietatis obstricti deo et religati sumus, unde ipsa religio nomen ceperit, non ut Cicero interpretatus est a relegendo.*

I prefer explanation *d.* for two reasons. In the first place the etymological derivation (questioned by Conway [4]) of *religio* [5] is red-ligion i. e. the impeding bond > lat. *religio*, i. e. taboo, awe, fear of action, in which the connection of to bind with to enchant is indicated; for the same word *ligare*, whence *religio*, i. e. being bound back, is present as a stem in *lictor*, *pollictor:* the magician or medicine man who bound and kept at a distance impending decomposition.

Further it is more admissible to accept a word in the oldest language with objective meaning, than one with subjective feeling [6], especially as this taboo idea is expressed also in other words such as *sacer* [7].

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[1] Cic. *Nat. Deor.* II. 72. [2] cf. Gell. IV. 9. 1; Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 380. 3.
[3] *Inst. div.* IV. 28. 2. [4] Fowler, Essays p. 7.
[5] Muller, Altit. Wörterb. p. 566. [6] Wagenvoort, a. l. p. 62.
[7] Wagenvoort refers to Fowler, Essays p. 21. It is remarkable that Fowler, who defines the idea *sacer* as taboo, could not bring himself so far as to agree with Kobbert in this respect for *religio* too.

Still clearer is *religio* to be understood as a disastrous power in an old charm in Marcus Empiricus [1], *exi hodie nata, si ante nata . . . . hanc pestem, hanc pestilentiam . . . . hanc religionem evoco educo excanto de istis membris, medullis*,where, as a result of *evocare, educere, excantare* the objective significance of *religio* comes to the fore and the idea of bewitching is excluded. Very typifying is a place quoted by Wagenvoort [2], *sicut omnis religio templorum, omnis religio lucorum, cum tacuere mortalia et profani procul erravere sedibus totis, solitudine frui et de suis dicitur exire simulacris, ...* Thus we must also understand *religio* to be taboo, Virg. VIII 347—52:

> *Hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit,*
> *aurea nunc, olim silvestris horrida dumis.*
> *Iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis*
> *dira loci, iam tum silvam saxumque tremebant.*
> *'Hoc nemus, hunc' inquit 'frondoso vertice collem*
> *(quis deus incertum est) habitat deus' . . . .*

Although a *religio loci* is meant here, and an orendistic taboo might be expected, it is explained animistically by Virgil in verse 352. And when in another place the poet conceives *religio* subjectively as a *religio patrum* (*Aen.* VIII. 597—8) *est ingens . . . . lucus . . . . religione patrum late sacer* and *religio parentum* (*Aen.* VII. 170—2) *tectum . . . . horrendum silvis et religione parentum*, the adjuncts *sacer* and *horridus* prove that the notion of taboo is still uppermost [3].

In agreement with this is also the legal meaning of the corresponding word *religiosus* [4] which, although it has its definite meaning in connection with places and tombs, is used by Cicero in a rather peculiar manner in a contradictory sense in mentioning statues and temples of the *dii superi* [5].

Even when *religio* becomes *actio* the objective meaning of the

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[1] XV. 11; cf. Heim, Incantam., see M. Kobbert, P. W. s. v. Religio 565—66.
[2] Varia Vita$_2$ p. 63.
[3] cf. VII. 607—8.
[4] Harrer, Class. Philol. 1924 p. 83; cf. Festus p. 278 M.
[5] cf. *Verr.* II. 4. 127; II. 4. 93.

word remains primary [1]. Compare expressions as *religio est* = *nefas est* [2], even used without a sacred character [3].

However, a rule that prohibits and prevents also requires the contrary [4], and in this way *religio* is used in a positive [5] sense. Then *religio* becomes a cult and is the sum of all *religiones*, positive and negative, in which, moreover, the subjective meaning of "worship" is included [6].

Though in § 23 and § 25 *religiosius* is the equivalent of "more active", *religiones* in § 25 contains entirely the idea of taboo, even intensified by the adjective *mutas*. In § 28 the original meaning of *religiosum* can be given.

anulum . . . .

As regards the purely material side of the ring see Ganschinietz in Pauly Wissowa [7].

If one considers the ring as an element of magic, two points of view are possible: either it was so from the beginning or else the magic element was added to it later. For the first point of view Heckenbach [8] breaks a lance, by putting forward that rings are only a *"licium in nodum conexum"* and referring to the well-known inscription in the sanctuary at Lycosyra [9]:

μὴ ἐξέστω παρερπῆν ἔχοντας ἐν τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς Δεσποίνας . . . . μηδὲ ὑποδήματα μηδὲ δακτύλιον.

He refers further to Ovid,[10]:

usus abest Veneris, nec fas animalia mentis
ponere nec digitis anulus ullus inest.

Thus at incubation rites no rings or girdles were worn [11] and there are many places in ancient literature where at *rogationes*

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[1] Kobbert, P. W. s. v. *Religio* 566.
[2] Gell. X. 15. 3: *equo Dialem flaminem vehi religio est.*
[3] Plaut. *Curc.* 350, *vocat me ad cenam; religio fuit, denegare nolui.* cf. Plin. XXVIII. 28; XVIII. 8; XIX. 133; XXX. 42.
[4] Kobbert, P. W. l. l. 567. [5] cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXV. 30.
[6] Kobbert, P. W. 567—8. [7] P. W. I A. s. v. Ring 807—33.
[8] De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis, R. V. V. IX. 3. (1911) p. 70. cf. Frazer G. B. III p. 293 sq.; Eitrem, Opferritus p. 61.
[9] p. 70. cf. Ditt. Syll.$_3$ 999. [10] *Fasti*, IV. 658.
[11] Lex sacra Pergamenii Aesculapii, Fraenkel, Inschr. v. Pergamon, No. 264.

et supplicationes the women let their hair hang loose [1]. Heckenbach gives ample documentation for the theory of the prohibiting of bands and knots on religious occasions [2]. Side by side with this stands the other point of view that popular imagination was merely occupied with the ring as such, and that only at later times, when the wearing of rings had become a custom, did the wearing of them become clothed with magical reasons [3].

A third theory may well be added to these. A ring is a shape not occurring in nature. When technical skill created the ring the creation aroused veneration and this veneration was the first step to the creating of a magical sphere and of magical powers. This theory gains in probability when one considers how great the magic significance of the ring is among primitive peoples. We leave undiscussed the question of whether or not the ring was meant in the first place as an ornament [4].

We must, however, not lose sight of the fact that it can hardly be supposed that the ring was directly fashioned into a finger-ring. The garland or wreath is also a ring and among uncivilised people the wreath as well as the finger-ring is endowed with magical properties [5]. Deubner [6], too, points this out and even makes a mild attack on such a man of authority as v. Wilamowitz, who in these matters will hear nothing of the "moderne Magieschwärmer" [7], and quotes among other things a striking example [8] from Greek charm papyri [9] for the exorcising of daemons, *ἔξελθε, δαῖμον, ἐπεί σε δεσμεύω δεσμοῖς ἀδαμαντίνοις ἀλύτοις* . . . . For information as to wreaths see further this interesting article.

If one agrees with Heckenbach that rings are a transformation into metal of threads originally wound round the body, the use of which threads in apotropaeic function is known to us from sculpture [10], (though those threads were never used on fingers)

[1] cf. Appel, De Rom. Precationibus R. V. V. VII, 2, (1909) p. 203.
[2] p. 70—77. [3] Ganschinietz, P. W. s. v. 833.
[4] Frazer, G. B. III p. 313. 14. [5] Frazer, G. B. IX. p. 2.
[6] Archiv. XXX (1933) p. 70.
[7] v. Wilamowitz, Glaube d. Hellenen, I p. 290. 5.
[8] Deubner, Archiv, a. l. p. 101.
[9] Griech. Zauberpapyri 4. 1227 sq. (I. p. 114 Preis.).
[10] Ganschinietz. a. l. 836 refers to P. Wolters, Faden u. Knoten als Amulett, Archiv. VIII (1905) Beiheft, p. 1 sq.

one must expect the knots also to have been imitated in the metal work, of which no examples are known. In support of the second point of view, in spite of the opposition of Ganschinietz [1], we may put forward the theory of Wünsch who finds the origin of the superstition in the ever in itself returning form of the ring [2]; while it appears to me as a fault of synchronism, which we may forgive in Pliny but not in Ganschinietz, if the origin of the ring is sought in the chains of Prometheus, *vinculumque id, non gestamen intellegi* (*antiquitas*) *voluit* [3].

The third theory seems to me, however, to be the most admissible, though I must at once add that I omit to prove this on account of its impossibility. It is, in these matters, not possible, of course, to trace the origin with mathematical certainty, however many places one can quote in proof of one's theory.

It is the property of rings to bind and in this quality they not only keep some influences enclosed but keep others away [4] (I shall speak further of finger-rings and leave ear-rings, for instance, undiscussed. Nowhere in ancient literature, have I met with any reference to any magical quality of ear-rings. They appear to have been merely ornaments [5].) That is of course purely prohibitive magic. Under this head can be classified the particulars which Gellius gives [6] of the *Flamen Dialis, "item anulo uti nisi pervio cassoque fas non est* [7]," in which case the ring would act in its enclosing quality. The binding aspect of the ring becomes more plainly evident if we compare the rule that the same *Flamen Dialis* might wear no knots of any description in his clothing [8]. See also the place mentioned in Ovid's *Fasti* [9], and the rules for the temple at Lycosyra, and the following [10], *si quis unum ex his* (fruits of the

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[1] a. l. 835.

[2] Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon, Berlin 1905, p. 42.

[3] XXXIII. 8.

[4] Frazer, G. B. III p. 293—317; Portengen, Primitieve Kultuur p. 46.

[5] cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 982 "they cannot have hands .... as they wear rings in their ears". The same applies to bracelets: cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXXIII. 39. It is doubtful to what extent the rings in lions' mouths can be explained magically. (Ship of Calligula!).

[6] *N. A.* X. 15. 6. [7] cf. Festus s. v. *ederam*, p. 82 M.

[8] *N. A.* X. 15. 9. [9] Ov. *Fast.* IV. 658; cf. Frazer, Fast. III p. 321.

[10] *N. H.* XXIII. 59.

cytinus) *solutus vinculo omni cinctus et calciatus atque etiam anuli decerpserit . . . . atque devoraverit . . . . affirmatus nullam oculorum imbecillitatem passurus eodem anno.* In other places too we find prohibitions, probably popular beliefs, introduced as rules in philosophical schools, *μὴ δακτύλιον φορεῖν* [1].

This leads to what Pliny states in *N.H.* XXXIII. 12, *etiam nunc sponsae muneris vice ferreus anulus mittitur*, which is certainly the magical tie with which the bride is bound.

We here pass over to impetrative magic, for a rule which forbids and prevents requires also the contrary [2]. It is not the ring as such which counts as *arra* but the magic in the ring. This is also the starting point for explaining the name *symbolum* [3], for when the magic was no longer felt and the origin forgotten, the custom spread of giving the ring itself as a pledge [4]. There can be no thought of the purchase of the bride by means of the ring as Ganschinietz suggests [5]. That this was still felt in later times appears from what Gellius makes Apion relate [6], that people imagined in the ring finger a *nervum quendam tenuissimum . . . . ad cor hominis pergere ac pervenire; propterea non inscitum visum esse eum potissimum digitum tali honore decorandum, qui continens et quasi conexus esse cum principatu cordis videretur.*

And probably this gave rise to the custom that *iis tantum qui legati ad exteras gentes ituri essent anuli publice dabantur . . . .* [7] for these had to be magically bound.

And both the wreath and the ring are magical in what Pliny subsequently adds, *neque aliis uti mos fuit quam qui ex ea causa publice accepissent, volgoque sic triumphabant, et cum corona ex auro Etrusca sustineretur a tergo, anulus tamen in digito ferreus erat aeque triumphantis et servi fortasse coronam sustinentis* [8]: for

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[1] Jambl. *Protr.* 21; cf. Plut. *de Lib. educ.* 12 and Clem. Al. *Strom.* V. 5. 28.
[2] Kobbert, P. W. s. v. Religio 566—7.
[3] *N. H.* XXXIII. 10.
[4] XXXIII. 28. [5] Ganschinietz a. l. 840. [6] *N. A.* X. 10. 2.
[7] XXXIII. 11.
[8] ib. In general metal rings have a greater power, iron the greatest; Heckenb. p. 92; R. Wünsch, Ant. Zauberger. aus Perg. Archaeol. Jahrb. Ergänz. H. VI. Berlin 1905. p. 42; cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXXIII. 9 and 12. It is remarkable that iron still in the present day plays a part among primitive races as material for rings; cf. Frazer G. B. III p. 313.

the *triumphator* was also protected [1] in other ways against the evil eye; in which case the latter is to be thought of as prohibitive and the former as impetrative magic. In close connection with this is the fact that the ring is neglected in the older, purely representative sculpture [2], seeing that here the ring in reality encloses nothing, and is only efficacious on living beings.

We are not astonished to hear Pliny declare [3], *Midae quidem anulum quo circumacto habentem nemo cerneret, quis non fabulosiorem fateatur*, but it strikes us as strange when our author opens up for us a prospect in which [4] *alii terram substernunt lacertae viridi excaecatae et una in vitreo vase anulos includunt e ferro solido vel auro. Cum recepisse visum lacertam apparuit per vitrum, emissa ea anulis contra lippitudinem utuntur*!

Even he who sneezes need not despair: (*suadent*) *plerique anulum e sinistra in longissimum dextrae digitum transferre* [5]. We find an interesting parallel to this in Petronius [6], where two superstitious practices are applied by Trimalchio for the averting of the danger of fire, namely the pouring out of wine under the table [7] and the changing round of the ring. Ganschinietz [8] explains it in this way, that the changing of fingers puts the magic power present in the ring in action, and reminds us that we have here a case of a death rite, in which rings are also taken off, for Trimalchio himself says, *aliquis in vicinia animam abiciet.*

The putting on again of the ring must therefore mean a renewing of the magic influence. This seems also to be the remedy for hiccoughs [9]. Further Pliny relates the following [10], *cerebrum caprae magi per anulum aureum traiectum prius quam lac detur infantibus instillant contra comitiales ceterosque infantium morbos.* It concerns here, therefore, an enchantment of the *cerebrum caprae.* Magic rings are a general phenomenon. Thus [11], *'Εξήκεστός*

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[1] see "*effascinationibus*". [2] XXXIII. 9. [3] XXXIII. 8. [4] XXIX. 130.
[5] XXVIII. 57. [6] Petr. 74. 2. [7] cf. XXVIII. 26.
[8] Ganschinietz, a. l. 839.
[9] cf. Heckenbach, a. l. p. 85: Ps. Theod. *Additam. ad Theod. Prisc. empor.* II. 29 (p. 327 Rose): *Item anulum assidue cum digitis medicinalibus de dextra manu in sinistram duces, de sinistra in dextram.*
[10] XXVIII. 259.
[11] Arist. *Polit.* frgm. 599 Rose. (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I p. 144, Sylb.).

τε, ὁ Φωκαιέων τύραννος δύο δακτυλίους φορῶν γεγοητευμένους τῷ ψόφῳ τῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διηοθάνετο τοὺς καιροὺς τῶν πράξεων, while Dicaeus says to a sycophant [1], "I fear you not, φορῶ γὰρ πριάμενος τὸν δακτύλιον τονδί παρ' Εὐδάμου δραχμῆς." These rings were, according to the scholion, for sale; they were called φαρμακῖται. Moreover, according to the same scholion [2], they are mentioned by Eupolis and Antiphanes [3]. Ganschinietz mentions various other examples of magic rings [4]. Thus Lucianus [5], where Timolaus asks for rings from Hermes, one for strength, health, invulnerability and apathy, and one to give invisibility, such as Gyges wore. Flavius Josephus [6] relates that the science of exorcising devils was still much practised in his days, and quotes as an example how a certain Eleazaros, in the presence of Vespasian, cured people possessed of devils. He went about it in this manner: the ring containing under the seal the matters prescribed by Solomon [7] was held under the nose of the man possessed. The devil was drawn out through the nose and as a proof that this was really so Flavius mentions the fact that the evil spirit knocked over a footbath of water placed before the patient [8].

As a conclusion one more example of a magic ring [9] with an image of a god as a seal, Σφράγιζε δακτυλίῳ ὁλοσιδήρῳ ὁλοστόμῳ ἔχοντι Ἑκάτην καὶ κύκλῳ τὸ ὄνομα· φαρβουφερβα [10].

Probably the rings which Pliny mentions [11], *iam vero et Harpocraten statuasque Egyptiorum numinum in digitis viri quoque portare incipiunt* were also magical [12]. The ring is always worn on the left hand [13], especially on the third finger, while the middle finger is never used [14]. It is an unsolved question why the middle finger should be called *digitus medicus* and the third finger *digitus medici-*

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[1] Arist. *Plut.* 833 sq. [2] cf. Kock I. 87.
[3] Athen. III p. 123*b* = Kock II 177; from J. v. Buytenen, Fragm. uit Aristot. Politeiai, diss. Utr. 1932, p. 82.
[4] Ganschinietz a. l. 838. [5] Luc. *Nav.* 42. [6] *Arch.* VIII. 2. 5.
[7] Ganschinietz, a. l. 838 refers to the late book of Magic: de Anulo Salomonis, Pineda, Mainz 1613.
[8] cf. too: Clem. Al. *Strom.* I. 33. 4 and Luc. *Philopseud.* 63. There are traces of Solomon's ring up to our times, cf. Dieterich, Abraxas p. 42.
[9] Heckenbach, a. l. p. 97. [10] Pap. Par. 2690. [11] XXXIII. 41.
[12] cf. *N. H.* II. 21 .... *digitis deos colunt* .... [13] XXXIII. 13.
[14] XXXIII. 24.

nalis [1]. Perhaps the middle finger was called *digitus medicus* because its power could not be diminished by binding [2].

The custom that Pliny mentions here seems to occur not infrequently elsewhere. The Jews lay aside the ring before going to table [3], with the alleged explanation that this is to prevent the accident of any dirt remaining under the ring after washing, which might be an obstacle to the prescribed purification. There is probably a kind of binding magic attached to this. We may also compare here the fact that in South Germany on the Rhine it is forbidden to sit at table with crossed legs, and that Mahommedans only cross their legs at the end of a meal [4]. The proof given by v. Haberland from Aristoph. *Nub.* 983 I take the liberty of doubting.

Eitrem explains it thus, that the Romans put their rings on the table before commencing to do anything. This explanation does not seem to me to be the correct one [5].

From the term *translatitium* (sc. *esse*) I draw the conclusion that Pliny's age was no longer able to give a reason for this.

Would the following explanation not seem possible?

Food is sacred, endowed with orenda. In the mind of the primitive everything that binds and encloses must be an obstacle to the absorbing of the orenda. He who wears a ring is excluded from participation in this fortifying power, and cannot experience the good that would otherwise have accrued to him from the act of consuming. Added to this is also the fact that the time at which food is taken is also imbued with orenda. This time is dangerous and it will therefore be as well to lay aside magically active objects [6].

saliva . . . .

A short discussion of this subject must suffice. My opinion, as will further be explained in "*adorando*", is that it was an easily produced material for surrendering when transferring one's orenda.

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[1] cf. O. Weinreich, Antike Heilungswunder, R. V. V. VIII. 1. (1909) p. 45. 2.; Ganschinietz 837.

[2] Heckenbach, a. l. p. 84.

[3] cf. v. Haberland: Über Gebräuche u. Aberglauben beim Essen, Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. XVIII (1888) p. 259.

[4] ib. [5] Eitrem, Opferritus p. 62. [6] cf. Introduction p. 8.

Stemplinger [1] in saying that the starting point is primarily the warding off of harmful daemons is in so far wrong as the idea was rather to bind daemons to oneself by the transferring of saliva or to propitiate them [2]. So the theurgist [3] must pronounce the great name *ἀεηιουω* in all its parts, accompanied by all kinds of ceremonies, *εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐπιπτύων παραπτόμενος τῶν ἄκρων ποδῶν λέγε ο.* If there are images of gods or fetishes at hand, this must be done by licking or rubbing them with a finger, but in the case of unforeseen events, spitting is de rigueur; hence also the injunctions of Pliny to spit three times in order to be certain of reaching the daemons [4]. Thus we must also understand, *comitiales morbos despuimus, hoc est contagia regerimus* [5]. In *in sinum spuere* [6] is also contained the original thought of sacrificing one's orenda, as also in what follows, *terna despuere deprecatione in omni medicina mos est.* Moreover, we can learn from XXVIII. 35—39 to what manner of uses saliva was put, while in 37 wholesome uses can be considered, which, in a perfectly natural manner, can also be met with even in the animal world.

Saliva seems to me to have become an obvious magic remedy, which might explain why Christ [7] made use of it to work His miracles, with the difference, of course, that this cure was immediate. Stemplinger, too, [8] discusses the fact that the grandmother or nurse moistened the forehead of the new-born child with saliva [9]. For further material I can refer to Sittl [10].

I cannot agree with his opinion that spitting was a threat, an expression of scorn for daemons, and his material must be differently explained; thus his "ausspucken" and "anspucken" are essentially

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[1] Stemplinger, Volksmedizin p. 55.

[2] For examples see Sittl, o. l. p. 117—8.

[3] Dieterich, Abraxas p. 198. 1. [4] Plin. *N. H.* XXVIII. 39. [5] id. XXVIII. 35.

[6] id. XXVIII. 36; cf. Theocr. 6. 39.

[7] John. IX. 6; Mark. VII. 33.

[8] o. l. p. 55. [9] See *"adorando"*.

[10] Sittl, o. l. p. 116 sq.; Wundt, Völkerpsychologie IV p. 98 sq.; Raum, Archiv. X (1907) p. 269 sq.; Crombie 'The Saliva superstition', Internat. Folkl. congr. 1891: Papers and transactions, London 1892 p. 249 sq.; Nicholson, Harvard studies, Class. Phil. VIII Boston 1897 p. 23 sq.; Crooke, Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics s. v. Saliva.

the same, while the former is for immaterial and the latter for material beings.

The same opinion that saliva is a magic charm on account of its repulsiveness is given by Stemplinger [1].

In Germany people still spit on the first coin received and in the first milk given to calves, and spitting three times is still in vogue for charms [2].

digito ....

The fingers being the most expressive part of the hand, the symbolic activity of the hand is often transferred to the fingers [3]. The fingers play in superstition and faith a very significant part [4]. Pliny deduces a short life from their too great length [5], and it was considered an ominous sign to be in the presence of pregnant women or to administer medicine with interlocked fingers, as was experienced by Alcmena at the birth of Hercules. The same prohibition was in force for the discussions of generals and magistrates, sacrifices and votive offerings [6].

The tying together of the two middle fingers of the right hand with linen is a charm against disease of the eyes [7].

Of course superstition must soon have got the upper hand in regard to particular fingers. Thus we have already seen the peculiar use of the ring finger in touching the back of the ear as the seat of memory [8], and it is for many a religious custom to cut the nails, beginning with the first finger, on the *nundinae* [9]; and for preparing medicine the middle finger must serve [10]. Moreover, the nails of the fingers were not cut at the time of sacrificial ceremonies [11].

The question as to which finger also plays a part in the wearing of rings [12].

pollices ....

The thumb was considered to be the powerful finger. The derivation from *pollere* is probably popular etymology [13], cf. Macr. [14]

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[1] Stemplinger Aberglaube p. 77. [2] id. p. 78.
[3] Bächtold Stäubli, Hdwb. d. D. A, s. v. Finger 1478. [4] id. 1479.
[5] Plin. *N. H.* XI. 273. [6] XXVIII. 59. [7] XXVIII. 42. [8] XI. 251.
[9] XXVIII. 28. [10] XXX. 108. [11] Ovid. *Fasti* IV. 166—7.
[12] see "*anulum*". [13] Muller, Altit. Wörterb. p. 347—8.
[14] Macr. *Sat.* VIII. 13. 14.

ab eo quod pollet. It was thought to be gifted with supernatural power [1]. Thus the touch of a virgin's thumb was said to cure epilepsy [2]. It was also believed that the tying of the pollex of hand or foot to the nearest digit communicated the power of the pollex to the body [3]. In this way *tumores inguinum* and diseases of the eye were cured! [4] Stemplinger [5] explains the custom as a survival of "Bindungszauber". It was desired to hold the hostile daemons in the same way as the thumb was held, and he refers to Grimm [6].

Yet I believe that this custom is explained from a wrong point of view. It has already been said that the thumb was a centre of power; it was bent inwards as a sign of good-will and bent outwards when evil was intended (*verto — converto*).

Munera nunc edunt, — et verso pollice vulgus
cum libet occidunt populariter [7] . . . .,

and, *Fata serunt animas et eodem pollice damnant* [8],
likewise,

Et quotiens victor ferrum jugulo inserit illa
delicias ait esse suas, pectusque iacentis
virgo modesta iubet converso pollice rumpi [9].

The not enclosed thumb was called *infestus* [10], *fit et ille habitus qui . . . . manum infesto pollice extendit.*

The extending of the thumb means exhibiting and spreading forth its power; thus we also see the thumb used as a means of averting the evil eye [11]. That the thumb was filled with an evil power was also apparent from the fact that maniacs bite their own thumbs [12], *Canidia rodens pollicem: habitum et motum Canidia expressit furentis. Petronius ut monstraret furentem: "pollice" ait "usque ad periculum roso".*

What is, therefore, more logical than to conclude that just as the extending of this "organ of power" was for the purpose of spreading evil or of averting it, so the enclosing of the thumb was a sign of friendliness and good-will.

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[1] Stemplinger, Hdwb. d. D. A. s. v. Daumen 147.
[2] Plin. *N. H.* XXVIII. 43. [3] XXVIII. 42. [4] XXVIII. 42. [5] l. l.
[6] Grimm, D. W. B. II. p. 848. [7] Juv. *Sat.* III. 36.
[8] Stat. *Theb.* VIII. 26. [9] Prud. *contra Symmach.* II. 1096 sq.
[10] Quint. XI. 3. 119. [11] see *"effascinationibus"* and *"adorando"*.
[12] Pseudacro, ad Hor. *Ep.* V. 48.

The gesture had not the least obscene significance, at least not directly, as Kiessling [1] and with him Otto [2] suppose it to have. Heckenbach [3] at the time denied this already.

As a Greek parallel for the *fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum* of Horace [4] the words that Alciphron's Glycera writes to her beloved Menander [5] are quoted [6], *κἂν τοῖς παρασκηνίοις ἑστηκα τοὺς δακτύλους ἐμαυτῆς πιέζουσα καὶ τρέμουσα, ἕως ἂν κροταλίσῃ τὸ θέατρον.*

But the parallel is incorrect. In Horace is meant a gesture of applause on the part of the audience in a theatre; in Alciphron Glycera stands waiting anxiously in the attiring room and in her anxiety as to whether he will be applauded she presses her nails into her flesh. There is here no question of a gesture of thumbs.

Apparently, therefore, it was a widespread custom, seeing that Pliny speaks of a proverb [7].

The thumb is still considered as a lucky finger, playing an important part, even at the present time, in the combating of "Alpdruck" and witches [8], as also in popular medicine [9].

adorando ....

Although many varieties of superstition are mentioned by Pliny and placed side by side without any apparent relation, yet his own remark in § 24, *quoniam scorpio admonuit*, causes us to look for such a relation; and I believe that this is indeed to be found in § 25.

The following passages may perhaps serve to prove that *adorare* means a motion of the hand: —

Quint. XI. 3. 115, (*adoratio* = *invocatio deorum*) *diversi autem sunt hi gestus* (*manuum*) *sive submittimus sive adorantes attollimus sive aliqua demonstrationi aut invocationi protendimus.* (cf. Virg. *Aen.* II 700, Suet. *Nero* 41).

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[1] Hor. *Ep.* I. 18. 66.
[2] Otto, Sprichwörter p. 283.
[3] Heckenbach, de Nuditate p. 99.
[4] Hor. *Ep.* I. 18. 66.
[5] Alciphr. IV. 16. 5. Schepers (II. 4. Mein.).
[6] Orelli-Mewes, Kiessling—Heinze ad l.
[7] Otto, l. l.
[8] Stemplinger, Volksmedizin p. 174. [9] id. 175.

Plin. *N. H.* XI. 50, *hominis genibus quaedam et religio inest observatione gentium. haec supplices attingunt, ad haec manus tendunt, haec ut aras adorant.*

N. H. VIII. 215, (puts these words into Mucianus' mouth on the subject of monkeys) *luna cava tristes esse, novam exultatione adorare.*

N. H. XXXIV. 73, *Bryaxis Aesculapium et Seleucum fecit, Boedas adorantem. N. H.* XXXV. 67, *eius* (*sc. Apollodori*) *est sacerdos adorans.*

When Pliny informs us that applying saliva behind the ear brings peace of mind, he must necessarily have been reminded of *adorare* by the fact of having first to touch the mouth before applying spittle behind the ear, whence the following passage. For the fact that *adorare* can take place without a motion of the hand we find evidence in what follows about the *poppysmus*.

The handkiss is known to us not only by this place but also by various other places. In the first place in Apul. *Met.* IV. 28 at the beginning of the fable of Amor and Psyche, *Multi denique civium et advenae copiosi, quos eximii spectaculi rumor studiosa celebritate congregabat, inaccessae formonsitatis admiratione stupidi, et admoventes oribus suis dextram, primore digito in erectum pollicem residente ut ipsam prorsus deam Venerem religiosis adorationibus venerabantur.*

Hieron. *Apolog. adv. Ruf.* I. 19 *καταφιλήσατε id est deosculamini: .... quod ego nolens transferre putide, sensum magis secutus sum, ut dicerem adorate. Quia enim qui adorant, solent deosculari manum.* Minuc. Fel. *Octav.* 2. 4. *Caecilius simulacro Serapidis denotato ut vulgus solet superstitiosus manum ori admovens osculum labiis impressit.* Apul. *Apol.* 56, *si fanum aliquod praetereat, nefas habet adorandi gratia manum labris admovere.* An amusing example is the elephant whose peculiar gesture when kneeling — the drawing in and curling up of the trunk — reminds Pliny of an *adoratio* [1]; and lastly Pliny [2], *est post aurem aeque dexteram Nemeseos quae dea latinum nomen ne in Capitolio quidem invenit, quo referimus tactum ore proximum a minimo digitum veniam sermonis a diis ibi recondentes;* in which I find an indication of the handkiss still in its original form. Add to this the express statement of Pliny, *in adorando*

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[1] VIII. 3.: *nam quod ad docilitatem attinet: regem adorant, genua submittunt, coronas porrigunt.*

[2] *N. H.* XI. 125.

dextram ad osculum referimus, all of which show plainly that the handkiss was a form of *adoratio* [1].

In view of the critical treatise of Bolkestein in Theophrastos' Character der Deisidaimonia [2], I should hesitate to agree with all the places quoted by Sittl as proof. The plainest evidence for this opinion is that treated here, and therefore it strikes me as strange that Bolkestein should take a positive stand against the meaning of handkiss in respect to *προσκυνεῖν*. Plutarch certainly feels the word in this sense when he says in Cam. 5 (towards the end) *ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, καθάπερ ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος ἐπευξαμένοις καὶ προσκυνήσασιν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐξελίττειν, ἐσφάλη περιστρεφόμενος*. The words *καθάπερ ἐστὶ Ῥ. ἔθος* have explicit reference to *ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐξελίττειν* and here we should say that exactly the same is said as Pliny states [3]. Compare also Athen. IV. 36 p. 152 *d*; here also in respect to the Gauls *οὕτως διακονοῦνται καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ στρεφόμενοι*, where of course *προσκυνεῖν* can also be taken merely in the sense of "to worship"; but yet it is striking how the essence of the thought (even though *ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ* is contradictory to *in laevum*) completely corresponds with that of Pliny, and one would rather be inclined to understand *προσκυνεῖν* in the form of the pregnant notion of *adorare*. Compare Plut. *Numa* 14 where indeed by *προσκυνεῖν* the Roman worship of the gods is certainly meant.

It is a moot point whether the gesture is older than the prayer; in any case where a prayer is uttered, a corresponding gesture of prayer is also found [4]. Basing his opinion on Ovid [5], Sittl believes

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[1] Beck remarks ad Apul. *Met.* IV. 28, "Manum dextram in altum tollit, qui deum veneratur, ita ut pars interior ad faciem versa sit; tum eam ad os ferebant, digitos iunctos vel solum digitum indicem osculabantur et huius generis osculo, quod latine dici nequit, signum dei salutabant". It may be useful to point out that Pliny *N. H.* XI. 250 says the following, *inest et aliis partibus quaedam religio, sicut in dextera: osculis aversa adpetitur, in fide porrigitur*. This is not contradictory to the definition given by Beck as in this place that handkiss is meant which is impressed upon a strange hand; cf. Sittl, Gebärden, p. 168 sq. and 282, who, however, does not mention this place.

[2] H. Bolkestein, Theophrastos' Charakter der Deisidaimonia R. V. V. XXI. 2. (1929) p. 23 sq.

[3] cf. Liv. V. 21. 16.

[4] F. Heiler, Das Gebet. München 1918, p. 84.

[5] *Fasti* IV. 315.

that the raising of the hand was a motion to draw the gods' attention, whereupon the prayer was begun. The ancient touched the images of the gods. This must probably have originated in the worship of fetishes, afterwards transferred to idols [1]. The attitude of the supplicant is therefore determined by analogous social customs among *supplices* [2]. Although we can explain the stretching out of hands as the attitude of a man willing to accept the gifts to be bestowed by the divinity, yet Vouillième [3] is probably nearer to the truth when he explains the attitude as one serving to embrace the gods in thought, and thus to induce them to grant the prayer. For, when the people no longer touched the images of the gods or their altars, which were considered as their seats [4], they stretched out their hands to where they supposed the gods to dwell. So the Romans will not infrequently have raised their hands in the direction of the Capitol [5]. They bent towards the earth when invoking the chthonic gods [6], and gradually the stretching out of hands will have ceased to be felt as a movement in the direction of the gods' dwelling place, but as a simple gesture of prayer which could also be suppressed when its magic power was no longer felt [7]. The Greeks, too, had the custom of stretching out their hands [8]. For illustrations see Stengel [9].

Undoubtedly the images of gods were also kissed [10]. *Ibi (sc. Agrigenti) est ex aere simulacrum ipsius Herculis, quo non facile dixerim quicquam me vidisse pulchrius, tametsi non tam multum in istis rebus intellego, quam multa vidi, usque eo, judices, ut rictum eius ac mentum*

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[1] Appel, De Rom. precationibus p. 192—3.
[2] Heiler, o. l. p. 83; Appel o. l. p. 193.
[3] Quomodo veteres adoraverint, Halle 1887. p. 37.
[4] Appel. p. 194. [5] id. p. 194—5.
[6] id. p. 195—6; Sittl, p. 190.
[7] Appel, p. 196—7.
[8] Sittl, p. 187 quotes: Arist. *de Mund.* c. 6. p. 400. a. 16. *πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀνατείνομεν τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐχὰς ποιούμενοι.*
[9] Kultusalterthümer Taf. 4. 1; cf. Heiler p. 87. See too: Breasted, Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting, Chicago 1924, from which a picture, representing a scene of *adoratio*, is reproduced in Wagenvoort, Varia Vita$_2$ p. 138.
[10] Cic. *in Verr. Act.* II. 4. 94.

paulo sit attritius, quod in precibus et gratulationibus non solum id venerari sed etiam osculari solent [1].

Goldzieher [2] gives a peculiar explanation supported by one passage in Roman literature, which makes it worth while quoting. He says that in the raising of the hands in Mohamedan prayer, there exists a connection with primitive magic gestures. The raised hands are gestures of cursing and are meant to avert evil spirits.

Now it will be remembered what particular gestures were used to avert *effascinatio*: the horned hand and the so-called *fica*. And it is peculiar that this purely parrying gesture, this imprecatory gesture, is described in the passage already quoted from Apuleius, *Met.* IV. 28 .... *et admoventes oribus suis dextram, primore digito in erectum pollicem residente, ut ipsam prorsus deam Venerem religiosis adorationibus venerabantur*, ... where *venerari* is explicitly alluded to.

Moreover, there occur besides the stretching out of hands and the kissing of objects, also other forms of veneration, i. e. standing, squatting, prostration [3], and as Pliny mentions here, *totum circumagere corpus*.

Meiners [4] at the time declared that this *circumactio* was a magic formula. Its intention was to intercept all conjurations which might fall upon and strike the gods, and to draw a circle round them. This is entirely in accordance with the views of modern scholars [5] who consider the gestures of prayer as magical practices to the purpose of securing divine power to the supplicant by means of magical coercion or of protecting him against the dangerous power of the gods. Eitrem [6] remarks that drawing a circle to the right shuts the daemons out, and to the left encloses them in the circle.

But very acceptable is Heiler's point of view [7]. Many varieties, he says, of the customs of greeting are not due to social feeling but are rooted in the belief in magic powers that pervades the existence of primitive man. The stranger as well as the ruler is

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[1] cf. Apul. *Met.* XI. 17: *exosculatis vestigiis deae.*

[2] Zauberelemente im Islam. Gebet, Giessen 1906 I. p. 321; cf. Heiler p. 91.

[3] Heiler p. 86.

[4] Allgemeine Krit. Gesch. der Relig. Hannover 1806—7. II p. 275.

[5] Heiler, p. 91. [6] Opferritus p. 43. [7] p. 93.

filled with "power". All that is new, unusual or great arouses in him fear, awe, astonishment. It is for him a power in which the ideas of orenda and taboo are inherent. In every person dwells such a power. By kissing and smelling one could acquire a share in the orenda of another, and by the pressure of the hand a secret contact was brought about with his orenda, and in the same way as by drinking from one vessel so also by means of a kiss a secret alliance was formed. By mutual exchange of soul matter either of the two will beware of injuring the other. But also in another way can primitive man protect himself against the dangerous power of stranger or chief. Just as the magician or charmer draws a circle round the magic-charged object, so the person greeting encircles the stranger or chief in order to enclose their taboo within these narrow limits and to hinder its activity while at a distance, whereby he protects his head, the seat of his life, against the harmful magic forces of the other. Plutarch, too [1], mentions the custom of *circumactio corporis*, of which the original explanation could of course no longer be given. Livy [2] also mentions it, *convertentem se inter hanc venerationem traditur memoriae prolapsum cecidisse* [3]. Very striking is Plautus, *quo me vortam nescio. Si deos salutas, dextrovorsum censeo* [4]. Here the fact of turning to the right is confirmed [5].

As regards the origin of the handkiss I should like to suggest the following explanation. We have seen that already in Pliny's times there existed a custom of placing a finger, which had previously been brought to the mouth, behind the ear of Nemesis. Heiler, indeed, pointed out [6] that a share could be obtained in the "power" of another by kissing and smelling. Thus one can also voluntarily surrender one's own orenda to another for particular reasons and give oneself over to others of one's own free will as a proof of attachment and devotion. Hence I should suggest that licking was the preliminary step to kissing, *casu quo* the transferring of spittle to the body of another. For only by material transference could the transfer of orenda take place in the eyes of primitive man.

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[1] *Numa* 14. [2] V. 21. 16. [3] cf. Plut. *Cam.* 5.
[4] Plaut. *Curc.* I. 1. 70. [5] cf. Suet. *Vit.* 2. and Plut. *Q. R.* 14.
[6] p. 93.

This is clear in the places quoted by Sittl [1]. Here it appears that old women licked the children's foreheads with their tongues or else rubbed them with the scum of the bath.

Afterwards the transferring of spittle with a finger superseded the kiss and we must certainly consider it as a forerunner of the custom mentioned by Pliny. From this the handkiss was afterwards developed, when a gesture in the direction of the person favoured was sufficient.

dextram .... in laevum ....

Pliny considers the right side to be more powerful than the left. This becomes evident when he says of man [2], *vires dextra parte maiores, quibusdam aequas utraque, aliquis laeva manu praecipuas, nec id umquam in feminis (observatum est)*. Then [3] with regard to the vine, *mirumque firmiora esse in dextera parte genita*. Thus the *thynni* swim into the Pontus *dextera ripa, exeunt laeva .... quia dextero oculo plus cernant* [4]. Further [5], *studioso Threci in C. Caesaris ludo notum est dexteram fuisse proceriorem*. Moreover [6], *inest et aliis partibus quaedam religio sicut in dextera* [7].

Whence it follows that in general the right-hand side is preferred in superstition while the left is considered unfavourable. Thus Pliny [8], *divos Augustus prodidit laevom sibi calceum praepostere inductum, quo die seditione militari prope afflictus est* [9]. This opinion is also held by Riess [10] and Abt [11], and extensively documented by Eitrem [12].

On the other hand we also find the left side as the more powerful and favourable. Thus Pliny [13], *laeva (fulmina) prospera existimantur quoniam laeva parte mundi ortus est*, and Virgil [14], *subitoque fragore intonuit laevum ....*; Stat. *Theb.* [15], *signa feras laevumque tones!* [16]

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[1] o. l. p. 120. 10: Basilius ap. Greg. Nazianz. (Gregor. *Corinth.* p. 874. ed. Schäfer) — cf. Pseud. Acro ap. Hor. *Ep.* VIII. 18. — and Iohann. Chrysost. ad *ep.* I *ad Cor.* 12. 7. t. III p. 320. 23 (X. 126. ed. Par.).
[2] *N. H.* VII. 77. [3] XVII. 153. [4] IX. 50. [5] XI. 245. [6] XI. 250.
[7] Compare too XXIV. 172 and VII. 15.
[8] II. 24. [9] cf. Suet. *Aug.* 92. [10] Riess, P. W. s. v. Aberglaube 83.
[11] Apol. p. 274. [12] Opferritus p. 29 sq. [13] II. 142.
[14] *Aen.* II. 692. [15] III. 493.
[16] cf. Pease, ad Cic. *de Div.* I. 12. p. 76, s. v. *a laeva*, where he quotes Bouché —Leclerq, Histoire de la Divination IV (1882) p. 21. n. 1; Frothingham,

As is known, this phenomenon is explained by the fact that in antiquity the side turned to the east (light) was generally considered to be luckier. The Greeks who turn their faces to the north, and the Romans who turn to the south, have therefore in their auguries respectively right and left as the lucky side [1].

In later times the Greek point of view gains ground. Thus Augustus considered as a day of ill-luck, *si mane sibi calceus perperam ac sinister pro dextero induceretur* [2]. See also on this account Frazer [3].

The left side is deemed to be the favourite side of daemons, declares Eitrem [4], while they hate the right side. Hence this is also of significance in a lustration or a circumambulation to the right or left. To the right one turns away from daemons and turns to them to the left. Thus an encircling to the right excludes the daemons and to the left encloses them in the circle [5].

If we find left explicitly prescribed in charms it is because the unaccustomed was considered the more efficacious [6]. Riess quotes (*salvis erroribus!*) various places from Pliny [7]. Let the following example suffice [8], *si quis unum ex his, solutus vinculo omni cinctus et calceatus atque etiam anuli decerpserit duobus digitis, pollice et quarto sinistrae manus*. Abt with reason [9] attacks Fahz [10] on the grounds of what he says, *in usu magico fere nihil fit dextra*, and gives extensive arguments for this. He refers to the place already quoted [11], and the fact that the interpretation of dreams by Heliodorus [12] and Artemidorus [13] gives preference to the right

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in Amer. Journ. of Arch. XXI (1917) p. 55—76; 187—201; 313—336; 420—448; and ad *de Div.* II. 39. 82. p. 482: Bulenger, in Graevius, Thes. Ant. V (1696) p. 407—11; Bouché—Leclerq, Hist. IV (1882) p. 188 n. 5; Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 525 and n. 2. For thunder on the left: Enn. 146 (Vahlen); Ovid. *Fast.* IV. 833—34; Dion. Halic. II. 5, 2—3; Festus p. 339 M.; Serv. *Aen.* II 54.

[1] Stemplinger, Aberglaube p. 27. [2] Suet. *Aug.* 92.
[3] Fasti III p. 323, 382 and n. 1. [4] Opferritus p. 36.
[5] id. p. 43; see too "*adorando*". [6] Abt, Apologie p. 274.
[7] XX. 126; XXI. 143. 176; XXII. 50; XXVII. 36; XXVII. 117.
[8] XXIII. 110. [9] p. 275. 5.
[10] De poet. Rom. doctrina magica, R. V. V. II. p. 151. 3. [11] Suet. *Aug.* 92.
[12] *Aeth.* II. 16. p. 52. 12; 53. 3. sq. (Bekker).
[13] Among others. I. 2. p. 7. 25 sq.; I. 42. p. 40. 10 sq.; Abt. ib.

side; moreover this is supported by quotations from papyri:
Pap. Paris. v. 41: *τὸ δὲ αἷμα ἀποδεξάμενος τῇ δεξιᾷ χερί.*
Pap. Berol. II. 23: *κοιμῶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ πλεύρου.*
Pap. Paris. 495 (Dieterich, Mithraslit. p. 4. 3): *σῶμα τέλειον .... διαπεπλασμένον .... ὑπὸ .... δεξιᾶς χερός.*

In like manner Rohde [1] points out that *δεξιόν* and *ἀριστερόν* in the Pythagorean tables of opposites, as was already for a long time the case in bird divinations, are the same as *ἀγαθόν* and *κακόν* [2]. However, the rule given by Abt that sometimes the unusual is the more efficacious, contradicts as a matter of fact the general principle, and right as well as left will be found as the most efficacious side.

The explanation of the original meaning of right as powerful must be sought in the fact that the right side, on an average, is the most practised side of the body — at least as regards the hand and arm [3].

Galliae ....

Caesar explicitly confirms the religiosity of the Gauls [4], *natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus.* The Druids had great influence among them [5], without whom they do not even sacrifice, *ἔθνον δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ δρυιδῶν* [6]. Their greatest punishment is to be excluded from these sacrifices, which still further points to their intense religious feelings [7].

Among their gods — according to Caesar — Hercules, Apollo Mars, Jupiter and Minerva are the most important [8], while during the Roman period many names of gods became well-known [9], as, for

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[1] Psyche. II p. 220. 4.
[2] Arist. *Metaphys.* I. 5. p. 986*a* 24; cf. Jambl. *V. P.* 156. So we find the contradistinction *right = male* and *left = female*: Artemid. I. 21; Plin. *N. H.* VIII. 188; cf. Eitrem, Opferritus p. 31. Thus the right side is the honourable one, the left side the opposite; Eitrem o. l. p. 30.
[3] Eitrem, ib.
[4] *de B. G.* VI. 16. 1. [5] id. VI. 13; cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXX. 13. [6] Strabo IV. 4. 5.
[7] Caesar, *de B. G.* VI. 13. 6, *Si qui aut privatus aut populus eorum decreto non stetit sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena apud eos est gravissima.*
[8] Caesar, *de B. G.* VI. 17. 18.
[9] Niese, P. W. s. v. Galli 635—36.

instance, Epona, Gallicae Matres [1]. The Romans accomodated themselves to the Gallic gods [2]. Their gods mostly did not dwell in temples — though some such were known [3] — but in or near forests [4]. Serious attention was paid to auguries derived from sacrifices or bird flight, so that they even started upon their journey to the east on the authority of favourable bird omens [5]. According to Greek or Roman moralists it was only after the appearance of the Druids that the Gallic religion distinguished itself in two respects from that of other races, i.e. in the belief in an hereafter and the ritual sacrifices to the dead [6]; but Bertrand points out that this was so already before their appearance [7].

It was the Romans who put an end to the influence of the Druids, under Tiberius [8], and made them cease sacrificing men and *τῶν κατὰ τὰς θύσιας καὶ μαντείας ὑπεναντίων τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν νομίμοις* [9].

fulgetras . . . .

The warding off of lightning was originally Etruscan and was unknown to the Romans [10]. To the fact that people saw in the lightning not only an expression of the will of the god but also his personal descent, *Jupiter Fulgur* or *Fulmen* owes his name [11]. This was afterwards extended in meaning to *Fulgurator* and *Fulminator*. A distinction was made between the *Fulgur Dium*, which occurred in the daytime, and the *Fulgur Summanum*, which took place during the night [12], while the so-called *Jupiter Pistor* seems also originally to have been a god of lightning [13], *Elicius* [14], from *fulmina elicere* [15].

We shall see that *ποππύζειν* means either a soothing or an

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[1] Drexler—Steuding, Rosch. M. L. s. v. Gallae, Gallicae Matres, 1591—2
[2] cf. Friedlaender, S. G. III p. 143. [3] Suet. *Jul. C.* 54; Plut. *Caes.* 26.
[4] Niese, P. W. s. v. Galli 636.
[5] Justin. XXIV. 4. 3; Ael. *V. H.* II. 31; cf. Niese 635.
[6] A. Bertrand, La Religion des Gaulois, 1897. p. 217. sq.
[7] id. p. 225. [8] Plin. *N. H.* XXX. 13. [9] Strabo, l. c.
[10] Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 121. [11] ib.
[12] id. p. 122; cf. Plin. *N. H.* II. 138; see about this especially Frazer, Fasti IV p. 317 sq.
[13] Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 122; cf. Ov. *Fast.* VI. 349.
[14] Plin. *N. H.* II. 140. [15] XXVIII. 13.

enticing of the lightning. In accordance with this Pliny gives information, probably derived from Caecina [1], *exstat annalium memoria sacris quibusdam et precationibus vel cogi fulmina vel impetrari* [2]. The Etruscans who, according to Cicero, had had most experience in this matter [3], had apparently written down their knowledge of it [4]. The lightnings which occur when a man founds his family are called *familiaria* and are of great significance for the whole of his life [5]. The ones on the left hand side are called *prospera* because *laeva parte mundi ortus est* [6]. Of all lightnings those are of the most terrible omen which travel from west to north [7]. On this account the Tuscans divided the heavens into sixteen parts, that is to say, into four parts each again subdivided into four [8]. Those which fall in the part bounded by the north and the equinoctial point are of luck-bringing omen [9]. The other parts are of less importance. With the exception of man every other living thing is immediately killed [10], the reason being man's superiority to nature [11]. If a man does not lie on the ground with the side on which he has been struck he does not die, but if he dies he must be buried but not burnt [12]. As the laurel is never struck [13] it is advisable to weave oneself a wreath of it and to wear it as Tiberius did [14]. The skin of sea-calves is also useful, as by sitting under it one is not struck [15].

When the lightning strikes the ground the spot is enclosed with masonry so that it looks like a *puteal*, and an inscription is placed upon it to give notice of the *Fulgur conditum*. The idea was to prevent the lightning from darting about to the peril of all peaceful-minded citizens [16].

The *procuratio* preceding this is performed by the *sacerdotes publici* i.e. *pontifices*, by means of sacrifices of onions, hair and

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[1] cf. Thulin, P. W. s. v. Etrusca disciplina 727. [2] Plin. II. 140.
[3] Cic. *de Div.* I. 92: *Etruria autem de coelo tacta scientissume animadvertit.*
[4] in .... *et haruspicini et fulgurales et rituales libri*; cf. Thulin, P. W. s. v. Etrusca Disciplina. 727.
[5] *N. H.* II. 139. [6] II. 142; cf. Ov. *Fast.* IV. 833. [7] II. 143.
[8] II. 143. for the significance of this, Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 545.
[9] II. 144. [10] II. 145. [11] ib. [12] ib. [13] II. 146; XV. 134.
[14] Suet. *Tib.* 69. [15] *N.H.* II. 146; Suet. *Aug.* 90.
[16] see Frazer, Fasti IV p. 318; cf. Wissowa R. u. K., p. 122.

sprats [1]. Plutarch [2] tells us how Numa, exhorted to it by Egeria came to discover the charm formula, potent against lightning, which is still practised with onions, hair and sprats. The *haruspices* also take part in the ceremonies [3] but the exact procedure is not known.

In the *auspices* of the magistrates, lightning belongs to the *auguria oblativa*, although later it may be considered as impetrative [4]. It seems also that the custom existed of holding on to stones or having them in the house, as this was a kind of protection against lightning. This custom is still in use [5]. One must, however, be cautious in drawing the conclusion too quickly that this is a survival from ancient times [6].

poppysmis . . . .

The word meant originally the clucking noise made to entice and soothe animals, cf. Plut [7], *ὡς γὰρ τὰ θρέμματα λόγου μὲν οὐ συνίησι διάνοιαν ἔχοντος, σιγμοῖς δὲ καὶ ποππυσμοῖς ἀμελέσιν ἢ σύριγξι καὶ στρόμβοις ἐγείρουσι καὶ κατευνάζουσι πάλιν οἱ νέμοντες, οὕτως. . . .* and Pliny [8], *hoc exemplo eius similis et Nealces* (about the imitation of foam by throwing a sponge against the picture) *secutus dicitur cum pingeret poppyzonta retinentem equum.* Hesychius gives the word as *κολακεύματα* and Suidas *κολακεῖαι εἰς τοὺς ἀδαμάστους ἵππους* [9].

The word, Greek in origin, had no Latin equivalent, for Gellius [10] remarks that the *ποππυλίαζει* of Theocritus neither could nor might be translated by Virgil. From the association with animals this manner of expression was transferred to the communication with daemons [11].

Inarticulate sounds such as hissing, roaring, clucking, whistling play a great part among primitive people [12]. Just as the Batak

[1] Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 517. 2. [2] Plut. *Numa* 15.
[3] Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 546. 4. [4] Wissowa, p. 532—3.
[5] Stemplinger, Aberglaube p. 63.
[6] Stegemann, Hdwb. d. D. A. s. v. Blitz. 1417.
[7] Plut. *Quaest. conv.* VII. 4. [8] XXXV. 104.
[9] cf. Schol. Plat. *Axiomach.* 368. D. [10] *N. A.* IX. 9.
[11] Pfister, P. W. s. v. Kultus 2152; Wackernagel, Voces variae animantium p. 27; Dieterich, Mithrasliturgie p. 40. 3.
[12] Pfister, l. l.; Heiler, Das Gebet, 1918. p. 36.

clucks with his tongue when saying his prayers, so in Africa they whistle, whence it must be deduced that these sounds are apotropaeic or enticing sounds, as is the case when communicating with animals.

This custom of primitive man would, according to Pfister, be the root of the "Herbeirufung des Gottes", the ἐπικαλεῖν or *advocare* [1]. Thus the prayers of Aischylos begin with ἰώ, ἰώ, the Orphean Hymns with κλῦθί μεν, the Roman prayers with *adeste, venite!*, while in charm papyri the ἐπικαλεῖν and the δεῦρο always occur instead of the invocation with inarticulate sounds [2]. In the "Mithrasliturgie" treated by Dieterich the word repeatedly occurs together with the word σύριγμος, also an "animal sound". In this case they are apotropaeic and entice star daemons, and together with the seven vowels they even become the ninefold of the mystic sounds [3]. That the custom also existed of making these clucking sounds in reference to lightning appears from Aristophanes, κ' ἂν ἀστράψω ποππύζουσι, and the scholion to this, ἔθος γὰρ ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ποππύζειν [4]. Very remarkable is the unique custom from which it appears that the *poppysmus* even served to foretell the future [5]:

> *Si mediocris erit: spatium lustrabit utrumque*
> *metarum et sortes ducet frontemque manumque*
> *praebebit vati crebrum poppysma roganti,*

to which the scholion, *oris pressi sonus vel labiorum in se collisorum strepitus* [6].

The explanation of Riess deserves special mention, though it seems inacceptable at first, being derived from mythology. It is that thunderstorms were a repetition of the war of the Titans in which the thunder was used to kill the lightning. In this case it would be necessary to σίζειν καὶ ψοφεῖν [7]. The *poppysmus* would signify assistance of the divine powers in the battle.

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[1] Pfister, l. l.

[2] Pfister, ib. (refers to Abt, Apol. p. 116 sq.). Compare too the ὀλολυγή, ὀλολυγμός, see v. Duhn, Archiv. XII. (1909) p. 171 sq.; Riess, P. W. s. v. Aberglaube 43; Pfister, l. l.

[3] Plotin. *Ennead.* II. 9. c. 14; Dieterich, Mithrasliturgie p. 40. 2.

[4] Aristoph. *Vesp.* 626. [5] Juv. VI. 584. [6] Friedlaender's ed. p. 354.

[7] Arist. *Anal. post.* II. 10. p. 94*a* 4; *Meteor.* II. 9. p. 1369*a* 24.

The superstition must have been very widespread if Pliny could speak of a *consensus gentium*.

incendia....

The dread of fire must have been very great indeed in Rome, where in consequence of the narrow streets and high houses, fires great and small followed one on the other like links in a chain [1]. It grew to such proportions that Augustus was compelled to establish a fire brigade, 7000 strong [2], which seemed to have accomplished comparatively little, as a result of the inferiority of the apparatus for quenching the fires [3]. It is the inadequacy of quenching material that caused the primitives to have recourse to superstitious means and measures. Fire was considered as a living being, and, by fair means or foul, people tried to exercise power over it, either by throwing food to it, or by exorcising. It seems that heathen tradition tried to conciliate fire [4]. Probably we must understand this to have been originally a conciliation of the fire daemon. A parallel to this place is to be found in Petronius [5], *qua voce* (sc. *galli*) *confusus, Trimalchio vinum sub mensa iussit effundi lucernamque etiam mero spargi. Immo anulum traiecit in dexteram manum et, 'non sine causa', inquit, 'hic bucinus signum dedit: nam aut incendium oportet fiat aut aliquis in vicinia animam abiciet'.* The difference is, however, that wine was used here, for which we find an explanation in 34, *vinumque dedere in manus, aquam enim nemo porrexit.* This phenomenon is called analogical magic [6].

Eitrem [7] gives an entirely different explanation.

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[1] P. Werner, De incendiis urbis Romae aetate imperatorum, diss. Lipsiae 1906; cf. Friedländer, S. G. I. p. 24. [2] Cass. Dio LV. 26. 4 sq.

[3] Jordan, Topografie Roms I. 1. p. 460; cf. Friedl. ib. See also Otto, Sprichw. p. 172, from which appears, that they attempted to quench fires by pulling down, as water could never be brought in sufficient quantity; cf. Ammian. Marc. XIX. 15. 2; Sall. *Cat.* 31. 9; Cic. *pro Mur.* 25. 51. etc. It may be interesting to point out that the Romans did not shout "Fire!" but "Water!" So *aquam conclamare*, Sen. *Ep.* XVII. 3. (see Wagenvoort, Seneca, Brieven aan Lucilius$_2$ p. 67 ad hoc) Sen. *Dial.* V. 43. 3; Stat. *Theb.* IV. 802; and *aquam clamare*, Prop. IV. 8. 58; cf. Plut. *Rom.* 20.

[4] Freudenthal, Hdwb. d. D. A. s. v. Feuersbrunst, 1422. [5] Petr. 74.

[6] Extensively, Pfister, Hdwb. d. D. A. s. v. Analogiezauber 385—95.

[7] Eitrem, Opferritus, a. l. p. 136 sq.

Local spirits, evil daemons, which all originated in the spirits of the dead [1], were attracted to fire like flies and birds. This is clearly to be seen in superstitious customs in regard to death, when the spirits tried to get the mastery over fire. For this reason, in Argos, all fire in the house was quenched, and afterwards new fire was fetched from another house [2]. Alexander in Persia, too, at the death of his friend Hephaestion, allowed all "sacred fire" to go out [3]. In this manner a fire was prophetic in the case of illnesses [4], and in Rome the fire in a house of death was quenched [5], while similar customs are still to be pointed to among many other peoples. The love of light ascribed to the souls of the dead, Eitrem deduces from the burning of corpses [6], which was instituted after the custom of burying the dead [7]. Many superstitious customs can be traced back to this supposition that light is pleasing to the souls of the dead [8]. Thus the Romans hesitated to quench a light before it had burnt itself out [9], and maintained silence when the lights were being lit because it was thought that the gods were present. It is to these gods that Ovid alludes in *Fasti* VI. 305 and of whom Pliny speaks in § 27. It was the souls of ancestors that had their places at the hearth and that also received whatever fell to the ground. This was why water had to be poured out for these spirits — Eitrem thinks as a sacrifice — under the table, since these spirits are the same as those which rule over the fire on the hearth. But the more correct way would be to sacrifice on the hearth itself.

Eitrem's explanation seems to me too complicated; I would give preference to the first theory where the fire itself is considered as a daemon.

epulae ....

see **„convivium"**

sub mensam profusis ....

It was a custom in ancient times to throw the remains of food under the table. This went so far that mosaic floors were even made having the appearance of being covered with bits and pieces of

[1] Eitrem, Opferritus, p. 136 sq. [2] Plut. *Qu. Gr.* 24; cf. Eitrem p. 137.
[3] Diod. XII. 114. [4] Artemid. *Oneir.* II. 9.
[5] Apul. *Met.* II. 24; Schol. Juv. III. 214.
[6] p. 153. [7] Plin. VII. 187. [8] p. 160. [9] Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 75.

food, *celeberrimus fuit in hoc genere* (sc. *pavimentorum*) *Sosus qui Pergami stravit quem vocant asaroton oecon, quoniam purgamenta coenae in pavimentis quaeque everri solent velut relicta fecerat parvis e tessellis tinctisque in varios colores* [1]. It has, therefore, apparently no particular significance that the liquid should be poured out under the table, seeing that this was the place where all refuse was thrown. For another theory that daemons, i. e. souls of the dead, whose place was also the hearth, dwelt under the table (which thought in my opinion can never have been primary, at most secondary), see Eitrem [2].

abominamur....

This means to deprive the omen of its power. Although often used indiscriminately, some distinction ought to be made between *omen* and *ostentum* — *portentum.*

While the last two are mostly used as visible omens, the first mostly occurs in the sense of audible omens [3], and by this is understood the word spoken without purpose, that, owing to the fact of its coming unexpectedly together with an important moment in human life, acquires the meaning of a revealing sign [4]. The etymology, in accordance with ancient ideas, already points to this. Varro [5] says *"Oro ab ore dictum, indidem osmen"* and Festus [6] *"omen oremen quod fit ore augurium, quod non avibus aliove modo fit"*. Walde [7] and Muller [8] derive the word from *ovismen* cf. Gr. **ὀϝισ-jομαι.*

Thus, according to Festus and Cicero [9], *omen* stands in contradistinction to *oraculum*, the prophetic word of man, in contradistinction to that of the gods [10].

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[1] Plin. *N. H.* XXXVI. 184. For picture 5 see J. B. Nogara, I mosaici antichi, Milano, 1910, tav. 5; Memoirs of the American Acad. in Rome, Vol. XII (1935) p. 41, n. 1.; Leopold, Romeinsch Leven$_2$, Groningen 1934, p. 22. [2] p. 160.

[3] Hopfner, P. W. s. v. Mantike 1279; cf. id. sub *Κληδών*, *Κληδονισμός* 584. See too *"auguria"*.

[4] Hopfner, ib. 1277. See too Fallati, Über Begriff u. Wesen d. Röm. Omen und über dessen Beziehung z. Röm. Privatrecht, Tüb. 1836.

[5] *L. l.* VI. 76; VII. 97. [6] p. 195. M.

[7] Etym. Wb.$_2$ 539, according to Kretschmer.

[8] Altit. Wb. p. 310, acc. to Solmsen and Ahlberg.

[9] *de Div.* I. 45 sq.; II. 40. [10] Hopfner ib. 1282.

verri solum ....

The sweeping up of bits of food thrown under the table. Compare the place in Pliny already quoted [1]. Sweeping was, however, also a death rite as shown by Samter [2]. Varro tells us that to protect the mother after the birth of the child, three men walked at night in a circle round the two doors of the house and struck the threshold, first with an axe, then with a flail, and then swept it with a broom, thus in order to prevent the god Silvanus from entering the house to torment the mother.

According to Varro, the three gods Intercidona, Pilumnus and Deverra were named after these three acts. The three objects used were to be symbols of agriculture, for without iron no tree can be felled, without a flail no flour be made, and without a broom no field fruits be heaped together [3]. We also know [4] that among the Romans the heir was obliged to sweep out the house of death with a broom. Samter is certainly right in opposing Aust [5], who seeks to explain this custom rationalistically as being necessary in primitive circumstances, to which he quotes various parallels [6]. Two may be mentioned here. In East Prussia when the deceased is halfway to the grave, the house is carefully cleaned and the dirt carried away. This custom also extends to North and Central Germany. In Thuringia three heaps of salt are made which are swept outside, and dirt and broom are thrown in a field, or in the church yard, to prevent the deceased from returning. This is also the explanation for the Roman custom in the house of death — the souls of the deceased are driven out of the house. Samter also quotes the various customs in which the act of sweeping is directed against evil spirits [7]. Among these is probably to be counted the custom on the feast of the Palilia of celebrating a *lustratio* round the sheep with sulphur, and of sprinkling and sweeping out the pen (strange to say, not discussed by Frazer on Ovid's *Fasti*).

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[1] *N. H.* XXXVI. 184.
[2] Samter, Geburt p. 29 sq.; for many parallels, Frazer, Fasti II p. 279.
[3] Varro, in August. *de civ. Dei* VI. 6. (*Antiq. rer. div.* l. XIV. fr. 61, p. 177 Agahd), Samter p. 30. 1).
[4] Festus, p. 77 M., Samter ib. [5] Religion d. Römer, p. 228.
[6] p. 31—2. [7] p. 33.

It can therefore be understood that to make a sweeping gesture at anyone was, indeed, very unlucky. In Slavonia, if one wishes any one out of the world, it is the custom to invite him to eat, and, immediately when he is gone, to sweep out the room [1]. The theory of Samter is confirmed by the custom mentioned here by Pliny, although he does not quote it himself. One can easily understand after this why the *verri solum* was called *inauspicatissimum* if one left the table: it was taken to mean an early death. It seemed to be just as great an allusion to this fate if the table or dumb-waiter were removed while the guest was drinking. The custom is, as far as is known to me, handed down nowhere else. Probably we must see in it an allusion to the fact that this would be the last drink taken. John [2] mentions the custom that the hostess, before the guests leave the house, must clear the table in order that no evil may befall them on the return journey.

mensa ....

see § 27.

repositorium ....

A dumb-waiter or series of portable shelves = τραπεζόπιναξ [3] on which the slaves brought all the dishes required for one course [4]. Plautus [5] says jestingly that the *structor*, who arranges the dishes, had piled the food up so high that one had to stand on the sofa to see them. That these *repositoria* could be very large appears from Petronius 40 where a whole pig was served with side dishes. The *repositorium* was indeed taken away after serving the dishes [6], but the bad omen was only sought in the fact of this being done while anyone drank. The *repositorium* was also considered as a weather forecast. If the steam of the dishes remained behind, bad weather was expected [7].

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[1] Zeitschr. d. Vereins. f. Volkskunde I (1891) p. 152.

[2] Aberglaube, Sitte und Brauch im Sächs. Erzgebirge, Annaberg 1909, p. 31; cf. Bächtold Stäubli, Hdwb. d. D. A. s. v. Besuch, 1176.

[3] Corp. gloss. lat. III 321—6, cf. Hug, P. W. s. v. *repositorium* 612.

[4] Material and form, Plin. *N. H.* XXXIII. 140, 152.

[5] *Men.* 101. [6] Petr. 39; Hor. *Sat.* II. 8. 10.

[7] *N. H.* XVIII. 365. See Hug P. W. s. v. 612—13. For illustrations see Dictionn. s. v. p. 839, fig. 5924. (doubted as such by Hug) and p. 840, fig. 5925.

mensa linquenda . . . .

No one seems to have raised any objections to the text before, but yet it is hopelessly corrupt. The literal translation would be, "There is a treatise of Servius Sulpicius, a prominent man, giving the reason why one should not leave the table — there being no more (tables) counted than guests".

Must it be concluded from this that a meal at which guests were present was only eaten by these, and that it was the duty of the host to remain until the guests had finished eating? The conclusion is incorrect. Moreover, the custom would have no meaning in this context. Seeing that in the previous sentence it is explained how disastrous it was to remove what was on or near the table before a guest was finished, we should now expect the opposite, strengthened by the *"nam" sternumento revocari ferculum*, in the sentence following this statement. In any case this intermediary phrase must support the main line of thought. The corrupt part is therefore *linquenda*. I should propose the following alteration, instead of

MENS A LINQVENDA

to read MENSAAD M OVENDA

which can be qualified as a very simple mistake. As regards the term *mensam admovere* see Macrobius [1]. The passus should therefore read "there is a treatise of Servius Sulpicius, a prominent man, dealing with the case in which a table should not be brought in — for if a table or dumb-waiter were recalled by a sneeze, and nothing, even if only a trifle, were eaten of it, it would be very unlucky".

Now the sentence, *nondum enim plures quam convivae numerabantur* has been omitted, as making no sense and being probably a marginal note, added by a puzzled reader who thought to have found the solution to the difficulty, as is the case with what follows, *aut omnino non esse* or rather *inane esse*, as Mayhoff reads; he supposes there to be a lacuna here which he filled in.

The falsity of *nondum enim plures* . . . . follows further from the fact that all guests lay round one table on a *triclinium* (except in the case of large companies, where more *triclinia* were used with a corresponding number of tables [2]). It was considered, however,

[1] Macrob. *Sat.* II. 8. 1: *mensas secundas minister* (sc. *convivis*) *admovit.*

[2] Blümner, Priv. Alt. p. 387; Kruse, P. W. s. v. Mensa 942.

as an exceptional arrangement in Petronius 34, *itaque iussi suam cuique mensam assignari*, where besides the large general table, each guest seems to have had a small round one [1]. In this case, in connection with *linquenda*, as the text has come down to us, *mensa* would mean the actual dining-table, not the course or waiter, and *plures*, sc. *mensae*, would therefore be incomprehensible. No parallel is known to me of the actual custom, and we can only guess as to the reason for it, as we no longer possess these writings of Sulpicius. The following explanation is most probable. As in the case when the ring was changed round after sneezing, of which custom the explanation (v. "*anulum*") was given as belonging to one or another death-rite, Petronius [2] causes this to be done at the crowing of the cock. This is for him a portent of a coming fire, or of the death of someone in the neighbourhood. For this reason he pours water under the table and changes his ring round after mentioning the words fire and death. By changing round the ring a new power is given to the individual, and the speaker can even be considered as a new person. As a consequence of sneezing the same kind of thing happens. Compare also the custom just mentioned in Pliny XXII. 57.

It is therefore expected that the new personality, or rather the new, imagined personality, for whom the food is brought back should begin to eat again. He is expected at least to eat something (*si non . . . . aliquid*, with emphasis!) and if this should not occur — it might be considered as a *dirum portentum* for himself — he counts as dead as long as he has not performed counter magic!

This seems to me the most probable explanation.

We can even go further and suppose that the three statements are interconnected. All these matters call a death omen to mind, both as regards "*incendia nominari*" (Petronius includes both fire and death in the crowing of a cock, which makes the connection clear) and "*solum verri*" and "*tollere mensam*", while eating and drinking are still proceeding, as also in this last case. The first of these three can be remedied, seeing that the mistake was made by a person himself, by "averting" the omen. The last two portents

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[1] Kruse, ib. 944. [2] Petr. 74.

seem to be inavertible, because they accrue to the victim quite objectively [1].

Servius Sulpicius....

What is meant by this passage has already been discussed by Everardus Otto [2] in his eulogy of Servius Sulpicius.

Otto, who, for his own explanation, partly quotes Scaliger, Delechampius [3] and Harduinus [4], is of opinion that Servius Sulpicius here replies to a question asked by the augurs [5], and wished to make it clear to the superstitious [6], by drawing a distinction between the ordinary domestic table and the sacred table of the gods, how imprudent it is to leave the, as it were, sacred ceremonies of the table before the silence is ended. I think I have shown that this explanation is unacceptable.

It is impossible to make any reconstruction of the form of this *commentatio*. That Servius Sulpicius wrote about such matters may appear from the fact that he takes trouble to trace the meaning of obsolete words [7], in which task he is not ashamed even to ask for the help of others [8], and from which fact it may appear that he also made himself acquainted with obsolete customs. His posthumous literary work was great. At his death he left 180 scrolls [9], which we must understand to be *libri* and of which we find the following works quoted, a commentary on the *Legg. XII tabb.* [10], collections of *edita praetorum* [11], which he commentated [12], a book *de Dotibus* [13], the *Commentatio* and *Notata Mucii*, or *Reprehensa Scaevolae*, a book about the faults of his master Mucius Scaevola *pontifex* [14].

His life was a very meritorious one. Belonging to the family of

[1] After *habetur* at the end of § 26 Mayhoff points to a lacuna, and reads in accordance with most of the mss. *inane* instead of *non*. (Ian-Mayhoff, 1897 Leipzig). I would like to explain this as a marginal note that has found its way into the text. Perhaps the annotator wrote, *aut omnino in animo esse*, and meant by that, that it was perhaps allowable to eat only in imagination! In any case then there is no question of a lacuna!

[2] Everardus Otto, De vita, studiis, scriptis et honoribus Servii Sulpicii Lemonia Rufi. Ultraj. 1737.

[3] ib. p. 111. [4] p. 112. [5] p. 111. [6] p. 113. [7] p. 28. [8] Gellius II. 10. 1. [9] p. 91. [10] p. 95. [11] p. 97.

[12] See the article Sulpicius, Lübker R. L.$_8$, No. 27.

[13] Gellius IV. 4.; Otto, p. 98. [14] p. 113.

the *Sulpicii*, of which eleven branches existed, one of which was that of the *Rufi* [1], he was apparently an exception in regard to the *praenomina* — he had only one, while all the others possessed two.

The date of his birth falls between 106—5 B. C. and he was therefore a contemporary of Cicero [2], with whom he enjoyed the same scientific education [3] on the island of Rhodos, where he practised rhetoric.

He was 25 years old when he first made his entry into public life [4], where he devoted himself chiefly to the practice of Roman law [5], and far surpassed his teachers Balbus and Aquilius Gallus [6]. In the year 49 he was uncertain which party to support and was brought to book on this account by Cicero [7]. In the end he decided in favour of Caesar [8]. He was probably also the person who in 52, as *interrex*, appointed Pompey as sole consul [9]; the year after, he himself became consul.

In appreciation of his *summa auctoritas and pietas in patriam* he was entrusted in January 43 with the *legatio ad M. Antonium* [10], during which he died, having always regarded the state troubles with regret [11], with peace as his purpose [12].

After having been given a state burial [13] the honour fell to him of having a statue *in rostris* [14].

It has already been remarked in the Introduction that he maintained a correspondence with Varro. This is the only place in which he is mentioned by Pliny [15].

ferculum . . . .

This is probably one of the courses [16] i. e. *missus* [17], cf. Petronius [18]. By *mensa* the whole table is not meant, but only the food which

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[1] p. 5. [2] Münzer, P. W. s. v. Sulpicius No. 95, 851; Otto p. 14.
[3] ib. [4] Otto, p. 36. [5] p. 63. [6] p. 71.
[7] *ad Att.* VIII. 1. 1.; *ad fam.* IV. 2, and elsewhere, Lübker, l. c.
[8] *ad Att.* XI. 7. 4. [9] Münzer, o. c. 853; Otto, p. 149. [10] Otto, p. 154.
[11] Münzer, o. c. 853—7. [12] ib. [13] Otto, p. 162.
[14] Cic. *Phil.* IX. 7. 15 sq.; *Dig.* I. 2. 2. 43. cf. Otto, p. 142; Münzer, 857.
[15] Münzer, Beiträge p. 163.
[16] Dictionn. s. v. Repositorium, p. 839.
[17] Dictionn. s. v. Ferculum, p. 1041.
[18] Petronius 35. 36. 39. 46.

was brought and removed on a tray. This was also the normal course of things according to usage in ordinary families [1].

diras ....

The omens, according to the book of auguries [2], are divided into five classes, *quinque genera signorum observant augures publici: ex caelo, ex avibus, ex tripudiis, ex quadrupedibus, ex diris, ut est in auguralibus.* They fall together, as is well-known, into two chief classes — the *auguria impetrativa* and *oblativa* [3]. The former are always favourable, the latter kind ambiguous. The *dirae* are always unfavourable, i. e. all extraordinary and disturbing phenomena and occurrences.

Thus, for instance, *obscenae aves* [4] belong directly to the *dirae* [5], and disturbances of whatever kind that occur during the *auspicatio* and destroy it, even though the sign appears, are called *dirae obstrepentes* [6].

haec .... instituerunt

This passage has been dealt with in the Introduction.

repente conticescere ....

Only one place in antiquity is known to me where it is shown that sudden silence is unlucky, Cic. *de Harusp. Resp.* 23: *An si ludius constitit, aut tibicen repente conticuit, aut puer ille patrimus et matrimus si tensam non tenuit, si lorum omisit, aut si aedilis verbo aut simpuvio aberravit, ludi sunt non rite facti, eaque errata expiantur et mentes deorum immortalium ludorum instauratione placantur.* We must suppose from its connection with the previous sentence, *omnibus negotiis horisque interesse credebant deos,* that Pliny, too, was well aware of what the fatality of this sudden silence actually consisted. In sacrificial rites either as much noise as possible is made (and this is to be considered as purely apotropaeic) or else strict silence is kept to prevent the daemons from

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[1] Mau, P. W. s. v. Ferculum 2207.
[2] Festus p. 261 M. [3] Serv. *Aen.* VI. 190; XII. 259. [4] Serv. *Aen.* III. 241
[5] Plin. *N. H.* X. 33. sq.; cf. Ovid. *Met.* V. 550; Tac. *Hist.* III. 56; *Ann.* XII. 43; Suet. *Aug.* 92; Tib. 1, 3, 17; Cic. *Legg.* II. 8.
[6] Festus p. 64 M.; Plin. *N. H.* VIII. 223. cf. Wissowa, P. W. s. v. Auspicium 2332.

hearing, being disturbed or attracted [1]. In the case of sudden silence daemons approach that can easily cause injury if they have not been summoned, as we can learn from Pliny and Cicero.

But it also happens that the presence of the daemons is desired, as in the case of *Lustrationes* [2], and in this case we can speak of "magic silence" [3]. Whether this stage is preceded by murmuring or secret whispering of magic formulas, as Mensching supposes [4], I would consider as doubtful; a more correct theory seems to me that during the state of silence the coercive formulas were whispered so as not to scare away the daemons. This was announced by the *"favete linguis"* [5], while only the lute player might accompany the sacred sacrificial act.

Though this is easy to explain, all the more obscure is the addition, *non nisi in pari praesentium numero.* We certainly know of various examples where silence and odd numbers go hand in hand. In Oldenburg, when the butter will not come, a horse-shoe with an *uneven number* of holes, which has been forged *in silence* before sunrise, is laid under the churn [6]. In Mecklenburg, a sick person, in order to guard against wasting, must take off his shirt *in silence* on *three* consecutive Fridays before sunrise, and bury it under an elder [7]. In Lauenburg a sick child is carried *three times in silence* round the church [8].

Probably the uneven number was supposed to have such a power of averting evil that even daemons were subject to it, and each guest became the victim of *'labor famae'* only when that averting power of the uneven number was not present.

Von Haberland takes another point of view in explaining this superstition mentioned by Pliny. He says that it is the general idea among primitive people that the best moment to work magic on anyone is when the person is taking food [9]. This explains why

[1] Eitrem, Opferritus p. 124. [2] ib. p. 52. 2.

[3] G. Mensching, Das heilige Schweigen, R. V. V. XX. (1925) p. 100: "Die Übung äuszeren Stilleseins in der ausdrücklichen Absicht, dadurch mit mechanischer (der Naturgesetzlichkeit analogen) Notwendigkeit reale, weltliche Ziele zu realisieren".

[4] id. p. 100. [5] id., p. 101; Hopfner, P. W. s. v. Mantike 1283.

[6] Seligmann, Der Böse Blick I. 275. [7] id. I. 304.

[8] id. I. 337; cf. Mensching, p. 102; see too Seligmann, II. 57.

[9] v. Haberland, Über Gebräuche u. Aberglaube beim Essen, Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Sprachwissensch. Leipz. XVIII. 1888. p. 149.

the contrary custom exists among various peoples, of maintaining complete silence at table, as for instance among the Tupis, Brahmans, Persians, and Greeks at certain sacrificial meals at the feast of Poseidon [1], and why enchantment by the evil eye is especially feared when eating [2].

In Germany, when a sudden silence falls, an Angel is said to pass through the room [3]. In Berlin it is said that a lieutenant is being born or that such an officer is paying his debts [4].

In England, too, an Angel is said to be passing, and in Holland they say, „er gaat een Dominee (parson) voorbij". May not this latter be a substitution for an approaching daemon just as in the case of the Angel?

convivium ....

Eating in itself owes its prominent place in primitive society to the fact that people thought they were absorbing divine powers by eating and drinking [5], a thought not entirely unknown to the Greeks and Romans. *Mactare* will originally have had the meaning of *"vi magica afficere"*, i. e. to add orenda or to make taboo, which is the same meaning as that contained in *sacrificare*, so that the double construction of *mactare* is also explained — to sanctify a god by an offering, i. e. to add orenda by an offering, and sanctify an offering for the divinity, i. e. to make taboo, to sanctify, to kill [6].

The great significance of *convivium* lies in the fact that the act of eating takes place festively [7] and communally, which, as it were, imposes a bond on the participants, which is mentioned by Pliny explicitly as such, especially in connection with the *confarreatio, — in sacris nihil religiosius confarreationis vinculo erat* [8]. Such communal meals were, for instance, those celebrated by the *curiales* at the feast of the *Fornacalia*, which originated, probably, in the fact that formerly the grain was dried and roasted in a *fornax*, a drying oven (furnace), which was afterwards superseded by the invention of mills [9].

[1] Schoemann, II. p. 513; cf. v. Haberland, p. 261.
[2] Eckstein, Hdwb. d. D. A. s. v. Mahl 1491.
[3] Wuttke, § 48. Zingerle, No. 1537. [4] v. Haberland, p. 361.
[5] Pfister, P. W. s. v. Kultus 2171. [6] ib. 2172. [7] v. Haberland, o. l. p. 383.
[8] Plin. *N. H.* XVIII. 10. [9] Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 158.

Large companies at table were in vogue in Rome. By the shape of the *lecti tricliniares*, on which there was only room for three, the number of persons would already be limited to nine; but they often were occupied by more [1], twelve being a favourite number [2].

A special garment was worn at table — the *synthesis*, frequently mentioned in Martialis, which was probably a short, brightly coloured tunic [3], afterwards called by the general name of *cenatorium* [4].

Instead of *calcei*, *soleae* were worn, which were taken off on going to table — *soleas deponere* [5].

The food not consumed by the guest was supposed to be taken away by him. This afterwards gave rise to the custom of giving the guests presents of food or money [6], to be explained by the fact that the remains of food were considered to contain the same power as the waste parts of the body, such as hair and nails, which can be used as material for magic by hostile persons.

The same custom also exists elsewhere [7].

As to the occupation of the places at meals I may refer to the articles in Pauly—Wissowa and the Dictionnaire des Antiquités [8].

cibus prolapsus .... piatio est.

For the insertion of *non* in the text I can put forward three arguments.

1. Pliny says that it was formerly supposed that the gods (i. e. daemons) were everywhere present and that therefore the custom arose of preventing a meal from being disturbed by a period of silence, which silence would cause each of the partakers of the meal to be in the power of those gods, and that, moreover, for the same reason food should — logically *not* — be given back i. e. put back on the table, at least not during the meal, as it was then in the power of the daemons.

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[1] Cic. *in Pis.* 67.
[2] Hor. *Sat* I. 4. 86; Suet. *Aug.* 70; cf. Mau, P. W. s. v. Convivium 1204
[3] Mart. II. 46.
[4] Mart. X. 87. 12, XIV. 135. cf. Dictionn. s. v. Convivium p. 1206.
[5] Mau, l. l. 1207.
[6] v. Haberland, p. 364; Dictionn. s. v. Convivium 1207—8.
[7] v. Haberland, p. 363.
[8] Mau, P. W. s. v. Convivium; Dictionn. s. v. Coena.

2. The explicit statement at the end of the paragraph that placing the food back on the table or burning it before the *Lar* was a *piatio* or *piaculum*, i. e. a sin.

3. The existence of similar customs elsewhere in folklore.

These customs have been collected by Rohde [1]. He says, "Das auf die Erde Gefallene gehört den ἥρωες (= Seelen Verstorbener), Aristoph. Ἥρωες, fr. 291 Dind. τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι τῶν φίλων ἀπένεμον τὰ πίπτοντα τῆς τροφῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τραπεζῶν (worauf Euripides im Bellerophontes anspiele), Athen. X. 427 E. Daher Pythagoreisches σύμβολον (wie meist, auf alten Seelenglauben begründet), τὰ πεσόντα ἀπὸ τραπέζης μὴ ἀναιρεῖσθαι [2]. Auf diesen Aberglauben bezieht sich auch der angeblich in Kroton giltige νόμος, τὸ πεσὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κωλύων ἀναιρεῖσθαι, Iamblich. *V. Pyth.* 126. Aehnlicher Glaube und Brauch in Rom: Plin. *N. H.* XXVIII. § 27. Bei den alten Preussen galt die Regel, beim Mahl auf die Erde gefallene Bissen nicht aufzuheben, sondern für arme Seelen, die keine Blutsverwandte und Freunde, die für sie sorgen müssten, auf der Welt haben, liegen zu lassen [3]."

Pliny's *dei* have also, probably, an underlying idea of spirits of the dead. Against the usual idea [4] that *reddebatur utique per mensas* should mean in this place "was replaced on the table" there are serious objections. It is hardly conceivable that *reddere per mensas* should be synonymous with *reponere in mensa* as given at the end of the paragraph. It is therefore better to read (*non*) *reddebatur* as being the *reddere* supposed to be included in the duties of the *analectae*[5], and to take the pluralis "*mensas*" as "courses" so that the sentence acquires the meaning of "food that had fallen was not put back, at least not during the meal". Further, the sentence, *Vetabantque munditiarum causa deflare*, must also be rightly

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[1] Psyche I p. 245, 1.

[2] Diog. Laert. VIII. 34; Suid. s. πυθαγόρα τὰ σύμβολα.

[3] Refers to Chr. Hartknock, A. u. N. Preussen, p. 188 and to Spencer, Princ. d. Sociol. (transl.) I p. 318.

[4] Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 162; Tromp, de Romanorum piaculis, Amsterdam 1921. p. 50; Otto, Arch. f. Lat. Lex. XV (1906) p. 114.

[5] Mart. VII. 20. 17, *Analecta quidquid et canes reliquerunt*; Hor. *Sat.* II. 8. 11, — *et alter sublegit quodcumque iaceret inutile quodque posset cenantes offendere*; cf. Sen. *Ep.* XXVII. 7.; XLVII. 5.

understood. In Suet. *Cal.* 28 [1] *deflare* has the pregnant meaning of to blow away, hence to reject as old and worn-out [2].

Here too the meaning of "clearing up", "removing as refuse" would fit in, so that *munditiarum causa* would mean "to clear it away", cf. Cato *R. R.* 39, *per imbrem in villam quaerito, quid fieri possit: ne cessetur, munditias facito.* Plaut. *Stich.* II 2. 22, *Munditias volo fieri: efferte huc scopas simulque arundinem, ut opera aranearum perdam.* These two examples may serve to illustrate how *munditiae* in the plural is connected with houses and furniture.

It must further be remarked that just as in the beginning of the paragraph there stands over against the perfectum *"adnotatum est"*— *"labor est,"* so over against the imperfecta *"reddebatur"* and *"vetabant"* stands *"sunt,"* from which we may conclude that the custom had been in vogue among the people but was obsolete in Pliny's time. But the records of the auguries did still exist, probably in the augural books, in which note was kept of what people said or thought when this happened, and this was still in force for priests, who, as is well-known, kept longer to tradition.

In the final sentence of the paragraph, *piatio est*, which is here synonymous with *piaculum est*, has the meaning of "it is an offence against religion" denoting thereby that both actions are *a fortiori* out of the question [3]. If this explanation is correct this passage is of no use in arguments as to the meaning of the *Lar*.

Eminent scholars such as Wissowa and Samter have been in controversy as to the problem whether the *Lar(es)* arose from the worship of the souls of ancestors or not, and in that controversy the above passage in Pliny was used as an argument.

In the first place there appeared an article of Wissowa entitled *"Lares"* in Roscher's Mythological Lexicon.

His argument amounts to this: the *Lar familiaris* is, in its widest meaning, the protector of the family (in contrast to *Vesta* and the *penates*, the worship of whom only falls to the master or mistress

[1] *Prolataque divorum Iulii et Augusti diplomata, ut vetera et obsoleta, deflabat.*
[2] In the meaning of *to remove*, Varro, *de R. R.* I. 64, not in the sense of *flando removere* as the Thesaurus gives; the passage reads: *Amurca cum ex oleo expressa, qui est umor aquatilis, ac retrimentum conditum in vas fictile, id quidam sic solent tueri, diebus XV in eo quod est levissimum ac summum d e f l a t u m ut traiiciant in alia vasa et hoc isdem intervallis .... faciant.*
[3] See *"piatio"*.

of the house) and therefore also of the slaves. Indeed the only sacrifice which the bondman or *villicus* might make was that to the *Lares compitales* [1].

Now the hearth is the meeting place of the whole family [2] and the Lar was the god to whom a daily sacrifice, especially on Calends, Nones, Ides and, of course, festival days, was offered [3].

We might suppose, therefore, seeing that this theory was also put forward in ancient times, that this function accrued to the *Lares familiares* in virtue of their nature, but nothing could be more untrue, thinks Wissowa. The *Lar* only afterwards joined the company of the hearth divinities, *Vesta* and the *Penates* [4]. But he is certainly a house spirit, closely connected with the family, since all events affecting the weal and woe of the family are enacted in his presence [5]. The theories of antiquity are at the most merely guesses [6], which bring us to no conclusion in a research into the origin of the *Lar*. His existence must be explained from the service of the *Lares compitales*, which the Romans consecrated at the *compita*, — cross-roads in the country [7] — in the *compita*, i. e. sanctuaries for that purpose, or *sacella*, to the divinities that collectively undertook the protectorship of the pieces of land converging at that point, in contrast to the worship of the official gods in the *delubra* in the cities [8].

The little temples had as many entrances as there were pieces of land, and the same number of altars, which were placed at about a distance of fifteen feet from the entrance, so that each owner of the land could sacrifice on his own ground [9].

From this collective worship at the *compita* arose the simple worship in the houses [10]. The *Lar* always occurs in the singular, while in the plural (apart from the State and Compital *Lares*) the word has either the meaning of the collective *Lares familiares*, or else the hearth gods were included in the name [11].

Against this theory Samter [12] takes up arms, and defends the

[1] Cato, *de Agric.* V. 3; Wissowa, Roscher M. L. s. v. 1876.
[2] id. 1877. Plin. *N. H.* XXVIII. 267.
[3] id. 1877. [4] ib. [5] id. 1878. [6] Wissowa, Archiv VII (1904) p. 42.
[7] *In agris*, Cic. *Legg.* II. 19.
[8] Wissowa, Roscher M. L. 1873.
[9] id. 1873. [10] id. 1875. [11] id. 1876.
[12] Samter, Familienfeste. Berlin 1901, p. 11.

old opinion that the *Lar* worship arose from the cult of souls or of ancestors. At the end of his book [1] he takes up the subject again more fully, especially as De Marchi [2], in spite of his good intentions, did not succeed in confuting Wissowa. Wissowa was then supported by Aust [3] and Hild [4]. As arguments he brings forward, among others, this passage in Pliny.

In discussing the place in which the *cibi prolapsi* count as an offering to the *di manes* of the ancestors, he quotes the literature already collected by Rohde [5].

Moreover he also quotes Schön [6] and Wuttke [7].

Basing his conclusion on folkloristic motives, Samter [8] decides that in Rome those spirits to which the fallen pieces fell due were identical with the spirits of the dead, *ergo*, that this was the origin of the worship of the *Lares*.

Wissowa's reply to this [9] I can sum up as follows. The origin of the *Lares* worship is not to be sought in the house, but at the *compitum* [10]. When transferred to city conditions the *Lar* retires to the house, though not thereby putting an end to the compital worship, and there joins *Vesta* and the *Penates* in a group of hearth divinities, which are often characterized by the collective name of *Lares*, and which are not strictly differentiated [11].

The fundamental question, however, as to whether, in contradistinction to *Genius*, the *Lar* is attached, not to the person, but to the place, is still unsolved. For, if the idea of the *Lar* were based on animistic principles, there would have to be *Lares* of different sexes and persons. The metonymic use of the word *Lar* is limited to the meaning of house, and is never applied to the inmates or to the ancestors.

To this Samter made a last reply in "Der Ursprung des Laren-

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[1] Anhang, p. 105 sq.
[2] Il culto privato di Roma antica p. 34 sq.
[3] Die Religion d. Römer p. 135.
[4] Dictionn. s. v. Lares.
[5] Psyche I p. 245. 1.
[6] Aus der Oberpfalz I p. 284 sq.
[7] Wuttke, der Deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart$_3$. p. 311.
[8] p. 110. [9] Archiv. VII (1904) p. 45 sq. [10] ib.
[11] See arguments Wissowa, Roscher M. L. s. v. Lares 1876 sq.

kultus" [1]. In connection with the very word *piatio*, which Wissowa does not explain [2], and because *Lar*, instead of *Lares*, is used here — which latter word Wissowa had given as identical with *focus* in his article [3] — to which is added *adoleri*, probably a *terminus technicus*, he comes to the following conclusion [4]. A cult of the *Lar* on the separate pieces of ground does not exist. The *Lares* are worshipped communally; the *Lar* by himself is worshipped on the hearth. This *Lar* protects not the land but the family, with which he remains when another house is moved into. In the *piatio* and in the worship at the hearth there are rites which we otherwise find used only in the service of chthonic gods and the souls of the dead, and also in the service of the *Lares compitales* [5], whereby the connection between *Compitales*, *Lar* and chthonic gods [6] is proved.

The *Lares* are not identical with the souls of the dead, as the collective souls are worshipped as *Dii Manes* or *Parentes*. Next to this Samter gives the explanation of the singular *Lar*.

Lar means Ancestor, *ἥρως ἀρχηγέτης* [7], which explanation makes all old forms of the *Lares* worship easy to understand, and Samter concludes, "Der Einzelne verehrt seinen Lar im Hause, die Bewohner eines Viertels verehren die Gesamtheit der Laren ihres Bezirkes im Compitum" [8]. Apparently Samter has, since that time, won everybody to his point of view, for Eitrem [9] writes that the *Lares*, or *in other words the souls of the ancestors in their capacity of protective spirits*, received their daily portions burnt upon the hearth, or on a small altar, before the *mensa secunda* was brought in; and Eitrem brings us back to the idea that Samter and Wissowa rejected, that the *Manes*, the souls of the ancestors, linger near the hearth, the place where they were once buried.

Although Samter's chief argument is cut off by the different

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[1] Archiv. X (1907) p. 368 sq. [2] p. 374. [3] Archiv. VII p. 45.
[4] Archiv. X p. 387. [5] p. 374 sq. [6] i. e. souls.
[7] Rohde, Psyche II p. 348. [8] Samter, Familienfeste p. 121.
[9] Opferritus p. 475. cf. Franz Altheim, Terra Mater, R. V. V. XXII. 2. (1931) p. 58; Margaret C. Waites, Amer. Journ. of Archaeol. XXXV. (1920) p. 241.

explanation of the place, given above, [1] we can still share his opinion; for there still remains to him a reasonable argument in the hanging up of the woollen dolls on the *Compitalia* during the night; which in his opinion should lead to the conclusion that formerly these were human sacrifices, and that the *Lares* were chthonic in origin, since the hanging took place at night [2]. But, as has already been said, there can be no question here of a cult of the *Lar*, as in the last sentence Pliny only points out that such food may not be put back on the table and may not be used as a sacrifice to the *Lar*.

deflare ....

Although, as said under "*cibus prolapsus*", the meaning of *deflare* is pregnant and the word signifies "to clear away", it may be brought to mind that blowing can be a magical action.

I have already pointed out under the heading of sneezing, that the breath as the bearer of the soul possesses a magic power. The invisible agent of the exhaled air became a kind of spirit, and from this the idea developed that by blowing, a visible or invisible activity could be called forth. For one either transferred one's own *pneuma* to something else, or else a strange *pneuma* was overcome by blowing. For this latter purpose it is still the custom to blow over bread that is about to be eaten [3]. A Syrian blows over his child to avert the evil eye [4]. Some still blow three times over a strange spoon before using it [5], and in Alaska the medicine man blows into the nose and mouth of a patient to drive out the daemon of disease [6].

auguria ....

By *augurium* = *auspicium*, we must understand, in the first place, the observation of birds for the purpose of gaining the per-

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[1] Boehm, P. W. s. v. Lares 822 sq. gives an extensive exposition of the whole controversy between Wissowa and Samter.

[2] Familienfeste p. 111 sq.

[3] Drechsler, Sitte, Brauch u. Volksglauben in Schlesien. Leipzig 1903—6 II p. 15; cf. Aly, Hdwb. d. D. A. s. v. Blasen 1358.

[4] Seligmann, Der Böse Blick II p. 216. [5] ib.

[6] C. Bakker, Volksgeneeskunde in Waterland, Amsterdam 1928, p. 184.

mission of the gods for all possible acts [1], which original meaning was afterwards extended, so that *augurium* came to mean any sign of divine origin. When occurring as a class noun, *auspicium* means an enquiry as to the divine will before taking political action, and *augurium* means the sacred prayers of the augurs, which combine the enquiry after the divine will [2] with a petition for particular things [3]. Though *auspicium*, therefore, is purely objective, a subjective element has crept into the meaning of *augurium*.

That *auspicatio* was indeed originally also an action in private life [4], we must suppose from the fact that the *nuptiarum auspices* [5] still exist in Imperial times, although they only act as witnesses.

The *auspicia, auguria, prodigia, portenta, monstra, dirae* are grouped as visible signs over against another group of audible signs known under the common name of *omina* [6]. We should suppose that *auguria* as meant here were included in the *Libri Augurales;* which not only contain the fundamental rules of the *disciplina auguralis* but also the *decreta* and *responsa* which were given to questions asked with reference to *auguria* [7]. For this reason Pliny speaks of *condita auguria.*

pontifici . . . .

The priest [8] in the civilised state has still similar functions to those of the medicine man of the primitive races. He is a physician, an assistant in war, a sooth-sayer. Gradually, however, the qualities of the priest are transferred to the divinity in whose service he stands [9]. If the power of the medicine man diminishes, he is removed from office or killed. And as this still survives among the Greeks

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[1] Wissowa, P. W. s. v. Auspicium 2580.
[2] Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 524.
[3] Hopfner, P. W. s. v. Mantike 1289.
[4] Cic. *de Div.* I. 28.
[5] Plaut. *Cas.* 86.; Tac. *Ann.* XI. 27.
[6] Hopfner, o. l. 1279. [7] Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 527.
[8] See for the explanation of the word *pontifex* among others: Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 503. 2; Muller, Altit. Wb. s. v. (ref. to Kretschmer, Glotta X p. 212); Pfister, Burs. Jahresb. Suppl. Bd. 229 p. 384. It seems to be necessary to keep to the explanation of Varro, *L. l.* 83.
[9] Pfister, P. W. s. v. Kultus 2136.

in the punishing of priests or depriving them of office when they have committed outrages against the rules of worship, so among the Romans, a priest can lose his sacerdotal dignities when condemned by law to a loss of his privileges, except in the case of the *fratres arvales* and *augures* [1].

They were always on the look out to increase the orenda of the priests, hence their wreath and the woollen bands [2].

Must the custom mentioned here be explained by a possible loss of orenda that might occur? The phenomenon itself is called *κληδών* [3].

dicis causa....

Varro says [4], *dico originem habet graecam: quod Graeci δεικνύω .... huic .... dicis causa.* Although this explanation is still considered the right one [5], the word is also brought into connection with the Indo-Eur. diḱ, lat. *dic* — [6]. The meaning is given as *'ad speciem, pro forma, simulate'* [7].

I should wish to translate it as "officially present".

mensa....

Riess [8] declares that the table was sacred, and brings as an argument the fact that it took the place of the hearth, which was originally the centre of family life. In support of this he might have quoted Festus [9], *mensa frugibusque iurato significat per mensam et fruges*, from which appears that the ancients even swore by the table. There is still another place in Festus that he could have referred to [10], *mensae in aedibus sacris ara (rum vicem obtinent ....)* and in Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 279. *quaeritur*

[1] Riewald, P. W. s. v. Sacerdotes 1643.

[2] Pfister, o. l. 2133.

[3] Bouché—Leclerq, Dictionn. s. v. Divinatio, "Le cledonisme est une parole (phrase, mot isolé ou exclamation [*Hominum voces quae vocant omina*, Cic. *Div.* I. 45]) qui est détournée de son sens et appliquée par celui qui l'étend une préoccupation intime, ignorée de celui qui parle".

[4] *L. l.* VI. 61.

[5] Walde, Lat. et. Wb.$_2$ p. 231; Keller, Volksetymologie p. 270.

[6] Gonda, *Δείκνυμι*, Diss. Utrecht 1929 p. 238.

[7] See Thesaurus s. v.

[8] Riess, P. W. s. v. Aberglaube 30.

[9] Festus p. 124 M. [10] p. 157 M.

sane cur in mensam et non in aram libaverint? Sed apud antiquos inter vasorum supellectilem etiam mensam cum aris mos erat consecrari quo die templum consecrabatur [1].

How must we explain the origin of the table? In any case as the bearer of eating utensils [2], which among the Romans consisted originally of a kind of plate made of bread [3] that was afterwards fixed to a support [4]. It is still found among many primitive races in its original form of a basis for food [5], but in this case it is intended as a means to prevent the food from coming into direct contact with the earth, which is considered as working magic in some form or other.

At the end of Republican times, the Romans ate in company at large square tables, [6] while we must consider it as an exceptional case when Petronius *Sat.* 34 mentions that each guest had also a separate small table. For larger companies of diners, more sets of tables were used, consisting of *mensa* and *tricliniares*. It is remarkable that the Romans, who originally ate seated (*maiores enim nostri sedentes epulabantur, quem morem a Laconibus habuerunt et Cretensibus, ut Varro docet in libris de gente Populi Romani, in quibus dicit quid a quaque traxerint gente per imitationem.* [7]) afterwards changed this habit. The motives for this are not quite clear, as it must be more difficult to eat lying down.

Later on the table seems to have become not only a mere dining table, *escaria* or *cilliba* [8] but also a *cartibulum*, a kind of sideboard [9], and the sumptuous material used for these articles made them exceedingly costly [10]. It is very probable that we have here only to do with the so-called *'monopodia'* [11] and not with the slabs placed on brick supports [12].

If the word *mensa* be understood as "course", the average Roman made a distinction between *mensa prima* and *secunda* consisting of *caro* and *poma* [13]. From the fact that the table was the

[1] cf. Serv. *Aen.* VIII. 110 [2] v. Haberland o. l. p. 263.
[3] Serv. *Aen.* I. 736. [4] Kruse, P. W. s. v. Mensa 938.
[5] v. Haberland p. 255. [6] Kruse, o. l. 942. [7] Serv. *Aen.* VII. 176.
[8] Varro, *L. l.* V. 25. [9] ib. V. 26; cf. Kruse, 942. [10] Kruse, 943; Plin. XIII. 102; XIV. 66; see Dictionn. s. v. Coena.
[11] Petron. 119; Stat. *Silv.* III. 3. 94.; Kruse, P. W. 943.
[12] For ill. Dictionn., s. v. Coena p. 1278. fig. 1700.
[13] Serv. *Aen.* I. 216; VIII. 283.

bearer of food, which was considered as sacred, it will follow that the table itself will have acquired that quality. The way will then be prepared for all possible superstitious customs which everywhere develop [1]. However, beside the power-depriving meaning adhering to the table (for instance in Bavaria, seed that has been placed on a table loses its germinating power [2]), there also occurs a power-giving significance such as the hearth possesses [3]. It is remarkable that even prophetic power is ascribed to tables. In the so-called τραπεζομαντεία the expectation is expressed of learning the future from inspired tables, cf. Tert. *Apol.* 23. *Porro si magi .... somnia inmittunt, habentes semel invitatorum angelorum et daemonum assistentem sibi potestatem, per quos et caprae et mensae divinare consueverunt* [4]. *Mensae* must not be translated by tripods here [5].

ad Larem ....

see **"cibus prolapsus.... piatio est".**

piatio ....

The word *piatio*, which except in this passage of Pliny seems to occur only in one other place in literature [6] must be taken as a synonym of *piaculum*.

It is obvious that *piatio* has been endowed with the chief meaning of *piaculum* [7], which latter word is divided as regards its meaning by Tromp [8] as follows, *placamen, quod est piaculo dignum, peccatum, miseria, poena, ultio, purgatio* [9].

But a strong argument for the fact that in this particular place the meaning of *peccatum* must be ascribed to it is that *piaculum* in the sense of "it is an offence against religion" is constructed with the *acc. c. inf.* [10] *Piatio* is also constructed in this way so

[1] v. Haberland p. 263.

[2] Bavaria II. p. 297; III. p. 379, cf. v. Haberland p. 266.

[3] Riess. l. l.

[4] See too Hopfner, P. W. s. v. Mantike 1287.

[5] cf. Herbert Bindley, Tertull. Oxf. 1889, who refers to Virgil, *Aen.* II. 764.

[6] Lact. ad. Stat. *Theb.* IV. 459, *loca per quae piationem facimus*; cf. Tromp, De Rom. Piaculis, Amsterdam 1921 p. 24.

[7] Tromp, p. 23. [8] id. p. 26 sq.

[9] See too Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 392—3.

[10] Thus Fab. Pict. ap. Gell. X. 15; Plaut. *Truc.* 223; Lactant. *D. I.* II. 18 (= VI 343 M); or with a conditional sense: Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* XI. 339.

that it is evident that this word in this place must have the meaning of *peccatum*.

The *piaculum* as *placamen* has this aim in common with the *lustratio* that it seeks to renew the disturbed relations with the divinity, but their essential meaning differs [1].

The results of the *lustratio* depend on magical powers, those of the *piaculum* on the good will of the divinity. The *lustratio* was from the beginning constituted without *sacrificium*, while the *piaculum* is based entirely on this. While the *lustratio* is a purgatory and placatory rite, *actio* and *passio*, the *piaculum* is a placatory one and *actio* only.

medicamenta ....

The word has a good and a bad meaning. In its favourable sense it means a remedy [2], and in its unfavourable sense it means poison [3]. *Medicare*, indeed, need not only be used for curing diseases; *medicatus* can often mean "poisoned" [4]. Both these meanings are based on the idea of "enchantment" [5]. Thus we also find *φάρμακον*, a magic herb, given as *medicamen* [6].

It appears that the art of medicine, before entering upon paths of its own, was preceded by the magic method of healing, which must be explained by the fact that disease and death were not ascribed to natural causes, but to daemons of disease and their mysterious activities [7]. In support of this theory we may refer also to the numerous *carmina* which have been handed down to us so plentifully from antiquity, for which the so-called *evocationes morborum* [8] are very strong evidence. Compare Plin. II. 15, *Itaque nomina alia aliis gentibus et numina in iisdem innumerabilia invenimus, inferis quoque in genera descriptis, morbisque et multis etiam pestibus, dum esse placatas trepido metu cupimus*. Of all those *carmina* most have

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[1] Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 392.
[2] Ovid. *Ars amat.* II. 491, *illa Machaonios superant medicamina sucos*; cf. Tac. *Ann.* XII. 51. [3] Tac. *Ann.* XII. 67.
[4] Suet. *Claud.* 44; Sil. Ital. VII. 453; XIII. 197.
[5] Ov. *Her.* XII. 165; see Abt, Apologie, p. 188.
[6] Val. Flacc. VIII. 17.
[7] Van Andel, Ned. Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde, 74 I. 5. p. 523.
[8] Heim, Incantamenta, p. 476.

reference to the art of medicine [1], and many are the ways in which they try to bring about a cure. The simplest sort is that in which the name of the patient or of the disease is merely mentioned [2]; but apart from the *evocationes* just referred to, threats are also uttered [3], or an effort is made to drive the daemons into other living beings or plants, or else to cause them to disappear under the earth or in water [4]. The so-called *ἀδύνατα* [5] may also be mentioned, with, as an example, the well-known [6] *'si in dextro oculo varulus erit natus, manu sinistra digitis tribus sub divo orientem spectans varulum tenebis et dices: "nec mula parit, nec lapis lanam fert, nec huic morbo caput crescat, aut si creverit tabescat"'*, and those entitled by Heim *"Historiolae"*; for instance, *'ad combustum. Praecantatio ad conbustum. dicis haec: "rangaruagaverbat"; ter dicito et lingito ter et expuito. Praecantatio ad conbustum. ne fiant ulcera, dicis haec: "ferrum candens linguam restringat, ne noceat". hanc incantationem tamen ex ore Druidum: "Siculi vident iligo vel marino piso adriacicum et iscito malluli drogoma ex ava mit[]unt astandem"'* [7]. Further, people made use on a large scale of the so-called *ἐφέσια γράμματα* [8], i.e. difficult words, the sense of which can only be discovered with difficulty or not at all; a usual phenomenon in magic, to which I have already alluded, the effectiveness often depending on the incomprehensibility [9], whereby it is also required, in order not to break the magic power, that everything should be pronounced in the right order [10].

Many of these Heim expects to be solved when they have all been systematically arranged, as, as he thinks, there is a great deal of Hebrew material among them, while among the Romans, many were taken from the ancient language or from neighbouring peoples [11].

If, therefore, we must consider the *carmina* as fear-inspiring expressions of the primitive for the benefit of the daemons, it might very well be possible to see in the strange mixtures of genuine remedies and disgusting matters, such as were known to the ancient

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[1] ib. p. 471. [2] ib. [3] ib. p. 479. [4] ib. p. 483. [5] ib. p. 491 sq. [6] Marc. VIII 191. [7] *Medic. Plin.* Rose, (Herm. VIII p. 54 sq., cf. Heim, p. 501). III c. 16. p. 268. [8] Heim, p. 525 sq.

[9] Plin. *N. H.* XXVIII. 20. [10] Plin. *N. H.* XXVIII. 11.

[11] Heim, p. 528 sq.

Egyptians, and for which one need not seek long in Pliny either, a kind of fear-inspiring means to drive away the daemons of disease, which survived in a time when uncivilised man succeeded by his patient investigations in collecting and bequeathing to us a great number of our remedies which still retain their value [1].

In order to be effective against daemons of disease these remedies were thought to be charged with orenda [2]. Afterwards the gods were held to be the givers of this orenda, as a survival of which belief the names bear witness, such as, for instance, Solomon's seal and Adonis, many of which have now been christened with names of distinguished saints, as St. Peters' wort, St. Bennet's herb, St. Agnes' flower, Costmary [3]. The precautions in plucking and applying, so as not to break the orenda, had to be painfully observed. Sometimes, even, extra orenda was added to it in the plucking, as for instance [4], ... *canaria lappa .... carcinomata sanat, ternis diebus soluta. medetur et subus, effossa sine ferro, addita in colluviem poturis vel ex lacte ac vino. quidam adiciunt effodientem dicere oportere, "haec est herba argemon, quam Minerva repperit subus remedium quae de illa gustaverint"*, from which the invocation of the daemons to lend their power to the herb is apparent.

The table, itself charged with orenda — though probably, by its continuous contact with the earth, with a chthonic orenda, — which, as we have seen, can both give and break power, causes, in the eyes of the primitive, the orenda to flow away and be absorbed in itself. (It is sometimes even explicitly said of the earth itself that it deprives the herb of its power [5]). Later on this thought was transferred to other remedies than plants. By contact with the table, therefore, the "remedies", that is magic charms, *φάρμακα, medicamenta*, lose their magic power, which was *primarily* a healing one.

To give a survey of the *medicamenta* would be impracticable. They are contained chiefly in ll. XX—XXXII; ll. XX—XXVII giving the application of plants as remedies, ll. XXVIII—XXXII the employment of living beings in medicine. Riess in his "Aber-

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[1] v. Leersum, Over de waardeering der oude en volksgeneesmiddelen; Ned. Tijdschr. v. Geneesk. 1914. 1e H. p. 1952 sq.
[2] Stemplinger, Volksmedizin, p. 24. [3] ib. p. 25. [4] Plin. *N. H.* XXIV. 176. [5] Plin. *N. H.* XXIV. 12; XXV. 171.

glaube" gives a good survey of the superstitious use of plants [1]. In very early times the work of Pliny was excerpted on this account and the excerpt still exists under the name of *"Medicina Plinii"* [2].

When considering the medical art of the Romans on general lines, it is surprising that they created no science of medicine of their own. Epidemics were exploited by the State authorities for their own political ends, by ascribing them to the disposition of the gods. In reality therapeutic treatment confined itself to the taking of magical measures. The belief in daemons of disease of primitive times still survives in the representation of various diseases by gods [3].

The rational, scientific development of medicine is found in Greece, where it is already early to be found on the coasts of Asia-Minor, Magna Graecia and Africa [4].

The physicians learnt to prepare their own medicaments, while originally the rhizotomi and pharmocopolists supplied the material. Later on their profession developed itself at the expense of that of the physicians [5]. In Pliny's time the doctors themselves prepared nothing, but obtained everything from these people [6], who seemed to lay themselves out to practice deceit wherever they could [7]. On the other hand, however, medicaments were also prepared in the temples of the gods of healing [8].

ungues .... capillum .... defluvia .... dolores capitis ....

It is generally accepted that hair and nails are parts of the body which, although separated from it by cutting, are still fraught with the orenda of the person to whom they belong. This gives rise to the belief that sympathetic magic can be performed on them; since, whatever happens to the hair and nails while under enchantment, will also happen to the owner [9].

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[1] Riess, P. W. s. v. Aberglaube 51 sq. [2] see p. 108, n. 7.
[3] Neuburger, Handbuch d. Geschichte d. Medizin, Jena 1902, I. p. 404.
[4] Lübker, Reallex. s. v. Medizin p. 652.
[5] Dictionn. s. v. Medicus. p. 1679—80. [6] Plin. *N. H.* XXIV. 108.
[7] Friedländer, S. G. I. p. 202. [8] Macr. *Sat.* I. 12. 26; cf. Friedl. S. G. I. p. 202.
[9] Frazer, G. B. II p. 258; Rohde, Psyche I. 17. 1; (Wieseler, Philol. IX p. 711 sq.); Abt, Apologie, p. 106; Samter, Familienfeste, p. 22, 45 sq.; Tylor Prim. Cult. II. 401.

For this reason they are employed in love magic; for the hair and nails give an immediate power over the person concerned, and their significance is great in both good and evil magic [1], although, in regard to nails, our sources are almost exclusively limited to accounts of "injurious magic" [2]. The image used to wreak vengeance in the shape of injury or death on one's enemy is therefore supplied with his hair and nails in order to give it the proper orenda [3]. Hence it was prohibited to tread on nails, and in the case of transgression it was ordered to spit on them; for by treading under foot the magic power was transferred, and by spitting it was broken [4]. For the sake of their power the nail-parings of fever-stricken people were hung on a strange door [5] or were thrown on an ant-heap. Thereupon the insect that first dragged them away was caught and worn as an amulet [6].

The hair is also sometimes considered to be the seat of vitality, so that to cause life to cease, the daemon of death was supposed to cut off a lock of hair from the head [7]; which is probably an outcome of the thought that the head being sacred [8], the hair of the head is especially subject to taboo as regards cutting; for the spirit of the head may be disturbed, whence the vitality may afterwards have transferred itself to the hair itself (think of Samson!) [9].

This is the reason that kings and priests are, for a great part, not allowed to cut their hair, so as not to decrease their orenda —,

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[1] Luc. *Dial. Mer.* IV. 4; Apul. *Met.* III. 16; cf. Riess P. W. s. v. Aberglaube 86. [2] Abt, Apologie, p. 105.

[3] Frazer, G. B. I p. 11—15; 375 sq.; cf. Abt, p. 166.

[4] Riess, P. W. s.v. Aberglaube 85. [5] Plin. *N.H.* XXVIII. 86.

[6] Riess, ib.

[7] Eur. *Alcestis* 75 sq.; Virg. *Aen.* 696—705, where the ghost of Dido cannot part from the body before a lock of hair has been cut off, because she "died before her time"; cf. De Jong, Magie bij Gr. en Rom. p. 117. We also find the hair given as the seat of life in the story of the Megarian king Nisus, whose daughter Scylla, in order to win the love of his enemy, cut off his purple lock of hair, on which the existence of his kingdom depended; on his enemy Minos refusing it, father and daughter were changed into birds. cf. Ovid. *Met.* VIII. 1—151; Virg. *Georg.* I. 404 sq.; see Buscaroli, Il libro di Didone, Milano 1932. He quotes Filippo Caccialanza, Il crino fatale, Turin, Clausen 1895).

[8] Frazer, G. B. III p. 252. [9] id. p. 258.

as was the custom among the Frankish Kings [1]; and it may be generally said that persons in a state of taboo were forbidden to cut their hair or nails [2]. If the state of taboo is removed and the person is again allowed to cut his hair and nails, the difficulty still remains as to what must be done with the cuttings. The nails and hair of the *Flamen Dialis* were buried under a lucky tree; and the shorn tresses of the Vestals were hung on an ancient lotus tree; which, in my opinion, is a result of the thought that if the hair and nails had to fall into the hands of a daemon it were best that it should be a tree spirit, that being rooted to the earth, and bound to the place, would guard what had been received and least be able to do harm. For in other cases, too, cut hair and nails were taken to sacred places such as temples and cemeteries, to protect them against the magic use that sorcerors might make of them [3]; or else, if an opportunity presented itself, hidden in the ground or among high grass. Even when these cuttings had been burnt the same precautions were taken with the ashes [4].

It is not in the first place people that are supposed to make a misuse of hair and nails, but evil spirits [5]. This belief goes so far that a person that had shaved and had a haircut was thought to be for a time in the power of the spirits that had taken possession of the remains, or rather of the abandoned orenda [6]. This is clearly

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[1] Agathias, *Hist.* I. 3; see Frazer o. c. p. 258. 1; in general p. 258 sq.

[2] Ovid. *Fasti* VI. 230; see Frazer, Fasti IV. p. 167.

[3] Frazer, G. B. III p. 274.

[4] id. p. 278; Eitrem, Opferritus p. 361.

[5] It is even believed that spirits are fond of nestling in hair, a thought which is not unique in folklore. (Hindoo women too have a similar custom in pregnancy; cf. Rose, The Roman Questions of Plutarch, Oxford 1924. p. 205; Frazer, Fasti II p. 442).

Thus the *hasta caelibaris* or *hasta recurva* (Festus p. 62—63 M.; Plut. *Qu. Rom.* LXXXVII) of which neither Festus nor Plutarch give a plausible explanation, was probably a curved spear used in dressing the hair of a bride. It is thought that it had to be curved because, coming into contact with a woman, it became unusable in any case. But it is more probable that it was a symbol that it had been used and had reached its aim, and was therefore filled with the orenda of someone else (cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXVIII. 33, 34). Festus therefore says that this ought to be a *hasta quae in corpore gladiatoris stetisset* (cf. Frazer, Fasti p. 442).

[6] Stemplinger, Aberglaube p. 68.

apparent from the belief that the cutting or even combing of the hair aroused the weather spirits [1], a belief which we find already in antiquity [2]. For it is expressly stated that it was considered dangerous to cut hair and nails at sea, *audio enim non licere cuiquam mortalium in nave neque ungues neque capillos deponere nisi cum pelago ventus irascitur*; the last phrase — "only when the wind is stormy" I can explain, with Eitrem [3], as a calming of the wind and sea-gods by throwing hair and nails into the sea in a high wind. The spirits were satisfied with the mere possession of them. Just as they arise menacingly to take possession, so they will be satisfied when they are freely given.

This leads us naturally to the question of the sacrifice of hair, which was known to both the Greeks and the Romans [4]. Homer, already, mentions it as the duty of the surviving relations to shave the head and to shed tears for the dead [5]. Further it is also to be found in the Tragedy. Petron. 111, and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* XI. 39. 6. give us examples among the Romans [6]. The explanation formerly given, that the hair represented the soul of the devotee [7] is contested by Frazer [8] and Eitrem [9], who explain it in this way, that the mourners shave their heads, being all infected with the taboo of death. The hair is generally shorn at transition stages, and this is called a "*rite de passage*", a purification ritual, which is met with at births, deaths and marriages. That is why the hair was cut off after the accomplishment of a journey, after absence, or danger, or illness [10] and why children's nails were not cut in the first year of their lives [11].

The recipients of the remains of hair and nails are, in that case, the spirits of the dead, which Eitrem [12] concludes from the time

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[1] Frazer, G. B. III p. 271. [2] Petron. 103. [3] Eitrem, o. c. p. 369.
[4] Sommer, P. W. s. v. Haaropfer 2105.
[5] *Od.* IV. 197; XXIV. 43; see Sommer, das Haar in Religion u. Abergl. d. Griechen. Diss. Münster 1912; cf. Eitrem o. c. p. 344.
[6] Eitrem, p. 345; he also refers to Ov. *Her.* IV. 16 sq.; III. 561; Prop. I. 17. 21; Stat. *Silv.* V. 3. 105.
[7] Among others, Wundt, Völkerpsych. IV. 2. p. 102.
[8] Frazer, G. B. III p. 283 sq. [9] Eitrem, o. c. p. 350.
[10] Eitrem, p. 350—51.
[11] Sikes, Encycl. of Rel. and Eth. s. v. Hair and Nails.
[12] o. c. p. 360.

at which hair and nails are cut; in Athens and Rome at the new moon [1]. This passage also supports the theory that the Romans had their hair cut immediately after full moon or before new moon, that is on the 17th and 29th day after the new moon, as a preventive against baldness and headache. Varro extends the custom also to sheep, and calls it an ancestral custom, to which, therefore, the general rule of Cato is also applicable [2], *nisi intermestri lunaque dimidiata ne tangas materiem; tum effodias aut praecidas abs terra.*

According as people wished to put the spirits in possession of hair and nails or not, so we find contradictory instructions. In Thuringia hair and nails may only be cut when the moon is waxing and on Fridays; for preference before sunrise or after sunset [3]. Over against this stands the English saying [4],

Friday Hair, Sunday Horn
Better that child had ne'er been born.

If the spirits of the dead are the recipients, they take away something that is injurious to man. The hair contains, indeed, the μύσος [5] that has to be got rid of, which has entered either by infection, as already stated, or by inward disposition. The loss of hair, and headache, to be avoided, must both be considered due to that evil *virus* that is abandoned to the spirits of the dead, and that on days pleasing to the spirits [6]; in this case on the 17th and 29th day of the moon. But another explanation is possible, for which see XVII *luna atque* XXVIIII.

defluvia . . . .

Pliny [7] says of the *defluvia*, "*defluvium . . . . in muliere rarum* [8], *in spadonibus non visum, nec in ullo ante veneris usum, nec infra cerebrum aut infra verticem aut circum tempora atque aures. calvitium uni tantum animalium homini praeterquam innatum*". He also gives other remedies for *defluvia* [9]. We might suppose from the innumerable remedies [10] Pliny gives for headache, that it was of frequent

[1] Theophr. IV. 12; Varro *R. R.* I. 37. 2; Plin. *N. H.* XVI. 194, where is said of Tiberius, *servavit interlunia.* [2] Plin. *N. H.* XVI. 194.
[3] Eitrem, o. c. p. 361. [4] Sikes, Class. Rev. 1893. p. 182.
[5] Eitrem, o. c. p. 348. [6] ib. p. 360. [7] Plin. *N. H.* XI. 131.
[8] But cf. XX. 27.
[9] Among others XXII. 62; XXVIII. 139, 166; XXV. 132.
[10] cf. XXII. 125; XXVII. 17; XXIII. 85, 92; XXVIII. 166; XXIX. 114.

occurrence, and even chronic [1]. As a matter of fact they had a great knowledge of matters causing headache [2], not excepting the post-festive headache! [3] Among those he gives there are also magic remedies [4]. We also find the moon given as a cause of headache [5].

nundinis . . . .

The reason why this should happen exactly on the *nundinae* is not quite clear. Our principal source of information for the *nundinae* is Macrobius. In his *Saturnalia* [6] he tells us that already in antiquity there was a difference of feeling about these days. Titus, who wrote *De Feriis*, did not range them under the *feriae*, but called them only *sollemnes*, and this was also the opinion of the *pontifices* when they replied to Messala, "*nundinas sibi ferias non videri*". On the other hand, Julius Caesar in the XVIth book of his *auspicia* says that on the *nundinae* a *contio* could not be convened and a national assembly could not, therefore, be held. With him Corn. Labeo assures us in his *Fasti* that the *nundinae* are *feriae* [7]. The solution for this Macrobius gives as follows, *ait enim* (*Labeo sc.*) *nundinas Jovis ferias esse, siquidem Flaminica omnibus nundinis in regia Jovi arietem soleat immolare, sed lege Hortensia effectum ut fastae essent, uti rustici, qui nundinandi causa in urbem veniebant, lites componerent.* On the other hand, Festus says (*P. D. ex F. exc.*) p. 173 M., *nundinas feriarum † diem esse voluerunt antiqui; ut rustici convenirent mercandi vendendique causa eumque nefastum, ne, si liceret cum populo agi, interpellarentur nundinatores.*

Although Macrobius himself considers the *nundinae* as *feriae: feriarum autem publicarum genera sunt quattuor, aut enim stativae sunt aut conceptivae aut imperativae aut nundinae* [8], they were in the actual sense of the word not *feriae* at all [9], in spite of the sacrifice of the *Flaminica*.

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[1] XXIV. 25. [2] cf. XIII. 16; XXIV. 17; XXI. 119; XXIII. 30.
[3] XXIV. 62. [4] XXVIII. 76, 49.
[5] Galen. ed. Kühn IX. 903; Plin. XI. 149. (Roscher in Roscher M. L. s. v. Mondgöttin 3156).
[6] I. 16. 28—30. [7] cf. however, Plin. *N. H.* XVIII. 13.
[8] I. 16. 5; so too Varro *L. l.* VI. 25.
[9] Mommsen, Chronol. p. 245 sq.; Staatsr. III p. 373; cf. Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 440. 2.

They counted as *feriae* for school, however, even in Imperial times [1], and adults went to the baths [2].

If the *nundinae* fall on the *Kalendae Jan.* or on the *Nonae*, this is a very evil omen, as especially *Lepidiano tumultu opinio ista firmata est* [3]. The same thing was experienced in 52 B.C. [4].

The name *nundinae* is wrong in so far as they occurred every eighth day; it is the same figure of speech as when at the present time 8 days are spoken of, meaning a week [5]. In old calendars the 8 days are fairly regularly represented by the letters A B C D E F G H [6]. The *nundinae* do not fit into the lunar or solar month or time and are an arbitrary fiction based on practical grounds [7].

tacenti ....

See under **"conticescere"**.

a digito indice ....

We find also in other places instructions for the sequence in which the fingers should be manicured. Among the Parsees [8] the order for this is 4-2-5-1-3, which is adopted by Rabbinical authority for the left hand, though it is maintained that for the right the order should be 2-4-1-3-5, the left hand being first manicured. I have already pointed out under *"digito"* the fact that the fingers play an important part in superstition.

XVII luna atque XXVIIII.

This has been rightly explained by Eitrem [9] as meaning immediately after full moon or before new moon. What is the deeper significance of this? Eitrem finds in this an argument that the

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[1] Varro, *Menipp. frgm.* 279 Buech.; cf. Wissowa, R. u. K. p. 443. 1; Suet. *de Gramm.* 7; cf. Dictionn. s. v. *Nundinae*, p. 120.

[2] Sen. *Ep.* LXXXVI. 12; Dictionn. ib.

[3] Anno 78; Macr. *Sat.* I. 13. 16—17.

[4] Dio Cass. XI. 47; cf. Frazer, Fasti II p. 69.

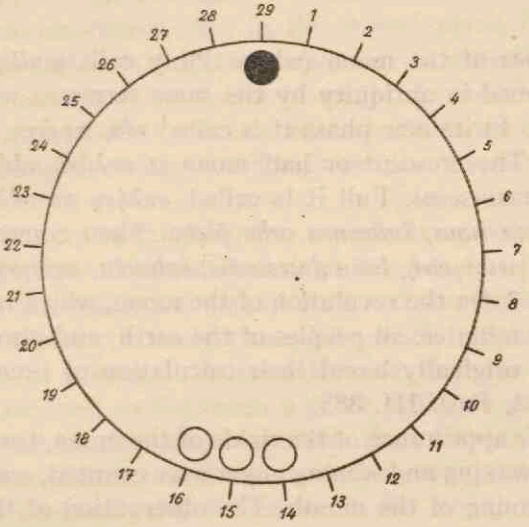
[5] Frazer, ib. p. 66; Dictionn. p. 120.

[6] *e. g.* C. I. L. I_2 p. 223—26; p. 231—38; Frazer, o. c. p. 66. 4; for further particulars Frazer refers to Hultsche, Das altröm. Jahr. u. s. Tage, p. 288 sq.

[7] Frazer, o. c. p. 68—69.

[8] Anguetil du Perron, Zend-Avesta, Paris 1771. II. p. 117; see Encycl. of Rel. and Eth. s. v. Hair. [9] Opferritus. p. 360.

spirits of the dead were the recipients. I do not wish to contest this, although it is not clear to me why the spirits of the dead should make their rounds precisely at these times. In the following scheme I give the normal revolution of the moon which lasts practically for 29 or 30 days (this is for 29 days).



In this we take Varro as our source *L.l.* I. 37., *dies lunares quoque observandi qui quodam modo bipertiti quod a nova luna crescit ad plenam et inde rursus ad novam lunam decrescit, quoad veniat ad intermenstruum, quo die dicitur luna esse extrema et prima; a quo eum diem Athenis appellant ἕνην καὶ νέαν, τριακάδα alii.*

One begins therefore to count from the day on which one *sees* the moon as new moon and in this way it reaches, on the 15th, the phase in which it is "full", and on the 29th, the phase which Varro calls *"intermenstruum"*. This is, therefore, the 29th day meant by Pliny.

To an eye that does not see too sharply the moon is full for 3 days. The distinct incompleteness of the disc is still seen on the 13th and only again on the 17th.

As we shall see under *"Luna"*, the moon is supposed to shed a *"virus lunare"*. This *virus* is, of course, always given off when it is visible, but on the 29th it need no longer be feared. And when the moon, after reaching in 16 days (15 + 1) its full glory, again begins

to wane, this waning is, in my opinion, for a primitive a sign that the power of the moon is broken. This period is effective and charged with orenda, and the time at which one can with impunity indulge in a hair-cut, that is, without the *virus lunare* exerting its baleful influence.

luna . . . .

The phases of the moon (whom Pliny calls *multiformis* [1]) we find mentioned in antiquity by the same terms as we use at the present day. In its new phase it is called *νέα, πρώτη, prima luna, nova luna.* The crescent or half moon is *σελήνη πλήθουσα, luna crescens, mansuescens.* Full it is called *σελήνη πανσέληνος, plenilunium, plena luna, immensa orbe pleno.* Then comes the fourth phase *μήνη μειουμένη, luna decrescens, extrema, minuens, senescens sicca, sitiens* [2]. On the revolution of the moon, which lasts 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes, all peoples of the earth, and also the ancient civilisation, originally based their calculation of time, *luna regit menses,* Ovid, *Fasti* III. 883.

The *visible* appearance of the sickle of the moon, from which the days of the waxing and waning moon were counted, was considered as the beginning of the month. The observation of this in oldest Rome fell to the *pontifex minor,* who informed the King as soon as possible, in order to fix the beginning of the month [3].

The above-mentioned phases lead as a matter of course to periods of seven days and moon months of 28 days [4]; the fundamental meaning of the word *mensis, μήνη,* is no other than *metre* [5]. As the conjunction of the moon takes place at about the same time for the countries round the Mediterranean, the beginning of the month fell essentially at about the same time for all ancient peoples, in so far, of course, as they made use of the lunar calendar [6]. Further differentiated observation produced for the Roman calendar 10 phases of the moon [7] as is also given by Pliny [8], *modo curvata in*

[1] *N. H.* II. 41. [2] Gundel, P. W. s. v. Mond 98.

[3] Macr. *Sat.* I. 15. 9. cf. Bickermann, Chronologie, Einleitung Alt. Wiss. III. 5. p. 5.

[4] Phases: *εἴδη, μορφαί, φάσεις; formae, luces, permutationes.*

[5] Gundel, o. c. 98. [6] Bickermann, o. c. ib.

[7] Kubitschek, Grundrisz d. Ant. Zeitrechn. 1928. p. 40; Gundel o. c. 99—100.

[8] *N. H.* II. 42.

cornua facie, modo aequa portione divisa, modo sinuata in orbem, maculosa eademque subito praenitens, immensa orbe pleno ac repente nulla . . . ., although there was another calculation with seven phases [1].

In considering the moon and its influence we can take two points of view. In the first place we find its influence exercised on terrestrial circumstances, and in the second place, owing to its shining in the night, its variable course, and its extensive influence, the moon is an important factor in magic. In other words, it irradiates an orenda of its own accord; but efforts are also made to subdue this mighty body in order to use the powerful orenda in magic.

That the moon exerts influence on all living things is, for a primitive, beyond all doubt. It brings the dew which is so indispensable in the south for vegetation [2], and its regular periodical course will, already in early times, have made it seem of influence on the lives of women [3]. It is undeniable that the older Greek physicians ascribed to the moon a great influence on the human body [4]; even Aristotle, who repudiates the influence of the moon on the bodies of women [5], does not entirely escape this thought [6]. The Stoics too ascribed great power to the moon.

The medium through which the moon sends its forces to earth is an invisible fluid. These moon-forces are called *ῥεύματα, ἀποῤῥεύσεις τῆς σελήνης, virus lunare* [7], *umificus spiritus* [8]. Cicero best expresses the Stoic astrological moon-physics by the words [9], *multaque ab ea manant et fluunt, quibus et animantes alantur augescantque et pubescant, maturitatemque assequantur quae oriuntur e terra* [10].

The moon, which exerts its influence on all living things (which belief can be found everywhere [11]), has not only a favourable influence. Ideas on this point are analogical with its phases; it causes

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[1] Macr. *Somn. Scip.* I. 6. 55; Mart. Cap. VIII. 864; VI. 738; Gundel o. c. 100.
[2] Roscher, in Roscher M. L. s. v. Mondgöttin 3148; Gundel o. c. 103.
[3] Roscher, ib. 3150; Gundel, ib. 103.
[4] Gundel, ib. 103—4. [5] *Hist. An.* VII. 2. [6] cf. *Probl.* XXIV. 14.
[7] Lucan. VI. 669. [8] Plin. *N. H.* II. 223. [9] *Nat. Deor.* II. 50.
[10] Gundel, o. c. 104; Schwenn, P. W. s. v. *Selene* 1139.
[11] Wundt, Völkerpsych.$_2$ V. 335; Frazer, G. B. VI$_3$ 132.

to increase and grow, to wither and die [1]. Hence the advice to do whatever must grow at the waxing of the moon and whatever must vanish or wither under the waning moon [2], which advice will have been restricted in the first place to agriculture and its accompaniments. For example, the brooding out of eggs must be begun at the crescent moon [3]. Now although this is generally the rule, we do, on the other hand, find contradictory instructions without being able to say exactly why [4].

Linked with this is, of course, the thought that man is also more or less subjected to the waning influence; and the moon is not without its effect on human health [5]. For children and pregnant women its light is dangerous [6]; while epilepsy and other kinds of *μανία* were considered to be the effect of the moon [7]. In speaking of *σεληνόβλητος, βεκκεσέληνος — lunaticus*, we come to the personal representation of the moon as a daemon, which is supposed to be the origin of illness [8].

But before discussing this further, I would like to point out two parallels quoted by Riess, where the influence of the moon on the cutting of hair is spoken of; that is in Theophr. *Char.* IV. 12 and Varro *R.r.* I. 37. 2 . . . . where, however, the opposite statement is made, namely, that baldness may be expected if the hair is cut when the moon is on the wane. To this Keil [9] made the following emendation, "*[de] crescente*", which, however, in my opinion, has been rightly contested by Frazer [10] who reads "*decrescente*", the "*istaec*" referring to the former member of the preceding sentence. Frazer might have added that only in this case do the words "*a patre acceptum*" have any value. It need not, however, cause any surprise that in such matters as these contradictory precepts are to be found side by side. But let us now return to the previous paragraph.

The moon was therefore considered as a daemon, and nowhere

[1] Plin. *N. H.* II. 109, 221; XVII. 112, *luna sitiens*! cf. also Roscher, Mondgöttin 3152—4; Schwenn, ib. 1138; Riess, P. W. s. v. Aberglaube 39, 40.
[2] Varro *R. R.* I. 37. 2; Plin. *N. H.* X. 152; XVIII. 322; *Geop.* XIV. 7. 13.
[3] Varro *R. R.* III. 9. 16; Plin. *N. H.* X. 152.
[4] Riess, P. W. s. v. Aberglaube 40.
[5] Macr. *Sat.* I. 17. 11; 20. 1. Gell. *N. A.* XX. 8; Veget. III. 33.
[6] Plin. *N. H.* VII. 42. [7] Schwenn, o. c. 1139.
[8] Rohde, Psyche II p. 48 sq. [9] Varro *R. R.* 174. 1 sq.
[10] G. B. VI_3 p. 133.

is it better characterized in the position it holds in the world of superstition than by the words of Apuleius [1], *luna noctium conscia*, which Butler and Owen translate as "the moon that knows the mystery of the night". The editors were so convinced of the general association with magic in classical literature that they refrained from illustrating this further [2]. The moon is the most important daemon of the night [3]. Herbs gathered under its patronage during the night are imbued with special magic powers [4]. Herbs are also dried by the light of the moon (Plin. XXI, 62), in which case the power is derived from the *virus lunare* [5]. The moon becomes the Queen of Magic, since the night-wandering spirits are the principal workers of magic.

The ability to bring the moon down counts as the greatest sign of magic power [6]. The sorceror makes use of various names in order to coerce the moon, *γυναικόμορφε* [7], *θεὰ μεγίστη ἄρχουσα οὐρανοῦ* [8], cf. *regina siderum bicornis* [9]. And just as the image of the moon is used for magic purposes, *πλάσον κυρίαν Σελήνην Αἰγυπτίαν* [10] — as a magic charm reads — so the images are a protection against evil influences [11].

The nights of the new moon, and especially those of the full moon, play a special rôle [12]. The raising of spirits takes place at full moon or in the night of the new moon [13].

pagana lege....

Much has already been written about the words *pagus*, *paganus*. Festus [14] says, "*pagani a pagis dicti. pagi dicti a fontibus quod eadem*

[1] *Apol.* 31.
[2] They refer to Abt, Apologie p. 197—9; Roscher M. L. II. 2. 3157, 3163 sq.; Dictionn. III. 2. 1387, 1390, 1512. [3] Roscher, Mondgöttin 3163.
[4] Virg. *Aen.* IV. 513; Hor. *Sat.* I. 8. 20; Plin. *N. H.* XXIV. 12.
[5] Lucan. VI. 506. 669.
[6] Canidia in Hor. *Ep.* V. 51; Gerhard, Gesamm. Acad. Abhand. Taf. 838; Roscher, Über Selene u. Verwandtes p. 89; Abt, Apologie p. 198.
[7] Pap. Lugdun. II. 205. 3. [8] Roscher, ü. S. u. V. p. 11, 94.
[9] Hor. *Carm. saec.* 35, 36; Abt, Apol. p. 198.
[10] Pap. Lugd. 121. v. 868. K. 936 W.
[11] Plaut. *Epid.* V. 1. 33; Plin. *N. H.* XXXVII. 124; cf. Schwenn o. c. 1140.
[12] Plin. *N. H.* XXIV. 12; Luc. *Necyom.* 7.; Ov. *Met.* XIV. 373, 404; VII. 180.
[13] Roscher, Mondgöttin 3164—6; Schwenn o. c. 1139.
[14] p. 221 M.

aqua uterentur. aquae enim lingua Dorica παγαί appellantur". Dion. Hal. connects it with the Greek *πάγος* [1]. Schulten, Philol. LIII. p. 631 sees in *pagus* a part of the country. Mommsen's explanation is accepted by Muller who connects it with *pango* = I fix or settle, (Festus also has this in mind s.v. *paginae*) and Walde on the basis of Vaniček, Etym. Wb.$_2$ p. 148. explains it by "Landgemeindeverband einer Bauernschaft, Dorf, Gau = Zusammenfügung, Verband".

Pagus from earliest antiquity till the end of Imperial times retained its meaning of a certain stretch of country, a district, (certaine étendue de territoire rural) [2].

It meant, originally, those who lived outside the political community of the city, and Cicero [3] made a distinction between the inhabitants of Rome as *montani* and *pagani*. The distinction between *tribus* and *pagus* was such that *tribus* meant an administrative division, while *pagus* meant a marked off piece of ground, *pagi* are also to be found outside the actual *ager Romanus*, in all parts and provinces of the *Imperium* [4].

Those who inhabited a *pagus* were called *pagani* [5], *pagani communes*, *compagani* [6].

They can further be grouped into various *vici*, but in any case they form a group of a religious, social and administrative character.

They could take decisions that had the force of law; hence the formulae *"ex lege pagana"* [7], *"pagi decreto"* [8], *"ex scitu pagi"* [9].

The *pagus*, administered by *ministri*, had at its head a *summus magister*, *praefectus*, *curator* [10].

cavetur ne mulieres.... torqueant fusos aut.... detectos ferant....

The phenomenon mentioned here has been explained in two ways.

A. as "Angang" [11], that is, the first sign in the morning on beginning the day, on first issuing from the house, or at the first

[1] IV. 15. [2] Dictionn. s. v. *Pagani* p. 274. [3] *Pro dom.* 28.
[4] Dictionn. p. 274—75. [5] ib. 276. [6] CIL. IX. 5565; ib. 1618; II. 1043.
[7] CIL. X. 3772. [8] CIL. IX. 3137. [9] CIL. V. 4148.
[10] see for further particulars Dictionn. 274—76.
[11] Stemplinger, Aberglaube p. 44 (ref. to Schwarz, Menschen u. Tiere im Aberglauben, Progr. Celle 1888); Kummer, Hdwb. d. D. A. s. v. Frau, 1750; J. Grimm, Mythologie$_2$ II p. 1072 sq. For the subject: Tylor, Prim. Cult. I$_3$ p. 120; Boehm, Hdwb. d. D. A. s. v. Angang 409 sq.

accidental meeting on undertaking a journey [1]. See Luc. *Pseudol.* 17, *ἐκτρεπόμεθα καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἔωθεν ἴδοιμεν αὐτοὺς . . . . ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ καὶ ἐνθύραις ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ἐξόδῳ καὶ ἔωθεν τοῦ ἅπαντος ἔτους* [2]. This is especially in regard to people and animals [3]. Boehm [4] defines "Angang" as follows, "Unter Angang versteht man im Allgemeinen das zufällige Zusammentreffen eines, meist menschlichen, Subjectes mit einem oder mehreren Objecten aus der belebten, seltener der unbelebten Natur, insoweit diesem Zusammentreffen nach geltender abergläubischer Meinung eine für das Subjekt zukunftkündende Bedeutung innewohnt". It is, therefore, required that there be a subject to draw the omen to itself and an object that brings about the meeting quite involuntarily. In our present case, we must, of course, understand as subject those who, living under the protection of the *pagana lex*, think it is their right to move freely about their estates; or, to say it more shortly, those who might possibly meet such a woman.

The ancients called this phenomenon by the name *augurium*: *ἐνόδια σύμβολα* [5], and in mediaeval Latin it was called *superventa, congressionum initia* [6].

It is remarkable that women should have acquired such a baleful significance in Angang. Not only old women [7], but women in general [8], which should be traced back to primitive ideas of the impurity of women, that influences everything with which they come into contact, and of which survivals are still to be found [9]. Besides women, countless other persons are of unfavourable omen in Angang, such as paralytics, one-eyed persons, eunuchs, epileptics, and even Moors [10]. Grimm quotes an example from Reginald Scott's Witchcraft [11]. "If any hunters, as they were a-hunting, chanced to meet a friar or priest, they thought it such ill luck, that they would couple up their hounds and go home, being in despair of any further sport that day", in which case priest and friars are also reckoned among "Angang" persons.

If, as we have already said, it is especially women that have an

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[1] Stemplinger, Aberglaube p. 44. [2] Boehm, Hdwb. 414.
[3] Stemplinger, Aberglaube ib.; Tylor, Prim. Cult. p. 120. [4] ib. 410.
[5] see further Boehm, o. c. 412. [6] Boehm, ib. [7] Grimm, o. c. 1077.
[8] Kummer, o. c. 1750—51. [9] Kummer, ib. 1751. [10] Stemplinger, o. c. p. 45.
[11] London 1665, p. 114.

ominous significance, this is still further enhanced if they are spinning; and Grimm has here made a point of contact with the *Parcae* who are no others than "Feldspinnerinnen" [1], whose black threads were even feared in antiquity, and who, because they brought no good, were called *tristes* [2].

Apart from people, it is especially animals [3] that give the augury, *ἐνόδια σύμβολα*, favourable or unfavourable, for instance in Plin. *N. H.* VIII. 80, *Sed in Italia quoque creditur luporum visus esse noxius vocemque homini, quem priores contemplentur, adimere ad praesens* [4]. On the other hand, VIII. 83. says *ad dextram commeantium praeciso itinere si pleno id ore fecerit, nullum omnium praestantius*! Then Theophr. *Char.* 16. 3. *καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐὰν ὑπερδράμῃ γαλῆ, μὴ πρότερον πορευθῆναι, ἕως διεξέλθῃ τις ἢ λίθους τρεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαβάλῃ.*

Now this Angang, which is meant as accidental, the Greeks and Romans systematized in *auspicia* and *auguria* and *οἰωνιστική* [5].

B. Although the explanation given above is applied in this sense, and this passage is always quoted as a phenomenon of "Angang", it seems to me that, seeing the lack in this place of the explanatory subject, which to my mind is an explicit requirement, a simpler explanation would be more plausible. It is here a case either of analogical magic, as Frazer explains it [6], "Probably the notion was that the twirling of the spindle would twirl the corn stalks and prevent them from growing straight. So, too, among the Ainos of Saghalien a pregnant women may not spin or twist ropes for two months before her delivery, because they think that if she did so the child's guts might be entangled like the thread", or of a binding magic [7], in the same way as sickness can be symbolically bound as in Plin. *N. H.* XXVIII. 42. For the drawing of a circle round anything, is, as we have already seen, (s.v. *lustrum*), a *magic action* [8]. In order to protect a whole vineyard

[1] Grimm, o. c. p. 1078; cf. p. 1042, 1052.
[2] Tib. III. 3. 35; Stat. *Theb.* V. 274; cf. Eitrem, P. W. s. v. Moira. 2482.
[3] Tylor, o. c. p. 120. [4] cf. Sol. II. 35; Serv. ad. Virg. *Ecl.* IX. 54.
[5] Grimm, p. 1082; Boehm, 410; cf. Bouché—Leclerq, Histoire de la Divination I p. 121 sq.
[6] G. B. I p. 113—14. [7] Riess, P. W. s. v. Aberglaube 33—34.
[8] cf. too Berve, P. W. s. v. Lustratio 2021—2.
[9] cf. Colum. X. 346—7; Pallad. I. 35. 1.

against hail, instead of surrounding all the vines by one circle [9] it is sufficient to draw a circle round one vine [1]. In the same way it is possible to go round the field, spinning, and do harm to all the crops.

But would it not be possible for there to be here a fancied analogy with the *'turbo'* [2], the magic wheel, an instrument of Greek origin [3] described in the Scholion on Apoll. Rhodius [4] as a small wheel, and also handed down to us on a vase [5], and which Hesych. describes thus, s.v. ῥόμβος. κῶνος, ξυλήριον, οὗ ἐξήπται σχοινίον, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς δινεῖται ἵνα ῥοιζῇ.

Frazer thinks, in this connection, of the bull-roarer, a slat of wood, attached to a string, which savages all over the world whirl at their mysteries, and which, among others, is also used in ceremonies in honour of the *dead*. There is one objection, however. This instrument is never in the hands of women. But is it not possible that the whirling of the spindle, which in itself was no magic wheel, might yet have given rise to an association of ideas, which exactly on account of the function that such a wheel may have had in a death ritual, might have aroused fear of a similar action of the spindle? But this is merely a supposition.

Most probably it is one of those prohibitions for the purpose of protecting the harvest against the envy of the neighbours, whether it be that they draw the harvest to themselves [6] or, as in this case, enchant it by means of a whirling object which brought a death rite to mind.

This magic, whether analogical, binding or death magic is one of the fundamental elements of the notion of "Angang", so that neither explanation excludes the other, but the first provides a basis on which the other can be built; as Tylor lucidly says, "Anyone who takes the trouble to go into this subject (Angang) in detail, and to study the classic, mediaeval, and oriental codes of rules, will find that the principle of direct symbolism still accounts for a fair proportion of them, though the rest may have lost their

[1] Philostr. *Heroica* 77; Eitrem, Opferritus p. 18. [2] Hor. *Ep.* XVII. 7.
[3] Theocr. II. 30, 31; Lucian. *Dial. Meretr.* IV. 5; see Frazer, Fasti II p. 449.
[4] I. 1139; IV. 144. [5] Dictionn. s. v. Rhombos p. 863.
[6] Plin. XXVIII. 17; Sen. *N. Q.* 4.; Apul. *Apol.* 47: the editors Butler—Owen refer to Virgil, *Ecl.* VIII. 99; Tib. I. 8. 19 for illustrations of this magical practice; cf. De Jong, Magie bij Gr. en Rom. p. 42—43.

early significance, or may have been originally due to some other reason, or may have been arbitrarily invented, (as a considerable proportion of such devices must necessarily be) to fill up the gaps in the system".

It may be pointed out that spindles are now carried openly in modern Greece, as Professor Wagenvoort assured me on his own observation, which may serve to show that that which is prohibited above often occurs in the present time in southern countries.

fusos . . . .

The antique spinning instrument still in use in southern countries.

The *fusus* = *ἄτρακτος* = spindle is a short rod mostly of bone, to which a hook is fixed at one end while the other is stuck through the *verticillus* = *turbo* = *σφόνδυλος*. The *colus: ἠλακάτη* = distaff on which the wool or flax is fastened (*τολύπη* = *tractum*) is held up high in the left hand. The thread drawn out is fastened to the hook of the spindle, which is set spinning, and allowed to twirl and unravel between thumb and first finger until the spindle touches the ground. Then the thread is wound up on the spindle. and pulled through the hook. The reason why it was preferred to do this standing or while walking, was that it was not necessary to wind the thread up so often and a longer piece could be taken. When the spindle was full the ball of yarn = *glomus* was laid in the *κάλαθος* = *quasillus*, a small basket. The description of this is found in Cat. LXIV. 311 [1]. Spinning was a favourite subject for poets [2].

Servilius Nonianus . . . .

It has already been pointed out in the Introduction that Pliny had personal relations with Serv. Nonianus [3], and most probably with his house [4]. His consulship fell in 35 A. D. [5] and his death took place in 59; at which Tacitus remarks [6], *sequuntur virorum inlustrium mortes, Domitii Afri et M. Servilii, qui summis honoribus et multa eloquentia viguerant, ille orando causas, Servilius diu foro, mox*

[1] Derived from Mau, P. W. s. v. *Fusus*.

[2] Frazer, Fasti III p. 148: cf. Ov. *Fasti* II. 742 sq.; *Heroid.* III. 75; XIX. 37; *Metam.* IV. 34, 220 sq.; VI. 17—22; Tib. I. 3. 85 sq.; II. 1. 63 sq.

[3] Klotz, P. W. s. v. Servilius 1802 (No. 69).

[4] Münzer, Beiträge p. 404. [5] cf. Tac. *Ann.* VI. 31; Plin. *N. H.* X. 123.

[6] Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 19.

tradendis rebus Romanis celebris et elegantia vitae quam clariorem effecit, ut par ingenio, ita morum diversus. He is mentioned by Pliny several times [1].

lippitudinis ....

Ophthalmic diseases, which were unusually widespread in Italy, Greece and Egypt, only received a rational medical treatment in very late times [2].

The widespread character of these diseases is apparent from the size of the chapter which Marcellus Empiricus devotes *ad omnes et multiplices oculorum dolores* [3].

Besides medicinal cures [4] Pliny is also acquainted with purely magical ones, as in XXVIII. 64, where the advice is given to rub the ears backwards as a remedy against disease of the eyes: *retro aures fricare.* Gold or iron rings are also efficacious [5].

We find prescriptions of all kinds. Thus in Ps. Apuleius *de vit. herb.* XIX. 4, [6] *herbam proserpinacam .... circumscribes aureo anulo et dices: 'tollere te remedium oculis'* [7]. I shall quote some examples of prescriptions under *"litteris graecis"*. The following is one that I found in Marcellus in which saliva is an important factor. Cap. VIII. 43: *si mulieris saliva, quae pueros, non puellas ediderit et abstinuerit se pridie vino et cibis acrioribus et imprimis si pura et nitida erit, angulos oculorum tetigeris, omnem acritudinem lippitudinis lenies umoremque siccabis.* This next one is an example from papyri. Preisendanz Pap. Gr. Mag. II 1931 pag. 8. P. VII, *πρὸς ῥεῦμα ὀφθαλμῶν. ἐπίγραφε εἰς χάρτην καὶ περίαπτε: ϱουραρβισαρουρ-ββαριασφρην.*

priusquam ipse eam nominaret aliusve ei praediceret ....

A great power is ascribed to human speech [8], for by speaking

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[1] X. 123; XXIV. 33, 43; XXXVII. 81; see also Schanz, Röm. Litt. 2_3 p. 337; Teuffel, Röm. Litt. II_6 p. 235.

[2] R. Herzog, die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros, Leipz. 1931, Philol. Suppl. B. XXII. 3. p. 95.

[3] Edition of Helmreich, Teubner p. 58—93!

[4] *e. g.* XVI. 180; XX. 103; XXIII. 160; XXV. 143; XXVIII. 94.

[5] XXIX. 130. [6] p. 176, Ackermann.

[7] Heim, Incantamenta, p. 474; cf. Ps. Ap. XXIV. 1. Heim. p. 475.

[8] Riess, P. W. s. v. Aberglaube, 88.

man arouses the daemons around him. This, as we have seen, can even be effected by means of gestures [1].

The pronouncing of the name of the disease must, without doubt, invoke the daemons of that disease. Against this danger both the people mentioned had armed themselves in an original manner.

litteris graecis PA.....

It is impossible to understand the sense of these letters [2] as they probably belong to the abracadabra of magic, which is especially fond of exotic sounding names, letters and play of syllables [3], with no other motive than to make an impression [4]. Notions of the divine origin of handwriting [5] have probably helped to add orenda significance to letters and words [6].

This orenda significance is then enhanced by playing hocus-pocus with existing written characters; for instance writing them upside down [7]. For this reason we find Greek letters beside Etruscan inscriptions on Etruscan vases, and in Latin speaking areas we find the Greek alphabet used, and here and there explicit instructions to employ Greek letters [8]. Thus antique literature, especially in magic papyri, contains senseless rows of letters impossible to pronounce. The idea of these must frequently be to enclose the great name of the god in those letters and in that way to get power over him [9]. Hence endless variations with vowels and series of vowels [10]; further, long rows built up of syllables and called "Syllabare" by Dornseiff [11]. The Leiden Magic Papyrus [12] gives long rows, as follows: —

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[1] see *"unques, capillum . . . ."*

[2] Dieterich, Kleine Schriften p. 216.

[3] Dornseiff, Alphabet p. 51.

[4] id. p. 31. [5] id. p. 2. [6] Pfister, P. W. s. v. Kultus 2156.

[7] Wünsch, Def. Tab. Att. p. 24 No. 96; Dieterich, Kl. Schr. p. 222; cf. *Medicina Plinii*, Rose, Herm. VIII. p. 48 sq. C. I. 7 = *p.* 197. 1. 4: *Infirmis, sanguis cui currerit multum et non poterit restringere, scribe de sanguine eius in fronte ipsius de grano turis nomen ipsius inversis litteris . . . .*; Heim, Incantamenta p. 556.

[8] Dieterich, Kl. Schr. p. 222.

[9] Dieterich, Abraxas p. 22, 42; Dieterich, Kl. Schr. p. 214.

[10] Heim, Incant. p. 540. 1. [11] o. c. p. 67. [12] Leemans, II p. 260.

α βα γα δα ζα . . . . ψα
ε βε γε δε ζε . . . . ψε etc. [1]

Marcellus Empiricus gives as a prescription against haemorrhage [2], *scribes in charta virgine et collo suspendes lino rudi ligatum tribus nodis ei, qui profluvio sanguinis laborat: ψα ψε ψη ψε ψη ψα ψε.* [3]

I found, as an illustration, the following examples against lippitude. Marc. VIII. 56. [4]: *ad Lippitudinem inter principia sedandam in chartam virginem scribe συβαιχ et licio, quod in tela fuerit, collo lippientis innecte.*

Marc. VIII 57 [5]. *Incipiens lippitudo mirifice et sine dubitatione depelletur, si in charta virgine scribas et collo dolentis licio suspendas: φυρ φαραν et hoc praeligamen purus castus facias.*

The following quotation is from Alex. Trall. I. p. 407 [6] *Ἄλλο περίαπτον οὗ πολλὴν ἔσχον πεῖραν* (sc. *πρὸς ἀμφημέρινον*).

Εἰς φύλλον ἐλαίας μετὰ κοινοῦ μέλανος ἐπίγραψον "κα", "ροι", "α": λάμβανε δὲ καὶ τὸ φύλλον τῆς ἐλαίας πρὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς καὶ περίαπτε περὶ τὸν τράχηλον.

Beside Greek, Egyptian and Babylonian seem to have played the same part in the Greek and Roman world that Latin and Hebrew play in our times [7].

Dieterich [8] gives an interesting example of a magic charm to be found in "Des Albertus Magnus bewährten und approbirten sympathetischen und natürlich Egyptischen Geheimnissen für Menschen und Vieh", III. p. 29.

L Ch x P O b L 9 h b m g n.

chartam . . . .

The word *amuletum*, used by Varro and Pliny [9], is not, as was formerly thought, derived from the Arabic hamalet, as this has

[1] cf. Dieterich, Abraxas p. 165; Kl. Schr. p. 214; Dornseiff, o. c. p. 67.
[2] X. 70. [3] Dieterich, Rhein. Mus. LVI (1901) p. 91.
[4] Heim, Incant. p. 530. [5] ib. [6] id. p. 535.
[7] cf. Apul. *Apol.* 20. (Butler—Owen p. 92). See also for this subject Abt, Apologie p. 228. [8] Kleine Schriften, p. 216.
[9] Plin. XXIII. 20; XXV. 15; XXVIII. 38; XIX. 66, 83; XXX. 82, 138; XXXVII. 51, 117. Charis. *Gramm.* I. 105. 9. quotes Varro: *Nam et V. divinarum ita dixit sive a molliendo i. e. infringendo vim mali, sive ab aemulatione.* Gloss. II. 639: *amoletum:* φυλακτήριον, Thesaurus.

not the meaning of appendage [1]. Wünsch [2] traces the origin to *ἄμυλον*. Pfister has in mind a possible connection with *μῶλυ* [3]. The idea of averting ill-luck is expressed in glosses by *amolimentum* [4], which is not, however, considered to be the right etymology.

In ancient times there were many words used for amulet, *ἀποτρόπαιον, βασκάνιον, περίαπτον, περίαμμα, προβασκάνιον, τέλεσμα, φυλακτήριον: amuletum, amolimentum, alligatura, fascinum, ligatura, praebia* [5]. In the Middle Ages the principal expressions seem to have been, *ligamentum, ligatura phylacterium;* the word *amuletum* is practically non-existent [6].

In literature we find the amulet chiefly mentioned by Pliny, the script. *rei rusticae*, physicians like Marcellus Empiricus and the poets of the Augustan times [7].

By amulet we must understand a small, power-filled, orendistic object which has its effect on the spot where it is hung or fastened, and the only difference with talisman is that the latter is also used for larger matters, as columns [8]. It is essential for it to be portable and attachable, and Pfister distinguishes four effects that the amulet can have. It can act in a purely apotropaeic manner, as in its use to drive away evil influences from without; it can exercise force, and so be used for analogical magic. Applied sacramentally [9] it can increase the strength of the wearer (e.g. the eating of magic epistles) and, finally, it can have an effect of euergetic activity [10].

We must look for the origin of the amulet in the magical sense of veiling, i.e. the desire of man to clothe himself with materials of

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[1] Gildemeister, Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenländ. Ges. XXXVIII. p. 140 sq. [2] Glotta II. p. 219 sq.

[3] Güntert, Göttersprache p. 93 sq.; cf. Pfister, Hdwb. d. D. A. s. v. Amulett, 374; Riess, P. W. s. v. Amulett 1984.

[4] Corp. Gloss. Lat. II 473*b* 48, cf. Riess, P. W. s. v. Amulett ib.; Pfister, Hdwb. d. D. A. s. v. Amulett. ib. [5] Riess, o. c. 1984.

[6] Kropatschek, De amuletorum apud antiquos usu, p. 9; cf. Pfister, o. c. 374.

[7] Wünsch, Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics s. v. Charms and Amulets, refers to: Gius. Bellucci, Amuleti Ital. ant. e contemp. Perugia 1900; Il Feticismo primitivo in Italia, Perugia 1907. [8] Pfister, o. c. 395.

[9] Though the idea seems to be contradictory to what is essential to the amulet one must explain it thus, that the amulet was only eaten after having been worn on the body, as the safest hiding place for the orenda which had attached itself to the amulet. [10] Pfister, ib.

orenda, in the same way as the act of clothing oneself was originally a craving to absorb the orenda of defeated animals, while ornaments had formerly another significance than they have now [1].

Among the kinds of amulets in use among the Romans we must reckon the *bulla* [2], which has been connected with *bullire* [3], the *muttonium* [4] and the *crepundia*. Probably the contents of the *bulla* were known under the collective name of *praebia*, which was thus derived by Varro [5], *a praebendo ut sit tutus, quod sint remedia in collo pueris*.

Proverbs, names, sacred words and letters can also serve as amulets. Just as there is a *vis*, *δύναμις* contained in *carmina*, so when they are written this remains attached to the writing [6]. Besides, there are all possible kinds of objects from the vegetable and animal world [7] and all imaginable objects of which it was thought that they contained magic power; thus even threads were used, for preference coloured ones [8]. If the objects have natural openings they are hung up by them; otherwise a hole is made in them, or they are put in bags, which were, in classical antiquity, mostly made of leather [9] and which, besides, can also have the meaning of protecting the objects against the evil eye [10]. Living animals can also serve as amulets; cf., together with Mucianus' fly, Colum. VI. 17, where living shrew-mice are immured in clay-figures which are then hung round the necks of cattle [11]. Therefore cattle, too, were protected — horses had a special protection by means of *phalerae* [12] — and even lifeless property, cf. Plin.*N. H.* XXVIII. 19, where the walls are protected against fire by curses.

It is remarkable that *remedia* (read *amuleta!*) which had been

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[1] Pfister, 376. [2] Wünsch, p. 462. [3] Isid. *Etym.* XIX. 3. 11.

[4] i. e. phallos, Usener, Götternamen 1896 p. 327 and given as *πέος* or *προβασκάνιον* in Scholia, Corp. gloss. Lat. II. 131; III. 351; cf. Wünsch, p. 462. *Scaevola* too seems to have meant something of the sort; Wünsch ib.

[5] *L. l.* VII. 107. [6] Pfister, P. W. s. v. Kultus 2156.

[7] For instance XXX. 98 sq.; Riess P. W. s. v. Aberglaube 51 sq.

[8] Abt, Apologie p. 149; Petron, 131; cf. Butler—Owen, Apol. p. 76.

[9] Seligmann, Die Mag. Heil. u. Schutzmittel aus der unbelebten Natur, Stuttgart 1927. p. 50.

[10] ib. [11] cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXX. 52, 61, 83, 104; Pallad. I. 35. 1; also limbs wrenched from living animals, *N. H.* XXIX. 114, 131; XXXII. 115.

[12] Riess, o. c. 1988; Wünsch. o. c. p. 464.

hung round the necks of sick persons and had effected a cure were brought to the temple of Febris [1].

circumligatam lino .... linteolo ....

In contradistinction to wool, linen has a unique place in impetrative magic. Apuleius thinks, probably, of Herod. II. 81 when he says [2], *"quippe lana, segnissimi corporis excrementum, pecori detracta, iam in de Orphei et Pythagorae scitis profanus vestis est"*, and [3] *"mundissima lini seges inter optumas fruges terra exorta non modo indutui et amictui sanctissimis Aegyptiorum sacerdotibus, sed opertui quoque rebus sacris usurpatur"*.

In this connection it must be remarked that wool in religious and superstitious use must be placed on the same level as hair, cf. Plin. XXIX. 30; Paus. VIII. 10. 3, where a possible power is supposed to be contained in a woollen thread that encloses the temple of Poseidon Hippios in Mantinea.

In prohibitive magic the use of wool is not unimportant; in this case one must remember the orenda which is still present in these animal remains [4].

Thus, as a remedy against pains of the *inguina* a thread must be taken from the loom and seven or nine knots made in it, mentioning at each knot the name of a widow, after which it must be tied to the *inguina* [5] (this is strengthening of the orenda!), cf. Marc. XIV. 65 [6].

Wool itself, or rather the sheep-skin, is also regarded in the light of a purifying power. For this reason the bride on arrival in her new abode must sit down *in pelle lanata* [7]. In contradiction to Samter, who considers this as a surrogate offering, since by sitting down on the sheep-skin a person identified himself with the sacrificial animal and appropriated the act of atonement that the substituting animal fulfilled by its death, might it not be better to

[1] Valer. Max. II. 5. 6.

[2] c. 56. p. 63. 16 sq. Helm, cf. Abt, Apologie p. 288—9.

[3] 56. p. 63. 18 sq. Helm; Abt p. 289.

[4] see Eitrem, Opferritus, p. 379 sq.; Butler—Owen, Apol. p. 76, sub: *licia discolora*. [5] *N. H.* XXVIII. 48. [6] Heim, Incantamenta, p. 472.

[7] Festus, p. 114 M. cf. Samter, Familienfeste p. 101 sq., who quotes analogous customs ;cf. too the *confarreatio* of the Flamen and Flaminica Dialis, Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* IV. 374; Samter p. 101. 4, Rossbach, Röm. Ehe p. 112.

associate this with the purifying, apotropaeic quality of wool, which absorbs impurities [1]? But let us return to the linen.

In the Papyr. Paris. [2] the magician is ordered to put on a clean garment of Indian linen [3], for as a magician he must be clothed in linen [4], a *purum pallium* [5]; and the magicians who wish to discover the name of the future emperor wear, according to Ammianus *lintea indutamenta* and *lintei socci* [6]. Abt refers further to Pap. Ber. I. 278; Pap. Par. 213 ff., 88 ff.; Griffith Thompson col. III. p. 35 (13). The σινδὼν καθαρός is also used in magic tables [7].

De Jong [8] thinks that it is an excellent conductor for the *orenda*. He relates [9] the case of an Egyptian priest of lower rank under Roman rule who was prosecuted, among other things, for wearing woollen garments [10].

In Marcellus I found another example of how a linen thread may be of benefit to the eyes in another way.

Marc. VIII. 62, *oculos cum dolere quis coeperit, ilico ei subvenies, si quot litteras nomen eius habuerit, nominans easdem totidem nodos in rudi lino stringas.*

In other places, too, we find a linen thread used for hanging up "remedies" — thus in *N.H.* XXX. 98. where even a reddish thread, *rutilum linum*, is required.

For *circumligatum*, in its quality of pure binding magic, I refer to Riess [11]. We even find caterpillars in *linteola* which have, moreover, to be bound round three times with a flax thread [12] . . . .

Mucianus ter consul . . . .

His full name C. Licinius Mucianus is known to us from leaden pipes in Oinoanda [13]. Otherwise he is always referred to by the name

[1] cf. Virg. Aen. VII 86 sq. [2] 3094.
[3] De Jong, Magie bij Gr. en Rom. p. 132, cf. p. 152, 200.
[4] Abt, Apologie p. 289. [5] Apul. *Apol.* 44 p. 52. 1 sq. Helm; Abt. ib.
[6] Amm. Marc. XXIX. 1. 29—31.
[7] Pap. Par. 2189, 1861; pap. Lond. 46, 207 K. 210 W.; Abt. ib.
[8] Magie bij Gr. en Rom. p. 132. [9] *ib.*
[10] Milligan, Selections from the Gr. Pap. 1910 p. 83 sq.; cf. Erman—Krebs, Aus den Papyrus d. Kön. Mus. z. Berlin 1899. p. 185. For this subject see too: Wächter, Reinheitsvorschr. im Gr. Kult, R. V. V. IX. 1. (1910) p. 19 sq.
[11] P. W. s. v. Aberglaube 33—34; see too Plin. *N. H.* XXVIII. 42.
[12] id. XXX. 101. [13] C. I. L. XIV. 2173; XV. 7484. Derived from Kappelmacher, P. W. s. v. Licinius 437 sq.

of Licinius Mucianus, or, as in this case, Mucianus *ter consul*. The beginning of his life is only known so us from Tacitus [1], *vir secundis adversisque iuxta famosus, insignes amicitias iuvenis ambitiose coluerat; mox attritis opibus, lubrico statu, suspecta etiam Claudii iracundia, in secretum Asiae sepositus tam prope ab exule fuit quam postea a principe*. The great rôle that he played from 69 A. D. on, was caused by the fact that in 68—69 he was governor of Syria with a command of four legions [2]. The first two consulships are uncertain, the third occurred in 72 [3].

In the contest between Otho and Vitellius, he chose the side of the former, and was afterwards the one to offer the government to Vespasian [4], under whose patronage he rose to great power [5]. He was even called "brother" by the Emperor [6].

His posthumous literary works consisted of 11 books of *acta*, and 36 *epistulae* of which we cannot find any trace in his works [7], while Pliny makes use, in 32 places in his Natural History, of a geographical work differing from these. The fragments [8] deal principally with *"admiranda"*, which were not collected promiscuously, but were observed by himself [9].

On the basis of his direct quotations it has been possible to separate successfully from Pliny's work those things which belong definitely to Mucianus [10].

muscam ....

In olden times the fly was thought to have a life difficult to destroy; as is seen in Pliny XI. 120, where he says that flies drowned and laid in ashes revived! Asclepiades in Tert. *de anima* Cap. 15. 2 thinks the same, *Asclepiades etiam illa argumentatione vectatur quod pleraque animalia ademptis eis partibus corporis in quibus plurimum existimatur principale consistere, et insuper vivant aliquatenus et sapiant nihilominus, ut muscae ....*, cf. Lucian. *Musca* 7,

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[1] Tac. *Hist.* I. 10. [2] Tac. ib. [3] C. I. L. VI. 2016, 2052. [4] Tac. *Hist.* II. 76. [5] Tac. *Hist.* IV. 49: *vim principis amplecti, nomen permittere*; Kapp. 438—440. [6] Dio Cass. LXVI. 2. [7] Münzer, Beiträge p. 396. [8] Peter, *Rel.* II; Kapp. 441. [9] Kapp. 442.

[10] Kapp. ib.; cf. Furtwängler, Fleck. Jahrb. S. IX (1877—8) p. 52; Münzer, Beiträge p. 395; Klotz, Quaest. Plin. Geogr. Sieglin Heft XI. 1906. p. 24; L. Brunn, de C. Lic. Muc. Leipz. Diss. 1870.

ἀποτμηθεῖσα δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν μυῖα ἐπὶ πολὺ ζῇ τῷ ἄλλῳ σώματι καὶ ἔμπνους ἐστίν [1].

The daemons of sickness and death are readily imagined in the shape of flies, as in Paus. X. 28. 7, Apul. *Met.* II. 22, and it is as a daemonic animal that the fly is used in prophylaxis, in which great power is ascribed to it [2]. We find it also mentioned in other places as a preventive against ophthalmic diseases, viz. Marc. VIII. 52, *de manu sinistra muscam capies et dum capies, dicere debebis nomen eius cuius remedium facturus es te ad curandos oculos eius muscam prendere.*

In the Middle Ages an eye lotion brewed from flies was used as a cure for red eyes [3].

It is also used for other things in medicine. Thus the *musca rufa* cures the *medicinalis morbus* [4], and an uneven number of flies rubbed with a finger cures sores. It is also used to dye and encourage the growth of the eyelashes! [5]

It seems also to have been thought necessary, already, to take measures to destroy them [6].

The fly is also mentioned as one of the apotropaeic animals for averting the evil eye and is therefore pictured clustering round an eye [7]. The fact of the fly being caught and applied *alive* guarantees its complete orenda. See for other examples of the use of living animals and their limbs under *"chartam"*.

carmina ....

With *carmina* and *venena*, as Butler and Owen say on Apul. *Apol.* c. 69 [8], the most essential and important parts of the magic rites are given; that is, the words of power (*λόγος*) and the apparatus of magic (*πρᾶξις*) [9].

A *carmen* is a word or saying endowed with orenda [10], and this

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[1] cf. Waszink, Tertull. *de Anima*, Amsterdam 1933, p. 222.

[2] See: Otto Keller, die Antike Tierwelt, Leipzig 1913. II. p. 447—49.

[3] Gühling, die Tiere in der Deutschen Volksmedizin alter u. neuer Zeit. Mittweida 1900 p. 89. Riegler, Hdwb. d. D. A. s. v. Fliege 1630.

[4] Plin. *N. H.* XXX. 92. [5] id. XXX. 134; XXIX. 115.

[6] id. XX. 184; XXIV. 53; XXV. 61. [7] Keller, Ant. Tierwelt. II. p. 449.

[8] p. 135; cf. c. 90. 4.

[9] Butler—Owen refer to Hor. *Ep.* XVII. 28, 35; *Sat.* I. 8. 19; Juv. VI. 133, where the same phrase is used. [10] Pfister, P. W. s. v. Kultus 2154.

orenda is the actual working of the magic [1] and is all-powerful — *quid enim non carmina possunt!* [2]

When Burris [3] draws a distinction between *carmen* = *incantatio* and *precatio* = prayer, he defines them both in this way:

1. They are, originally both sung, (or at least rhythmically recited),
2. and uttered in undervoice;
3. to be effective they are repeated;
4. the words are accurately pronounced.
5. The *carmen* is directed against evil influences, daemons, but the *precatio* to a personal divinity.

1. *Carmen* is certainly an *incantamentum;* and just as ἐπῳδή shows by ἐπί, so *incantamentum* indicates by *in* that the song is directed against something, and as in ἐπῳδή so in *incantamentum* the original singing is etymologically proved [4], or at least the rhythmical recitation [5].

2. Singing is still the word for the magical muttering practised in Australia [6]. Lucina in Ov. *Met.* IX. 300 sq. sings — *tacita voce* — *carmina* to delay the birth; Circe XIV. 58, *ter novies carmina magico demurmurat ore.* Apul. *Met.* I. 3, *magico susurramine amnes agiles reverti, mare pigrum colligari, ventos inanimes expirare, solem inhibere, lunam despumari, stellas evelli, diem tolli, noctem teneri.*

3. The following is from the Papyr. Paris. 1227, ἔξελθε δαῖμον, ὅστις ποτ' οὖν εἶ, καὶ ἀπόστηθι ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖνα, ἄρτι ἄρτι, ἤδη ἤδη, ἔξελθε δαῖμον . . . . [7]. Further Marcell. XXI. 2 [8], *ad corcum*

[1] Pfister, P. W. s. v. Epode (Suppl. IV 336—37).

[2] Ov. *Met.* VII. 167. [3] Class. Phil. 1930. p. 50.

[4] Pfister, Epode 324.

[5] Bücher, Arbeit u. Rhytmus$_3$ 1902, 315 sq.; H. Hirt, die Indogermanen 1907. II. p. 479, 518, 728; Abt, Apologie p. 118. 1.

[6] Jevons, Anthropology and the classics p. 94, 99. Butler—Owen, Apol. p. 135; Abt p. 118: ἐπάδειν, ἐπῳδή und ἐπῳδός haben also im Gr. Sprachgebrauch dieselben Schicksale gehabt wie *incantare, incantator, incantamentum* im Lateinischen, wo auch die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Singens den spezielleren Sinn von *Zaubersprüche murmeln* fast durchweg angenommen hat.

[7] Pfister, Epode 331, Kultus 2155. Very numerous are the magic formulas ending with ἤδη ἤδη, ταχὺ ταχύ, (cf. Preisendanz, Pap. Gr. Mag. II. p. 159, 166) ἄρτι ἄρτι, ταχὺ ταχύ (ib II p. 158).

[8] Heim, Incantamenta, p. 482.

carmen in lamella stagnea scribes et ad collum suspendes haec, ante vero etiam cane: "corcu nec megito cantorem ut os ut os ut os . . . ." Then Pliny XXVII. 131 [1], "speak these words on using the plant *reseda* — *'reseda, morbis reseda, scisne scisne, quis hic pullus egerit radices? nec caput nec pedes habeant.' haec t e r dicunt totiensque despuunt"*.

The repetitions are also varied as in the following magic charm given by Marc [2]. *"Exi si hodie nata si ante nata, si hodie creata si ante creata, hanc pestilentiam, hunc dolorem, hunc tumorem, hunc ruborem, has toles, has tosillas, hunc panum, has paniculas, hanc strumam, hanc strumellam, hanc religionem evoco, educo, excanto de istis membris, medullis"*.

4. Plin. *N.H.* XXVIII. 11. *"videmusque certis precationibus obsecrasse summos magistratus et, ne quod verborum praetereatur aut praeposterum dicatur, de scripto praeire aliquem rursusque alium custodem dari qui adtendat . . . ."* For this reason a prompter is always employed for a *carmen, "sunt qui M. Fabio pontifice maximo praefante carmen devovisse eos se pro patria Quiritibusque tradant"*.

5. As has been said sub. 1., the *incantamentum* is directed against something, and this is also the case with the *carmen*, which is used against evil influences, daemons. Therefore the *carmen* is required to possess a power, a δύναμις, a *vis* that is stronger than the orenda of the powers to be subdued. We find it, indeed, expressly stated that the *carmen* possesses that power, as in Plin. *N.H.* XXVIII. 12, Apul. *Apol.* 26; and we hear of *(tum) vox Lethaeos cunctis pollentior herbis excantare deos* [3] and of *verba ad invitum (perfert) cogentia numen* [4], in which the coercive power exercised on the daemons is clearly mentioned. Thus Tacitus [5] too speaks of *"infernas umbras carminibus dicere"* [6]. The *carmina* are also powerful in other ways, not only against daemons, see Virg. *Ecl.* VIII. 67, *nil hic nisi carmina desunt. ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim: carmina vel caelo possunt deducere lunam; carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulixi*, and in Virg. *Aen.* IV. 487 the power of the witch is represented as being so great, that she is able by her *carmina, "mentes solvere, curas immittere, aquam fluviis sistere, vertere sidera retro!"*

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[1] ib. p. 478. [2] ib. p. 476. [3] Lucan. *Phars.* IV. 685—6. [4] id. IV. 446. [5] *Ann.* II. 28. [6] *Ann.* II. 69.

The *carmina*, which have especially found their place in medicine [1], show, by the fact that it is sometimes necessary that the sick person or the disease be mentioned, that here the belief in daemons has not yet disappeared [2]. The *minae* also testify to this [3] where the name of a powerful god is invoked; others are more gentle in character and do not command but try to confuse the daemon by the so-called *ἀδύνατα* or *historiolae* [4].

In the article "*litteris graecis*" it has already been pointed out that there is a power in strange, written characters. For this reason incomprehensible expressions are used, *ἐφέσια γράμματα*, which by their strange appearance can exert greater power.

There seem to have existed in ancient times extensive works or treatises on *carmina*. As, for instance, the *Kestoi* of Sextus Julius Africanus [5], and probably the work of Neptunianos [6].

grandines . . . . verecundia . . . .

Although, indeed, unlike Marcellus, Pliny practically abstains from mentioning *carmina* [7], this would have been the place to give these *carmina*, if something quite particular had not caused him to refrain; especially as he had already mentioned the magic formula of Attalus. But he is withheld by an *ingens verecundia*. This might be owing to the fact that they were strange or foolish-sounding. For in XVII. 267 Pliny says, "*cum averti grandines carmine credant plerique, cuius verba inserere non equidem s e r i o ausim*". But the reason may be something else, as I shall try to show in the following part.

It is a well-known fact that man thought himself able to change by magic the course of the weather [8]. Thus, in Athens, there existed the families of the *Εὐδάνεμοι* and *Ἀνεμοκοῖται*, originally families of priests whose names, considered etymologically, show what the

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[1] Heim, Incantamenta p. 471. Riess, P. W. s. v. Aberglaube 89.
[2] Heim ib. p. 472, Riess ib. 89.
[3] Heim, ib. p. 479, Pfister, Epode 331.
[4] Heim, ib. p. 491. 495.
[5] Suid. s. v. *Ἀφρικανός*. [6] See Pfister, Epode 330.
[7] See, however, XXIV. 176; XXVI. 92; XXVII. 131; XXVIII. 24.
[8] Pfister, P. W. s. v. Epode 334; Fehrle, Antiker Hagelzauber, Alemannia 3 F. 4 B. (40) 1912 p. 13; Fiedler, Antiker Wetterzauber, Stuttgart 1931 (Würzb. Stud. z. Alt. Wi. I. H.) p. 139.

functions of the forefathers were. Weather magic was, in its earliest form, apotropaeic, i.e. the averting of destructive hail-showers and storms.

Weather daemons can, in the first place, be combated physically. Vegetius, in his *Mulomedicina*, gives an extensive recipe for a smoke-producing material [1], and says of it, *et haec universa commixta atque succensa odore suo morbis tam hominum tam animalium resistunt et daemones fugant; grandines prohibere et aerem defecare dicuntur.* Further they can also be fought with apotropaeic noise [2], or by attempting to wound or kill the daemon, or make his functions impossible [3]. Moreover, there is also the psychological method of taking action against him, as by arousing in him an idea of fear [4]. Hence, in Palladius I. 35. 1 (*contra grandinem multa dicuntur!*) among other things *cruentae secures contra caelum minaciter levantur.* It was also possible to put the daemons to flight by arousing in them feelings of disgust and shame, which was especially attained by obscene gestures [5] . . . . or by holding a mirror up to them [6] to frighten them! Women, especially in times of menstruation, were beings filled with orenda. Evil daemons dwelt in them, and as these were thought to be powerful, they were also used for magic purposes [7], and this was also the case for hail.

Geop. I. 14. 1, 2: *περὶ χαλάζης Ἀφρικανοῦ.*

1. *γυνὴ ἔμμηνος δειξάτω τὰ αἰδοῖα αὐτῆς χαλάζῃ, καὶ ἀποστρέφει. ὁμοίως δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην θέαν καὶ πᾶν θηρίον φεύγει.*
2. *Καὶ παρθένου ῥάκος τὸ πρῶτον λαβὼν, ἀνὰ μέσου τοῦ χωρίου χῶσον, καὶ οὔτε ἡ ἄμπελος οὔτε τὰ σπέρματα ὑπὸ χαλάζης ἀδικηθήσεται.*

Compare Plin. *N.H.* XXVIII. 77. *iam primum abigi grandines turbinesque contra fulgura ipsa mense nudato*; and Plut. *Symp.* VII. 2. 2. *Οἷον ἐδόκει τὸ περὶ τὴν χάλαζαν εἶναι τὴν ὑπὸ χαλαζοφυλάκων αἵματι σπάλακος ἢ ῥακίοις γυναικείοις ἀποτρεπομένην* [8].

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[1] ed. Lomm. I. 20; Fiedler, p. 27.

[2] Fiedler, p. 28 sq.; cf. Aristot. *Anal. post* II. 10. p. 587.

[3] Fiedler, p. 31. [4] Fiedler, p. 37.

[5] Fiedler, p. 38; Pfister, P. W. s. v. Nacktheit 1547; Samter, Geburt p. 118; Butler—Owen, Apol. p. 85. [6] Geop. I. 14. 4.

[7] Col. X. 357. sq; XI. 464; Geop. I. 15; II. 42. 3; XII. 8. 5; cf. Heim, Incantamenta p. 508. [8] cf. Fiedler, o. c. p. 24.

But the conclusion of *Geop.* I. 14 is remarkable.

ταῦτα μὲν εἴρηται τοῖς ἀρχαίοις. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔνια τῶν εἰρημένων ἀπρεπῆ λίαν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ φευκτά, καὶ πᾶσι παραινῶ μηδ' ὅλως τούτοις προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. τούτου γὰρ χάριν αὐτὰ συνέγραψα, ἵνα μὴ δόξω τι παραλιμπάνειν τῶν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εἰρημένων.

This is interesting as a contrast to the remark of Pliny. The one apologizes for not giving any indecent *carmina*, and the other that he has taken the liberty to relate indecent things. Both are speaking of hail magic — the one about *carmina*, the other about practices. We can hardly suppose that the practice was restricted to the showing of parts of the body, thought to work apotropaeically; words were spoken at the same time, of course.

Fehrle [1] points to the following description, given in Maimonide, Le Guide des Egarées par Munk [2], which is based on Oriental instructions for countrymen, which go back partly to the Greek *Geoponica*.

"Si quatre femmes, couchées sur le dos, lèvent les jambes en les écartant, et si dans cette position indécente, elles prononcent *telles paroles* et font *tel acte*, la grêle cessera de tomber en ces lieux" [3].

Fiedler, pag. 39, mentions this custom also for another place, "In Manipur gehen bei den Meithei einige völlig unbekleidete Männer nachts durch die Strassen und Felder und führen dabei mit lauter Stimme sehr unanständige Reden zur Wetterapotropie [4]".

This will also have been the case in ancient times. To a magic *action* was suited a magic *word*, which set the real magic working [5].

Indecent gestures were accompanied by the *carmina* belonging to them, as Pliny knew, cf. *N.H.* XXVIII. 77. After a time the gesture will have been omitted, and the *carmen*, which took the place of the missing action, been considered as sufficing for both. Pliny's *ingens verecundia* may probably have applied to one of those *carmina*. That the indecent gesture was not usual in Pliny's time is apparent from XXVIII. 76: *invenio*.

The existence of *Χαλαζοφύλακες* we find mentioned, apart from

[1] Studien zu den Gr. Geoponikern, R. V. V. XVI. p. 6; Fiedler, p. 38.
[2] Paris, 1866 III p. 279. [3] cf. too Riess, P. W. s. v. Aberglaube 85.
[4] Berkusky, Regenzauber, Mitt. der Anthrop. Ges. Wien XLIII 1913 p. 273 sq.; Fiedler p. 39. [5] Pfister, Epode 336—7.

the place quoted in Plut., in Sen. *Nat. qu.* IV b. 6. 2.; 7. 1. for Kleonae. The inhabitants of Methana, too, were able to avert hail by magic formulas, as in Paus. II. 34. 3. [1]. For other methods see Pallad. I. 35. 1; *Geop.* I. 14. 1—12 [2]; Plin. *N.H.* XXXVII. 124.

ambusta . . . .

Pliny has supplied sufferers with a crowd of exquisite prescriptions [3]. A magic cure is, among others, the following. *Medic. Plin.* III. c. 16 p. 268 [4], *ad combustum: praecantatio ad combustum. dicis haec: "rangaruagaverbat". Ter dicito et lingito ter et exspuito. praecantatio ad conbustum. ne fiant ulcera, dicis haec: "ferrum candens linguam restringat ne noceat". hanc incantationem tamen ex ore Druidum: "Siculi vident iligo vel marino piso adriacicum et iscito malluli drogoma ex ava mit[ ]unt astandem". Conbustum recens alumen ex aqua frigida ponito sanabit . . . .*

Such charms still exist, of which the following are examples,

> Ich ging mal einst an den Strand
> Da fand ich eines Mannes Totenhand
> Damit vertrieb ich diesen Brand [5].

> There came two angels from the East
> the one brought fire
> The other brought frost. Out Fire, in Frost [6].

Apparently it is desired either to surprise the wound (= fire?) daemon with strange words, with the sudden idea of death, or overcome him with stronger powers!

morborum genera . . . .

I think it sufficient, here, to refer to Heim, Incantamenta Magica; Riess, P.W. s.v. Aberglaube 89. sq.; Pfister P.W. s.v. Epode 331 sq., while I would reserve the classification of diseases in respect of their cure by *carmina* for a further research.

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[1] Fehrle, Hagelzauber p. 14. [2] Fiedler, p. 76—77.
[3] XX. 72, 217, 228; XXII. 126; XXIV. 147, 151, 105, 81, and many others.
[4] Rose, Herm. VIII. p. 54. cf. Heim p. 501.
[5] Zeitschr. d. Ver. f. Volksk. VII. p. 64.
[6] Notes and Queries V. p. 2 London 1858—9. cf. Ohrt, Brandsegen. Hdwb. d. D. A. 1496.

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