

UDC 93/94

Fortune-telling in the culture of ancient Rome: the origin, functioning, development

Viktor V. Slepukhin

Dean of the Faculty of the art of restoration,
Stroganov Moscow State University of Arts and Industry,
125080, 9 Volokolamskoe hwy, Moscow, Russian Federation;
e-mail: slepukhin@mail.ru

Abstract

The article is devoted to the place of fortune-telling, or divination, in the culture of ancient Rome. The author of the article aims to consider the origin, development and functioning of fortune-telling in the system of social activities in ancient Rome. Fortune-telling (divination, auspices, haruspius) are the most important side not only of religious life, but also of the sociopolitical activities of the Roman state from antiquity to the later period. The article pays special attention to the fact that fortune-telling was viewed as a basis for building relationships between people and the gods, and therefore it accompanied all aspects of public, political and private life in ancient Rome. Having studied fortune-telling in the culture of ancient Rome and identified the features of its origin, functioning, development, it points out that fortune-telling was performed both by priests (augurs) or invited fortunetellers (haruspics), and ordinary residents, warriors, etc. The article makes an attempt to describe divination practices with a view to revealing the role of fortune-telling in the culture of ancient Rome. The author comes to the conclusion that fortune-telling was the main way of communicating with the gods and proving the divine nature of power for Roman society.

For citation

Slepukhin V.V. (2021) Znachenie gadanii v kul'ture Drevnego Rima: proiskhozhdenie, funkcionirovanie, razvitiye [Fortune-telling in the culture of ancient Rome: the origin, functioning, development]. *"Belye pyatna" rossiiskoi i mirovoi istorii* ["White Spots" of the Russian and World History], 11 (1-2), pp. 2-16.

Keywords

Haruspices, auspices, fortune-telling, divination, ancient Rome, augurs, haruspius.

Introduction

Fortune-telling is an essential feature of the culture of archaic peoples and continues its traditions to this day. Believing in a single, monolithic and interconnected world, people have long sought to know the future or find help in a difficult decision. In ancient Greece, there was a tradition of fortune-telling: in particular, augur Thestorides is described by Homer.

In Dodona, near the oracle of Zeus, people used to tell fortunes by the rustle of the leaves of the sacred oak [Kumanetsky, 1990, 8]. Priestly schools and centers of religion played an important role in the politics and social life of Greece; the religious centers of Hellas (in particular, Delphi, Dodona, Didyma) were widely involved in social reality: "Oracles gave advice on legislation, answered questions related to war and peace, dealt with various aspects of international relations" [Gorokhova, 2011, 232]. Early Greek legislation in the archaic era was sacred, and therefore closely related to religious life.

In archaic Rome, fortune-telling, divination, were also of great importance in social and political life [see Shmeleva, 2019]. However, if in Greece the texts of oracles were a specific form of predictions, then in Rome signs and their interpretations play an important role. Cicero noted: "Since the entire religion of the Roman people was originally divided into rites and auspices, and then a third was added to this – fortune-telling, which were given on the basis of miracles and signs by the interpreters of the Sibyl and haruspex, I always believed that none of these components religion must not be neglected" (De nat. deor. III.5) [cit. ex: Makhlayuk, 2019, 33]. Thus, auspices are one of the foundations of Roman religion.

In ancient Rome, "Signs could come from the world around the person. They were of two types: those sent by the gods, that is, observed, but not asked (*signa oblativa*), and those that a person requested from the deities (*signa imperativa*)" [Gorokhova, 2011, 234]. Accordingly, from an early period of history in Rome there were authoritative sources that could help to know the will of the deities. And those persons who could help with fortune-telling or divination played a big role in the social and political life of Rome. The difference of Roman fortune-telling was fortune-telling not for the future as a whole, but for the outcome of a particular event. At the same time, the Romans were quite persistent: "In the case of a negative answer, fortune-telling was repeated the next day" [Smorchkov, 2010, 36].

The emergence of Roman divination

The tradition of Roman divination traces its history back to the Etruscan people. As Winckelmann writes, referring to Cicero, the Etruscans were the first European peoples to resort to divinatory rites, "that is why Etruria is called the mother and midwife of superstitions, and the writings describing such rites filled with fear and trembling all those who turned to them for advice, the images and expressions used in them were so terrifying" [Winkelman, 2000, 71]. Apparently, the fortune-telling of the Etruscans had deeper eastern, Asian roots, as well as their tombs, weapons and language.

Titus Livius, in particular, reports that augury helped the Etruscans solve important issues of building a city: "Once the Etruscans, founding cities, consecrated the space on both sides of the border they had planned with bird fortune-telling, so that buildings would not adjoin the wall from the inside (now, on the contrary, it has entered everywhere custom), and outside the strip of land was not cultivated by man. This gap, which was considered blasphemy to populate or plow, is called by the Romans a pomerium – both because it is behind the wall, and because the wall is behind it. And always with the expansion of the city, as far as the wall is carried forward, these consecrated borders are also moved apart [cit. ex: Osherov, 1969, 182].

Titus Livius described one of the first cases when the haruspices were invited to Rome: a child was born in Latium, similar to a four-year-old growth, in which it was impossible to distinguish the sex. The called haruspices proclaimed this an unfavorable sign and ordered to drown him in the middle of the sea [Nagovitsyn, 2000, 208-209]. Among the Roman nobility, the Etruscan language, "Etruscan discipline" (science), that is, ideas about the structure of the world and the system of divination and sacrifice, as well as the auspices-haruspices themselves remained popular [Kuzishchin, 2005, 42]. In 304 BC Roman patricians sent their sons to study Etruscan divination, as they were considered important for generals. With the help of Etruscan sacred dances, it was believed that the epidemic in Rome was stopped.

The Etruscan religion differed from the anthropocentric Greek and from the legalistic Roman fatalistic faith in fate and the immutability of the divine will. The Etruscans considered the highest destiny of man to interpret the will of the gods and live in accordance with it; this will could be known through the developed system of fortune-telling. That is why in antiquity the Etruscans were known for their pedantic performance of rituals and the art of fortune-telling [McNamara, 2006, 149]. For example, fortune-telling by birds was different among the Romans and the Etruscans: "In Etruria, the flight of a bird, its color, its cry were carriers of a completely different meaning than the banal divine consent, for a priest capable of interpreting certain warnings of the gods" [Robert, 2007, 173]. Seneca wrote interestingly about the difference in the approaches of the Etruscans and the Romans to the interpretation of phenomena: "While we [the Romans] believe that lightning is a consequence of the collision of clouds, they [the Etruscans] are convinced that the clouds collide in order to produce lightning, since the Etruscans attribute everything that happens gods. They don't believe that things matter because they happen, but rather that they happen because they must have a meaning [cit. ex: Robert, 2007, 192].

The statue of a haruspices on a sarcophagus from Volterra shows the auspex as follows: he is dressed in a robe with a border and a high conical hat, holding a curved staff. His clothes were not to be knotted, according to the ancient custom; for sacrifice, they had a special bronze dagger with a handle in the form of a statuette, with a wide blade.

Features of Roman divination

It was considered a good omen for the haruspices to meet a ram with a golden or purple fleece: this, most likely, was not a rethinking of the Hellenic myth of the golden fleece, but an independent understanding of the Indo-European image of a ram as a symbol of happiness. It is obvious that this sign, as well as the simple, almost shepherd image of the haruspices, as well as the predominant method of divination by the liver of an animal, indicate the cattle-breeding origin of this social community, possibly from the priests of the shepherd community.

According to the Etruscan beliefs of Eastern origin, which were inherited by Rome, 40 parts of the sky corresponded to 40 parts of the liver, so a model of 40 parts was made for divination [Kumanetsky, 1990, 180-181]. A similar model of the liver, made of bronze, was found near the northern Italian city of Piacenza in 1877. The outlet side of the cookie is divided into two parts by a line; one of them has the name solar (*usils*), and the other lunar (*tivr*); the first was considered auspicious, and the second sinister. The convex side of the liver is divided into 40 sections by lines: 16 along the border (signed with the names of the sky gods) and 24 in the central part; each site is signed with the name of the god or gods that belong to this site. Until now, not all the images and functions of the gods have been clarified [see Nagovitsyn, 2000, 237-245].

Divination by the liver of a sacrificial animal helped to understand the state of the heavenly world and understand the will of the gods. The word "haruspex" itself is translated as "fortune teller by the liver" and goes back to the Assyrian *har* – liver. Similar practices are found in Babylon. Here is an excerpt from a surviving Babylonian text: "If the upper shell is shortened (?), the king in his power will protect foreign brothers, / If the lower shell is wrinkled, the king will upset his country, ... / If the membrane is twisted, the enemies will put the country in a difficult position, / If the membrane is damaged twice, the uprisings will affect the mood of the army, etc. [cit. ex: Robert, 2007, 191].

As a rule, the liver and bile were the object of interest of haruspices, less often the heart and lungs. The haruspices paid special attention to the process on the liver *caput iocineris* – the pyramidal process: "If the process was large, then this foreshadowed joy and prosperity, a small one – misfortune and even death. In the event that the process was dissected, the city was threatened with war and split. The outgrowth at the top of the process, similar to a crown, was interpreted as an indication of victory in the war" [Nagovitsyn, 2000, 206]. Similar views on the role of the pyramidal process were in ancient Greece, which is reflected in Euripides' *Electra*. The liver as a microcosm reflected the macrocosm of the universe. "If the haruspex discovered something favorable when studying the insides of an animal, then they went around with them three times around the altar, on which they burned the sacrificial cake" [Vinnichuk, 1988, 476].

The concept of "haruspex" subsequently spread to all the priests of Etruria, so in various Roman sources one can find a mixture of different types of priests under the name of a haruspex. At the same time, after the fall of Etruria, the Etruscan priestly colleges merged, and the priests lost their specialization.

In Rome, haruspices were less respected than augurs. It was believed that divination by the insides is more arbitrary, less accurate, and therefore unreliable. Cicero wrote: "We know that different haruspices interpret the readings of the entrails differently. They do not have a single doctrine for all <...> How many cases are known when the event predicted by the haruspices took place? And if it ever happened – this can be allowed – then why can't it be considered a coincidence? <...> Of course, the haruspices are not so unlucky that their predictions never come true, at least by accident" [cit. ex: Vinnichuk, 1988, 476]. Cicero also cites the words of Cato the Elder that, when meeting, haruspices should hardly be able to keep from laughing. The college of haruspices was created only by the emperor Claudius, and it included 60 people.

The Etruscans also had augurs: these priests were distinguished by the fact that the object of their interest was mainly not the liver of an animal, but the heavenly and earthly spheres. "The rite of divination in the earthly sphere took place primarily in honor of the investiture of royal power (the proclamation of the king) and on other important state occasions" [Nagovitsyn, 2000, 213]. According to Roman sources, augurs could interpret lightning and earthquakes, meteorites and comets. Such significant prophecies, as a rule, were considered by the entire priestly college.

The Etruscans not only predicted the fate of a person and a city using these lightning bolts, but also evoked it with prayers and rituals. 16 gods of the Etruscan pantheon were reflected both in heaven and on earth, and on the entrails of animals; all this made it possible to create an extensive system of predictions and divination. "The whole vault of heaven, resting its parts on the horizon, was for the Etruscan priests a temple (*templum augurale*), since the Latin authors used this term precisely in this sense. The Etruscan deities in this temple, according to the priests, were located inside the hemisphere, in parts formed by the intersection at right angles of two lines oriented to the North-South, West-East. The direction line corresponding to the meridian was called *decumanus limes*" [Nagovitsyn, 2000, 214].

The divination system was adopted by Rome from the Etruscans. According to Diodorus Siculus, Romulus and Remus divined by the flight of birds at the founding of Rome: "When, at the foundation of the city, Remus and Romulus turned to fortune-telling by the flight of birds and a [favorable] sign appeared on the right, they say, Remus exclaimed in amazement and told his brother that in their city, a favorable ("right") fate will often contribute to unfavorable ("wrong") undertakings. After all, although [Romulus] hastened to send a messenger, committing a complete sin against himself, his ignorance turned out to be corrected in itself" [Diodorus, 2012, 14]. Romulus and Remus quarreled over the interpretation of fortune-telling with birds, as Titus Livius also writes; moreover, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch write about the deceit of Romulus, who lied about what he saw [ibid, 14-15], which ultimately led to fratricide. It can be concluded that divination played an important role already in the legendary times of the founding of Rome.

Roman fortunetellers

Already in archaic Rome there was a division of labor between priestly colleges. The "divine law" had several branches: pontifical, augural, fecial, flamen and religious. The activity of the augurs was associated with divination, that is, "revealing the will of the deity regarding this or that intention of people" [Kofanov, 2001, 15]. Sacred laws, as Cicero points out, gave the augurs the right to cancel already adopted laws, dissolve the popular assembly, and declare one or another magistrate objectionable to the gods. Not a single decision of the Roman magistrates took place without the approval of the augurs [see Lobrano, 1975].

The theory of divinations among the augurs was summarized in books: "The college of augurs had its own written monuments. These are books that were essentially collections of precedents for the interpretation of signs of divine origin. The formulas that the augurs used in specific circumstances were also entered there: when determining the boundaries of the sacred space or when conducting inauguration rites. Information of this kind penetrated into the writings of historians-annalists and, of course, antiquarians. Marcus Terentius Varro worked especially actively with it. However, the surviving fragments of the augur teachings do not allow us to fully recreate the religious practice of this college. Therefore, some ceremonies in which the augurs participated remain mysterious" [Sidorovich, 2018, 83-84]. It is important to note that the main task of the augurs was not sacrifice and not predictions, but the interpretation of what they saw – in particular, in the sky.

The augur had the right to impose his own sanctions on those who caused the displeasure of the deity, the law stated, as Cicero quotes: "Everything that the augur declares wrong, forbidden, vicious, sinister, let it not be done and done; whoever disobeys, let him answer with his head" [cit. ex: ibid., 15]. This law was borrowed from the legislation of Numa Pompilius. Violation of the taboo of the augurs led to the death penalty.

Augurs carried out official state predictions, *augurium*, to predict the outcome of certain decisions. As a public office, the augur was established by Numa Pompilius; in 300 BC 9 augurs were introduced according to the *Ogulnia* law, of which at least 5 had to be plebeians; Sulla increased their number to 15, and Caesar to 16 [Burovsky, 2013, 252]. Criticizing the reliability of auspices, both Cicero and his academician Cotta, who opposed divination, recognize its necessity for the orderly existence of the state (Cic. ND. III. 14-15). In addition, Cicero called the auspices and the senate the main pillars of the state (*egregia duo firmamenta rei publicae*), and Romulus established both of them (Rep. II. 17). Auspice, according to the Romans, was the key to the success of their ancestors and their military victories.

It is important to note the role of soothsayers in republican Rome: in a period when power was not transferred by inheritance, but by choice, auspices were evidence of the divine approval of power decisions necessary for the legalization of power [see Smorchkov, 2003; Melnichuk, 2002]. The masters performed auspices, and this was their most important duty: "The most important right among the magistrates' powers was the implementation of public auspices ("bird fortune-telling"), i.e. "consultations" with Jupiter on public issues within their competence" [Smorchkov, 2010, 2012].

Roman historians write about the transfer of the right to auspices from kings to temporary rulers as follows: "And the next year, no Roman king was elected, but a special magistracy, which is called the interregnum, took over the supervision of public affairs" (Dionys. II, 57, 1-2); "And so that in these shaky circumstances, discord would not lead the state from anarchy to complete destruction, the patricians, of whom there were one hundred and fifty people, agreed that each of them would in turn be clothed with signs of royal dignity for six night and six day hours, bringing the established sacrifices to the gods. and administering judgment" (Plut. Numa II, 7) [cit. ex: Koptev, 2012].

The main duty of the augurs was communication with the deity: they were the interpreters of the will of Jupiter. It is noted that the augurs did not address the statues of the gods, but directly to the sky.

It is important to note that in archaic Rome, the Roman kings led the board of augurs and directed their activities. The insignia of the augurs are in many respects similar to those of the kings. They wore a mantle – a trabea, a toga with bright red horizontal stripes and a purple border, the Etruscan symbol of royal power, and a curved rod, which was called *lituus*: Virgil attributes such a rod to the already legendary king Latinus. This augurial bent baton, as Servius notes, is needed "to designate the heavenly space, because the hand [to do this] was not allowed" [cit. ex: Kofanov, 2001, 91]. According to legend, Romulus had the same curved rod and was a sign of the king's augur powers. "It depended on the king to observe or not to observe the flight of birds and, in the first case, to appoint a time for that; and the bird-reader only stood by the king and, if necessary, explained to him the language of these heavenly messengers" [Mommsen, 1997, vol. 1, 178].

The predictions of the future had many details and clarifications among the augurs. They divided the sky into favorable and unfavorable parts, guessed by the stars and the flight of birds, by dreams, etc. According to the rule, the augurs had to start divination purified physically and spiritually; for example, it was impossible to guess the augur, who had an ulcer or wound on his body. Like the Pythagoreans, they had to abstain from legumes [Kofanov, 2001, 78]. Anything used as beans in chthonic cults could not be used by augurs; that is why Etruscan haruspices were specially invited to Rome for divination by the liver. One way or another, there was an interpenetration of the cultures of the Romans and the Pythagoreans - the basis of each was the legendary laws of Ital, dating back to the period of the Cretan Mycenaean community.

The Art of Divination

Fortune-telling was called by the Romans *divinatio* and was called *disciplina*, that is, it was considered a science. In particular, Cicero, who left the treatise "On divination" ("De divinazione"), was proud of his rank of augur, Cicero left us a rather detailed treatise on divination, where he analyzes this concept and phenomenon. "Cicero derives the concept of *divinatio* from the thesis about the existence of gods, namely: if the gods exist, then they take care of people, and if they take care of people, then they send them signals in the form of divinations that help people in their lives" [Bragova, 2017, 27].

The main signs of divination according to Cicero are as follows:

- it is a manifestation of the divine mind;
- all nations have it;
- divination can be natural (native, dark, difficult to understand: divination in a dream, in a frenzy, before death) and artificial: auspices, haruspices, astrology, divination by lightning and stars, etc.

However, in the second book of his treatise, Cicero consistently exposes all the signs of divination and questions it as a phenomenon that is difficult to investigate. So in the end it is not clear whether Cicero himself believes in divination [Mayorov, 1985; Korzun, 2010; Beard, 1986].

Pliny the Younger also achieved the dignity of augur, and he wrote about it in a letter like this: "This priestly title itself, both ancient and holy, is also remarkable in that it cannot be taken away. Other ranks, almost equal in dignity, can be welcomed and taken away; right there, fate has the power only to give" [cit. ex: Vinnichuk, 1988, 337]. Cicero notes that in his time the augur discipline suffered from insufficient specialization, while in ancient times it absorbed all the sciences and knowledge [Kofanov, 2001, 80-81].

Five types of signs that the augurs interpreted, that is, by which they divined, Festus conveys as follows: "coming from the sky, from birds, from feeding chickens, from four-legged animals and from random signs (to man)" [cit. ex: Kofanov, 2001, 94]. The first included tasks on thunder and lightning; to the second – the cry and flight of birds; to the third – pecking or not pecking of grains by birds (the second – unfortunately); to the fourth – the behavior of dogs and horses; to the fifth – extraordinary incidents and cases. Pliny the Elder attributed to each type of divination of the mythical founder: thus, according to his conclusions, "a certain Kar was the first to guess by the flight of birds, from whose name the Kariya region in Asia Minor got its name; divination by other animals was introduced by Orpheus; Delphi began to guess by the entrails of sacrificial animals; by fire – the soothsayer Amphiaraus, king of Argos; by the entrails of animals, the Theban Tiresias; Amphiktyon, the king of Attica, was the first to interpret miracles and prophetic dreams [cit. ex: Vinnichuk, 1988, 467].

There were, however, other classifications: for example, there was a classification into five slightly different species *ex caelo* (from the sky), *ex avibus* (from birds), *ex tripudiis* (from jumping), *ex quadrupedibus* (from quadrupeds), *ex diris* (from wild animals) (Fest. P. 316L) [Gorokhova, 2011, 236]. Describing the foundations of the psychology of divination, the historian Boucher-Leclerc wrote: "Of animals, birds are mainly considered divine messengers, since they are closest to the sky, are the most mobile and have the most expressive voice. They are followed by quadrupeds, then reptiles, and finally fish" [Boucher-Leclerc, 2012, 104].

The main subject of analysis of the augurs was the sky. They interpreted both unusual phenomena: lightning, comets, stone rains, and the movement of the signs of the Zodiac (*signa*, "constellations"). The tradition of observing the stars goes back, according to legend, to King Numa Pompilius, the founder of augural science. Also, the studies of ancient authors, in particular, Pliny the Elder, speak of the great role of the South Italian Greeks, who are personified in Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism. In addition, the Etruscan peoples also had their own tradition of observing the starry sky. The foundations of the actual Roman science of the stars, as well as astral mythology, were laid in the archaic period (from the 7th to the 5th century BC), when the Romans adopted the twelve-month year. The zodiac began with Aries, which corresponds to the beginning of the year in March in archaic Rome.

The augurs observed the starry sky: ancient authors describe that at the highest point of the Capitoline Hill (*Arx*) there was a special place for night observations of the stars, which were made by the augurs. This open, consecrated place, enclosed with spears, boards and canvas, with a high chair in the center, was called *auguraculum* or *auraculum*. "From here, from midnight until dawn, the augur conducted his observations of the starry sky, in order to report to the Senate and the people the next

day about favorable or unfavorable signs for holding a public meeting, trials, public sacrifices or other all-Roman events. Of course, in addition to the stars, the augur took into account other signs such as the flight of birds, lightning strikes, comets, etc., but still, at night, when the birds are sleeping, it was more convenient to observe the stars" [Kofanov, 2001, 83-84]. "The augur sat down in front of the entrance to the tent, outlined the appropriate space with his staff and in the sky and waited for the birds to appear. The whole rite was performed in complete silence, in unconditional sacred silence. The flight of birds on the left side of the augur was regarded as a good sign, while the appearance of birds on the right, western side foreshadowed something unfavorable" [Vinnichuk, 1988, 477].

The concept of *templum* played an important role in this observation, later metaphorically transferred to temples: "When the augur determined the celestial templum, within which he intended to make his observations, he projected it onto the ground and set up his tent (*tabernaculum capere*) in a certain area, and this the tent was also called templum, more precisely, *templum minus*" [Koptev, 2011, 48]. The first meaning of *templum* is the vault of heaven, the residence of Jupiter and other gods. *The Templum* was outlined by the augurs with the aid of the pomerium, the boundary of the inhabited land, the sacred city boundary. "In the early era, apparently, the city itself inside the pomerium was considered as a templum. The place allocated in this way and consecrated by the augurs was intended for religious purposes, and above all for the augurs. Therefore, taking care of the pomerium, as well as other augur fines, was the responsibility of the college of augurs" [ibid., 49].

The augur divided the sky with two perpendicular lines into 4 regions: "The four quarters allocated by the augurs in the templum space were called regions (*regiones*) from *regio* – to draw, cut" [Koptev, 2011, 52]. Some of them were considered more prosperous (in particular, the left half, where the rising of the sun and stars began), others less prosperous. The augurs took into account the movement of the constellations of the Zodiac, also because the beginning of the ascent of one or another sign could mean the beginning of seasonal work, a military campaign, and so on. The solar cycle was connected with the cycles of other planets; the augurs were also aware of the role of the monthly cycle and the full moon. The calculation and observation of stars was a complex science that required, among other things, mathematical knowledge and skills.

When divining in the sky, the observer had to face south; parts to the left of it (in the east) were considered favorable, to the right (in the west) – unfortunate. It was on the basis of this division that lightning flashes, its direction and strike were interpreted. Lightning, according to the Etruscans, could be 11 varieties: 9 gods had their own types of lightning, among them Jupiter – 3 types. When interpreting the fall of lightning, the augurs referred to several parameters: place, time, direction, strength and nature of lightning, color, etc. The most favorable lightning came out of the northeastern sector of the sky, the most formidable – from the northwestern.

Lightning made it possible to judge whether it was necessary to do this or that thing, whether the actions performed were right or wrong, whether it was necessary to do something, and so on. A lightning strike could bring both prosperity and misfortune. In addition, they could also be used as a magical tool that could be turned against the enemy (Pliny tells such a story about Tsar of Velusna) [Robert, 2007, 192].

The place, thing or being struck by lightning had to be interpreted and cleansed. An object struck by lightning was usually buried, and a two-year-old sheep was sacrificed. "The affected area was fenced off and dedicated to the deity who sent the lightning. A piece of silicon was often placed in the place of the "burial" of lightning as a symbol of lightning. An appropriate inscription was made on the "lightning burial place" [Nagovitsyn, 2000, 217] – this was the ritual of the Etruscan *haruspices*, who were called to Rome. Roman priests "worked" with lightning in a slightly different way: they buried a

piece of silicon (a stone that "produces" fire) in the place where lightning hit and sacrificed a sheep.

In the event that lightning struck a building or public area, it was believed that the settlement could be threatened by strife or a coup. Lightning that hit the city wall was considered a prediction of the arrival of the enemy from this side. When lightning strikes a sanctuary, it was considered important which god it was dedicated to. So, Titus Livius described the rite that was performed when lightning hit the temple of Juno: "Lightning struck the temple of Queen Juno on Aventine (one of the seven hills on which Rome was built). Since the predictors explained that this sign is related to matrons and that the goddess should be propitiated with gifts, then, according to the edict of the curule aediles (priests), women living in the city itself and no further (distance) 40 stages from the city were summoned to the Capitol; here they themselves chose 25 from among themselves, to whom the rest were to deliver donations from their dowry. With this money a gift was made – a golden cup and taken to the Aventine; the matrons offered a pure and blameless sacrifice. A day was immediately appointed by the decemvirs for another sacrifice to the same goddess; its order was as follows: from the temple of Apollo they led two white cows through the Carmental gate; behind them were two cypress statues of the goddess Juno; then 27 girls in long clothes walked and sang a hymn in honor of Queen Juno, which at that time, for people who were at a rather low level of development, seemed, perhaps, worthy of praise, but now, if we convey it, it is inharmonious and awkward; behind a row of maidens walked decemvirs crowned with laurel wreaths and wearing purple-trimmed togas; from the gate they came along Yugarskaya street to the forum; here the procession stopped, and, holding the rope with their hands, the girls walked with a measured step to the beat of the anthem. Then they moved further along the Etruscan and Velabra streets through the Bull Square to the Publicius Hill and to the temple of Queen Juno. Here the decemvirs slaughtered two sacrificial animals, and cypress images were brought into the temple" [cit. ex: Nagovitsyn, 2000, 218].

"The oldest and perhaps the most important type of divination for the Romans was auspices – observations of the flight of prophetic birds" [Vinnichuk, 1988, 474]. Such type of signs as "flight of birds", when unraveling by augurs, took into account both the direction of flight, and the number of birds, and the height of their flight. These observations, auspices, undoubtedly, also had natural scientific grounds: for example, birds are sensitive to changes in the weather, changes in pressure in the atmosphere, etc. Divination by birds was carried out during the appointment of the pontiff both in the tsarist period and in the republican one. During auspices, the Romans preferred kites [ibid]. The auspices became part of the duties of the higher magistrates.

Fortune-telling accompanied procedures of the most various levels in Rome. So, weddings and other rites of passage could not do without them. The bride was helped to guess by the pronuba, the manager at the wedding [Vinnichuk, 1988, 167-168].

The most important procedures in Roman politics took place with the involvement of fortune-telling and fortune-tellers, and this was a complex and respected procedure, erected according to legend to Romulus. So, Titus Livy writes about the choice of Numa as king: "Invited to Rome, he, following the example of Romulus, who accepted royal power, having tested the will of the gods regarding the founding of the city according to bird signs, ordered the gods to ask about himself. Then the augur bird-fortune teller, whose occupation has now become an honorary and lifelong public office, brought Numa to the fortress and seated him on a stone facing south. The augur, with his head covered, sat on his left hand, holding in his right hand a curved stick without a single knot, which is called a rod. Having prayed to the gods and taking the city with its surroundings for observation, he demarcated the plots from east to west; the southern sections, he said, let them be on the right, the northern ones on the left; in front of him, far away, as far as the eye could see, he mentally marked a sign. Then, shifting the rod

to his left hand, and placing his right hand on Numa's head, he prayed thus: "Father Jupiter, if the gods command that Numa Pompilius, whose head I hold, should be king in Rome, show reliable signs within the limits that I have outlined". Here he described verbally the omens he wanted to receive. And they were sent down, and Numa descended from the place of divination already a king [cit. ex: Osherov, 1969, 158]. He also cites the case of Tarquinius, who mocked the augur Attus Navius and was put to shame, and writes: "Respect for the birding and dignity of the augurs has become so great that since then no business, either in war or in peacetime, has been conducted without in order not to ask the birds: public meetings, the collection of troops, the most important things were canceled if the birds did not allow" [ibid, 176].

Here are a few examples of the decisive word of the augurs in the public and political life of Rome. So, in 444 BC it was decided instead of the consular post to create the post of military tribunals with consular power; plebeians could also be elected there. But after the appeal of the Senate to the augurs, a decision was made that "Gaius Curtius, who conducted the elections, did not quite correctly set up a tent for bird fortune telling" (Liv. IV. 7. 3) [Gorokhova, 2011, 236], which means that the decision of the Senate was not taken. In 426 BC Rome's failure to fight Veii required the appointment of a dictator who could remedy the situation (Liv. IV.31.4). Only the consul could appoint a dictator as having the right of auspices, and military tribunes with consular powers were in power. The augurs helped circumvent the restrictions and a dictator was appointed [ibid.].

When Mark Octavius was brought to power, "at dawn, the presiding magistrate performed an auspice (fortune-telling by the flight of birds) to make sure that the gods were in favor of the upcoming procedures" [Baker, 2008, 93-94]. It is interesting to note that fortune-telling under the new emperor Augustus symbolically repeated the "August fortune-telling" of Romulus at the founding of Rome. The very nickname "August", adopted by Octavian on January 16, 27 BC, is associated with the verb *augere* (multiply, exalt), with the priestly title "augur" [Chernyshov, 2013, 146].

A sign could be considered a word accidentally heard, perceived as a prophecy. So, the consul Lucius Aemilius Paul prepared in 1717 BC to start a war with the Macedonian king Perseus, and his little daughter told him about the dead dog: "The Persian is no more." The consul took these words as a sign, led the troops into battle and won. They also cite the following story: "In the first half of the 4th c. BC e., when the Gauls destroyed Rome and the senate began to decide whether to rebuild the city in its original place or to move all the inhabitants to the nearby Veii, the voice of a centurion was heard outside the door, accidentally passing by with his guard detachment. The centurion ordered the standard-bearer to put up the banner and said: "Let's stay here." Having accidentally heard these words, the senators considered them prophetic and immediately decided to restore the destroyed Rome as soon as possible" [Vinnichuk, 1988, 474].

Auspice and other types of divinations were very important in the war, where the Roman army found itself alone in the midst of hostile territories. Military auspices were made when the army left the city, as well as before hostilities; when crossing the river and when calling warriors to battle. At the same time, Cicero also names such types of divination as divination by spearheads, by the behavior of birds carrying objects in their beaks (his fall to the ground was considered a favorable sign). The spread of divination by the behavior of poultry, chickens, led to the fact that each army had a small poultry house with a specially assigned servant, a pullaria (chicken house). At the same time, "chickens were left without food for a long time, so during auspices they greedily pounced on food and dropped pieces of food, thus giving a good sign" [Gorokhova, 2011, 237].

It is important to note that during the period of republican Rome, auspices became an inalienable right and duty of magistrates: "the power of the highest magistrates was perceived by the Romans as an inseparable unity of political and religious powers – *imperium auspiciumque*. The second element

(*auspicium*) of this formula, which determined magisterial power, meant the right to find out the will of the gods (actually, Jupiter), guessing by birds. This right was the basis of other powers of the magistrates, constituting the sacred base of their political acts" [Smorchkov, 2012, 35].

Thus, it can be summarized that the auspices were priestly (among the augurs) and magistrates, public and private.

A significant and important source of divinations were also the so-called Sibylline books. These manuscripts, containing, according to sacred tradition, the oracles of Apollo, were considered to have been brought to Tarquinius Priscus by the Sibyl Cuma. In the last years of the royal period, books were kept in the Capitol; it is possible that the Greek oracles and the prophecies of the Sibyl Cuma were collected by Tarquinius himself and combined by him into a code.

The books of the Sibyl were under the control of the state, and a college of priests was appointed to keep them. These books were consulted when there were alarming prodigies: catastrophes or epidemics, military defeat, etc., which could foreshadow or signify a break between the gods and the Romans. The books of the Sibyl were believed to contain explanations of the prodigies and the measures to be taken. Consultations on the Sibylline books could only concern the interests of the state.

Thus, the role of the Sibylline books was serious during the struggle for the codification of law in 462 BC. The first stage of this struggle was connected with the rogation of the plebeian tribune Terentilius Harsa, who proposed "pass a law on the election of five commissioners to draw up laws on consular power, according to which the consuls would enjoy only those rights that the people will give them, and would not consider their own whims and productions to be law" (Liv. III. 9.5) [cit. ex: Gorohova, 2011, 235]. According to Livy (III.10.5), bad omens soon followed: "there was a glow in the sky, and the earth shook with terrible shocks. The talking cow, which no one believed in last year, was now beyond doubt. Among other signs, they mention pieces of meat falling from the sky and a huge flock of birds that pecked at this rain in flight, and what fell and scattered on the ground did not rot even after several days" [ibid.]. The authorities decided to turn to the Sibylline Books through the duumvirs: "It was predicted that the threat comes from strangers gathered together who could attack the City and destroy it; there was also a warning not to start troubles" (Liv. III.10.7). So, duumvirs sought to weaken the conflict, calling on opponents for reconciliation. They probably wanted to rally the society of Rome in the face of a possible threat of attack by enemies. However, other political considerations are also possible.

Roman historians repeatedly cite cases of the magical correctness of fortune-tellers who shame the kings. And if Titus Livy writes about augurs, then Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus writes about the power of foreign soothsayers, talking about Domitian: "The next morning a German fortuneteller was brought to him, who, when asked about lightning, predicted a change of power; the emperor listened to him and sentenced him to death. Scratching his forehead, he scratched at the abscess, blood spattered: "If only it ended like this!" he said. Then he asked what time it was; there was a fifth, whom he feared, but he was purposely told that it was the sixth. Rejoicing that the danger had passed, he hurried to the bathhouse, but chamber servant Parfeniy stopped him, saying that some person wanted to hastily tell him something important. Then, letting everyone go, he entered the bedroom and was killed there [cit. ex: Osherov, 1969, 396-397]. There are stories about how the haruspex Spurinna warned Caesar about the danger of being killed on the Ides of March.

At the same time, more and more often in the history of Rome, suspicions arose that the augurs interpreted their divination for specific political purposes, in the interests of one or another group that fought for power. So, "In 56 BC Pompey, under the pretext that he had heard thunder from heaven, dissolved the assembly of the people and thereby prevented the election of his opponent Cato the Younger as praetor. Later, when Caesar was going on a campaign against the Parthians, everyone had

a prophecy found in the "Sibylline books" that the Parthians could only be subjugated by the king: the spread of this prophecy in Rome was supposed to facilitate Caesar's transition to a Hellenistic type of monarchy" [Kumanetsky, 1990, 246]. It was the haruspices that influenced the fact that the Romans did not populate the "cursed" territory of Carthage; in 99 AD they obstructed the land law of Sextius Titius and prevented the dictatorship of Sulla and Augustus [Nagovitsyn, 2000, 210].

T. Mommsen writes rather angrily about how the exclusive right of the augurs arose: and other similar things became legally binding on officials and that these knowledgeable people could invalidate religiously and invalidate any act of state – be it the consecration of a temple or any other administrative order, be it a law or the result of an election"[Mommsen, 1997, t 1, 292]. However, the historian does not take into account here the fusion of Roman politics, law and religion; for the Romans, the opinion of the augurs until a certain period was the most important aspect and expression of the will of the gods.

It is also important to note the fact that among the Romans, unlike the Greeks, not only priests and oracles, but also ordinary residents could engage in fortune-telling: "in private, family matters – the father of the family, the head of the house or his manager, in state affairs – the official" [Vinnichuk, 1988, 475].

Rome since the II century BC was densely populated by magicians and fortune-tellers of various origins. They fulfilled the order of society for hopes, for the return of the golden age. "Particularly serious importance was attached to the interpretation of signs (for example, comets) that indicated the imminent change of ruler, since it was such a change that gave the most hope for a change in the situation as a whole" [Chernyshov, 2013, 188]. At the same time, East Hellenistic cults, in which many rulers and commanders believed, actively penetrated into Rome, mixing with existing beliefs; in particular, Sulla left memoirs in which he mentions the important role of prophetic dreams and divination. Praetor Publius Nigidius Figulus of 58 BC wrote books on divination and dreams, where he sought to combine the heritage of the Etruscans with Pythagoreanism; he was engaged in magic and undertook to find the missing things.

At the same time, predictions were not always accepted favorably, especially by the ruling authorities. The Etruscan haruspices lost their authority by the 2nd century BC [Makmara, 2006, 153]. In the period from 33 BC to 93 AD prophets were expelled from Italy at least ten times, and some Romans paid the price of death for attempting divination on their own. The Christian Justin wrote in the middle of the 2nd century that the death penalty was determined for those who would read the books of Hystaspes, the Sibyl and the Jewish prophets [ibid., 188-189]. In the popular Sibylline Books, under the name of an ancient soothsayer, anti-Roman messianic ideas were used. A special role in the changed situation was played by the Jewish prophets, who were condemned and repressed, but meanwhile were influential. Their accusations and gloomy predictions sounded in unison with the eschatological moods that swept late Rome.

With the victory of Christianity, under the son of Constantine Constantine, fortune-telling was again banned, but with pagan worship. At the same time, respect for the Etruscan haruspices was not completely lost: "Even when Etruria was destroyed, the Etruscan haruspices in Rome had such influence that they resorted to their help even at a time when Christianity reigned supreme. For example, in the days of the tragic siege of Rome by the hordes of Alaric" [Nagovitsyn, 2000, 163].

Conclusion

Fortune-telling (divination, auspicion, haruspicion) was the most important aspect not only of religious life, but also of the socio-political activities of the Roman state from antiquity to the later period. They were the basis for building relationships between people and the gods and therefore

accompanied all aspects of public, political and private life, and were performed both by priests (augurs) or invited fortune-tellers (haruspices), as well as by ordinary residents, warriors, etc. For the Roman society, fortune-telling was the main way of communication with the gods and proof of the divine essence of power.

References

1. Baker S. (2007) *Ancient Rome: the rise and fall of an empire*. BBC Physical Audio. (Russ. ed.: Baker S. (2008) *Drevnii Rim. Vzlet i padenie imperii*. St. Petersburg: Amfora Publ.)
2. Beard M. (1986) Cicero and divination: the formation of a Latin discourse. *The journal of Roman studies*, 76, pp. 33-46.
3. Bouché-Leclercq A. (1879) *Histoire de la divination dans l'Antiquité*. Paris: Leroux. (Russ. ed.: Bouché-Leclercq A. (2012) *Istoriya gadaniya v antichnosti*. Moscow: Librokom Publ.)
4. Bragova A.M. (2017) Tsitseron o ponyatii divinatio [Cicero on the concept of divinatio]. *Juvenis scientia*, 3, pp. 27-28.
5. Burovskii A.M. (2013) *Drevnii Rim: 1000-letnyaya biografiya* [Ancient Rome: a 1000-year biography]. Moscow: Eksmo Publ.
6. Chernyshov Yu.G. (2013) *Drevnii Rim: mechta o zolotom veke* [Ancient Rome: the dream of a Golden Age]. Moscow: Lomonosov Publ.
7. Diodorus of Sicily (2012) *Istoricheskaya biblioteka* [Historical library], Books 8-10. St. Petersburg: Aleteiya Publ.)
8. Gorokhova A.V. (2011) Rol' divinatsii v obshchestvenno-politicheskoi zhizni Gretsii (VIII v. do n. e.) i Rima (V v. do n. e.) [The role of divination in the sociopolitical life of Greece (from the 8th century to the 4th century BC) and Rome (the 5th century BC)]. *Prepodavatel' XXI vek* [Teacher in the 21st century], 2, pp. 231-237.
9. Kofanov L.L. (ed.) (2001) *Zhrechieskie kollegii v Rannem Rime. K voprosu o stanovlenii rimskogo sakral'nogo i publichnogo prava* [Priestly colleges in early Rome. On the formation of Roman sacred and public law]. Moscow: Nauka Publ.
10. Koptev A.V. (2011) Imperii i pomerii v epokhu rannei rimskoi respubliki [Imperium and pomerium in the early Roman Republic]. *Vestnik RGGU. Seriya: Literaturovedenie. Yazykoznanie. Kul'turologiya* [Bulletin of the Russian State University for the Humanities. Series: Literary studies. Linguistics. Cultural studies], 14, pp. 42-103.
11. Koptev A.V. (2012) Interregnum i auspitsii: predvaritel'nye zamechaniya [Interregnum and auspices: preliminary remarks]. *Mnemon*, 11, pp. 137-170.
12. Korzun M.S. (2010) Tolkovanie "sud'by" Tsitseronomv ego religioznoi sisteme [Cicero's interpretation of "fate" in his religious system]. *Vesnik BDU. Seriya 3: Gistoryya. Filosofiya. Psikhologiya. Palitalogiya. Satsyyalogiya. Ekanomika. Prava* [Bulletin of the Belarusian State University. Series 3: History. Philosophy. Psychology. Political science. Sociology. Economics. Law], 2, pp. 10-14.
13. Kumaniecki K. (1955) *Historia kultury starozhnyj Grecji i Rzymu*. (Russ. ed.: Kumaniecki K. (1990) *Istoriya kul'tury Drevnei Gretsii i Rima*. Moscow: Vysshaya shkola Publ.)
14. Kuzishchin V.I. (ed.) (2005) *Istoriya drevnego Rima* [The history of ancient Rome]. Moscow: Vysshaya shkola Publ.
15. Lohbrano G. (1975) Plebei magistratus, patricii magistratus, magistratus populi Romani. *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris*, 41, pp. 270-277.
16. Macnamara E. (1987) *Everyday life of the Etruscans*. Hippocrene Books. (Russ. ed.: Macnamara E. (2006) *Etruski: byt, religiya, kul'tury*. Moscow: Tsentrpoligraf Publ.)
17. Maier G.G. (1985) Tsitseron kak filosof [Cicero as a philosopher]. In: *Mark Tullii Tsitseron. Filosofskie traktaty* [Marcus Tullius Cicero. Philosophical treatises]. Moscow: Nauka Publ., pp. 5-59.
18. Makhlayuk A.V. (2019) Spetsifika rimskoi religioznosti i semantika kontsepta religio [Specific features of Roman religiosity and the semantics of the concept of religio]. *Nizhegorodskogo universiteta im. N.I. Lobachevskogo* [Bulletin of the Lobachevsky State University of Nizhny Novgorod], 3, pp. 30-42.
19. Mel'nikhuk Ya.V. (2002) Auspitsii rimskikh tsenzorov [The auspices of the Roman censors]. *Issedon*, 1, pp. 79-90.
20. Mommsen T. (1854-1856) *Römische Geschichte*. (Russ. ed.: Mommsen T. (1997) *Istoriya Rima*. Rostov-on-Don: Feniks Publ.)
21. Nagovitsyn A.E. (2000) *Etruski: mifologiya i religiya* [The Etruscans: mythology and religion]. Moscow: Refl-buk Publ.
22. Oshero S.A. (ed.) (1969) *Istoriki Rima* [The Historians of Rome]. Moscow: Khudozhestvennaya literatura Publ.
23. Robert J.-N. (2004) *Les Étrusques*. Les Belles Lettres. (Russ. ed.: Robert J.-N. (2007) *Etruski*. Moscow: Veche Publ.)
24. Shmeleva L.M. (2019) Mesta kul'ta i religioznye predstavleniya drevneishego Latsiya i sovremennye arkeologicheskie raskopki [The places of worship and religious beliefs of ancient Latium and modern archaeological excavations]. *Uchenye zapiski Kazanskogo universiteta. Seriya: Gumanitarnye nauki* [Bulletin of Kazan State University. Series: Humanities], 161 (2-3), pp. 24-33.
25. Sidorovich O.V. (2018) Avgury i zhertvoprinosheniya zhiivotnykh [The augurs and animal sacrifices]. *Vestnik RGGU*.

- Seriya: Politologiya. Istoriya. Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya* [Bulletin of the Russian State University for the Humanities. Series: Political science. History. International relations], 4, pp. 82-90.
26. Smorchkov A.M. (2003) Kuriatnyi zakon ob imperii i auspitsii magistratov [The curiate law on the Empire and the magistrates' auspices]. *Drevnee pravo* [Ancient law], 11, pp. 24-39.
27. Smorchkov A.M. (2012) *Religiya i vlast' v Rimskoi Respublike: magistraty, zhretsy, khramy* [Religion and power in the Roman Republic: magistrates, priests, temples]. Moscow.
28. Smorchkov A.M. (2010) Vopros ob auspitsiyakh v bor'be patritsiev i plebeev [Auspices in the struggle between the patricians and the plebeians]. *Vestnik RGGU. Seriya: Literaturovedenie. Yazykoznanie. Kul'turologiya* [Bulletin of the Russian State University for the Humanities. Series: Literary studies. Linguistics. Cultural studies], 10 (53), pp. 212-222.
29. Winckelmann J.J. (2000) *Istoriya iskusstva drevnosti. Malye sochineniya* [The history of ancient art. Short essays]. St. Petersburg: Aleteiya Publ.
30. Winniczuk L. (1983) *Ludzie, zwyczaje i obyczaje starozytnej Grecji i Rzymu*. (Russ. ed.: Winniczuk L. (1988) *Lyudi, nrawy i obychai Drevnei Gretsii i Rima*. Moscow: Vysshaya shkola

Значение гаданий в культуре Древнего Рима: происхождение, функционирование, развитие

Слепухин Виктор Валерьевич

Декан факультета «Искусство реставрации»,
Московская государственная художественно-промышленная академия им. С.Г. Строганова,
125080, Российская Федерация, Москва, Волоколамское шоссе, 9;
e-mail: slepukhin@mail.ru

Аннотация

Статья посвящена месту гаданий, или дивинаций, в культуре Древнего Рима. Автор рассматривает происхождение, развитие и функционирование гаданий в системе общественной деятельности Рима. Гадания (дивинация, ауспиций, гаруспиций) являются важнейшей стороной не только религиозной жизни, но и общественно-политической деятельности римского государства с древности и вплоть до позднейшего периода. Гадания являются основой для выстраивания отношений людей с богами, и потому они сопровождают все стороны общественной, политической и частной жизни, причем они исполняются как жрецами (авгурами) или приглашенными гадателями (гаруспиками), так и простыми жителями, воинами и пр. Для римского общества гадания были главным способом коммуникации с богами и доказательством божественной сути власти.

Для цитирования в научных исследованиях

Слепухин В.В. Значение гаданий в культуре Древнего Рима: происхождение, функционирование, развитие // «Белые пятна» российской и мировой истории. 2021. Т. 11. № 1-2. С. 2-16.

Ключевые слова

Гаруспиций, ауспиций, гадание, дивинация, Древний Рим, авгуры, гаруспики.

Библиография

1. Бейкер С. Древний Рим. Взлет и падение империи. СПб.: Амфора, 2008. 453 с.

2. Брагова А.М. Цицерон о понятии *divinatio* // History and Archeology. Juvenis Scientia. 2017. № 3. С. 27-28.
3. Буровский А.М. Древний Рим: 1000-летняя биография. М.: Яуза, Эксмо, 2013. 400 с.
4. Буше-Леклерк О. История гадания в античности. М.: Либроком, 2012. 424 с.
5. Винкельман И.И. История искусства древности. Малые сочинения. Спб.: Алетейя, 2000. 794 с.
6. Винничук Л. Люди, нравы и обычаи Древней Греции и Рима. М.: Высшая школа, 1988. 496 с.
7. Горохова А.В. Роль дивинации в общественно-политической жизни Греции (VIII – IV вв. до н.э.) и Рима (V в до н.э.) // Преподаватель XXI век. 2011. № 2. С. 231-237.
8. Диодор Сицилийский. Историческая библиотека. СПб.: Алетейя, 2012. Кн. VIII-X. 137 с.
9. Коптев А.В. Interregnum и ауспиции: предварительные замечания // Мнемон. Вып. 11. 2012. С. 137–170.
10. Коптев А.В. Империй и померий в эпоху ранней римской республики // Вестник РГГУ. Серия: Литературоведение. Языкознание. Культурология. 2011. № 14. С. 42-103.
11. Корзун М.С. Толкование «судьбы» Цицероном в его религиозной системе // Вестник БДУ. 2010. Сер. 3. № 2. С. 10-14.
12. Кофанов Л. (ред.) Жреческие коллегии в Раннем Риме. К вопросу о становлении римского сакрального и публичного права. М.: Наука, 2001. 328 с.
13. Кузищин В.И. (ред.) История древнего Рима. М.: Высшая школа, 2005. 390 с.
14. Куманецкий К. История культуры Древней Греции и Рима. М.: Высшая школа, 1990. 460 с.
15. Майоров Г.Г. Цицерон как философ // Марк Туллий Цицерон. Философские трактаты. М.: Наука, 1985. С. 5-59.
16. Макнамара Э. Этруски: быт, религия, культуры. М.: Центрполиграф, 2006. 192 с.
17. Махлаюк А.В. Специфика римской религиозности и семантика концепта *religio* // Вестник Нижегородского университета им. Н.И. Лобачевского. 2019. № 3. С. 30-42.
18. Мельничук Я.В. Ауспиции римских цензоров // Исседон. 2002. Т. 1. С. 79-90.
19. Моммзен Т. История Рима. в 4 тт. Ростов-на-Дону: Феникс, 1997.
20. Наговицын А. Этруски: мифология и религия. М.: Рефл-бук, 2000. 496 с.
21. Ошеров С. (ред.). Историки Рима. М.: Художественная литература, 1969. 490 с.
22. Робер Ж.-Н. Этруски. М.: Вече, 2007. 368 с.
23. Сидорович О.В. Авгурь и жертвоприношения животных // Вестник РГГУ. Серия "Политология. История. Международные отношения.". 2018. № 4. С. 82-90.
24. Сморгчов А.М. Вопрос об ауспициях в борьбе патрициев и плебеев // Вестник РГГУ. Серия: Литературоведение. Языкознание. Культурология. 2010. № 10 (53). С. 212-222.
25. Сморгчов А.М. Куриатный закон об империи и ауспиции магистратов // Древнее право. 2003. № 11. С. 24–39.
26. Сморгчов А.М. Религия и власть в Римской Республике: магистраты, жрецы, храмы. М., 2012. 605 с.
27. Чернышов Ю. Древний Рим: мечта о золотом веке. М.: Ломоносов, 2013. 244 с.
28. Шмелева Л.М. Места культа и религиозные представления древнейшего Лация и современные археологические раскопки // Ученые записки Казанского университета. Серия Гуманитарные науки. 2019. Т. 161, кн. 2–3. С. 24-33.
29. Beard M. Cicero and Divination: The Formation of a Latin Discourse // The Journal of Roman Studies. 1986. Vol. 76. P. 33-46.
30. Lohbrano G. Plebei magistratus, patricii magistratus, magistratus populi Romani // SDHI. Vol. 41. 1975. P. 270-277.