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THINKING PLACES, PLACING THOUGHTS.
SPATIAL METAPHORS OF MENTAL ACTIVITY IN ROMAN CULTURE

Embodied in an extensive system of linguistic expressions in the Latin language and manifested in a range of Roman sociocultural practices, the metaphor ‘IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS’ functions at Rome as what psychological anthropologists have called a «foundational schema»¹ and what cultural semioticians have called a «macrosignified»². In this paper, I explore linguistic and literary evidence demonstrating how the Latin vocabulary of mental activity systematically recruits the lexicon of motion in place. Specifically, I show that ways of speaking about ‘acquiring’, ‘relinquishing’ and ‘having ideas’ in Latin are consistently and coherently structured in terms of movement and position in physical space. As I argue, this structuring involves both basic metaphorical mappings and a rich system of metaphorical entailments, suggesting that the metaphor provided a conceptual framework not only for speaking but also for thinking and indeed acting vis-à-vis mental activity. Through an analysis of the orator’s mnemonic technique of ‘locations’ (*loci*), the senator’s practice of ‘voting with the feet’ (*pedibus in sententiam ire*) and the augur’s ritual of ‘inauguration’ (*inauguratio*), I argue, moreover, that the metaphorical understanding of ‘ideas’ in terms of ‘locations’ reflected in the linguistic data also served in the sense of a symbolic model or «sign-image»³ structurally embedded in behavior. This reveals that ‘IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS’ operated in Roman culture as a generalized cognitive model underlying, linking together and thus making sense of specific sociocultural practices across heterogeneous domains of experience in Roman society.

I.

In the Latin language, a large portion of the phrasal lexicon relating to mental life and the workings of the mind makes use of the vocabulary of spatial motion. Consider the following examples drawn from Latin literature:

¹ SHORE 1996.

² DANESI - PERRON 1999.

³ FERNANDEZ 1986.

- (1) *qui consilium iniere, quo nos victu et vita prohibeant | is diem dicam, irrogabo multam*, «To those who have formulated the plan by which they may prohibit us from vital nourish, I will name the day and stipulate a fine» (Pl. *Capt.* 493-494);
- (2) *enim haereo; | ni occupo aliquid mihi consilium, hi domum me ad se auferent*, «I'm stuck. Unless I come up with some plan, they'll carry me off home» (Pl. *Men.* 846-847);
- (3) *accessit animus ad meam sententiam*, «My mind agreed with my opinion» (Pl. *Aul.* 383);
- (4) *veniamus nunc ad bonorum malorumque notionem*, «Let us now consider the notion of Good and Evil» (Cic. *Luc.* 128);
- (5) *alii totos se ad cognitionem rerum transtulerunt*, «Others devoted themselves totally to the contemplation of things» (Cic. *De orat.* 3. 56);
- (6) *ne in cogitationem quidem Cadit ut fuerit tempus aliquod nullum cum tempus esset*, «The notion that some time existed when there was no time is not even conceivable» (Cic. *N.D.* 1. 21).

In these and similar expressions, different kinds of cognitive processes – formulating plans, adopting or agreeing with opinions, considering ideas, conceiving notions – are expressed metaphorically in terms of movement in physical space – ‘entering’ (*ire in, iniere*), ‘occupying’ (*occupare*), ‘coming to’ (*venire, accedere ad*), ‘returning to’ (*reverti ad*), ‘moving to’ (*se transferre ad*) and ‘falling into’ (*cadere in*). The mental activity is construed metaphorically as *movement toward* or *into* a location and the act itself of formulating, agreeing, considering, contemplating or conceiving (or its product – the plan, opinion, idea, thought or conception) is construed metaphorically as a location toward or into which the thinker (or, by metonymy, his mind) moves. As may be seen, these expressions all have to do with cognitive processes that in some degree involve ‘ideas’ of which the thinker has no previous conception or to which he newly turns his mental attention. In other words, they imply acts of cognition involving knowledge the thinker does not currently have either as part of his or her long-term memory (what Sperber and Wilson call the ‘conceptual repertoire’)⁴ or as the active focus of consciousness (in cognitive psychological terms, the ‘working memory’): acquiring new knowledge or newly thinking about a certain topic is metaphorically ‘moving’ toward a certain idea-location.

The metaphor is not limited to constructions of this type, however; in fact, it systematically characterizes ways of speaking in Latin about ‘acquiring’ new knowledge. For example, the conventional way of saying that some fact has become generally known is *in notitiam populi* (or *hominum*) *pervenit* – literally, ‘it arrived at the people’s (or men’s) knowledge’⁵; and to express the concept of ‘giving (mental) attention (to)’, Latin speakers normally use the verb *animadvertere*, a

⁴ SPERBER - WILSON 1986.

⁵ E.g., Liv. 22. 26. 2; Ov. *Nux* 29; Plin. *Nat.* 7. 6; Quint. *Decl. min.* 258. 2.

contraction of *animus* and the verb *advertere*—literally, ‘to turn a thing (in this case, the mind) toward a place’⁶. Likewise, the formulation *descendere ad* or *in* (‘to descend to’) is used in the meaning of ‘acquiescing’ to some idea that is viewed as wrong or morally objectionable because ‘agreeing with an opinion’ is expressed metaphorically as ‘going toward a location’ and also because moral superiority is viewed metaphorically as being ‘up’ (cf. *rectum*, lit. ‘standing upright’, with the meaning ‘that which is right, honest, good, virtuous’). Combining these metaphors, the expression ‘going down to’ an idea thus implies that it is somehow morally worse than one’s original position⁷.

Evidence from Latin literature demonstrates, moreover, that spatial metaphors characterize not only ways of talking about mental activity that involve acquiring new knowledge or bringing some thought to the focus of consciousness. Consider these additional examples:

- (7) *perterriti Galli, ne ab equitatu Romanorum viae praeoccuparentur, consilio destiterunt*, «The Gauls, fearing that the passes should be occupied already by the Roman cavalry, ceased from their design» (Caes. *Gal.* 7. 26. 5);
- (8) *necessario sententia desistunt legatosque ad Caesarem mittunt*, «Of necessity they give up this idea and send legates to Caesar» (Caes. *Gal.* 6. 4. 2);
- (9) *aiunt ipsum sapientem quod dixerit interdum, si ita rectius sit, mutare, de sententia decedere aliquando*, «They say the wise man sometimes changes an opinion that he has expressed when it is better to do so—that he sometimes abandons it altogether» (Cic. *Mur.* 63);
- (10) *rogo ut Hortensiumque roges ut de hac quoque sententia bima decedat*, «I ask that you ask Hortensius to also give up his opinion (about the) the two-year extension» (Cic. *Fam.* 3. 8. 9);

and also:

- (11) *cum... eum defixum in cogitatione esse sensisset*, «When he realized that he was deep in thought...» (Cic. *De orat.* 3. 17);
- (12) *quin coniectores a me consilium petunt: | quod eis respondi, ea omnes stant sententia*, «The interpreters of dreams seek advice from me: the answer that I have given them, by that opinion they all stand» (Pl. *Cur.* 249-250);
- (13) *in qua me opinione sine causa esse ne quis uestrum credat*, «Let none of you believe that I hold this opinion without reason» (Liv. 44. 38. 4);

⁶ Cf. Ter. *Ph.* 467; Cic. *Div.* 2. 27; *Off.* 2. 69.

⁷ Cf. Caes. *Gal.* 5. 29. 5; *Civ.* 3. 83; Cic. *Mur.* 27, 56; *Fam.* 10. 33. 4 etc.

- (14) *adhuc in hac sum sententia, nihil ut faciamus nisi quod maxime Caesar velle videatur*, «I am still of the opinion that we should do nothing but what Caesar seems to want most» (Cic. *Fam.* 4. 4. 5).

In these sentences, two additional dimensions of mental life are expressed again in terms of spatial motion. In the first set of expressions, words referring to *movement from* a location – ‘standing away from’ (*desistere*) and ‘going away’ or ‘departing from’ (*decedere de*) – are used metaphorically to convey the notions of ‘relinquishing’ or ‘giving up’ some idea, or of ‘dropping’ some thought out of conscious awareness. In the second, the lexicon of static *position in* – ‘being’ (*esse*) or ‘standing in’ (*stare in*) – a location is used metaphorically to express the concepts of ‘holding’ some belief or of consciously considering some idea. The metaphor is again systematic, regularly characterizing the language of ‘relinquishing’ an idea, whether from the conceptual repertoire or the working memory: in the rhetorician’s technical language, for instance, *digressio/digressus* and *egressio/egressus* are used in the sense of a departure from the idea that forms the main subject of some discourse⁸, ‘digressing’ being viewed metaphorically as temporarily moving away from an idea-location. This metaphor similarly explains the meaning of *ex mea (tua, nostra, sua) sententia* in the sense of ‘according to my (your, our, his) opinion’: if the belief that someone holds is, in metaphorical terms, a location in which he or she ‘is’ or ‘stands’, then what comes ‘out of’ (*ex*) that place can be seen as being in agreement with – because originating from – that opinion (cf., e.g., Pl. *Men.* 1151, *haec everunt nostra ex sententia*).

Such conventional ways of speaking about mental activity form a unified system of expression characterized by metaphors of movement and position in physical space. As the examples demonstrate, this system is consistently structured according to the logic of spatial motion: expressions that have to do with acquiring knowledge or bringing an idea to the focus of conscious thought draw on the lexicon of ‘movement toward’, those having to do with the relinquishing knowledge from the conceptual repertoire or removing an idea from conscious attention draw on the lexicon of ‘movement from’ and those having to do with holding beliefs and thinking over ideas draw on the lexicon of ‘position in’. This consistent systematic structuring of expressions of mental activity in terms of motion in place—such that movement *toward* or *into* a location corresponds metaphorically to ‘acquiring’ knowledge, movement *from* or *out of* a location corresponds metaphorically to ‘relinquishing’ knowledge and *position in* a location corresponds metaphorically to ‘having’ knowledge—is not only encoded in Latin’s phrasal vocabulary, however: it also appears to be a part of the Latin lexicon itself. For instance, *locus*, like Greek *tópos*, may

⁸ E.g., Cic. *Lael.* 17; *Brut.* 85; *Inv.* 1. 51; Gell. 1. 3. 14; etc.

refer to ‘a topic of discussion or thought’ as well as ‘a place’⁹. Edwin Fay¹⁰ has argued that *sentire* (‘feeling, perceiving; thinking, supposing, imagining’) and *sententia* (‘thought, opinion’) are related etymologically to a number of Indo-European terms referring to physical movement along a path: Gr. *hanútō* (‘make a journey’), Goth. *sinþ-s* (‘path, stretch’) and *gasiþa* (‘traveler’: cf. Ger. *Gesinde*), OIr. *sét* (‘road’), Ved. *santya* (‘path-goer’), OE. *síð* (‘a journey’), as well as Goth. *sandjan*, OE. *sendan* and E. *send* (‘make go’). This etymology, if correct, suggests that the spatial metaphor for mental activity is embedded in the Latin language at the most basic level¹¹.

Likewise, the metaphor of ‘being in a location’ for ‘having an idea’ motivates the use of *considerare* in the sense of ‘(mentally) reflecting on, thinking over’. While the ancient etymological tradition derived this verb from *sidus* (‘sign, star, constellation’) and thus took it to mean ‘contemplating the stars’ (and so, figuratively, also ‘contemplating an idea’)¹², James Greenough¹³ has shown that, phonetically speaking, an equally plausible derivation may be from **sidus/sider-*, an unattested form etymologically equivalent to *sedes* (‘seat’) and therefore meaning ‘position’ or ‘place’. But this etymon is defensible not only on the basis of phonetics: from a semantic perspective, it also furnishes a motivated account for the ‘figurative’ sense of this verb, bringing its meaning into line with the system of metaphorical expressions described above and obviating the need to explain the semantic connection between stargazing and mental reflection. Under Greenough’s interpretation, *con-sider-are* would mean ‘completely sitting (in a place)’¹⁴ and thus, according to the logic of the metaphor, ‘completely thinking over (an idea)’. The metaphor equally accounts for the polysemy of *constare* between the senses of ‘agreeing with’ and ‘being steadfast of purpose’: because in Latin ‘standing in’ metaphorically means ‘holding’ an idea, it follows that ‘standing with’¹⁵ someone in an idea-location corresponds to ‘having the same opinion (as)’, and also that ‘standing completely’ in an idea means ‘being firmly committed’ to it (cf. also *constantia*). Lastly, the metaphor also appears to underlie the use of *commoratio*, meaning literally ‘a tarrying, abiding, sojourning (in a place)’ in the sense of ‘a delaying upon some important idea’¹⁶.

⁹ E.g., Cic. *Top.* 7; Quint. *Inst.* 5. 10. 20, 12. 8. 13; etc.

¹⁰ FAY 1913.

¹¹ The same metaphor appears to underlie the use of OHG *sinnan* in both the sense of ‘going, making a journey’ and ‘thinking’, implying that it is a feature of Indo-European semantics more generally.

¹² Cf. Paul. *Fest.* p. 42, 4 and 75, 8 Müller, *considerare a sideribus dici certum est*.

¹³ GREENOUGH 1890.

¹⁴ *LSJ*, s.v. *cum* III. b. 2.

¹⁵ *LSJ*, s.v. *cum* III. b. 1.

¹⁶ E.g., *Rhet. Her.* 4. 45. 58; Cic. *De orat.* 3. 53. 202; Quint. *Inst.* 9. 1. 27, 9. 2. 4.

II.

As has been seen, certain words and fixed expressions in Latin having to do with movement and position in physical space characterize a portion of the language of mental activity in a regular fashion: specifically, ways of speaking about ‘moving toward’, ‘moving from’ and ‘being in’ a location are used metaphorically of cognitive processes having to do with ‘acquiring’, ‘relinquishing’ and ‘having’ ideas or knowledge. But the vocabulary of motion in place is used metaphorically vis-à-vis mental activity not in a random or haphazard way: rather, the different sets of metaphorical expressions having to do with ‘acquiring’, ‘relinquishing’ and ‘having’ ideas are systematically organized according to the logico-semantic structure of the lexical field of movement and position in physical space. In other words, the concepts of movement toward, movement from and position in, which are systematically related elements of the semantic field of motion in place, characterize correspondingly systematically related elements of the semantic field of mental activity.

It is important to recognize that, at the same time as motion in place provides Latin speakers a way to talk about mental activity, other semantic fields such as those of ‘cooking’ and ‘digesting’ from the alimentary domain, ‘light’ and ‘darkness’ from the domain of visual perception and ‘moulding’, ‘sculpting’ and ‘painting’ from the domain of the visual and plastic arts deliver additional metaphorical ways of speaking about mental activity. And it is particularly telling of the metaphorical structuring of the Latin lexicon of mental life that in each of these metaphorical systems the domain of ‘ideas’ is equally consistently structured according to the logical organization of the source domain (food, visual objects or works of art). In the food metaphor, for example, the lexicon of ‘cooking’ (*coquere, concoquere*) provides a systematic way of talking about the reasoned conception and formulation of plans¹⁷: thus, in Latin an ‘uncooked’ (*incoctum*) plan is a poorly conceived one, while a ‘well cooked’ (*bene coctum*) plan is thoroughly thought out (Pl. *Mil.* 201-208)¹⁸. Within the same metaphorical system, ‘digesting’ (*ruminari, ruminatio* < *rumen*, ‘stomach’) refers to the rationale mental consideration of some idea that has reached someone from outside, typically along a social vector¹⁹.

In the perception metaphor, meanwhile, ‘darkness’ metaphorically characterizes notions of confusion or misunderstanding (cf. the common expressions *caeca mens, caecum iudicium, animi* and *mentis caligo*) and ‘light’ characterizes notions of intellectual comprehensibility: so ‘covering’ (*tegere*) or ‘hiding’ (*occultare*) an opinion is to make it difficult for others to understand (Cic. *Tusc.*

¹⁷ See LAKOFF - JOHNSON 1980, pp. 147-148, for evidence and discussion of a similar metaphor in English.

¹⁸ Cf. also Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 45; Cic. *Har.* 55; Liv. 3. 36. 2.

¹⁹ BETTINI 2008, pp. 358-360.

5. 11; *Lael.* 65), while ‘opening’ (*aperire*) an opinion is to explain it (Cic. *De orat.* 1.84)²⁰. This is also why in Latin *argumentum* (< **arg-*, ‘bright, shining’ + *-mentum*, designating instrumentality)²¹ is used in the sense of ‘proof’ or ‘evidence’: according to the visual perception metaphor, proof or evidence ‘illuminates’ the truth about something, making it understandable²². Finally, in the art metaphor, terms referring to different modes of artistic representation systematically characterize different ‘qualities’ of mental (or verbal) representation: thus, ‘painting’ (*pingere, depingere*), a particularly vivid and expressive artistic modality, provides the metaphor for vivid and expressive representation in the mind or in speech (Cic. *Luc.* 48; *N.D.* 1. 39; Petr. 118. 2, *controversiam sententiolis vibrantibus pictam*), while ‘sketching’ (*adumbrare*) provides the metaphor for a kind of vague or indistinct understanding (Var. *L.* 10. 30, *adumbrata et tenuis analogia*; Cic. *Leg.* 1. 59, *rerum omnium quasi adumbratas intellegentias animo ac mente conceperit, quibus inlustratis sapientia duce... cernat se beatum fore*). In this way, in addition to ‘IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS’, the metaphors ‘ideas are food’, ‘ideas are visual objects’ and ‘ideas are works of art’ also constitute systematic ways of talking about mental activity and specifically mental reflection, mental clarity and the intelligibility of thoughts and the imaginative process.

The internal consistency of each of these systems of metaphorical expression – i.e., that each mapping brings specific constituent elements of the source domain into systematic correspondence with specific elements of the target domain – as well as their external coherency – i.e., that while the metaphors do not offer a unified image of mental activity, they nevertheless provide, together, an organized body of expression for speaking about different aspects of this domain – suggests that these are more than simply idiomatic ways of speaking about mental activity. Considered from the perspective of the theory first articulated by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson²³, they appear in fact to be the linguistic manifestations of metaphorically structured cognitive associations embedded in Roman culture’s system of thought – in other words, ‘conceptual metaphors’. According to this theory, metaphor is not simply an aspect of language, but a fundamental cognitive process through which human beings conceptualize the world and their experience of it: ‘conceptual metaphor’ refers to the systematic projection of cognitive structures from one domain of experience to another that allow humans to get a better handle on certain concepts by understanding them in terms of other²⁴. As more recent elaborations of metaphor theory have emphasized, such metaphorical

²⁰ Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 122. 4; Ov. *Met.* 4. 502; Tac. *Ag.* 43. 4; Lucr. 2. 14; Catul. 64. 207; Gell. 13. 29. 3.

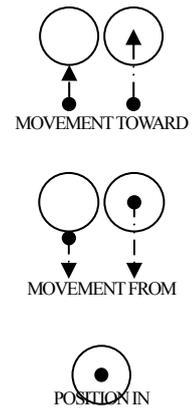
²¹ PERROT 1961.

²² Cf. BETTINI 2000, pp. 295-300.

²³ LAKOFF - JOHNSON 1980.

²⁴ Metaphorical source domains are typically more concrete concepts, such as those grounded in experience of the physical and bodily world, while metaphorical target domains are typically more abstract concepts poorly delineated in lived experience: on this unidirectionality of conceptual metaphorical structuring, see KÖVECSES 2006, TURNER 1996, FAUCONNIER 1997, GIBBS 1999, BARCELONA 2000 and esp. DANESI - PERRON 1999, pp. 164-168.

projections are beneficial (if not necessary) to human understanding because they typically involve the mapping not only of basic concepts from the source domain to the target domain, but also of metaphorical entailments – in other words, of the extensive, rich and detailed body of knowledge that people have about particular aspects of experience –, thus permitting speakers to think and reason about the metaphorically structured domain in complex ways by drawing on patterns of inference and structures of implication that are available only by virtue of the metaphor²⁵.



Returning to ‘IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS’. As may be seen from the examples given above, despite the lexical variety of the expressions that make up this metaphorical system, their grammatical and syntactical form is essentially the same: as defined by the verb and prepositional phrase, a subject – the thinker – is viewed metaphorically as moving directly along a path toward (*in* or *ad* + accusative) or from (*de* or *ex* + ablative), or being in (*in* + ablative) a location – the idea. Generalizing from this, the basic mappings that constitute this metaphor may be defined in the following way: in the source domain (motion in place), the conceptual elements of (a) the person moving, (b) the physical movement and (c) the place of movement, correspond metaphorically in the target domain (mental activity) to (a) the person thinking, (b) the cognitive process and (c) the idea, thought, opinion, belief or plan. However, the systematic mapping of (b) ‘the physical movement’ onto (b) ‘the cognitive process’ appears in fact to involve three distinct metaphorical sub-mappings between specific concepts of movement and position in physical space and specific cognitive processes: as demonstrated by the different sets of examples, *movement toward* a location corresponds metaphorically to ‘acquiring’ ideas, *movement from* a location corresponds metaphorically to ‘relinquishing’ ideas and *position in* a location corresponds metaphorically to ‘having’ ideas.

The metaphor ‘IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS’ can therefore be seen as providing an ‘image schematic’ understanding of mental activity in terms of motion in place²⁶. In cognitive theory, an image schema is a highly abstract structure of cognition that emerges from basic physicospatial experiences of the world and portrays locations, movements and shapes in mind-space: as Johnson defines the concept, an image schema is «a recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence to our experience»²⁷. In this sense, three distinct but related image schemata of spatial motion – MOVEMENT TOWARD, MOVEMENT FROM and POSITION IN, respectively,

²⁵ See in particular KÖVECSES 2002, pp. 93-116, and BARCELONA 2000, pp. 5-7, for discussions of metaphorical entailments.

²⁶ Cf. YU 1998, pp. 25-29.

²⁷ JOHNSON 1987, p. XIX. Image schema theory in cognitive linguistics is discussed by LAKOFF 1987, and LAKOFF - JOHNSON 1999.

as represented diagrammatically here—can be seen to underlie the three sets of metaphorical expressions pertaining to ‘acquiring, ‘relinquishing’ and ‘having’ ideas or knowledge²⁸. Consisting structurally of (1) the moving agent, (2) the path and direction of movement and (3) the destination or origin of movement or the static position, it is thus the image schemata that effectively provide the basic mappings of the metaphor and imply a kind of prototypical scenario of these cognitive processes—that is, a generalized, schematized understanding of how acquiring, relinquishing and having ideas ‘works’²⁹. Interestingly, in the target domain, the conceptual distinctions between toward (*ad*) and into (*in*) and between away from (*ab*) and out of (*ex*) are elided, the only metaphorically relevant aspect of the schematization being whether the physical movement is generally *toward* or generally *away from* the idea-location.

The manner in which Latin authors linguistically extend ‘IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS’ beyond the range of its central image-schematic mappings and the prototypical scenario of mental activity that they imply bears out the suggestion that this metaphor provided not only a regular language for speaking about cognitive processes, but also a conceptual framework for thinking (and *hence* speaking) about them. Evidence reveals, in fact, that Latin speakers made use of structures of inference and patterns of connotation derived from the domain of motion in place in elaborating the language of ‘moving toward’, ‘moving from’ and ‘being in’ ideas to express a rich variety of meanings vis-à-vis mental activity. For example, to account for the fact that in social life an individual’s ‘thinking’ normally does not occur in a vacuum – particularly in a society such as Rome that presented a variety of social, political and literary contexts for the expression and negotiation of ideas³⁰ – Latin authors extended the central metaphor of an individual ‘moving toward’ and ‘moving from’ an idea by drawing upon different concepts and words from the domain of motion in place that articulate subtle differences in agency, force and manner.

Thus, the special cases of *movement toward* and *movement away from* that represented by ‘leading toward’ (i.e., causing someone to move to or into) and ‘leading from’ (i.e., causing someone to move away from or out of) come to express the special cases of mental/verbal activity represented by ‘persuading’ (i.e., causing someone to adopt an opinion or belief) and ‘dissuading’ (i.e., causing someone to give up an opinion or belief). E.g.,

²⁸ For a summary of the different image schemata proposed in cognitive linguistic literature, see KÖVECSES 2006, pp. 37-39.

²⁹ On prototype categorization and metaphors functioning as ‘prototypical scenarios’, see KÖVECSES 2006, pp. 26-30. That these metaphorical mappings constitute the basic model according to which ‘thinking’ is understood as ‘moving’ is further suggested by the use of *convenire* (‘coming together’) to mean ‘agreeing (with an idea)’: in this sense, the verb appears to presuppose the underlying scenario described here, evoking the image of many opinion holders individually converging on the same idea-location (Cf. Pl. *Ps.* 544; Cic. *Tusc.* 3. 46; Sen. *Ep.* 115. 11; Gell. 4. 18. 5; Ulp. *Dig.* 2. 14. 1. 3).

³⁰ Cf. FANTHAM 1997, pp. 111-128.

‘PERSUADING IS LEADING TOWARD’

- (15) *perducebam illam ad me suadela mea*, «I was winning her over to me by my persuasion» (Pl. *Cist.* 566);
- (16) [*Vercingetorix*] *quoscumque adit ex civitate, ad suam sententiam perducit*, «[*Vercingetorix*] brings over to his sentiments such of his fellow-citizens as he has access to» (Caes. *Gal.* 7. 4. 3);
- (17) *huc est mens deducta tua, mea Lesbia, culpa*, «Now is my mind resolved, my Lesbia, by your fault» (Catul. 75. 1);
- (18) *ad eam sententiam cum reliquis causis haec quoque ratio eos deduxit*, «Together with other causes, this consideration also led them to that resolution» (Caes. *Gal.* 2. 10. 5);

and:

‘DISSUADING IS LEADING FROM’

- (19) *cum Cleanthes condiscipulus rogaret, quaenam ratio eum de sententia deduxisset, respondit*, «When his fellow student Cleanthes asked what reasoning dissuaded him from his belief, he responded...» (Cic. *Tusc.* 2. 60);
- (20) *eius auctoritate de sententia deductus Briso putabatur*, «Briso was believed to have been discouraged from his opposition to it through his influence» (Cic. *Brut.* 97);
- (21) *facile homines novos auctoritate principum de sententia deduci*, «Men risen from the masses were easily induced to change their opinions by the authority of the Senate leaders» (Liv. 4. 48. 7).

Because, as I have claimed, the experience of motion in place provides a consistent structure for reasoning about mental activity in image-schematic form, elaborations of the metaphor to non-prototypical (that is not to say uncommon or exceptional) cases of cognition naturally draw upon patterns of inference about movement and position in physical space. These particular examples reveal elaborations of the basic mappings to include an additional dimension of agency: the ‘thinking’ (in metaphorical terms, ‘moving’) agent of the prototypical scenario is joined by a second, allowing Latin speakers to talk about how the cognitive/verbal processes of adopting and giving up (in metaphorical terms, ‘moving toward’ or ‘moving from’) an opinion or belief can also involve the intervention of another person influencing one’s thoughts, and even, if they are persuasive enough, compelling one to change one’s opinion.

Similarly, when Latin speakers wish to suggest further connotations about the manner in which the second party causes someone to adopt or give up an opinion or belief, they again rely upon the connotational structure of motion in place, drawing on concepts and words that encode

semantic differences in manner as well as agency, relative to the basic image-schematic mappings of the metaphor. For example, take the following expressions:

‘COMPELLING SOMEONE TO ADOPT AN OPINION IS DRAGGING INTO’

- (22) *haud magna mole Piso promptus ferocibus in sententiam trahitur*, «Without great difficulty Piso, who was ever ready for violent action, was compelled to adopt this view» (Tac. *Ann.* 2. 78);
- (23) *missa per legatos pecunia traxit in sententiam suam senatum*, «The money sent by means of legates compelled the Senate to adopt to his opinion» (Flor. *Epit.* 1. 36);

as well as:

‘COMPELLING SOMEONE TO GIVE UP AN OPINION IS REMOVING FROM’

- (24) *dicat quod quisque volt; ego de hac sententia non demovebor*, «Let anyone say what he will; I, for my part, shall not be compelled to give up my opinion» (Pl. *Per.* 373);
- (25) *de suscepta causa propositaque sententia nulla contumelia, nulla vis, nullum periculum posset depellere*, «No insult, no violence, no danger could dislodge him from his purpose and stated opinion» (Cic. *Lig.* 26);
- (26) *eum qui semper vestrum consensum gravissimum iudicavisset de sententia deiecistis*, «You have dispelled him of his opinion who always considered your consensus the weightiest authority» (Cic. *Phil.* 9. 8);
- (27) *nec ante mouerunt de sententia consulem quam tribuni se in auctoritate patrum polliciti sunt*, «Nor did they compel the consul to give up his opinion before the tribunes promised to obey the authority of the senators» (Liv. 3. 21. 1).

Here, the notion of compelling another to adopt or give up an opinion by the force of one’s words is expressed in terms that connote forceful movement: (*de*)*movere*, *depellere*, *deicere*. That is, to convey the further notion of compulsion, Latin speakers rely on expressions that encode not only additional dimensions of agency relative to the basic mappings, but also of manner, making inferences (and a choice of words) based on the logic of movement in physical space: if adopting an opinion is, metaphorically, ‘moving toward a location’ and if persuading someone to an opinion is ‘leading toward a location’, then accordingly compelling someone to adopt an opinion or belief by (verbal or physical) force is ‘dragging toward a location’. Again, this line of reasoning occurs only because the metaphorical structuring of mental activity in terms of motion in place (i.e., ‘IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS’) includes both basic metaphorical mappings and a rich system of metaphorical entailments. This also explains Cicero’s (*Sest.* 47. 101) framing of Quintus Metellus Numidicus’s

opposition to Saturninus as an *exemplum* of aristocratic strength of mind. Describing Metellus as someone who ‘preferred to be removed from the city than from his opinion’ (*de civitate maluit quam de sententia demoveri*; cf. *Balb.* 11), Cicero is able to juxtapose both the literal and figurative meanings of *demovere* and thus foreground the inferences that he wishes his audience to make, by virtue of the metaphor, in interpreting this statement: Metellus is not merely refusing to abandon his own cherished opinions, but defying any attempt by others to compel him to do so by force.

Different meanings can be expressed by drawing on further aspects of the connotational structure of the domain of motion in place, extending the central metaphor of ‘moving toward’, ‘moving from’ and ‘being in’ ideas along yet other dimensions. For example, the use of *decurrere* (*Sen. Con.* 7. 7. 19), *festinare* (*Iust. Dig.* 36. 4. 5. 22) and *ruere in sententiam* (*Quint. Decl. mai.* 12. 6) – all special cases of movement toward that connote speed of motion – to mean ‘hastily adopting an opinion’ again depends on an additional mapping between the manner of motion and the manner in which the mental/verbal activity occurs. Similarly, the meaning of *intrare* in the sense of ‘studying’ or ‘scrutinizing’ an idea or thought in depth hinges upon incorporating into the basic image-schematic metaphor of movement toward the additional concept of going ‘(farther) within’ (*intra*)³¹: metaphorically, delving further into an idea is ‘going farther into’ it, just as in the source domain going farther into a location normally means finding out more about it³².

Conversely, the meaning of expressions such as *animus aberrat a sententia* (*Cic. Phil.* 7. 1)—literally ‘the mind wanders away from its opinion’ – depends on an elaboration of the underlying image schema of movement from. In this instance, a non-prototypical case as regards the ‘direction of movement’ element of that schema is used to express a variety of non-prototypical cases of intellectual activity. In the source domain, ‘wandering away from’ (*aberrare*) connotes aimless or mistaken movement away from a place; in the target domain, the same term expresses the notions of ‘digressing’, viewed metaphorically as ‘aimlessly moving away from’ the central idea of a discourse (*Cic. Phil.* 7. 1; *Sen. Con.* 2. 1. 36); ‘being wrong’, viewed metaphorically as ‘moving away from’ some (correct) idea (*Cic. Off.* 1. 100; *Petr.* 54. 5); and ‘disagreeing’, viewed metaphorically as ‘moving away from’ someone else’s idea-location (*Cic. De orat.* 2. 152). The same metaphor also appears to underlie Seneca’s (*Oed.* 328-329) formulation of the complaint he puts in the mouth of Tiresias: «What can I say, wandering as I am in the chaos of my dazed thought (*inter tumultus mentis attonitae vagus*)?». To express mental activity that involves adopting and giving up different ideas in no particular order and with no particular rationale (in other words,

³¹ Cf., e.g., *Sen. Nat.* 1. pr. 3; *Stat. Silv.* 3. pr; *Sil.* 1. 124; *Cic. Flac.* 23.

³² Cf. LAKOFF - JOHNSON 1980, pp. 89-95.

‘being confused’), Seneca draws on a special case of spatial motion that involves the image of movement from place to place in no particular order and with no particular rationale (‘wandering’).

Finally, Latin authors frequently use the notion of ‘running through places’ from the domain of physical motion to express that of ‘quickly surveying’ or ‘reviewing’ ideas: e.g.,

‘SURVEYING IS RUNNING THROUGH’

- (28) *de quibus [sc. discriminibus] duo prima... percurram breviter*, «Of these distinctions, I shall review the first two briefly» (Var. *L.* 8. 2);
- (29) *percurri omnem Epicuri disciplinam placet?*, «Shall we survey all of Epicurus’s teaching?» (Cic. *Fin.* 1.28);
- (30) *quoniam priorem partem percucurrimus, ad alteram transeamus*, «Because we have reviewed the first part, let us pass to the second» (Sen. *Dial.* 2. 10. 1).

In one particularly interesting example of this metaphor, Seneca (*Ep.* 2. 5) recommends to his protégé Lucilius, «Try everyday to find some aid against poverty, against death and no less against other destructive forces and when you have quickly surveyed many (*cum multa percurreris*), choose one to reflect upon (*concoquas*) on that day». While the philosopher employs an oddly mixed metaphor—first ‘running through’ many ideas and then ‘cooking’ one of them, both expressions in fact reflect entrenched metaphorical conceptualizations of mental activity. As has been seen, ‘cooking’ is used in Latin to express concepts of mental reflection. The image of ‘running through places’, on the other hand, meaningfully expresses the concept of ‘quickly surveying’ or ‘reviewing’ ideas because of the entailment structure of ‘IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS’: the special case of movement in physical space connoting rapidity of motion through multiple locations (‘running through’) can be used metaphorically of the corresponding special case of acquiring and relinquishing multiple ideas in rapid succession (‘surveying’), both conforming to and logically elaborating the metaphor’s basic mappings.

III.

I have been arguing that the semantic field that includes expressions such as ‘moving’, ‘leading’ and ‘dragging toward’, ‘removing’ and ‘pushing away from’, ‘running through’ and ‘rushing into’ is a meaningful way of speaking about ideas, thoughts, beliefs, opinions, plans and other psychological phenomena in the Latin language because the metaphorical structuring of mental activity partially in terms of motion in place involves not only basic image-schematic mappings, but also the systematic transfer of inferential and connotational knowledge. As demonstrated by the range of

expressions cited above, by making available their detailed knowledge about movement and position in space, this wholesale projection of concepts from the domain of motion in place to the domain of mental activity allows Latin speakers to convey specific and nuanced meanings about specific processes of cognition – ‘acquiring’, ‘relinquishing’ and ‘having’ knowledge – that, without the metaphor, might otherwise be difficult to conceptualize and express.

However, insofar as ‘IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS’ is conceptual in nature and thus a part of Roman culture’s system of thought, the metaphor can also be seen to characterize ways of acting and behaving vis-à-vis mental activity. Distributed throughout the interconnected whole of signs, codes and texts that make up Roman culture – what Danesi and Perron call the «signifying order»³⁴, it appears in fact to shape Roman society’s system of behavior across a range of heterogeneous sociocultural practices. In such contexts, the conceptualization of mental activity in terms of movement and position in space appears to provide a kind of organizing image that functions in the sense of a «plan of behavior»³⁵ or a «framework of interpretation»³⁶. In fact, as the anthropological theory of ‘polytrophe»³⁷ suggests, conceptual metaphors are capable of serving as basic semiotic models that manifest themselves in behavior in various tropic forms. Conceptual metaphors, that is, operate as core cultural ‘signifieds’ motivating the metaphorically, metonymically and synecdochically structured cross-domain associations that social actors utilize in meaning-making³⁸.

In Roman culture, the metaphorical conceptualization of ‘ideas’ as ‘locations’ manifest in the linguistic system appears in this sense to provide the underlying semiotic principle for the Senate’s practice of ‘voting with the feet’, in which a senator would express his agreement or disagreement with a particular opinion (*sententia*) by physically moving to a specific location within the room—or as Herbet Nutting explains, «by merely joining the party or man whose speech they supported»³⁹. In this practice, particular locations in the Senate – whether defined relative to an individual speaker’s position as part of the procedure of *interrogatio* or through the division of the curial space into two distinct areas (*partes*) during the procedure of *discessio*⁴⁰ –, were effectively interpreted as

³⁴ DANESI - PERRON 1999.

³⁵ MILLER ET AL. 1960.

³⁶ FERNANDEZ 1986.

³⁷ FERNANDEZ 1986; FRIEDRICH 1991; OHNUKI-TIERNEY 1991.

³⁸ According to this theory, metaphor «consists of the employment of an attribute of a given semantic domain as a predication or representation of an attribute of a different domain, on the basis of a perceived similarity between the two attributes» (TURNER 1991, p. 123), while metonymy is seen as involving an association in which one thing comes to refer to or stand for another because of some kind of conceptual contiguity. Synecdoche is understood as a semiotic process that ‘simultaneously embodies the metonymic and metaphorical principles’ (OHNUKI-TIERNEY 1991, p. 161), giving rise to an association in which metaphorically related concepts become metonymically defined as parts of a single conceptual totality.

³⁹ NUTTING 1926, p. 426. See also TAYLOR - SCOTT 1969, pp. 534-535, RYAN 1998, esp. pp. 52-55 and LINTOTT 1999, pp. 79-82.

⁴⁰ As the formula recorded by Pliny (*Ep.* 8. 14. 19) makes clear: *ita discessionem fieri iubet, ‘qui haec censetis, in hanc partem, qui alia omnia, in illam partem ite qua sentitis’.*

corresponding directly to particular ideas. In other words, specific spaces in the physical world actually came to ‘stand for’ specific opinions, through a semiotic operation that permitted psychologically-existing ‘ideas’ to be treated as physically-existing locations that others could then move into, move out of or stand in, signifying their agreement or disagreement with the idea.

Motivating the use of a location to ‘stand for’ an opinion – and therefore making ‘voting with the feet’ meaningful as a practice – is Roman culture’s underlying metaphorical conceptualization of mental activity in terms of spatial motion. In practice, however, in permitting locations to be treated as ‘ideas’ and ideas to be treated as ‘locations’, the symbolic mechanism and significance of this behavior depends on what is evidently a literal physical realization of ‘IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS’. And, as may be seen, this literalization of the conceptual metaphor takes the form of a metonymy: the place where a senator expressed his opinion verbally is transformed into a kind of signifier ‘standing for’ or ‘referring to’ (and so providing mental access to) the opinion (*sententia*)⁴¹. In fact, the use of the linguistic expression (*pedibus*) *in sententiam ire* (and less frequently, *in opinionem discedere*) in connection with this practice seems to emphasize what is in effect a (re)literalization of the conceptual metaphor (cf. Nutting, noting that this phrase «indicates actual movement of the senators to a place near the person whose view they supported»⁴²): while in conventional usage *in sententiam ire* (‘going into an opinion’) is a metaphor for the cognitive process of ‘acquiring’ knowledge, as a technical expression of senatorial procedure this expression reverts to its literal, non-metaphorical meaning, through the metonymic understanding (and treatment) of opinions as ‘locations’ that defines this practice⁴³.

Though belonging to a different domain of experience entirely, the mnemonic technique of ‘locations’ (*loci*) that constituted the central method of the Roman orator’s ‘art of memory’ appears to have been grounded in a similar conceptualization of ‘ideas’ as ‘locations’. According to the procedure outlined by the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (3. 16. 29-19. 32) and Quintilian (*Inst.* 11. 2. 19-21), the technique of *loci* was practiced as follows: In order to commit certain knowledge to memory, the orator would first ‘construct’ (*constituere*) or ‘furnish’ (*comparare*) a representation of some physical location such as a house, market place, city wall, arch or colonnade, or of a natural scene, ‘by means of thought’ (*cogitatione*) – that is, apparently, by means of mental imagery. This initial step could take two forms: the orator could either ‘build and design’ (*fabricari*

⁴¹ In cognitive terms, what makes metonymic ‘standing for’ possible is that someone’s privately-held (i.e., mentally-represented) opinion and the place in which that opinion comes to be articulated verbally belong to the same conceptual ‘frame’ - in this case, the Roman cultural model of ‘expressing an opinion in the Senate’ (*sententiam dicere, dare, ferre*). On the role of ‘frames’ in cognition, see LANGACKER 1987 and KÖVECSES 2006, pp. 98-107.

⁴² NUTTING 1926, p. 426.

⁴³ *Pedibus* also emphasizes this physical ‘re-interpretation’ of the metaphor. See KÖVECSES 2006, pp. 143-148, for an extended example of this phenomenon from American culture.

et architectari) his mental ‘location’ through a purely imaginative process, or choose a physical location in the real world on which to model his imaginary place. Following the second method, the orator was instructed to walk repeatedly through his chosen place in order to ‘learn’ (*discere, commeditari*) its topographical form or architectural features, shaping his mental representation accordingly as well as anchoring the mental image in specific aspects of the physical world. Once this process was complete, the orator would then be able to ‘place images’ (*conlocare imagines*) within the imaginary location or ‘assign symbols’ (*mandare notas, signa*) to its various features. These ‘symbols’ would directly represent objects that he wished to commit to memory or would function as a kind of index to other information that he had previously memorized. Finally, by imagining himself to move around within his imaginary location, the orator would be able to recall whatever knowledge he had ‘placed in’ or ‘assigned to’ its various rooms or regions, in a sequence determined by the spatial organization of the mental representation.

In one sense, then, the Roman technique as described in Latin texts can be said to involve, as Jocelyn Small suggests, the «literal interpretation of the term ‘places’»⁴⁴: instead of the «containers» or «bins»⁴⁵ typical of the Greek system of memorization, the Roman orator’s mental imagistic *loci/tópoi* assume ‘literal’ form in the shape of real-world locations. However, if I am correct in suggesting that ‘IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS’ is not only a linguistic metaphor, but also (and above all) a conceptual metaphor that provides a kind of semiotic ‘schema’ for behavior as well as speech, it is reasonable to assume that the orator’s definition of his mental ‘location’ in topographical and architectural terms is again motivated by a basic cultural understanding of mental phenomena through kinesthetic metaphor. Moreover, the semiotic mechanism that characterizes this practice appears to go beyond mere literalization: the practice in fact entails a series of behaviors enacting the metaphorical association of ‘ideas’ and ‘locations’ in complex tropic ways. When an orator ‘learns’ the topographical and architectural details of the scene he has decided to replicate mental-imagistically and maps aspects of (his perception of) the physical world onto his mental imagistic representation of it, he undertakes, in effect, a process of metaphorical translation. At the same time, when he assigns ‘images’ (*imagines*) and ‘symbols’ (*notae, signa*) to features of the real world situation in order to be able to recall them later, he relies upon a metonymic relationship between the ‘location’ he has defined mentally and the physical location upon which it is based.

This strategy (and what differentiates the Roman technique of *loci* in large part from the Greek practice of *tópoi*) is both meaningful and effective because the real location chosen by the orator as a template for his mental representation refers to – in the sense of ‘provides mental access

⁴⁴ SMALL 1997, p. 100.

⁴⁵ SMALL 1997, pp. 87-94.

to' – the corresponding location that exists as a part of his thought: by 'placing' *imagines* in the physical world, he links the real with the imaginary, ensuring that corresponding parts of his mentally represented location will 'return' (*reddere*) those image-memories when he traverses them in his imagination. And while the notion that the orator should organize his mental representation according to «the most appropriate arrangement of suitable places» (*Rhet. Her. 3. 32, idoneorum locorum commodissimam distinctionem*) implies that the logical structure of the knowledge he wishes to memorize determines, in part, the form of his mental imagistic location, through this operation he also confers physicospatial characteristics on what is a purely mental construct. Because this 'place' exists (also) as a figment of his imagination, the orator is able to shape it in a way that best reflects the organization of whatever it is he desires to remember; and likewise, in associating indexical symbols with topographical or architectural features of the location in the real world, the orator gives a kind of spatial organization to his knowledge.

Perhaps the fullest and most varied range of polytropic enactments of 'IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS' can be observed in the ritual of *inauguratio* that has been reconstructed by scholars from the augural formula for establishing a *templum* on the Capitoline Hill preserved by Varro (*L. 7. 8-10*) and Livy's (*1. 18. 6-8*) description of the ceremony performed on the occasion of Numa Pompilius's regal investiture⁴⁷. In this ritual, the augur undertook a sequence of procedures to demarcate and ritually declare the boundaries of a hallowed space (*effari templi fines*) in which he could then perform his religious duties, observing and interpreting various 'signs' (*signa*) – the appearance and movement of various types of birds, *fulmina*, voices caught by chance upon the wind and so forth – that were considered to be transmitted by Jupiter as indications of his divine will⁴⁸. As scholars have explained⁴⁹, the augur began the ritual by performing a series of preparatory actions, including covering his head with a veil, brandishing the curved ritual staff known as a *lituus* and, by simply looking out over the city and the surrounding fields, establishing the area of the physical terrain that would, by the rite's completion, contain the *templum* (*inauguratum*). Then, after reciting an invocation to the gods, the augur would begin the inauguration proper: First, he would determine his spatial orientation – at Rome, by positioning himself according to an axis that ran from east to west, facing east and declaring one zone to be on his right and another to be on his left (*Liv. 1. 18. 8, regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinat, dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrionem esse dicit*). Next, he would proceed to the definition of the *templum*'s boundaries, asserting that these will be «as I will have uttered them» (*quoad ego easte lingua nuncupavero*). It appears that

⁴⁷ On the linguistic details of the augural formula, see NORDEN 1939, pp. 3-106 and PALMER 1954, pp. 64-66.

⁴⁸ LINDERSKI 1986a, pp. 2226-2236.

⁴⁹ MAGDELAIN 1969, CATALANO 1978, pp. 467-479 and LINDERSKI 1986a, pp. 2256-2296 are the most important studies dealing with formal aspects of the ritual procedure.

the augur would then choose corresponding features of the terrain on his left and right side, declaring these to be the markers of the northern and southern boundaries of the *templum* and reaffirming this declaration by referring to the words that he ‘perceived’ himself to have already pronounced (*quam me sentio dixisse, quod me sentio dixisse*). Having done this, the augur would define an ‘opposite point of reference’ by choosing a third feature of the topography, at the furthest possible distance from himself and along his line of sight (Liv. 1. 18. 8, *signum contra quo longissime oculi ferebant animo finivit*). As Livy’s description suggests, the augur’s definition of the *signum contra*, unlike that of the northern and southern boundary markers which depended upon his faculties of perception (*sentire*) and utterance (*dicere*), took place ‘mentally’ (*animo*) – or again by means of mental representation. Finally, stating that his delimitation of the *templum* occurs through an act of spatial orientation (*conregio*), vision (*conspicio*) and ‘vision of the mind’ (*cortumio*)⁵⁰, the augur would declare that he ‘creates’ the *templum*, again according to a boundary that he has ‘perceived most correctly’ (*utique ea fini rectissime sensi | templum facio*).

According to Jerzy Linderski’s now orthodox interpretation, the purpose of the ritual of inauguration was precisely to ‘increase’ (i.e., **aug-*) the juridical or religious status of its object; as Linderski concludes, the rite «transfers a person, a place or a ceremony into a special ‘inaugurated’ status»⁵¹. In this way, the augur’s act of ‘declaring the boundaries of the *templum*’ (*effari templi fines*) functioned as an «augmentative and charismatic act»⁵² that transformed the *templum in aëre* – the area of the sky in which the auspices are to be taken – together with the *templum in terris* – the area of the ground from which the auspices are to be taken – into the *templum (inauguratum)*, an «inseparable whole»⁵³ of sky and earth perceived as sacred to the gods. Some scholars have stressed, moreover, that the mechanism through which the ritual ‘increases’ the land and sky to become the *templum (inauguratum)* is essentially an ideational one: as Norden first noted, the procedures that bring about the existence of the ritually constituted *templum* involve «eine durch Denken gewonnene Mutmaßung, ein “Erwägen” oder “Ermessen” durch den Geist»⁵⁴. Magdelain likewise pointed up the fundamentally mentalistic workings of the rite, explaining the creation of the *templum* as an act achieved, in effect, «par l’esprit»⁵⁵.

From a cognitive-semiotic perspective, the augural ritual in fact appears to entitle – in Burke’s sense of ‘give an identity to’ – the *templum (inauguratum)* through a series of associations of land and sky played out through the polytropic interaction of different ‘locations’ both real and

⁵⁰ Varro (*L.* 7.10) explains this term as *cordis visus*.

⁵¹ LINDERSKI 1986a, p. 2292.

⁵² LINDERSKI 1986b, p. 338.

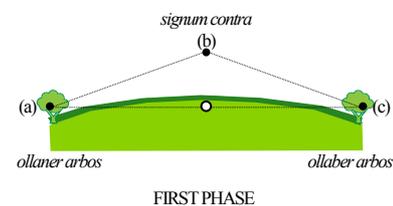
⁵³ LINDERSKI 1986a, pp. 2278-2279.

⁵⁴ NORDEN 1939, p. 85.

⁵⁵ MAGDELAIN 1969, pp. 199-201.

imaginary. On this view, the ritual appears to proceed in three distinct phases characterized by various metaphorical, metonymic and synecdochic ‘interpretations’ of the conceptual association between ‘ideas’ and ‘locations’ that continuously configure and reconfigure the land (*terra*) and sky (*aēr*) in different symbolic relationships. Already in the augur’s preparatory actions, in fact, when he ‘captures’ a vision (*conspectu... capto*) of the terrain that will eventually contain the inaugurated *templum*, the unfolding of the ritual seems to rely upon a kind of metonymic relationship between the real world and the augur’s perception of it: in defining only that part of the land- and skyscape occurring in his field of vision (rather than the whole area defined by the *pomerium*) as ritually relevant space, the augur establishes a ‘part-for-whole’ relationship between the *templum* and the city’s sacred space⁵⁶.

In the first phase of the ritual, just as in the mnemonic technique of *loci* the orator’s initial task was to ‘learn’ (*discere*) the details of the physical location he wished to represent mentally, the augur likewise constructs a representation of the terrain in his mind’s eye. As he establishes and then declares markers defining the northern, southern and ‘opposing’ (*contra*) boundaries of the future *templum* (*inauguratum*), he mentally envisions and gives shape to the inaugurated space (*animo finire*; cf. Liv. 1. 10. 6-7, *animo metari*). This mental-imagistic construction of a topographical ‘location’ again constitutes a kind of metaphorical mapping of the physical world into the world of the mind, a transformation by which an ‘idea’ comes to be represented in physicospatial terms. At the same time, just as the orator relies upon the metonymic (‘stands for’) relationship that he has established between his imagined idea-location and the physical location in which he has ‘placed’ *imagines* of what he wishes to remember, the augur also

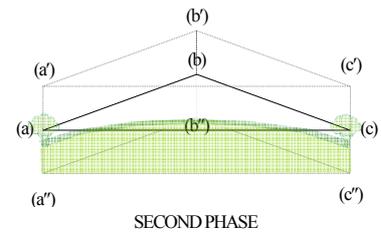


establishes a metonymic link between the real-world landscape and his mental-imagistic representation of it: by first choosing and then verbally declaring particular aspects of the topography (the source domain) to be boundary markers of the *templum*, he creates those boundaries also in mind-space (the target domain). Again, a metonymic relationship established between two locations – one physical and other mental-imagistic – permits the designation of objects in the physical world to produce structural effects in the ‘metaphorical’ world of mental representation. Proceeding in this way, the augur evidently describes an imaginary triangular plane having the *arbos... in sinistrum*, *arbos... dextrum* and *signum contra* as its points of definition and that, while existing in the augur’s imagination, is both based upon and anchored in the phenomenal world. Thus, as Festus (*De sign. verb.* 142 Lindsay) says, the *templum* (*inauguratum*) is ‘bounded’

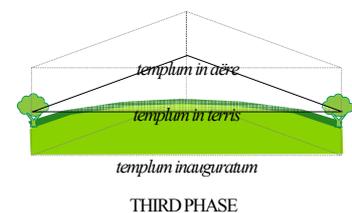
⁵⁶ Cf. MAGDELAIN 1969, pp. 253-265. See also GARGOLA 1995, pp. 44-47, with references.

(*saeptum*) and ‘has its angles fixed to the earth’ (*angulos... adfixos habeat ad terram*): that is, the imaginary plane is both defined and metonymically ‘linked’ to the physical terrain by these points of definition.

In the second phase of the ritual, the augur then uses this imaginary plane to divide his mental representation of the landscape into two contiguous areas, apparently taking the two surfaces of this plane to define two further purely imaginary spaces. Having as their boundaries the three points of definition established by the augur and thus oriented upwards as well as downwards, these contiguous imaginary ‘locations’ represent, according to my interpretation, the *templum in aëre* and *templum in terris*, corresponding metaphorically to the real-world sky and earth. Using terminology borrowed from Gilles Fauconnier⁵⁷ we could say that as distinct ‘locations’ represented in the augur’s imagination that metonymically ‘stand for’ or ‘refer to’ the real sky and the real earth, the *templum in aëre* and *templum in terris* are the (metaphorically-construed) mental ‘counterparts’ of the *aër* and *terra* of the physical world. And in this way, the *templum in aëre* and *templum in terris* manifest a complex tropic nature: as parts of the augur’s whole mental representation of the landscape, they are metonymically associated to one another by a relationship of contiguity; at the same time, because they are in some sense ‘anchored’ to features of the physical world, they are capable of metonymically standing for the real sky and earth, of which they also represent a kind of metaphorical re-instantiation in the augur’s mind.



In the third and final phase, the augur declares that he ‘creates the *templum*’ (*templum facio*) and through this speech act (*effari templi fines*) effectively brings it into existence⁵⁸. This creative act entails more than a simple performative utterance, however. In order to create—or, in the language of augury, ‘increase’—the religiously significant *templum* (*inauguratum*) out of a ritually undifferentiated and insignificant ‘scape’ of earth and sky, changing the very nature of the physical terrain, the augur must bring about another crucial cross-domain mapping: that of his mentally construed *templum in aëre* and *templum in terris* back onto the real-world sky and earth to which they metonymically and metaphorically correlate. It is only through this act of metaphorical (re)predication that the ‘idea’ he



⁵⁷ FAUCCONNIER 1985.

⁵⁸ Cf. BETTINI 2008, pp. 334-335, «At the very moment the augur ‘says’ the appropriate formulas, he also defines and creates the boundaries and margins of the space destined to be the *templum*. In other words, *effari* describes a mode of speaking so effective that, simply by uttering a word, the ritual officiant can produce physical effects on space, portioning out privileged sections and changing its very nature».

has formed in his imagination of the *templum in terris* and *templum in aëre* as distinct ‘locations’ can be projected from the mental world onto the world of physical reality.

Through this act of wholesale metaphorical predication that produces the *templum (inauguratum)* as a single, integrated totality of sky and earth: through this act, as Linderski⁵⁹ suggests it be understood, two imaginary ‘places’ in the augur’s mind come to comprise a unified entity that is viewed and treated ritually as truly existing in the physical world. In this sense, in bringing the *templum (inauguratum)* into being as an ‘inseparable whole’ encapsulating both the metonymically- and metaphorically-related *templum in aëre* and *templum in terris*, the augur appears to put in play a final synecdochic interpretation of the relationship that holds between the real sky and earth and his mentally construed images of them. The augur, in short, defines the space in which his ritual activity will take place by describing not so much a geographical area as a mental ‘map’, and when he declares the *templum* into existence by predicating the *templum in terris* and *templum in aëre* together onto the real-world topography, ultimately he appears to derive—indeed, infer—its physical existence from its existence as part of his private mental representation. For religious purposes, therefore, the most significant augural space is not defined by the terrain itself, but by an ‘idea’ that comes to be projected upon and so to occupy that terrain. Derived from the augur’s perception of the sky and earth, this idea-location reflects the boundaries, shape and other features of the real landscape; at the same time, as the result of the ritual process, it gives sacred form to the topography itself.

Unfolding through a series of metaphorical, metonymic and finally synecdochic semiotic ‘transformations’ that produce the *templum in aëre* and the *templum in terris* first within the mind of the augur and then in the phenomenal world, the ritual of *inauguratio* brings about the creation of the *templum (inauguratum)* as a religiously real, hallowed space comprising both land and sky. In this way, the ritual creates a ‘location’ that, because it was once an ‘idea’, is capable of serving as a place of mediation between the human earth and the divine sky and in which the augurs can fulfill their duties as *interpretes Iovis optimi maximi* (Cic. *Leg.* 2. 20; *Phil.* 13. 12), functioning as ‘go-betweens’ between the domain of men and the domain of the gods. The meaning (and meaningfulness) of the ritual therefore appears to rest in its providing a mechanism for bringing into direct communication two domains – the secular and the sacred – which in ordinary experience remain separate. The ritual ‘makes sense’ culturally, behaviorally and symbolically because the semiotic and cognitive structures underlying this mechanism are built upon a conceptual convergence between ‘ideas’ and ‘locations’ that is prevalent both in the Latin language and in Roman sociocultural practice at large.

⁵⁹ LINDERSKI 1986a, pp. 2278-2279.

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