# ARCTOS

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# INDEX

Anders Aniqvist	Notes on the Silesian Lugi	5
Iiro Kajanto	Women's praenomina reconsidered	13
Saara Lilja	Odour sensations in the Roman novel	31
Bengt Löfstedt	Zu Tatwines Grammatik	47
Martti Nyman	Ma(vo)lo — a generative approach	67
Teivas Oksala	»Polymythia» in Pindars Aigineten-Oden	93
Tuomo Pekkanen	Tac.Germ. 2,3 and the name Germani	107
Eeva Ruoff-Väänänen	The Roman public prodigia and the ager Ro-	
	manus	139
Heikki Solin	Analecta epigraphica	163
Jaakko Suolahti	Princeps Senatus	207
Holger Thesleff	Colloquial style and its use in Plato's later works	219

#### NOTES ON THE SILESIAN LUGI<sup>1</sup>

## Anders Ahlqvist

The first reference to the *Lugi* is to be found in Strabo, who mentions them together with the Suebi, but as a tribe distinct from these:  $\Lambda ovy iov \in \tau \varepsilon$ .  $\mu \dot{\varepsilon} \gamma \alpha$ έθνος, καὶ (...) καὶ τῶν Σοήβων αὐτῶν μέγα ἔθνος, Σέμνωνας.<sup>2</sup> The following mention is in Tacitus' Germania: ex quibus latissime patet Lugiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum... 3 Here the Lugi are tacitly implied to be part of the Suebi, since they are not distinguished from them by language, as the Cotini and the Osi 4. On the other hand they are are not expressly said to be Suebians, like the Marsigni and the Buri 4. In the Annals, 5 Tacitus mentions them again without giving a clue as to their ethnic origin. Ptolemy mentions three Lugian tribes: Πάλιν ύπὸ μὲν τοὺς Σέμνονας οἰκοῦσι Σιλίγγαι, ύπὸ δὲ τοὺς Βουργούντας Λοῦγοι οἱ "Ομανοὶ, ὑφ" οὺς Λοῦγοι οἱ Δοῦνοι μέχρι τοῦ "Ασκιβουργίου ὄρους" ύπὸ δὲ τοὺς Σίλιγγας Καλούκωνες ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ ''Αλβιος ποταμοῦ, ὑφ' οθς Χαιρουσικοί καὶ Καμαυοί μέχρι τοῦ Μηλιβόκου ὄρους, ὧν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς περί τὸν ''Αλβιν ποταμὸν Βαινοχαῖμαι, ὑπὲρ οθς Βατεινοί, καὶ ἔτι ὑπὲρ τούτους ύπὸ τῷ ᾿Ασκιβουργίω ὄρει Κόρκοντοι και Λοῦγοι οἱ Βοῦροι μέγρι τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Οὐιστούλα ποταμοῦ. ὑπὸ δὲ τούτους πρῶτοι Σίδωνες, εἶτα Κόγνοι, εἶτα Οὐισβούργιοι ὑπὲρ τὸν ᾿Ορκύνιον δρυμόν. Dio Cassius, writing about the year 91/92 A.D., has the following to say about them:  $\delta \tau \iota \, \dot{\epsilon} \nu \, \tau \tilde{\eta} \, M \nu \sigma i \alpha \, \Lambda \dot{\nu} \gamma \iota \iota \iota$ Σουήβοις τισὶ πολεμωθέντες πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν, αἰτοῦντες συμμαχίαν παρὰ  $\Delta o\mu \iota \tau \iota \alpha v \circ \tilde{v}$ . The editor<sup>8</sup> points out that the reference to Mysia is an error. In this passage there would seem to be a clear difference between the Suebi and the Lugi. In the Tabula Peutingeriana a tribe by the name of Lupiones

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Tuomo Pekkanen, who suggested the theme of the research that has led to this paper, to Dr. D. Ellis Evans and Professor Kenneth H. Jackson for reading my paper in manuscript and making valuable corrections. Remaining errors are of course my own.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 7, 1, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Germ. 43, 3 (mentioned again in 43, 6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Germ. 43, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 12, 29, 3; 30, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Geogr. 2, 11, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 67, 12, 5 (5, 2).

<sup>8</sup> U. P. Boissevain (1901) 179.

Sarmatae is mentioned 1. Zosimus has a tribe with a similar name: μάχας δὲ καρτερὰς ἢγωνίσατο πρότερον μὲν πρὸς Λογγίωνας, ἔθνος Γερμανικόν, οὖς καταγωνισάμενος καὶ Σέμνωνα ζωγρήσας . . . 2 As M. Schönfeld 3 points out, the name of the head of the tribe must be connected with that of the Germanic tribe Semnones.

As often in the case of ancient tribal names, extant mss. show different variants of the name. Strabo's gives  $\Lambda oviov_{\mathcal{S}}$  which the editor <sup>4</sup> has corrected to  $\Lambda ovviov_{\mathcal{S}}$ . Another possible emendation is  $\Lambda ovvov_{\mathcal{S}}$  <sup>5</sup>. As for Tacitus, mss. readings giving e, i and y are usually corrected to Lugii by most editors. <sup>6</sup> Ptolemy has a large variety of readings, but modern editors agree on the stem-form  $\Lambda ovv_{\mathcal{S}}$ . Dio Cassius has  $\Lambda vv_{\mathcal{S}}$ , but, as in the case of Tacitus, there is hardly anything surprising in u being corrupted to v or v to v. Castorius' Lupiones on the Tabula Peutingeriana is from Lugiones and Lugiones and Lugiones is from Lugiones according to Schönfeld. This may be relevant to the fact these are the last two occurrences of the name in ancient literature. On the other hand, perhaps they have nothing to do with the previous ones.

What is then the origin of this tribe, which commonly is located <sup>9</sup> in the region of what now is Southern Poland. Many scholars state it as a fact that they must have been a Germanic tribe <sup>10</sup>. After the *Lugi* disappear from history, the Vandals begin to be heard of from the same geographical area. This has prompted many scholars, Zeuss and others after him to identify the *Lugi* with them, the assumption being made that a name-switch took place after the beginning of the second century A.D. Attempts have been made to ex-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dargestellt von K. Miller (1916) 615-616.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 1, 67, 3; for a discussion of the historical background of this passage, see F. Paschoud's note on it in his edition of Zosimus (1971) 173-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen (1911) 201-202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> H. L. Jones (1961).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Schönfeld, pp. xxvi—xxvii, for the confusion between these two stem-types in classical renderings of barbaric names.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> So A. Gudeman (1916), R. P. Robinson (1935), Halm-Andresen-Koestermann (1936) and J. G. C. Anderson (1938), while J. Perret (1949) prefers *Lygii*. See also Schönfeld pp. xvi—xvii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> C. F. A. Nobbe (1843) gives  $\Lambda o \acute{v} γ(\iota) o \iota$ , while C. Müller (1883), O. Cuntz (1923) and E. Šimek (1930) all select  $\Lambda o \~v γ \iota$  in preference to manuscript readings like  $\Lambda o \acute{v} τ(\iota) o \iota$ ,  $\Lambda o(v) γ γ$ -etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 157, note that in both cases the ending is explained from Germanic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> P. Clüverius, Germaniae antiquae libri tres (1616) III, 127, 35; Anderson, 198, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See i.a. K. Zeuss, Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme (1837) 124–127 and 442–443; K. Müllenhoff, Verderbte namen bei Tacitus, Zs. f. d. alterthum, hrsgb. v. M. Haupt, 9 (1853) 223–261; idem, Deutsche Altertumskunde III (1892) 318 and IV (1900) 484; H. M. Chadwick, The Origin of the English Nation (1907) 219; Schönfeld, 157; Anderson, 198–199.

plain the *Lugi* as a Slavic tribe <sup>1</sup> and as Illyrians by J. Pokorny <sup>2</sup>, who even used this argument to introduce Illyrians into Scotland, where Ptolemy mentions a  $\Lambda o \tilde{v} \gamma o \iota$  tribe <sup>3</sup>. This would, however, suggest a Celtic alternative to the ones given. This has been suggested by A. Macbain <sup>4</sup> and, tentatively, by A. Holder, <sup>5</sup> A. Gieysztor <sup>6</sup> and J. Whatmough, <sup>7</sup> while P. J. Schafarik <sup>8</sup> maintains that some of the Lugian tribes were Celtic, some Germanic, and that the name merely had a geographical significance. Much <sup>9</sup>, supported by W. Steinhauser <sup>10</sup> and E. Schwarz, <sup>11</sup> suggests a Celtic origin for the name of an otherwise Germanic tribe.

Holder proposes »eidgenossen» as the meaning of Lugi, without explaining why. Whatmough takes no definite stance on the matter, but states that »so far as I know, no one has yet suggested comparison with the ethnicon Lugii of eastern Germany, . . . or with  $\Lambda o \acute{v} \gamma \epsilon o v$  'marsh, swamp' Str. 7, 5, 2»<sup>12</sup>, when dealing with the etymology of the first element of the place-name Lug(u)-dunum. Ptolemy mentions a place-name  $\Lambda ov\gamma \acute{o} \delta ovvo v^{13}$ , which Müller identifies with modern Legnica (Liegnitz). On the other hand G. Schütte maintains that this is a mere doublet of the tribal name due to the duplication of two similar local prototypes <sup>14</sup>. The anomalous thematic vowel i would seem to support this view. The mss. tradition tenders no clear evidence either way, giving a variant stem-form  $\Lambda ov\tau$ - for both the  $\Lambda o \acute{v} \gamma o i$   $\Omega \mu a voi$  and the  $\Lambda o \acute{v} \gamma o i$   $\Omega o i$   $\Omega o i$   $\Omega o i$  and  $\Omega o v i i$   $\Omega o i$   $\Omega$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> W. Ketrzyński, Die Lygier (1868) 118—22; idem. Anzeiger der Akad. der Wiss. in Krakau 1 (1901) 8—14; K. Jażdżewski, Atlas of the Prehistory of the Slavs. Text. (1948a) 66; the work of the Polish scholars quoted in J. Filip, ed., Enzyklopädisches Handbuch zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Europas II (1969) 740 has not been available to me.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ZCPh 20 (1935) 318.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Geogr. 2, 3, 8; see also A. Macbain, Ptolemy's Geography of Scotland, Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness 18 (1891-2) 281; F. G. Diack, RC 38 (1920-1) 126; W. J. Watson, The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland (1926) 15-17; Pokorny, ZCPh 21 (1936) 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz II (1891–1913) 306.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Medieval Poland, in S. Kierniewicz, ed., History of Poland (1968) 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The Dialects of Ancient Gaul (1970) 484, 1221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Slawische Alterthümer I (1843) 406.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Die Germania der Tacitus <sup>3</sup> (1967) 479.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Kultische Stammesnamen in Ostgermanien, Die Sprache 2 (1951) 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Germanische Stammeskunde (1956) 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> 484; Macbain's article (n. 3 above) was evidently unknown to him.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Geogr. 2, 11, 13, cf. Diack, loc. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ptolemy's Maps of Northern Europe (1917) 113.

etymologists who interpret the name as 'the fortification/fortress of the god Lugus/Lug'»¹. The name of this god is well attested, both in Insular and in Continental Celtic ². »Inasmuch as Celtic tribal names were, oftener than not, pluralized forms of deity names or epithets...»³, this divine name gives a good origin for the name Lugi, a view Macbain ⁴ had put forward almost eighty years ago, without, however, adducing much evidence to support it.

In addition to the Scottish tribe already mentioned, there is an Old Irish tribal name Luigni, which is the »regular Irish development of \*Luguniī (cf. Ogam LUGUNI)»5, where an -n- suffix 6 has been added to what in Old Irish became Lug and Modern Irish Lugh and is a u-stem 7. This must also be the case for Continental Celtic Lugus, as shown by a passage in Dio Cassius: καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι ὑπομείναντες τὸ Λουγούδουνον μὲν ὀνομασθὲν νῦν δὲ Λούγδουνον καλούμενον ἔκτισαν.. 8 The same fact is revealed by the plurals Lugouibus and Lugoues 9 found in inscriptions from areas where Continental Celtic was spoken. Evans 10 points out that this provides an objection to deriving the first element in Lugudunum from  $\Lambda o \dot{v} \gamma \epsilon o v$ . The change-over from an o- or io-stem to a u-stem is of course unlikely either in Latin or in Greek, since the athematic type to which the u-stems belong in Indo-European has the property that »la tendence générale est à l'élimination du type»<sup>11</sup>, while thematic stems easily took over from u-stems in the Classical languages as in Celtic. In recent articles H. Wagner 12 suggests that »Lugu- may be cognate with Ir. luge, the verbal noun of tongid 'swears', but also meaning 'oath' (from \*lugio-)». This might fit with the notion that the Lugi formed a kind of religious »Eidgenossenschaft»<sup>13</sup>. If Much <sup>14</sup> is right in his view that the

<sup>1</sup> Gaulish Personal Names (1967) 219.

<sup>3</sup> T. F. O'Rahilly, Early Irish History and Mythology (repr. 1957) 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Evans 219–221 for an extensive bibliography, to which Dr. Evans has been kind enough to send me the following additions: Le Roux, Ogam 18 (1966) 397 ff.; P. Flobert, REL 46 (1968) 264 ff.; H. Birkhan, Germanen und Kelten bis zum Ausgang der Römerzeit (1970) 359, n. 864.

<sup>4</sup> loc. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> O'Rahilly, 393.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> H. Pedersen, Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen II (1913) 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> R. Thurneysen, A Grammar of Old Irish (repr. 1966) 198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 46, 50, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> CIL II, 2818 and XIII, 5078.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> 220 n. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> A. Meillet and J. Vendryes, *Traité de Grammaire comparée des langues classiques* (2ème éd. 1948) 451.

 $<sup>\</sup>overline{12}$   $\overrightarrow{TPhS}$  1969 (1970) 245, n. 105 and  $\overrightarrow{ZCPh}$  31 (1970a) 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Much (1967) 479; Anderson, 198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Wandalische Götter, Mitt. d. schles. Ges. f. Volkskunde 27 (1926) 30-31.

name of the Vandals is connected with an Old Scandinavian divine name name Vandill, that presents an interesting parallel to Lugi and Lugus/Lug(h).

According to M. Jahn, there is definite archaeological evidence for a Celtic population in Silesia: »Auch die bisherige Auffassung, die Kelten wären nur im 4. Jahrhundert in Schlesien nachweisbar und hätten mit Beginn der Mittel-Latènezeit unsere Provinz wieder verlassen, muss aufgegeben werden . . . liefern uns einige Ringtypen den schlüssligen Beweis, dass die Kelten noch während der gesamten Mittel-Latènezeit, d.h. im 3. und 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr., in Schlesien gesiedelt haben». Placing the strongest Celtic settlement within what now is Poland in the region of Middle Silesia, Jażdżewski states that »Das Aufgehen keltischen Elemente in der bodenständigen Bevölkerung fand im 1. Jh. v. u. Z. und Anfang u. Z. statt».2 A small Celtic enclave seems to have existed as far north as Cujavia around Inowrocław (Hohensalza).<sup>3</sup> This corresponds roughly to Müller's <sup>4</sup> estimates of where the northernmost of Ptolemy's Lugian tribes, Λοῦγοι οἱ 'Ομανοί could have been settled. Schütte <sup>5</sup> places one of Tacitus' Lugian tribes, the Helisii, in this area because of the proximity of the similar sounding  $K\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\iota\alpha$  mentioned by Ptolemy 6, and by some scholars identified with present-day Kalisz. 7 The two other tribes,  $\Lambda o \tilde{v} \gamma o \iota o \delta \Delta o \tilde{v} v o \iota$  and  $\Lambda o \tilde{v} \gamma o \iota o \delta B o \tilde{v} o o \iota$  are situated further south by Ptolemy and might have been living around J. Potocki's and Z. Wozniak's three main settlement areas 8: »En s'appuyant sur le matériel archéologique on discerne trois régions de colonisation celtique en Pologne. Ce sont:

- a) les régions au sud de Wrocław (Silésie centrale)
- b) les environs de Raciborz en Haute-Silésie
- c) les environs de Cracovie en Petite Pologne.»

Unfortunately the evidence is somewhat conflicting, since A. Zaki states <sup>9</sup> that »les traces d'une colonisation font défaut à Cracovie». In any case Janina Rosen-Przeworska certainly seems to be right when she states that, »mais il me semble qu'on peut affirmer une fois de plus que la présence des Celtes est

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Die Kelten in Schlesien (1931) 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> in Filip, ed. II, 1063.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Jażdżewski, Atlas to the Prehistory of the Slavs (1948) 6-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Tabulae in Cl. Ptolemaei Geographiam (1901) 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Our Forefathers II (1933) 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Geogr. 2, 11, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Müller (1883) ad locum, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Celtes en Pologne, Ogam 13 (1960) 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Celticum 9 (1962) 335.

bien attestée en Pologne.» See also Jażdżewski's maps. In this connection it may be noted that Wagner, mainly on linguistic grounds, pushes the place of origin of the Celts eastwards, stating that »the earliest home of the Celts, whence they spread to Western Europe must be sought west of the original domain of the Thracians, in modern Hungary and its adjacent regions.»<sup>2</sup>

Tacitus has something to say about Lugian religion: Apud Naharualos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. Ea uis numini, nomen Alcis. Nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis uestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuuenes uenerantur.3 The Naharuali are one of the five Lugian tribes mentioned by Tacitus<sup>4</sup>, about which »little or nothing is known.»<sup>5</sup> For the second element of the name, see Much <sup>6</sup>, Steinhauser <sup>7</sup> and Evans <sup>8</sup> for a good Celtic etymology. The first element remains obscure 9. Tacitus insists on the antiquity and indigenousness of the cult. This indicates that the Lugi had been settled in the area for some considerable length of time. Sacred groves are known both from the Celtic and the Germanic world 10. The priest's muliebris ornatus poses quite a problem. A female priest of some kind may be meant. Parallels can be found from Celtic as well as from Germanic sources. Compare the banfháith ('prophetess') in the Old Irish epic Táin Bó Cúailgne 11 and the πρόμαντεις mentioned by Strabo 12 in connection with the Cimbri. The connection is obscured by two things. On the one hand the Cimbri, as will be seen from the Celtic names of their chieftains 13, were subject to strong influence from the Celtic world. On the other hand the TBC reference is completely exceptional <sup>14</sup>. It is probably significant that both passages refer to prophetesses, not

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<sup>1</sup> Celticum 12 (1964) 246.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> (1970) 209.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Germ. 43, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Germ. 43, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Anderson, 199.

<sup>6</sup> in Hoops IV (1918-19) 417 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 13.

<sup>8 269.</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> In spite of Steinhauser, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> J. de Vries, Kelten und Germanen (1960) 80.

<sup>11</sup> The Tain Bo Cuailnge from the Yellow Book of Lecan, ed. by Strachan and O'Keeffe (1912) 11. 38 ff. 7, 2, 3.

<sup>13</sup> RE III, 2552; one of these, Lugius (Oros. 5, 16, 20) is of obvious interest to us. It has been interpreted both from the divine name Lugus and from the ethnicon Lugi. See Birkhan (1970) 497 n. 1484 for bibliography and Müllenhoff II (1887) 119 for an early mention of a possible connection with the Scottish Lugi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> K. Jackson, The Oldest Irish Tradition (1964) 27.

to priestesses proper. If Tacitus, as is more likely, means a male priest dressed up as a woman, both the Celtic druids' candida uestis 1 and the strange priestlike figures on the Kivik monument in Scania might fit the description. Steinhauser's notion 2 that the two figures inside a horse-shoe on one of the Kivik slabs point to a cult of the Dioscuri is interesting, but unconvincing. The Dioscuri are known over most of the Indo-European world 3, but de Vries states that »In den germanischen Quellen finden wir nur sehr fragmentarische Zeugnisse für einen Dioskurenkult»<sup>4</sup>. He goes on to use a passage of Timaeus of Tauromenium quoted by Diodorus Siculus to produce one of these fragments of knowledge: δεικνύντες τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ἀκεανὸν κατοικοῦντας  $K \varepsilon \lambda \tau o \dot{v} \varsigma = \sigma \varepsilon \beta o \mu \dot{\varepsilon} v o v \varsigma = \mu \dot{\alpha} \lambda \iota \sigma \tau \alpha = \tau \tilde{\omega} v = \vartheta \varepsilon \tilde{\omega} v = \tau o \dot{v} \varsigma = \Delta \iota \sigma \sigma \omega \dot{\sigma} \rho o v \varsigma$ . Although the context of this passage is mainly about Spain, de Vries maintains that the Ocean really means the North Sea and that »hier wird die bei den alten griechischen Geographen übliche Verwechslung zwischen Kelten und Germanen anzunehmen sein.» Tacitus' passage is used for the same purpose. There is some other evidence for Celtic Dioscuri. According to Anne Ross, »a divine couple, comparable to the Roman Dioscuri, appears with a horse on several Gallo-Roman monuments.»6 This could of course be due to Roman influence. The name Alcis is obscure, even as to what case it is. The lucus itself, and with it Ptolemy's  $\Lambda i\mu i\sigma \zeta$  å $\lambda \sigma \sigma \zeta$  has often been identified with the modern Ślęża (Zobtenberg) mountain 9 near Sobótka (Zobten), about which Gieysztor writes: »The Celts . . . established a settled community in the region of the Ślęża mountain. The magnificent sculptures ascribed to them which are scattered on the slopes and at the foot of the mount would indicate that this was their chief centre of worship». 10 Filip, on the other hand,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Plin. N. H. 16, 251. More tangible evidence for this might seem to exist in Irish sources, since G. F. Dalton, Folklore 81 (1970) 15 notes that »the device of disguising men as women in order to kill a tyrant... was a ritual element», referring to the killing of Conn Cétcathach (ZCPh 8 (1912) 276) and of Turgeis (G. Keating, Forus Feasa ar Éirinn, ed. by P. S. Dinneen, III (1906) 178—182).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Real-Lexikon für Antike und Christentum III (1957) 1122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte II (1957) 247.

<sup>6 4, 56, 4.</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Pagan Celtic Britain (1967) 322 (quoting E. Espérandieu, Recueil Général des bas-reliefs, etc., de la Gaule romaine V (1907 ff.) 126).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> K. Johansson, Germ. Alcis, Arkiv f. nordisk filologi 35 (1919) 10—20; Anderson 201; de Vries II (1957) 251; Much (1967) 481; H. Kuhn, in Hoops (neue Folge 1970) I, 2, 133—134. 

<sup>8</sup> Geogr., 2, 11, 13.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Much (1926) 22; Steinhauser, 2; de Vries II (1957) 249.
 <sup>10</sup> 32.

states that the sculptures are »schwer genau datierbare» and that the association with the Naharuali »fand keine allgemeine Aufnahme»<sup>1</sup>. In any case, it must be noted that hills and mountains are very closely associated with Celtic religion.<sup>2</sup>

If they can be relied upon at all 3, Ptolemy's town-lists may give us some indications. In Müller's positioning of Ptolemy's towns on the map 4, we find three clearly Celtic toponymics in Silesia, namely Λουγίδουνον 5, Βουδό-the first two off the list completely and places  $K\alpha\rho\rho\delta\delta ovvov$  much further south 8. Holder 9 and Whatmough 10 consider many of the toponymics in Ptolemy's account of Germania Magna to be of Celtic origin; their reasons for this are not always clear to me. One toponymic must be discussed,  $\Lambda i\mu \iota \iota \iota \varsigma$ ἄλσος, which, as mentioned, has been identified with Tacitus' holy grove, i.a. by Müller 11. Much has proposed a Germanic etymology, based on »anord. lim, 'Glied, Zweig', anord. līmi, 'Reisbund' etc.," but he does so only »im Rahmen einer Versuchshypothese.»<sup>12</sup> Pokorny <sup>13</sup> connects this word with a Celtic \*lei-mā, Welsh llwyf and (with ablaut variation) Middle Irish lem (Modern leamh) 'elm'. This also occurs in the Continental Celtic names Limonum and Lemouices 14. Although tree-worship is well attested among the Celts 15, I have found no specific instance of elms for cult purposes 16.

Summing up, supported by the archaeological evidence for Celts in Silesia, a Celtic origin for the ethnic name Lugi is again proposed, based on a close relation between the name of the tribe and the divine name Lugus/Lug(h).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> II, 1322.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Máire MacNeill, The Festival of Lughnasa (1962) 418 – 20 and passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Viz. Schütte (1917) 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> (1901) 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Geogr. 2, 11, 13, for  $Aov\gamma\iota$ - see p. 8 n. 2 above and C.-J. Guyonvarc'h, Celticum 6 (1963) 375; for- $\delta ovvo\nu$  see e.g. Pedersen I (1909) 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Geogr. 2, 11, 13, for Bovδo- see Evans, 156-8 and for -οιγον 244-249.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Geogr. 2, 11, 14, for Kaqqo-, see Pokorny, Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch I (1959) 583 and Evans 63, n. 2.

<sup>8 (1917)</sup> map xxxi.

<sup>9</sup> sub vv.

<sup>10 1205-1237</sup> sub vv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> (1883) 270-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> (1926) 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> (1959) I, 309.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Pedersen I, (1909) 175; Whatmough, pp. x-xi; also in Scotland, viz. Machain, 274. <sup>15</sup> de Vries (1961) 187—191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> For a Greek instance, viz. *Il.* 6, 419. The interesting fact that *alces* 'elk', which de Vries II (1957) 251 regards as the origin of Tacitus' divine name *Alcis*, according to Pokorny (1959) 303 is from the same Indo-European root as Ir. *lem* is hardly more than a coincidence.