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Published in:
Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

IMPORTANT NOTE: You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Publication date:
1982

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

Citation for published version (APA):
Bremmer, J. (1982). The Suodales of Poplios Valesios. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 47, 133-147.

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THE SUODALES OF POPLIOS VALESIOS

Under the guidance of Dr. C.M. Stibbe a team from the Dutch Institute at Rome started a re-excavation of the temple of Mater Matuta at the site of the ancient city of Satricum in October 1977. On October 13 of that year a block was found that contained an archaic Latin inscription:

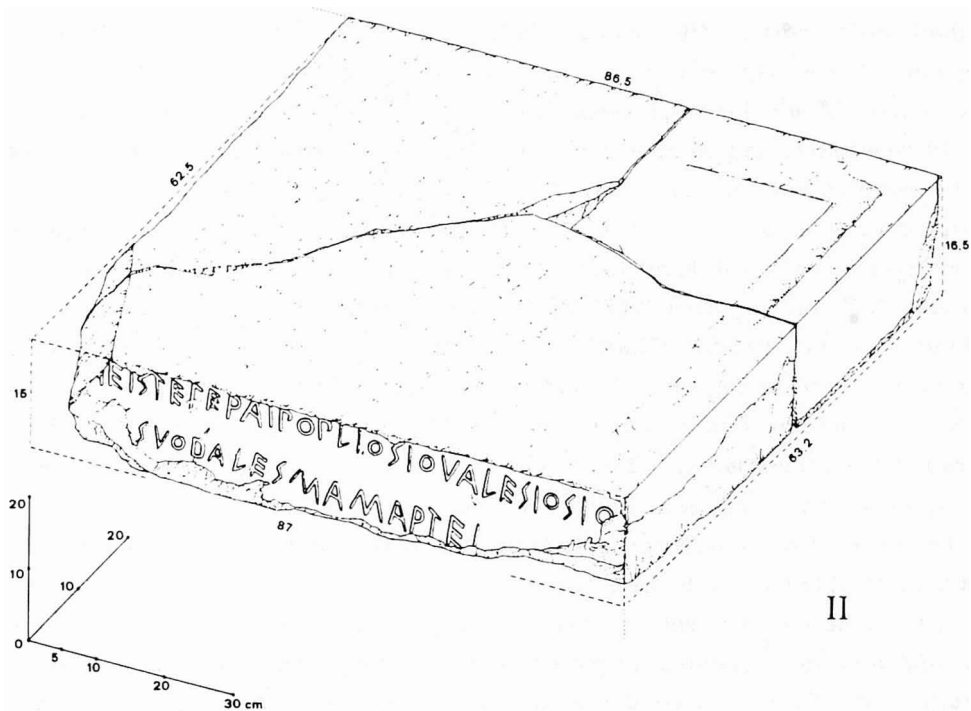


Fig.7 Block II

IEISTETERAI POPLIOSIO VALESIOSIO
SUODALES MAMARTEI

Taf. XII a

.....(?) have erected - of Poplios Valesios -
the sodales - to Mamars

On the basis of archaeological and epigraphical considerations the inscription could be dated to the period around 500 B.C., and the Dutch Institute proceeded with great energy to publish its important find. Within three years it issued a

large-scale study of the stone, in which Stibbe himself discussed the archaeological evidence (pp. 21-40), G. Colonna the epigraphical features (pp. 41-69), C. de Simone the linguistic aspects (pp. 71-87) and H. S. Versnel the historical implications of the inscription (pp. 97-150); a preface by M. Pallotino introduces this excellent publication (pp. 13-17).¹⁾

Versnel's contribution is a masterpiece of circumspection and erudition. In minute detail he sets out all the evidence we have about the different elements of the inscription - the town Satricum, the nature of the *suodales*, the identification of Poplios Valesios - and presents the various options between which we can choose, without ever pressing the evidence in any specific direction. His conclusion that Poplios Valesios may (not 'must') have been the famous P. Valerius Poplicola, whom Livy (2.16.7) called *omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus*, seems perfectly reasonable and convincing. However, his discussion of the *suodales* needs to be modified and supplemented.

In his analysis of the *suodales* Versnel distinguishes between two groups of *sodalitates*; on the one hand there are the religious confraternities, such as the *Sodales Titii*, on the other hand Versnel sees groups of comrades who function as a kind of retinue ('Gefolgschaft'). Since religious *sodalitates* named after a living person are hard to conceive of, and, moreover, "epigraphic examples of religious *sodalitates* unidentified by a name appear seldom to never," the first possibility is persuasively discarded (p. 121); the remaining solution, the *suodales* as a retinue, is supported by an extensive argumentation (pp. 112-121).

As his point of departure Versnel has taken the fatal military expedition of the Fabii, since Livy (2.49.6) uses the word *sodales* in his description of their leaving the city: (the Fabii) march against Veii *sequebatur turbo, propria alia cognatorum sodaliumque*. He subsequently compared the military organization known as *con-iuratio*, since Servius (*Aen.* 6.845) tells us that the Fabii fought against the inhabitants of Veii, *coniurati cum servis et clientibus*;²⁾ similar to the Roman *con-iuratio* organization, according to Versnel, are the Samnite *legio linteata*,³⁾ the Etruscans who took part in the same war as these Samnites (*Liv.* 9.39.5), and the groups that appear on Roman coins taking an oath during a sacrifice.⁴⁾ In addition

1) C.M. Stibbe et al., *Lapis Satricanus, Archeologische Studiën van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome, Scripta Minora V* (The Hague 1980).

2) Servius *Aen.* 6.845, 7.614, 8.1.

3) Cf. E.T. Salmon, *Samnium and the Samnites* (London 1967), 103-105, 182-185; M. Sordi, *Il giuramento della 'legio linteata' e la guerra sociale*, in M. Sordi (ed.), *I canali della propaganda nel mondo antico* (Milano 1976), 160-68.

4) M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (London 1974), no's 28f., 234 and notes.

he compared those groups of comrades who were closely tied to their leader in war and peace, and who would sometimes refuse to survive their leader in the case of his death,⁵⁾ groups such as the Iberian *soldurii*,⁶⁾ Gaulish *ambacti* and *clientes*,⁷⁾ and the Homeric ἑταῖροι (see below). His final conclusion: "The analogy with other cultures has shown us in which sphere we may look for this *sodalitas* (viz. of Poplios Valesios): comradeship ('Genossenschaft') in time of peace, feasting and carousing in closed groups, which, in wartime, functioned as the 'Gefolgschaft' of an aristocrat or prince with whom a *coniuratio* relationship could exist."⁸⁾

This comparison with the type of *coniuratio* organization and with groups of comrades fails to make an important distinction. In early Rome a *coniuratio* was organised only in times of crisis, *ex periculi vicinitate*, when a commander assembled the people by the exclamation: *Qui rem publicam salvam vult, me sequatur*. In such a case the soldiers *simul iurabant... quia singulos interrogare non vacabat*.⁹⁾ Concerning the Samnites, however, we have a carefully organized levy of troops, as also seems to have been the case with the Etruscans: the oath *per se* is evidently an insufficient criterion for establishing a similarity between these various military organizations.¹⁰⁾ Moreover, the Roman *coniuratio* lasted for only one expedition,¹¹⁾ whereas regarding the Iberian and Celtic retinues the connection with their leader extended over a much longer period of time. This distinction between an once-only 'Heeresgefolgschaft' and a more permanent 'Hausgefolgschaft', which has been elaborated in recent studies on the phenomenon of the 'Gefolgschaft', has not been taken into account by Versnel.¹²⁾ Yet, this

5) Versnel 124f.; add Proc. Goth. 1.3.6f; W. Schlesinger, Beiträge zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte des Mittelalters I (Göttingen 1963), 301f.; R. Woolf, The Ideal of Men dying with their Lord in the Germania and in The Battle of Maldon, Anglo-Saxon England 5 (1976), 63-81.

6) F.R. Adrados, La 'fides' ibérica, Emerita 14 (1946), 128-209; R. Etienne, Le culte impérial dans la péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien (Paris 1958), 75-79; J.-M. Blázquez, Imagen y mito (Madrid 1977), 385-405.

7) See most recently S. Lewuillon, Histoire, société et lutte des classes en Gaule, ANRW II 4 (1975, 425-583), 536-540; A. Daubigny, Reconnaissance des formes de la dépendance gauloise, DHA 5 (1979), 145-189; G. Dobesch, Die Kelten in Usterreich nach den ältesten Berichten der Antike (Wien etc. 1980), 417-432.

8) Versnel 120; similarly, but shortly, De Simone, Lapis Satricanus, 84. The explanation of suodales as 'companions' is approved of by R. Ogilvie, JRS 71 (1981), 207.

9) Serv. Aen. 8.1. For the *coniuratio*, see W. Hoben, Terminologische Studien zu den Sklavenerhebungen der römischen Republik (Wiesbaden 1978), 6-17.

10) Versnel 124 note 77 even calls the *ver sacrum* a *coniuratio*, although no oath whatsoever of the participants is mentioned.

11) Liv. 42.2.1.

12) See R. Wenskus, Stammesbildung und Verfassung (Köln/Graz 1961), 347-352;

distinction could prove useful for an interpretation of the inscription, since we cannot exclude the possibility that the *suodales* were comrades for only one raid, instead of over a longer period of time.

However, there is a much more serious problem. Did Livy really describe the *sodales* as following the Fabii on their brave expedition, as Versnel claims he did? Let us take a closer look at the passage of Livy (2.49.3-6) in which he depicts the departure of the Fabii:

Nunquam exercitus neque minor numero neque clarior fama et admiratione hominum per urbem incessit. Sex et trecenti milites, omnes patricii, omnes unius gentis, quorum neminem ducem sperneres, egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus, ibant, unius familiae uiribus Veienti populo pestem minitantes. Sequebatur turba propria alia cognatorum sodaliumque, nihil medium, nec spem nec curam, sed immensa omnia uoluentium animo, alia publica sollicitudine excitata, fauore et admiratione stupens. Ire fortes, ire felices iubent, inceptis euentus pares reddere; consulatus inde ac triumphos, omnia praemia ab se, omnes honores sperare.

As various scholars have observed, in his description of the exit of the Fabii Livy transformed the attendants who traditionally followed the Fabii into a crowd of spectators.¹³⁾ Their exhortation *ire felices, ire fortes* shows that the *cognati* and *sodales* did *not* join the Fabii on their dangerous military campaign but were seeing them off- at least, that is how Livy pictured it. Thus, the passage is no support for Versnel's interpretation of the *suodales* as a kind of retinue in war and peace.¹⁴⁾

Schlesinger (above n. 5.); 9-52; Wenskus, Probleme der germanisch-deutschen Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte im Lichte der Ethnosoziologie, in H. Beumann (ed.), Historische Forschungen für Walter Schlesinger (Köln/Wien 1974), 19-46; S. Deger-Jalkotzy, E-ge-ta. Zur Rolle des Gefolgschaftswesens in der Sozialstruktur mykenischer Reiche (Wien 1978), 118ff.

Important for the problem of the 'Gefolgschaft' are also H.G. Beck, Byzantinisches Gefolgschaftswesen, SB München 1965; F. Crevatin, Ricerche di antichità ind-europee (Trieste 1979), 51-76.

13) See most recently, R.M. Ogilvie, A Commentary on Livy, Books 1-5 (Oxford 1970²), 363; J.-P. Neraudeau, La jeunesse dans la littérature et les institutions de la Rome républicaine (Paris 1979), 278; P.W. de Neeve, *Colonus* (Diss. Utrecht 1981), 261 n. 49. For the traditional view, see DH 9.15.3; Festus 451 L; Serv. Aen. 6.845.

14) The same mistake is made by De Simone, Lapis Satricanus, 84. When Versnel (p. 120) observes that "the picture of the group of iuvenes alternates with that of the group of clientes and sodales: Livy 1,5,7 uses in connection with the attack of Numitor and Romulus on Amulius the term *cum globo iuuenum*, where DH I, 83, 3 says: ἄγων ὀπλιτικῶν . . . τῶν τε ἄλλων πελατῶν καὶ ἑταίρων καὶ θεραπέας πικτῆς χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην," Versnel fails to note that in fact Livy says that the attack happened *non (!) cum globo iuuenum* but *pastoribus*.

In stead of taking the Fabii passage as our guiding line we will therefore pursue a direction which Versnel himself mentioned but declined to follow up. For his interpretation of *sodales* as 'groups of comrades' Versnel studied the occurrence of *sodales* in Livy, whom he rightly considered "the author who lends himself best to a first historical evaluation of the term *sodales*" (p.112). Besides the Fabian passage, we have the *sodales* of the young Tarquinius (2.3.2), those of the patrician K. Quinctius (3.14.3) who belong to a story that was a later fabrication (Ogilvie ad loc.), and those of Demetrius and Perseus (40.7.1).

Except for the Fabian passage all these *sodales* are young men, and, as Versnel (p.119/120) stressed, this can hardly be chance. The *sodales* belong typically, although not exclusively, to the world of the young. This fits in very well with an observation of Dumézil that the Indian element *sva*, 'one's own', which is related with *sodalis*, is in the RgVeda characteristic of the god Indra and his followers, the Marut, an autonomous group of young men.¹⁵⁾ Another word related to *sodalis* is ἑταῖρος, and Versnel did not fail to note that the ἑταῖροι also often were of the same age. But they do not always constitute a "*consistent* (his italics) 'Altersklassenverband'," and this is evidently the reason why he declined to follow up the connection of youth and retinue, since the observation made him "refrain from referring to the abundant literature on secret societies and Männerbünde, which would exceed the scope of this investigation."¹⁶⁾

Yet we have plenty of evidence that age-sets among the Indo-Europeans were not exclusively composed of youths. Although our tradition about the *iuvenes* of early Rome is rather slim, recent investigations have now demonstrated that Archaic Rome had age-sets which were not yet fully integrated into society.¹⁷⁾ Our earliest Roman example of such a group of youths is the 'Jungmannschaft' around Romulus and Remus which, as befitted such a band, was located in the wilderness. Our tradition is unanimous in having the twins also accept run-away slaves, criminals and murderers among the *iuvenes*.¹⁸⁾ We find the mixed character of the age-set of the young also in the initiatory traditions of the Italic Leucani,

15) G. Dumézil, *The Destiny of the Warrior* (Chicago 1969), 61-64. For the Marut as *mārya* 'young men': RgVeda 5.59.3,5; 5.61.4; 7.56.1, 14.

16) Versnel 126 n.115. For unclear reasons Versnel dislikes studies of 'Männerbünde', see his remarks in G. Piccaluga (ed.), *Perennitas. Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome 1980), 583.

17) Cf. A. Alföldi, *Die Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates* (Heidelberg 1974), 107-150; Neraudeau (above n.13), with the approving review by J. Heurgon, *REL* 57(1979), 507-511.

18) Fabius Pictor FGrH 809 F 4; Liv. 1.8.5; Luc. 1.97; Juv. 8.272-275 etc.

whose sons were separated from their families at an early age and sent to the Brettians who raised them in the bush where they had to live from plundering raids. The boys received into their body run-away slaves, and we hear only of them because they had become a nuisance after having founded a community. 19)

The boys were organised in groups of fifty, and this fits in perfectly with an observation of Geo Widengren that Indo-European youths were normally grouped in gangs of fifty, as he was able to show for the ancient Persians, Celts and Slavs.²⁰⁾ The Swedish Orientalist brilliantly deduced the latter number from a passage in the ancient Slavonic translation of Flavius Josephus *De bello Judaico* where Jesus is said to have had 150 (3 x 50) servants around him.²¹⁾ However, we need not follow Widengren in assuming Iranian influence, since the translation originated in Kiev, a city where Iranian influence is hardly probable;²²⁾ moreover, the number of 3 x 50 is also found in the Irish CúChúlainn legend (see note 20). Similar groups of 50 youths we already find in the very ancient tradition of Tydeus' expedition against Thebes,²³⁾ and in the story about the destruction of Siris, an event that has to be dated about 530 B.C.;²⁴⁾ 50 can also be the number of the Greek chorus, the institution whose initiatory significance has been demonstrated by Claude Calame.²⁵⁾

Among the Germans the age-set of the young could function as an once-only retinue under a temporary *dux*,²⁶⁾ for Caesar (*BG.* 6.23.6) tells us that *latrocinia*

19) Diod.Sic. 16.15. 1f.; Justin. 23.1.7-12; A.Napoli, I rapporti tre Bruzi e Lucani, SMSR 37(1966), 61-83; Alföldi, Die Struktur, 129-131.

20) Persians: Strabo 15.3.18; G.Widengren, *Orientalia Suecana* 2(1953), 62 and idem, *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran* (Köln 1969), 88f., 99. Celts: *Thin bó Cuailnge* 366-415; W. Stokes, *The Training of Cúchulainn*, *Revue Celtique* 29 (1908), 109-152, 119 c. 17.

21) *De bello Judaico* 2.9.3 = N.A. Mescerskij, *Istorija Iudeskoj vojny Iosifa Flavija v drevnerusskom perevode* (Moscow/Leningrad 1958), 259 = (in Italian translation) N.Radovich in G.Vitucci, *Flavio Giuseppe: La guerra Giudaica* (Milan 1974), II, 659.

22) Cf. A.Höcherl, *Zur Dbersetzungstechnik des altrussischen "Jiidischen Krieges" des Josephus Flavius* (München 1970), 117-144.

23) Il.IV.393, cf. A.Hoekstra, *Epic Verse before Homer*, *Verh. Ned. Kon. Ak. Wet., Afd. Lett. N.R.* 108(1981), 58 who thinks that the story goes back to Mycenaean times.

24) *Lyc.Alex.* 984-992 and schol. ad 984; Justin. 20.2.3; F.Graf, *Die lokrischen Madchen*, *SSR* 2 (1978, 61-79), 76f.; M.Guarducci, *Siris*, *RAL* 33 (1978), 273-288.

25) Simon. 77D; Antipho 6.22; Schol.Aeschin.1.10; Schol.Lyc.II, p.2, 3-5 Scheer; C.Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* (Rome 1977), I, 57f.

26) For the Germanic 'Gefolgschaft', see the studies mentioned in n.12; H.Kuhn,

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nullam habent infamiam quae extra fines cuiusque civitatis fiunt; atque ea iuventus exercendae ac desidiae minuendae causa fieri praedicant. It is important to note that participation was obligatory, since the stay-at-homes were reckoned among *desertorum ac proditorum numero*; the raids probably had an initiatory character. The object of these raids very often was cattle, the *solae et gratissimae opes* of the Germans (Tac. *Germ.* 13).²⁷⁾ Such a raid was the foray of the Sygambri who crossed the Rhine to pillage the Eburones and *magno pecoris numero, cuius sunt cupidissimi barbari, potiuntur* (Caes. *BG.* 6.35.6); as we will see, cattle-raiding is also found among other Indo-European peoples as one of the main activities of the youth.

In the time of Tacitus we have a more permanent retinue. After a boy had received his weapons in the assembly from one of the nobles, his father or one of his kindred,²⁸⁾ he joined a *princeps* for whom *semper electorum iuvenum globo circumdari in pace decus, in bello praesidium*. The noble youths apparently then moved around to those places where war was carried on frequently, and Tacitus (*Germ.* 13f.) stresses that the *princeps* had to bestow lavish gifts on his youths to keep them satisfied; the gifts he acquired *per bella et raptus*. For the initiatory significance of this stay abroad we also have a fine example in Paulus Diaconus (*Hist. Long.* I. 23f.) who tells us that the Longobard king Audoin refused his son Alboin 'Tischgenossenschaft' until he had received his weapons from a foreign king.²⁹⁾ To that end Alboin subsequently left the country with a group of fourty youths to serve another king, again a typical age-group as retinue.³⁰⁾

We do not learn from Tacitus whether criminals or exiles also formed part of the

Kleine Schriften II (Berlin 1971), 420-483; H. Gneuss, Die Battle of Maldon als historisches und literarisches Zeugnis, SB München 1976; H. J. Diesner, Westgothische und longobardische Gefolgschaften, SB Leipzig 1977.

27) On Germanic cattle, see H. Jankuhn in R. Much, Die Germania des Tacitus (Heidelberg 1967³), 115-118.

28) This was most probably his mother's brother with whom the young man often had close ties, see my Avunculate and Fosterage, *J. Indo-European Studies* 4 (1976), 65-78; R. H. Bremmer Jr., The Importance of Kinship: Uncle and Nephew in 'Beowulf', *Amsterdamer Beiträge z. älteren Germanistik* 15 (1980), 21-38.

29) The element of 'Tischgenossenschaft' is well stressed by Versnel (p. 117). Among the Macedonians a man could recline only at dinner when he had speared a boar without a hunting-net: Hegesandros apud Athen. 1.18A.

30) Cf. H. Frohlich, Studien zur Longobardischen Thronfolge (Diss. Tübingen 1971 [1980] I, 63 who notes the initiatory significance; O. Gschwantler, Ver-sonnung als Thema einer heroischen Sage, *Beiträge z. Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 97 (1975), 230-262. For groups of fourty, which seem to have alternated with the groups of fifty, see H. G. Wackernagel, Bemerkungen zur älteren schweizer Geschichte in volkskundlicher Sicht, *Schweiz. Arch. f. Vkd.* 56 (1960, 1-24), 5ff.

retinue, but this is most likely, since the prominent Germanist Reinhard Wenskus has presented extensive evidence that many Germanic nobles received outlaws and fugitives into their *comitatus* or used groups of robbers and criminals as their warriors; he even compared the foundation of Rome with Germanic conditions!³¹⁾

We also find a retinue of youths among the ancient Celts. During the second Punic War Hannibal had to act as an arbiter for the Allobroges, whose king had been expelled by *fratre et coetu iuniorum* (Liv. 21.31.6f). In this particular case we can still remain sceptical but our next instance hardly admits of any doubt. During the siege of Gergovia a certain Convictolitavis tried to persuade *quibusdam adolescentibus... quorum erat princeps Litoviccus atque eius fratres, amplissima familia nati adolescentes* (Cae. BG. 7.37.1). When the plot was thwarted, Litaviccus had to flee *cum suis clientibus* (7.40.7). Although social relations in Gaul are difficult to reconstruct because of the variety of terms used by our sources - *ambacti, amici, clientes, comites, familiares* (see note 7) - the inference presents itself that these *clientes* were the same as the aforementioned *odulescentes*. We have no further information about the composition of this particular retinue, but the presence of outlaws in the retinue of prominent Gauls appears from the following examples: Indutiomarus *exsules damnatosque... ad se adlicere coepit* (BG.5.55.3), and Vercingetorix *in agris habet dilecturn egentium ac perditorum* (BG. 7.4.3).

The role of the young is conspicuous in ancient Ireland where the remoteness of the island has preserved more archaic features of society than continental Gaul. Many modern folktales still relate the adventures of Finn and his *fian*, a band of warriors that roamed through the wilderness.³²⁾ The organization of the *fian* seems to have gone out of existence by the thirteenth century, but its narrative tradition belongs to the most archaic part of Irish literature. The *fian* was usually a group of pre-adult males who remained outside society until their wedding; during this period they lived by hunting and plundering and at the same time acted as a shield for the society. Although the *fian* was often located beyond society's borders, it could function sometimes as the retinue of the king in ancient Tara, the modern county Meath:

31) Wenskus (above n.12), 366-373; the comparison with Rome occurs on p.369.

32) On Finn and the *fian*, see now the excellent discussion by J.Nagy, *The Boyhood Deeds of Finn in the Fenian Tradition* (Diss. Harvard 1978).

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Finn mac Cumail was Cormac's head of the household and the chief of the exiles (!), attendants, and troops besides, so that this rabble was called the *fíana* of Finn.³³⁾

Here then we see once again the youth together with outcasts functioning as a retinue. And it is on an outpost of the Celtic civilisation that we find our latest example of a retinue of the young. In 1188 Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, undertook a mission to South and North Wales with Gerald, Archeacon of Brecon, as his companion. The latter has left a fascinating description of this journey, and tells us that when they crossed over to Mona (modern Anglesey), the archbishop addressed the inhabitants and tried to persuade them to accept the Cross. Among those who refused were a band of youths who formed part of the household of Rhodri, the Lord of the island.³⁴⁾

The members of the *fían*, the *fénnid*, were regularly connected with wolfs and wild dogs, and this fits in well with the fact that among the Indo-Europeans strangers and boys who had to live away from civilised society were often called dog or wolf, or even dressed as such; this custom is found among the Irish, Germans, Greeks, Lithuanians, Hittites and Indo-Iranians (below). Moreover, among these peoples many tribal and personal names are composed with the element 'wolf' (Lycii, Lycurgus etc.), and it is hard to attribute this only to the bearers' having been criminals; it rather points to the time when they lived away from society during their initiation, or when they were performing heroic feats to prove their manhood.³⁵⁾

33) L.C.Stern, *Fiannshruth*, Zs. f. celt. Philol. 1 (1897), 472.

34) Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium Cambriae* 2.7 de familia Rotherici juvenes electi.

35) Wolfs and outlaws: L.Gernet, *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* (Paris 1968), 154-171 ("Dolon le loup"); E.Richardson, *The Wolf in the West*, *J.Walters Art Gallery* 36 (1971), 91-102; M.R.Gerstein, *Germanic Warg: the Outlaw as Werwolf*, in G.J.Larson (ed.), *Myth in Indo-European Antiquity* (Berkeley etc. 1974), 131-156; M.Jacoby, *Wargus*, vargr 'Verbrecher' Wolf (Uppsala 1974); R.Schmidt-Wiegand, *Wargus*, in H.Jankuhn e. a. (eds.), *Zum Grabfrel in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit*, *Abh. Ak.Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse III* 113 (Göttingen 1978), 188-196; E.Campanile, *Meaning and Prehistory of Old Irish Cú Glas*, *J.Indo-European Studies* 7 (1979), 237-247; F.Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome 1982), the chapter on Apollo Lykeios. Personal names: E.Campanile, *Ricerche di cultura poetica indoeuropea* (Pisa 1977), 80-82. Tribal names: M.Eliade, *Zalmoxis, The Vanishing God* (Chicago/London 1972), 1-3; O.N.Trubačev, in R.Schmitt (ed.), *Etymologie* (Darmstadt 1977), 262-265; H.Kothe, *Nationis nomen, non gentis*, *Philologus* 123 (1979, 242-287), 274-282, 286f.

The role of the dog has been much less researched, but we may mention the Longobard Cynocephali who have been studied in a brilliant article by O.Höfler, *Cangrande von Verona und das Hundesymbol der Longobarden*, in *Brauch und Sinnbild. Festschrift E.Fehrle* (Karlsruhe 1940), 101-137; H.Birkhan, in *Festgabe für Otto Hofler* (Wien 1976), 36f. (on the Lithuanian 'Jungmannschaft' fighting with dog's heads); L.Kretzenbacher, *Kynocephale Dämonen siidosteuropaischer Volksdichtung* (München 1968); Kothe, *op.cit.*, 251, 259 (dogs and tribal names); C.Lecouteux, *Zs. f. deutsches Alt.* 110 (1981), 213-217.

Our classical texts make no mention of cattle-raiding Celts on the continent, but insular and isolated Ireland has preserved vivid memories of the times in which cattle-raids were an honourable activity. The technical term for such a raid was *tbin*, the most familiar being the famous *Táin bó Cuoilnge* which recounts the *geste* of the great hero of Ulster, CúChúlainn, but we also have the titles of a great number of similar epics, the contents of which are now irretrievably lost.³⁶⁾ These poems originally treated the raiding of cattle, but in the final form that we have this subject is already disappearing into the background; around the year 1000 A.D. the word *tbin* had virtually disappeared and was replaced by a different one, *crech*, a word which contains a pejorative undertone absent in *tbin*.³⁷⁾ In Ireland, as already much earlier in mainland Gaul, the cattle-raid had gradually given way to different forms of warrior exploits, forms that were better adapted to a society in which cattle were no longer the main expression of wealth.

The situation in Homeric Greece was not essentially different from the conditions in other Indo-European societies. One of the striking, if generally neglected, aspects of the Greek army before Troy is the age of its participants. Henri Jeanmaire has rightly pointed out that the warriors are often called *κοῦροι*, or *κουρῆτες*, the typical term for the age-set of the young; these warriors are often not in their extreme youth but already some years into their adolescence.³⁸⁾ This situation can be compared with the one sketched by Tacitus (*Germ.* 13), in which the youths had already received their weapons before they joined one of the *principes*. Regarding *κοῦροι*, A. Hoekstra has recently observed that the noun must have played a much more important role in pre-Ionic times, for in Ionia *κοῦρος* tends to be replaced by *παῖς*.³⁹⁾ The implication of this substitution is that in early Ionia the position of the noble young men was on the whole less prominent than in the time before the Ionic emigration.

Besides the *κοῦροι*, the leaders have a kind of inner circle, the *ἑταῖροι*, a situation paralleled in Germania where a degree in relationship also existed: *grodus quin etiam ipse comitatus hobet* (*Tac. Germ.* 13). The word *ἑταῖρος* often means 'member of an age-set', as appears from a number of passages.⁴⁰⁾

36) Cf. G. Dottin, *Les razzias épiques*, *Revue Celtique* 40 (1923), 127-134; J. Weisweiler, *Zs f. celt. Philol.* 24 (1954), 26-28.

37) Cf. P. ó Riain, *The "Crech Rig" or "Regal Prey"*, *Eigse* 15 (1973), 24-30.

38) II. III. 183, XIV. 505 etc., cf. H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes* (Lille 1939), 26-43. For the Kouretes, see now my *Heroes, Rituals and the Trojan War*, *Studi Storico-Religiosi* 2 (1978, 5-38), 23-26, 28.

39) Cf. Hoekstra (above n. 23), 76-81.

40) II. V. 325f., XVIII. 251; Od. 3. 363f. For Odysseus, Mentor and other friends, cf. Od. 2. 254, 17. 68f. and 22. 208.

The more general meaning 'friend, companion' seems to be a later development, since this meaning does not tally so well with the typical element *swe which indicates, as Benveniste expressed it, the membership of a group of "siens propres".⁴¹⁾ Once again we find outlaws amidst the members of the age-set; Hector killed Lycophron, who had become a comrade of Ajax after having committed a murder at Cytheron (*Il.* XV. 430-39); another of Hector's victims was Epigeus, who was a comrade of Achilles after having murdered his nephew (*Il.* XVI. 370-76). Telemachos, whose ἑταῖροι were of the same age (*Od.* 3.363f.), happily received Theoclymenos, a fugitive who had killed a man (*Od.* 15.224f, amongst his comrades. Although the ἑταῖροι often function as a kind of permanent retinue, we also find ἑταῖροι for only one expedition as in Diomedes' nightly expedition.⁴²⁾

Raiding was one of the activities of the Greeks before Troy and we hear Achilles boasting about his theft of Aeneas' oxen (*Il.* XX.188-190). In this case it was the act of a fully qualified warrior, but elsewhere cattle-rustling is ascribed to novices. When the embassy of the Greeks beseeched Achilles to return to the battle-field, Nestor told a story of his youth. When he was very young he had taken part with others - the youth of Pylos? - in a βοηλασία against the Eleans. From the sequel we learn that he was not yet entitled to carry heavy arms according to his father Neleus. As a number of scholars have recently observed independently of each other, the whole episode relates Nestor's coming of age and has an initiatory background.⁴³⁾

Our last example concerns the Indo-Iranians. We have already seen that the Veda knows of an autonomous group of young men, the Marut, who functioned as the retinue of the god Indra. The Marut are called *márya* 'young men',⁴⁴⁾ and the related Iranian *mairya* occurs in the Avesta as the term for the members of anti-Zoroastrian bands. Although these bands are depicted in the darkest

41) E. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* (Paris 1969) I, 331-2 who also points at the relationship of ἑταῖρος and sodalis; see also De Simone, *Lapis Satricanus*, 84.

42) *Il.* X.234ff; similarly *Od.* 14.247.

43) *Il.* XI.670ff., cf. P.Walcot, *Cattle Raiding, Heroic Tradition and Ritual: the Greek Evidence*, *History of Religions* 18 (1979), 326-351; B.Bravo, *Συλᾶν*, *ASNP* III 10 (1980, 675-987), 954-958; F.Bader, *Rhapsodies homériques et irlandaises*, in R.Bloch (ed.), *Recherches sur les religions de l'antiquité classique* (Geneva/Paris 1980), 9-83 (too much influenced by Dumézil); P.Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir* (Paris 1981), 171; A.Schnapp-Gourbeillon, *Lions, hkros, masques* (Paris 1981), 157-159.

44) For the Indian *márya* and Marut, see S.Wikander, *Der arische Mannerbund* (Diss. Uppsala 1938); L.Renou, *Etudes védiques et panikennes* 10 (Paris 1962); J.C. Heesterman, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 6 (1962), 16f; B.Lincoln, *Priests, Warriors and Cattle* (Berkeley etc. 1981), 122-132.

colours and accordingly call for a careful evaluation of the information given by the Avesta and other Zoroastrian writings, it is consistent with the picture we have developed so far that these *mairya* are said to be accompanied by robbers - the booty, hardly surprisingly, consists of cattle - and that they are called 'two-pawed wolves'.⁴⁵⁾ Scholars have for a long time connected the word *mbrya* (*mairya*) with the term *maryanni*, the warrior aristocracy of the Mitanni. The occurrence of these Indo-European warriors in the Near East is a splendid example of a group of youths who have established themselves abroad after one of their raids.⁴⁶⁾

In ancient Iran we find the related term *marika* in Darius' inscription of Naqsh-e Rostam as a term for 'vassal', as Widengren has demonstrated in a detailed discussion. This strongly suggests, as Widengren rightly observes, that the feudal structure of the Achaemenid empire evolved from a society of young man which, we may add, had apparently broken away from the former tribal structure.⁴⁷⁾

Less remote in history than these bands of *mairya* are the bands of Persian youths described by Strabo (15.3.18). The geographer gives us an extensive description of the education of the Persian youths which he most likely derived from Hecataeus' *Periodos*.⁴⁸⁾ The boys are called in the Persian language *cardaces* because they have to live by theft for, according to Strabo, "*carda* means the manly and warlike spirit." The passage was deleted by Meineke but inspection of the Strabonian palimpsest has definitely shown that this suspicion was unfounded.⁴⁹⁾ Around 400 B.C. the *cardaces* were already mercenaries, as appears from a neglected fragment of the comedy writer Theopompos,⁵⁰⁾ and later in the

45) For the Iranian *mairya*, see Wikander (previous note) and G. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran* (Uppsala/Leipzig 1938), 311-351; Lincoln (previous note), *loc. cit.*

46) The most recent literature on the *maryanni* is surveyed by M. Mayrhofer, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient - ein Mythos?*, SB Wien 1974 and *idem*, *Welches Material aus dem Indo-Arischen von Mitanni verbleibt für eine selektive Darstellung?*, in *Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser* (1982). From Mayrhofer's survey it appears clearly that the objections of A. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient* (Heidelberg 1968), 220ff. against the Indo-European interpretation of *maryanni* have not found acceptance among other scholars.

47) Widengren, *Der Feudalismus* (above n. 20), 12-21.

48) Cf. F. Lasserre, *MH* 33 (1976), 71

49) Cf. F. Lasserre *apud* A. Alföldi, *Schweiz. Arch. f. Vkd.* 47 (1951), 14f. and *idem*, *Die Struktur*, 140. This has (understandably) escaped Walbank on *Pol.* 5.79.11 and Bosworth on *Arr.* 2.8.6.

50) Theopompos *apud* Ael. Dion. K 11 Erbse. For the identity of Theopompos,

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fourth century *cardaces* appeared in the army of Autophrodates (Nep.*Dam.* 8.2).⁵¹⁾ At the battle of Issus the *cardaces* seemed to have constituted the flower of the Persian army (Bosworth on Arr. 2.8.6), and in the early second century B.C. we still hear of a village of *cardaces* (Walbank on Pol. 5.79.11). The term *cardaces* recurs in a Pahlavi text, Draxt-i-Asurig § 18, where it has the meaning 'wanderer', a meaning that fits mercenaries and bands of youths who most likely had to wander around in order to commit their robberies. Thus it seems that in this case, too, a group of young men developed into a band of wandering warriors that could be enlisted by kings or condottieri into their service.

It is time to draw some conclusions. First, from our survey it appears that among the Indo-European peoples, just as among 'primitive' ones, the pre-adult males often constituted a separate group which occupied a place at the margin of, or even completely outside, society; this marginal position consequently attracted other marginals such as run-away slaves, outlaws and exiles.⁵²⁾ This even proved to be the case when the youths functioned as retainers of a noble or a king, a fact which throws an interesting light on the particular position in society of the body of retainers.

Second, these bands of youths might develop into separate communities, or establish themselves as a ruling élite over other places, as happened with the Brettii, the Achaemenid nobles and the Near Eastern rmaryanni. In the light of the evidence presented it also seems most probable that the foundation legend of Rome has to be taken into consideration as a serious tradition about Rome's origin: at Rome's cradle there was apparently present a band of Latin youths who had attracted the dregs of neighbouring peoples. Recent studies on the continuing process whereby separate Germanic and Celtic tribes were founded also suggest that the breaking away of the 'Jungmannschaft' was a major factor in the formation of new tribes.⁵³⁾

see H. Erbse, Untersuchungen zu den Attizistischen Lexica, Abh. Ak. Berlin, Philol.-Hist. Klasse 1949, 2 (Berlin 1950), 44. Erbse has been overlooked by Alföldi, Die Struktur, 140 and Bosworth on Arr. 2.8.6.

51) The number of *cardaces* by Nepos, centum milia, looks like a misunderstanding of his source, who probably was Deinon, cf. De(i)non FG^rH 690 F 18.

52) It would be very worthwhile to pursue this theme in e.g. the narrative tradition of Robin Hood and the stories about the haiduks of the Balkan, but I have to reserve that investigation for another occasion.

53) Cf. Wenskus (above n. 12), 295f., 299, 509 n. 533; Dobesch (above n. 7), 196 n. 57.

Third, the separate group of youths could function as a retinue, whether for one raid only or for a longer period of time; in either case the main object of raids in the archaic period was the cattle of neighbouring peoples. We have evidently no further information about the event(s) that occasioned the dedication, but if the stone was erected after a single raid, it is highly tempting to think of a cattle-raid, since at that time cattle will still have been the principal movable wealth; then, as much later, war was carried on mainly for the acquisition of booty.⁵⁴⁾ We have seen that cattle-raids figured in most traditions of the early Indo-European societies, and especially in stories of the activities of the young. And indeed, Romulus was pictured by Eutropius as a cattle-stealer, and Schwegler already suggested that the traditions in which Romulus helped shepherds against the rustlers were later transformations of tales in which the founder of Rome himself participated in cattle-lifting.⁵⁵⁾ Also the death of Tatius was explained as caused by a raid in which his friends had abducted some herds (DH. 2.51.1).

Fourth, these independent 'Jungmannschaften' showed a tendency to develop into a proper 'Männerbund' as we noted in the case of the *cardaces*; also the *fian* often appears as just a group of outlaws, and in Greece the *ἑταῖροι* are often groups of adult men, as e.g. in Crete.⁵⁶⁾ Similarly, the Germanic retinue gradually lost its character of a group of young men, even though in later times groups of noble young men could be found attached to the court of a king or a high aristocrat.⁵⁷⁾ The development which I have sketched here is not generally taken into account by those scholars who have studied the initiatory traditions of the Indo-European peoples - *honoris causa* I mention A. Alföldi, W. Burkert, M. Eliade, O. Hofler, K. Meuli, G. Widengren and S. Wikander. Normally these scholars use the term 'Männerbund' indiscriminately for associations of pre-adult and adult males. Yet, it becomes clear from our evidence that originally

54) Cf. A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor 1965), 377 and idem, *Entretiens Fondation Hardt XIII* (Geneva 1967), 269f.; W. V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome, 327-30 B.C.* (Oxford 1979), 59.

55) Eutrop. Brev. 1.1.2; A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte im Zeitalter der Könige* (Tübingen 1853) I, 431 n. 26.

56) On groups of *ἑταῖροι*, see G. M. Calhoun, *Athenian Clubs in Politics and Litigation* (Austin 1913); F. Sartori, *Le eterie nella vita politica ateniese nel VI e V secolo a.C.* (Rome 1957); C. P. Longo, 'Eterie' e gruppi politici nell'Atene del IV secolo a.C. (Firenze 1971); O. Aurenche, *Les groupes d'Alcibiade, de Lkogoras et de Teucros* (Paris 1974); A. W. Gomme/ A. Andrewes/ K. J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides V* (Oxford 1981), 128-131.

57) Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* 10.29; F. Menant, *Les écuyers (scutiferi), vassaux paysans d'Italie du Nord au XII^e siècle*, in *Structures fcodales et fhdalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen [X^e-XIII^e siècles]* (Rome 1980), 285-297 (peasant boys).

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it was especially the youth, who were no longer part of the family but had not yet established themselves as an independent family, that occupied a marginal position in the tribal societies. During this period they were not yet fully bound to the rules of their tribe, and the later men's societies often continued their anti-social behaviour.⁵⁸⁾

Since we have seen the prominence of youth in early retinues, and in Rome the word *sodales* was typical for groups of *young* companions, it is a reasonable inference that in the *Lapis Satricanus* we also have a companionship of *young* warriors functioning as the retinue of a noble Roman or inhabitant of Satricum. But whereas Versnel concluded to a permanent retinue, our evidence has shown that we must also allow for a band organized for a single raid. As such, my contribution naturally builds on the study by Versnel, who suggested the link with the 'Gefolgschaftswesen' but underrated the aspect of youth in early retinues due to his misinterpretation of the Fabian passage. It is therefore only appropriate to end this article by expressing once again my admiration for the speedy and learned manner in which he and his colleagues have made available to the scholarly world a stone which, although less informative than we would have liked, still contributes to our knowledge of the social structure of early Rome and its environment.⁵⁹⁾

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58) The literature on the subject is immense, but for our purpose it is enough to refer to H. Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Mannerbünde* (Berlin 1902); M. Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth* (New York 1958); A. Brelich, *Paides e parthenoi* (Rome 1969), 36 and note 101.

59) I would like to thank Rolf Bremmer, Richard Buxton, Theo Korteweg and Professor M. Mayrhofer for information and comments, and Dr. C.M. Stibbe for kindly supplying a photo of the *Lapis Satricanus*.