Coriolanus and Fortuna Muliebris

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> Know, Rome, that all alone Marcius did fight
> Within Corioli gates: where he hath won,
> With fame, a name to Caius Marcius; these
> In honour follows Coriolanus.
>
> William Shakespeare,
> *Coriolanus* Act 2

1. Introduction

In recent work, I have argued for a primitive Indo-European mythic tradition of what I have called the dysfunctional warrior – a warrior who, subsequent to combat, is rendered unable to function in the role of protector within his own society.[1] The warrior's dysfunctionality takes two forms: either he is unable after combat to relinquish his warrior rage and turns that rage against his own people; or the warrior isolates himself from society, removing himself to some distant place. In some descendent instantiations of the tradition the warrior shows both responses. The myth is characterized by a structural matrix which consists of the following six elements: (1) initial presentation of the crisis of the warrior; (2) movement across space to a distant locale; (3) confrontation between the warrior and an erotic feminine, typically a body of women who display themselves lewdly or offer themselves sexually to the warrior (figures of fecundity); (4) clairvoyant feminine who facilitates or mediates in this confrontation; (5) application of waters to the warrior; and (6) consequent establishment of societal order coupled often with an inaugural event. These structural features survive intact in most of the attested forms of the tradition, across the Indo-European cultures that provide us with the evidence, though with some structural adjustment at times. I have proposed that the surviving *myths* reflect a *ritual* structure of Proto-Indo-European date and that descendent ritual practices can also be identified. Reflexes of the primitive Indo-European tradition can be found, *inter alia*, in Vedic and Epic Sanskrit tradition (Indra); in the Iranian Nart epics (Batraz); in Irish tradition (CúChulainn); in

[1] See Woodard 2006:211–219; 2013; 2017a; 2017b; and forthcoming a.

Icelandic saga (*berserkir*); in Greek heroic tradition (Bellerophon and Lycurgus); and in Roman poetic and historiographic tradition: a conspicuous Italic expression is provided by the tradition of the encounter of Heracles/Semo Sancus with the devotees of Bona Dea following his slaying of the Palatine monster Cacus, as preserved by Propertius (4.9). The primitive structural matrix also survives in the aetiologies of the Poplifugia and the Nonae Caprotinae, though here there is a partial reconfiguring of the individual warrior's trauma as a general warrior crisis with which society must contend. I would add to these as well the cases of Horatius and Camillus, with a slightly reduced structural matrix, which in the latter instance is due to integration of the myth into the historical record of the later fifth and earlier fourth centuries BC. In the present work I will argue that the annalistic account of Marcius Coriolanus is a further expression of the primitive Indo-European dysfunctional warrior, one which is anchored in the aetiology of the cult of Fortuna Muliebris, and it is one that preserves the structural matrix of this deeply ancient mythic tradition with notable fidelity.

2. Overview of the Tradition.

Let us begin our look at Coriolanus with the deed that tradition has held to have given him his name; and in so doing we follow the lead of Livy (2.33.5). The event finds its *mise-en-scène* in the early fifth-century conflicts between Romans and Volscians, following the secession of the plebs to the Mons Sacer. A Roman army has laid siege to the city called Corioli (493 BC) – a place that Pliny (*HN* 3.9) can name among the communities of Latium that have disappeared prior to his own day – but that Roman army finds itself under surprise attack by a force of Volscian warriors from Antium; and in coordination with that attack, the defenders of the city charge out to engage the Romans. It is one Gnaeus Marcius who will turn the tide of the Volscian attacks: 'with a chosen body of fighters' (*cum delecta militum manu*, Liv. 2.33.7) he fends off the attackers coming from out the city, and fighting like a 'savage beast' (*ferox*) he pushes on within its gates, sets the city aflame, and defeats the warriors of Corioli. Hence his acquired name – Coriolanus. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 6.92.1) calls the city of Κοριόλα the μητρόπολις τῶν Οὐολούσκων 'mother-city of the Volscians' and agrees with Livy in his assessment that Marcius played the leading role in turning the tide of the attack of the Κοριολάνοι[2] and in breaching the gates of the city (*Ant. Rom.* 6.92.4–6; cf. Plu. *Cor.*

[2] For Aelius Herodianus (Περὶ παρωνύμων 3.2.885), the city is Κορίολλα and the ethnic is Κοριολλανός. The Suda (K 2092) has Κοριολάνοι for the ethnic.

8.1–6). According to Joannes Tzetzes (*Chiliades* 6.60.527–539), Marcius singlehandedly set the city aflame (which place Tzetzes names as Κοριόλανον) and caused a rout of the warriors of this place (whom he calls the Κοριόλοι).

There followed the crisis of a grain shortage in Rome that eventually necessitated the import of grain from Sicily (Liv. 2.34.1–8). Coriolanus vehemently opposed selling the acquired grain to the plebs at an affordable price unless the plebs should give up political gains they had made in their *secessio* (Liv. 2.34.9–12). Popular reaction against this demand – which demand Livy characterizes as 'savage' (*atrox*) in the view of the senate – resulted in Coriolanus being summoned to trial (Liv. 2.35.1–5). But Coriolanus refused to appear at the trial; Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 8.6.2) has him describe the participants as οἱ θῆτες καὶ ἀνέστιοι καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιβουλεύοντες βίοις 'laborers and the homeless, and plotting against others' livelihood'.

Having been convicted *in absentia,* Coriolanus deserted Rome for a life among the Volscians, 'threatening his fatherland and even possessing an enemy mind' (*minitans patriae hostilesque iam tum spiritus gerens*). Rome's heroic deliverer has turned his savage rage against Rome itself. The former enemy of the Volscians has become their ally (Liv. 2.35.6–8; see also D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 8.1.4–6).

Allied with the Volscian *princeps* Attius Tullius (or Tullus Attius: D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 8.1.4; Tullus Amphidius: Plu. *Cor*. 22.1), Coriolanus will go to war against his own people. The prime mover in the playing out of this conflict is ritual pollution. The ritual event is that of a celebration of *ludi magni,* games vowed to a deity in a moment of battle; the celebration in question is seemingly an early instantiation of the *ludi Romani magni* dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. On the morning that the *ludi* were to begin, a certain *paterfamilias* drove a beaten slave bound beneath a yoke (*furca*) through the middle of the Circus (Liv. 2.36.1). This is envisioned as having occurred in such a way as to form a part of the procession that preceded the games.[3] The games were then celebrated; but because of the offence (*religio*) entailed by the incident of the *paterfamilias* and his tortured slave appearing, *de facto,* within the procession, the games had to be sumptuously repeated when Jupiter demanded it in dreams that came to a certain plebeian man, Titus Latinius (Liv. 2.36.2–8; cf. Plu. *Cor*. 34.1–5). The repetition of the games provided the opportunity for Tullius and Coriolanus to engineer a confrontation between Romans and a number of Volscians in attendance at the games, resulting in

[3] On the procession of the *ludi Romani magni,* see D.H. *Ant. Rom*. 7.72.1–13. See also Plu. *Cor*. 24.3–5.

the humiliating removal of the latter and ensuing Volscian face-saving through declaration of war on Rome (Liv. 2.37.1–38.6). In his account of these events, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 8.2.3–4) makes no mention of Livy's *ludi*-polluting episode but portrays Coriolanus as declaring that Rome must be tricked so that it will be the party that first commits a παρανομία 'legal transgression' – and by implication τὸ δαιμόνιον οὐχ ἕξεις εὐμενές 'the deity will not be well-disposed' (see *Ant. Rom.* 8.2.3).

With his Volscian warriors, Coriolanus overwhelms one Roman and Latin community after another, retaking cities that Rome had seized. Glorying in their destructiveness, the Volscians hymn (ὑμνέω) Coriolanus as τὰ πολέμια δεινότατος ἀνθρώπων 'most terrible among humans in war-making'; but mostly they 'called him blessed' (μακαρίζω) for his Τύχη 'Fortune' (D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 8.17.1–2). Finally turning his attention upon Rome itself, Coriolanus encamps with his army five miles from the city, at the site named as *fossae Cluiliae* (Liv. 2.39.1–5; see also D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 8.22.1–2; Plu. *Cor.* 30.1), the same locale at which the Albans had camped in their Roman offensive in the time of Tullus Hostilius (see Liv. 1.23.3–4), and from which (though not at which) place the scenario of *feroculus* Horatius[4] and the Curiatii unfolded – a trial of arms that Livy (1.23.10) characterizes as enabled by Fortuna herself. From this place of encampment, landmarked by its watery courses (*fossae*), Coriolanus sent his warriors to destroy farms in the vicinity – but only plebeian farms (see also D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 8.12.3): the destructive fury of the warrior is unleashed chiefly on one component of his own society, that element which is structured as his perpetual opponent, that element which *can* in Roman mythic and ritual tradition be assigned the role of the ancestral *ideology* of the class of goods-producers.[5] In Livy's synchronization of the Coriolanus tradition (2.39.6–8) the violence exercised preferentially against the plebs is meant to set senate and plebs against one another, though it is a goal realized with limited success (cf. D.H. *Ant. Rom*. 8.12.3–4; 8.14.4–15.1; 8.21.3–5).

At the demand of the Roman masses, overtures for peace were made. The senate sent a patrician delegation (*oratores*) to the camp of Coriolanus to negotiate a truce (Liv. 2.39.9–12; Marcus Minucius is identified in the speaking role). Dionysius of Halicarnassus relates how the envoys tell their fellow countryman that he has confounded τὰ φίλια τοῖς πολεμίοις 'the near-and-dear with the hostile', telling him also:

[4] See Woodard 2013:186.
[5] See Woodard 2013:263–268.

> Νόμους τε κινεῖς φύσεως ἀκινήτους καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς συνταράττεις ὅσια, καὶ οὐδὲ σεαυτὸν ἐξ ὧν τε καὶ ὅστις ἔφυς ἔτι μέμνησαι.
>
> 'You alter the unalterable ordinances of nature and you disorder things ordained by the gods; you no longer remember yourself, neither from whom you were born nor what you are.' (D.H. *Ant. Rom*. 8.23.2)

The dysfunctional warrior has brought *dissolution* and *destruction* within the boundaries of his own place. And, the *oratores* add, τοῦτο τεθαυμάκαμεν 'this leaves us astonished'.[6] In his accounting of the delegation, Dionysius makes it clear that by their enunciations the *oratores* are seeking to reintegrate the exiled warrior into Roman society and to make of him again a functioning warrior for Rome (see *Ant. Rom*. 8.25.4–5). Realizing no success, the *oratores* returned to Rome, only to be sent back to Coriolanus in a second failed attempt (a different set for Dionysius [*Ant. Rom.* 8.37.1]). Following this a delegation of priests went from Rome to the camp of Coriolanus – *pontifices*, *augures*, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὅσοι τιμήν τινα ἱερὰν ἢ λειτουργίαν περὶ τὰ θεῖα δημοτελῆ λαβόντες εἶχον 'and all the others, as many as held some sacred office or who had undertaken public service in matters of religion' (*Ant. Rom.* 8.38.1; see also Plu. *Cor*. 32.1).[7] The delegation of the sacred fared no better than the delegation of the body politic.

These efforts having failed, Roman *matronae* took matters into their own hands and ran (θέω), records Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 8.39.1), to the sacred precincts, especially to the Capitoline temple of Jupiter, groveling (προκυλίομαι) before the images, filling those sacred spaces with voices of wailing and supplication. There was among them a certain woman, Valeria by name, made to be a sister of P. Valerius Publicola, who operating under some divine impulse (D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 8.39.2; Plu. *Cor*. 32.6–7; 33.2), led the *matronae* of Rome to the house of Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, whom Livy (2.40.2) describes succinctly as a 'woman of great age' (*magno natu mulier*). There is a third woman who will play a role in the

[6] For elaboration of these sins of this warrior, see *Ant. Rom.* 8.25.1–3.

[7] The delegation of the priests together with the pronounced enunciative actions of the *oratores* is conspicuously homologous to the delegation of gods and seers that sought out the dysfunctional Indra in his remote space of separation from society, where the leader of the delegation, Bṛhaspati, hymns Indra with words meant to restore him to a position of functionality. While Bṛhaspati and his delegation were successful (see Woodard 2013:128–129), the Roman priests – like the *oratores* before them – were not. On the similarity of Bṛhaspati's hymn to Indra to the hymn of the Fratres Arvales to Mars (for which hymn see below), see Woodard 2011.

action that is about to unfold: Volumnia, the wife of Coriolanus and mother of his children. The women of Rome, under the leadership of Valeria,[8] urge Veturia and Volumnia (together with her sons)[9] to lead them to the camp of Coriolanus and to accomplish 'with prayers and tears' (*precibus lacrimisque*) what would not be accomplished (*non possent*) with weapons (*armis viri*) – the turning away of the wrath of the Roman warrior from his own community (Liv. 2.40.2). Livy's juxtaposition placed on the lips of Veturia – that of feminine encounter versus martial power – is intriguing, as one might have expected the delegation of *matronae* to be immediately set in contrast to the political and religious delegations that had preceded them (and Livy will do so a few lines later [2.40.3]).[10] Livy names the delegation of *matronae* a *mulierum agmen* 'host of women', using a term (*agmen*) commonly employed to denote a warrior horde. It is a derived nominal of primitive Indo-European ancestry[11] and finds an exact cognate in Vedic Sanskrit *ajman-*, used of a passing through space or time, often with bellicose affiliations, even used to denote 'battle'.[12]

When this *mulierum agmen* approaches the camp and Coriolanus is informed that his mother, wife, and children are among the advancing troop, Livy writes that he took fright (*consterno*), like one crazed (*amens*; 2.40.5). Veturia takes the lead in the encounter that ensues, asking her son:

> *Potuisti populari hanc terram, quae te genuit atque aluit? Non tibi quamvis infesto animo et minaci perveneras ingredienti fines ira*[13] *cecidit?*

[8] Valeria is not mentioned by Livy. Ogilvie is undoubtedly correct when he notes (1965:334): "In L[ivy] too the inspiration comes from a source other than Veturia herself so that he presumably had the same version before him but suppressed the individual name . . . ."

[9] Dionysius explicitly describes the delegation as consisting of Roman women together with their infant children and invokes the comparison of the Sabine wives and their infants who physically separated their Roman husbands from their Sabine male relatives during the fight within the forum valley in the reign of Romulus (cf. Plutarch *Cor*. 33.3).

[10] Bṛhaspati's success was realized in conjunction with the actions of the erotic feminine in the account of *Mahābhārata* 5, which appears to wed separate traditions. In the case of Coriolanus, the comparable feminine party realized success *in contrast to* the delegations of *oratores* and priests. This is paralleled by the variant account of *Mahābhārata* 12, according to which the gods and seers are unsuccessful in their search for the dysfunctional Indra, as opposed to Śacī, whose quest for recovery of the warrior is successful (see Woodard 2013:139–148).

[11] See Perrot 1961:237–256.

[12] See Gonda 1967:426–427.

[13] For the *ira* of the dysfunctional warrior, see Woodard 2006 and 2013.

> Have you been able to ravage this land, which birthed and nourished you? However hostile and menacing was your mind when you arrived, did not your rage fall away at crossing the boundaries? (Liv. 2.40.7)

These are rhetorical questions. Coriolanus *has* ravaged the land of his birth. His rage *did not* fall way upon crossing the border. Dionysius places on the lips of Coriolanus this reply (*Ant. Rom*. 8.54.1): τὴν μὲν γὰρ πατρίδα σέσωκας, ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ φιλόστοργον υἱὸν ἀπολώλεκας 'you have saved the fatherland, but you have destroyed me, the sacrally-true son, who loves those near and dear'. The devoted, but dysfunctional, warrior must be put away for the good of society.

Other details regarding the multitude of women are worth noting. Conspicuous are vocal elements, aside from the address delivered by Veturia. Livy (2.40.9) writes of the *fletus* 'lamenting' and the *comploratio* 'vociferous complaint' *ab omni turba mulierum* 'from the whole throng of women' that 'crushed' (*frango*) the *vir* 'man', or possibly we should understand a more metaphoric sense 'prowess'. The warrior who would slay has been slain, not with bronze or iron, but with utterance. Dionysius of Halicarnassus reports that Veturia threw herself on the ground before Coriolanus and when she had done so, all the women together 'cried out' (ἀναβοάω); whereupon:

> Οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντες Οὐολούσκων οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο τὴν ἀήθειαν τῆς ὄψεως, ἀλλ' ἀπεστράφησαν.
>
> Those of the Volscians who were present at the gathering would not suffer the strangeness of the sight, but they turned away. (D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 8.54.1)

What is there here to cause hardened warriors – battlefield butchers – to avert their gaze?

In a fragment from his *Historiae Romanae* Cassius Dio provides a further detail. We read that after her verbal confrontation with her son Coriolanus, Veturia said and did this:

> Ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα ἀνέκλαυσε, καὶ τήν τε ἐσθῆτα καταρρηξαμένη καὶ τοὺς μαστοὺς προδείξασα τῆς τε γαστρὸς ἁψαμένη, 'ἰδού,' ἔφη, 'τέκνον, αὕτη σε ἔτεκεν, οὗτοί σε ἐξέθρεψαν.'

> When she had said these things, she screamed out, and after ripping her clothing, exposing her breasts, and grabbing at her womb, she said 'Behold, child, this which bore you, these which nourished you.' (D.C. 5.18.10)

(cf. Zonaras' epitome [7.16] of Dio). Here Greek γαστήρ may translate Latin *volva* (on which, see below), or possibly *venter*, and *volva* at least can denote not only 'womb', as typical, but also metonymically (and euphamistically) can name the female gentials, as in Juv. 6.129 and Pers. 6.73 (cf. 4.36).[14]

Joannes Tzetzes, as so often, has interesting information to provide. In introducing his verses on Coriolanus in *Chiliades* 6.60 (lines 522–524), Tzetzes acknowledges Dio but also ἄλλοι δὲ μυρίοι 'countless others' who have treated the deeds of the Romans, and he appears to have access to more expansive treatments:

> Καὶ εἰ μὴ μέσον συρραγῆς ἐκείνου τοῦ πολέμου
> δραμοῦσαι κατεσχίσαντο τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χιτῶνας
> γυμναί τε περιέστησαν ἡ σύζυγος καὶ μήτηρ,
> ἡ Βετουρνία τε αὐτὴ καὶ Βολουμνία κλῆσιν,
> καὶ τοῦτον μόλις ἔπαυσαν τῆς κατὰ Ῥώμης μάχης,
> ἡ Ῥώμη ἂν ἐπέγνωκε τιμᾶν τοὺς εὐεργέτας.
> Ἀλλὰ λιταῖς ταῖς μητρὸς παυσθεὶς καὶ τῆς συζύγου
> πόλεμον μὲν κατέπαυσε τὸν κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων.
> Αὐτὸς τοὺς Κοριόλους δὲ ἀφεὶς καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους,
> πρὸς ἄλλην γῆν ἀπέδραμε, τῇ λύπῃ βεβλημένος.
>
> And if, in the midst of that conflict of the war, his wife and mother – Veturnia and Volumnia by name – had not, when they'd moved quickly, torn off their own tunics and stood around naked and just barely stopped him from the fight against Rome, then Rome would have decided to honor those giving service. But – instead – stopped by the prayers of mother and wife, he put an end to war against the Romans. And having abandoned the Corioli and the Romans, he ran away to another land, being struck with anguish. (Tz. *Chiliades* 6.60.546–555)

Rome is saved by the intervention of the *mulierum agmen*, the horde of *matronae*; Coriolanus withdraws his warriors from the *Ager Romanus* (Liv. 2.40.10).

[14] In his study of Latin sexual vocabulary, Adams (1982:94n2) contends that "a lexical distinction is not always maintained between the vagina and womb."

Livy tells us that he knows of various traditions of how Coriolanus died as a consequence of his abandonment of his war on Rome (for Dionysius of Halicarnassus, he was stoned [*Ant. Rom.* 8.59.1]; for Plutarch, he was slain by a Volscian mob [*Cor.* 39.4–5]) – or not: Livy cites Fabius Pictor for the tradition that Coriolanus achieved old age in exile (2.40.10–11).

We are told that in recognition of the salvific act of the Roman *matronae*, a sanctuary and temple of Fortuna were established at the site of the encounter in which a host of women had turned aside a Roman warrior who had become a threat to his own community. The site lies on the Via Latina, at the fourth milestone from Rome.[15] The positioning is notable in that the cult site stands as one member of a cluster of such sites that ring the archaic Ager Romanus, situated approximately equidistant from Rome.[16] Other members of this set include: (1) the grove of the Fratres Arvales at the fifth milestone of the Via Campana; (2) the site of the celebration of the public Terminalia at the sixth milestone of the Via Laurentina; (3) the site of a public Ambarvia described by Strabo (5.3.2), which he locates between fifth and sixth milestones (as well as at other boundary sites); (4) the grove of Robigo at the fifth milestone of the Via Claudia; (5) the augural boundary at the meeting of the Ager Romanus and the Ager Gabinus along the Via Praenestina; (6) the temple of Mars with its Lapis Manalis, and probably the site of certain images of Mars and wolves that Livy mentions (22.1.12) in a list of prodigies that occurred in 217 BC – situated on the Via Appia, seemingly between the first and second milestones.

The Via Latina cult of Fortuna, finding a cult aetiology in the feminine turning away of Coriolanus from Rome, is dedicated to Fortuna Muliebris (Liv. 2.40.11–12). Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 8.55.2–5) reports that the senate resolved to reward the women for their action. Responding to the women's request, the senate and the *populus* then determined to fund the establishment of a sacred precinct, with temple and altar, and public sacrifices. As the first priestess of Fortuna Muliebris, the women chose Valeria, she who had been crucial, under divine inspiration, in organizing the *mulierum agmen*.

In addition, a statue was commissioned from public funds, while the women funded a second image. Both statues were erected on the same day, a day of consecration, and that statue which had been provided by the women was reported to have produced an utterance (D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 8.56.2; Plu. *Cor.* 37.3 and *Moralia*

[15] A mile closer to Rome than the encampment at the *fossae Cluiliae*; see the remarks of Alföldi 1965: 300, with note 4.
[16] See Alföldi 1965:296–304; Woodard 2006:133–141; Fulminante 2014:115–132.

319A; V. Max. 1.8.4). At some subsequent moment, when the temple was full and there was complete silence, the enunciative event was repeated. At the judgment of the priestess of Fortuna Muliebris, the women ordained that only αἱ νεόγαμοι 'newly married women' should touch or garland the statue (D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 8.56.1–4). Tertullian (*De monogamia* 17) specifies that they must be *univirae*, women who have had only a single husband (cf. Fest. p. 242M and Serv. *A.* 4.19). Cornell rightly observes regarding the cult and its aetiology grounded in the Coriolanus affair: "There is . . . a curious contradiction in the story as it stands, in that the cult was confined to women in their first marriage, and excluded widows and remarried women."[17] And this is the contradiction that he sees: "This seems an odd way for the Senate to honour Coriolanus' widowed mother." The contradiction of the annalistic accounts may perhaps be ameliorated by an examination of ancestral traditions that contextualize the cult aetiology

3. Interpretation

What are we to make of all of this? Possibly – that Coriolanus is merely an aetiological foil for the cult of Fortuna Muliebris: the idea has been voiced before.[18] The annalistic aberrance of the Coriolanus episode, at least in Livy, has been amply commented upon: "Only here does L[ivy] abandon the regular annalistic practice of introducing each year formally with its list of magistrates . . . ." writes Ogilvie.[19] And again Ogilvie, regarding the "legend" of Coriolanus (emphasis is my own): ". . . which was in origin a *timeless* one, not pinned down to any particular date, since Cn. Marcius Coriolanus did not figure anywhere in the annual list of magistrates."[20] Much more recently, Cornell observes: "Neither Coriolanus himself nor any of the other principal *dramatis personae* appears in any of the known versions of the consular *Fasti*, and no one listed in the *Fasti* has an indispensable part in the story."[21]

In any event, I believe that by this point in the exposition it has become clear that the Roman tradition of this warrior of the early Republic fully fits the profile of the dysfunctional warrior seen elsewhere in Rome and across the Indo-European world. The particular expressions of this recurring structural matrix in this tradition

[17] Cornell 2003:76.
[18] See, for example, Rich 2013:11.
[19] Ogilvie 1965:314.
[20] Ogilvie 1976:95.
[21] Cornell 2003:75. Though further along in Cornell's article it appears that he would allow, if not contend for, the historicity of the man named Coriolanus (see his pp. 90–91).

can be enumerated: (1) narrative of the warrior who falls into crisis following a defining heroic achievement in combat; (2) flight of Coriolanus from Rome into the foreign space of Volscian territory; (3) confrontation between Coriolanus and the fertile host of the *mulierum agmen* with nude display (and see further below); (4) divinely inspired feminine, Valeria, who facilitates that confrontation; (5) setting of the encounter in the vicinity of a site landmarked by watercourses – *fossae*; (6) restoration of order to Roman society and inauguration of a cult.

The names assigned to the principals in this tale are simply too suggestive – too semiotically ostentatious – to be ignored, vis-à-vis the primitive tradition of the dysfunctional warrior. Let us consider first the three named women, beginning with that woman who is cast as the mother of Coriolanus. Upon mentioning the name of Veturia, Livy quickly segues into the appositive *magno natu mulier* (2.40.2), as if her very name equates to her chronological attitude, one existentially characterized as *vetus*. If this is what is intended, and it must be, there is folk-etymological precedence. At *De lingua Latina* 6.49, Varro makes mention of one whose name is invoked in a *Carmen Saliorum* (see also Fest. p. 131M), archaic song of Mars' priests the Salii. This one is named as Mamurius Veturius and, writes Varro, when Mars' priests sing this name *significant memoriam veterem* 'they signify "old memory"'. It is a curious bit of etymologizing but, in that regard, not out of character with the general etymologizing style exhibited in *De lingua Latina*. Mamurius is undoubtedly a derivative of the name of Mars, as others have observed; compare the Oscan form *Mamers* (Fest. pp. 130–131, 158M; Alfius Flavus fr. 1).[22] And Varro must have had some awareness (or, at the very least suspicion – but surely awareness) of that: compare *De lingua Latina* 5.73 in which passage Varro writes that Latin *Mars* is taken from Sabine *Mamers* or from Latin *mares* 'males; manly ones' because they participate in war. Note that the dative *Mamartei* appears in the inscription of the Lapis Satricanus (to which we shall return shortly), which if inscribed in Latin, as seems most likely, preserves a form of the language roughly contemporaneous with the traditional chronological setting of the Coriolanus account. This Mamurius Veturius is commemorated at the Mamuralia, coinciding with the Second Equirria of March 14: the date is noted in *fasti* as dedicated to Mars (*Feriae Marti* in the *fasti Vaticani*) and as *Sacrum Mamurio* 'sacred to Mamurius'.[23] Frazer interprets Mamurius Veturius as 'the old Mars';[24] Dumézil links the name most directly to the month bearing the god's name, thus 'the old one of March' (the

[22] For epigraphic evidence see Untermann 2000:446–448.
[23] See Woodard 2011; also 2013:83n13.
[24] Frazer 1935:2:208.

month name, rather than the god's, over concerns stemming from the notion of an "agrarian Mars" which he rejects).[25]

In earlier work I argued that *Veturius* is best understood as descended not from the Indo-European root *wet- meaning 'year', source of, *inter alia*, Latin *vetus* 'old', but from the homophonous root *wet-[26] that gives rise to various reflexes denoting mental activity, including mantic and crazed mentalities and extending into, if not centered in, the sphere of divine and poetic possession and warrior madness. Reflexes include Sanskrit *api-vātayati* 'to excite'; Old Irish *fáith* 'prophet, seer'; Gaulish ουάτεις 'seer', possible source of Latin *vātēs*; Old Norse *ōðr* 'poetry'; Old High German *fer-wuot* 'raging'; Gothic *wodan* (accusative) 'possessed'; Old Norse *Óðinn*, the god who rages, like his *berserkir* and *úlfhéðnar*, shape-shifting warriors held in the possession of combat rage. Mamurius Veturius is the 'crazed one of Mars'.

In the ritual activity conducted at the time of the Mamuralia, we see this characterization of Veturius played out. Joannes Lydus describes the rite (*Mens.* 4.49). On the eve of the Ides of the month of Mars (March),[27] on an even-numbered and, hence, inauspicious day, as the Roman new year begins to take shape, and the archaic military season gets underway, public prayers are said for a year of soundness (ὑγιεινός) – for the wellbeing of Rome. Lydus then writes: ἱεράτευον δὲ καὶ ταῦρον ἐξέτη ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἀγρῶν, ἡγουμένου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν κανηφόρων τῆς Μητρός. This line requires a bit of attention. That a bull (six years old) used to be consecrated (ἱερατεύω) – which must be the sense of the verb here – on this day would be of no surprise: the bull is the sacrificial animal of Mars; and this day of March, the day of the Second Equirria and the Mamuralia, is a day dedicated to Mars. But that someone used to consecrate this bull ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἀγρῶν 'for the sake of the fields of the mountains'[28] hardly seems sensible in context.

The sequence of festivals that surround the Second Equirria, running from the Terminalia of February 23 and the Regifugium of February 24 through the Quinquatrus of March 19, are conspicuously marked by *boundary* concerns. This set of festivals in effect encapsulates the *boundary* of the new year, and several of the constituent festivals are conspicuously associated with movement across sacred

[25] Dumézil 2000:224–225; but see Woodard 2011:232–235, 240, 259, 264–265.
[26] Or possibly *$h_2$wet-. See Woodard 2011:325n137 for discussion.
[27] Lydus dates the festival to the Ides, which must be a "mistake," as generally regarded.
[28] As read, for example, by Fishwick 1966:196.

boundary.[29] Surely we should read ὅροις for ὄρεσιν and understand that the bull is consecrated 'for the *agri* within the boundaries' – the bounded spaces of Rome – the Ager Romanus and its constituent bounded spaces (as well as the urban space within the Pomerium). What is no doubt intended in this ritual moment at the outset of the martial season is that the *agri* of Rome be kept sound. Perhaps a procession with the bull along boundaries or within bounded space is intended, such as those accomplished with the *suovetaurilia* (boar, bull, and ram) in conjunction with various rites of purification.[30] Compare the variant form of the *suovetaurilia* (two pigs, a cow, and a lamb) that is utilized in the purification of the grove of Dea Dia by the Fratres Arvales – a ritual site located on the boundary of the Ager Romanus.[31]

To return to Lydus' description – he tells us that the procession was led by the ἀρχιερεύς, that is, the Pontifex Maximus, and by κανηφόροι. In each instance Lydus uses a Greek term to name a Roman cult participant. In the latter case he self-evidently refers to women that take a leading role in this procession and that hold *canistra*, baskets commonly used in the performance of Roman ritual. One is reminded, for example, of Ovid's description of rustic rites of the boundary god Terminus, celebrated, as just noted, on February 23:[32]

Termine, sive lapis sive es defossus in agro
stipes, ab antiquis tu quoque numen habes.
te duo diversa domini de parte coronant,
binaque serta tibi binaque liba ferunt.
ara fit: huc ignem curto fert rustica testo
sumptum de tepidis ipsa colona focis.
ligna senex minuit concisaque construit arte,
et solida ramos figere pugnat humo;
tum sicco primas inritat cortice flammas;
stat puer et manibus lata canistra tenet.
inde ubi ter fruges medios immisit in ignes,
porrigit incisos filia parva favos.
vina tenent alii: libantur singula flammis;
spectant, et linguis candida turba favet.

[29] See Woodard 2011; also 2013:83–84.
[30] See Woodard 2006:103–131, 139–141, 157–158, 174–180.
[31] Woodard 2006:130–140.
[32] The translation is that of Boyle and Woodard 2004.

Terminus, whether you are a stone or a stump buried
in earth, your worship too is ancient.
Two landowners from opposite sides crown you,
and offer you two garlands and two cakes.
An altar is built. The rustic farm-wife lugs there
a cracked pot blazing with her warm hearth-fire.
The old man chops wood, assembles the pieces with skill,
and battles to stick branches in the stiff ground.
Then he rouses the first flames with dry bark.
A boy stands by clutching wide baskets.
When the grain has been hurled three times into the fire,
A small daughter presents cut honeycombs.
Others clasp wine for separate libations to the flames;
A crowd in white watches with silent tongues. (Ov. *Fast*. 2.641–654)

Lydus further characterizes the female participants as τῆς Μητρός. Some interpreters have operated with the assumption that Μήτηρ refers to Cybele, the Great Mother.[33] Such an identification is unlikely in that primitive moment of which this ritual appears to be an expression – a ritual that finds a context in archaic Roman concepts of the warrior and society. The Mater Larum is a potential referent: in their rites celebrated within the grove of Dea Dia, mentioned above in conjunction with the *suovetaurilia* and the boundary of the Ager Romanus, the Fratres Arvales celebrate the Mater Larum: she receives offerings of *puls* (the porridge made from *far*) contained in the vessels called *ollae*; the offering is made from within the temple of Dea Dia when cult participants carrying the *ollae* to the temple doors toss them out so that they tumble downhill.[34]

Another possible identity of Lydus' Μήτηρ is the Mater Matuta (dawn goddess). She is otherwise affiliated with martial phenomena and with Mars. Camillus is a figure that shows clear parallels to Coriolanus – as Camillus is himself, as I have argued elsewhere, a particular Roman expression of the inherited primitive tradition of the dysfunctional warrior.[35] Camillus vowed to restore the Forum Boarium

[33] Showerman 1906; Fishwick 1966.
[34] See Woodard 2006:109–116.
[35] See Woodard 2013:105–117. For a comparative consideration of Camillus and Coriolanus in a study that is rather unlike this one with regard to both warriors, except for the common contextualizing in inherited Indo-European ideology, see Dumézil 1995:3:239–262. At least in part, Dumézil builds his interpretation of the figure of Coriolanus on Gerschel 1953.

temple of Mater Matuta if he should prevail against Veii (Liv. 5.19.6–7; 5.23.7). More generally, Dumézil argues that the conspicuous association of Camillus with battle victories at dawn reveals that "the authors of the chronicle [i.e. the collected documentation of the traditions of Camillus] truly wished Camillus to appear lastingly as the protégé of Mater Matuta."[36] The dysfunctional warrior Camillus displays a relationship of dependency upon the Mater Matuta.[37] There is also the well-rehearsed matter of the inscription of the *Lapis Satricanus* (CIL^2.2832a), dated to ca. 500 BC, recovered from the temple of Mater Matuta at ancient Satricum. By the common interpretation, it reads (following a broken edge preserving the letter sequence *-iei*): *steterai popliosio ualesiosio suodales mamartei* 'The *suodales* of Publius Valerius set [me] up to Mars'.[38]

Lydus has more to say about this procession: ἤγετο δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπος περιβεβλημένος δοραῖς αἰγείαις, καὶ τοῦτον ἔπαιον ῥάβδοις λεπταῖς ἐπιμήκεσι Μαμούριον αὐτὸν καλοῦντες 'And they also used to march a man cloaked in goat hides, and they would strike him with long slender rods, calling him *Mamurius*' (*Mens*. 4.49). Lydus then goes on to relate how the figure that bears the name Mamurius in Roman tradition was beaten so as to be driven out of the city (τῆς πόλεως) over a matter of the movement (κινέω) of the *ancilia*, being the sacred shields carried by the Salii of Mars as they process dancing, leaping, and singing through the streets of Rome during the month of March.[39] This figure Mamurius came to be viewed as the fabricator of those shields (all but the one that fell from Jupiter) in the reign of Numa, likely a construct based on his invocation in the *Carmen Saliorum*, song of the shield bearers, and Lydus makes an aside reference to that tale; whatever sense is to be made of that element of the tradition with its internal inconsistencies – now famed, now blamed for the fabricating deed – clearly the aetiology of the driving out of Mamurius from Rome, with its annual ritual

[36] Dumézil 1980:69.

[37] And there is also the Matronalia (distinct from the Matralia of Mater Matuta) that is celebrated on the Kalends of the month of Mars, which, as I have suggested elsewhere (Woodard 2011), appears to be a later addition to the festival calendar of Mars' month, being out of character with all that surrounds it.

[38] For summary discussion, see Baldi 2002:204–206. For a recent treatment of the concept or institution of *suodales*, within the context of the tradition of Coriolanus, see Cornell 2003:88–90, with bibliography and discussion of the related notions explored by earlier investigators, such as Dumézil and Gerschel.

[39] Seemingly the tradition to which Lydus refers is one in which a figure styled as Mamurius crafted a new set of shields (see the main text immediately following) so that the originals would not wear out from their "movement" in the processions of the Salii, metaphorically denoted by the phrase *movere ancilia* (Liv. 37.33.6; see comments of Briscoe 1981:339–340).

rehearsal in March, at the outset of the war-making season, must be bound to a constant martial potentiality that Lydus references as he brings his remarks to a close: δυσχερῶν τινων προσπεσόντων . . . τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις 'certain difficult things having come upon the Romans'.

What are these difficulties? The adjective δυσχερής can certainly be used of matters that are 'of a bad hand' (its componential sense) in the martial realm. Consider the Roman use of *manus* to denote a 'band of warriors' – likely a primitive nuance: compare Hittite *maniyaḫḫai-* 'power' and Homeric μάρπτω 'to seize' (from μάρη 'hand'),[40] as in *Il.* 21.564 as the Trojan Agenor frets that Achilles may chase him down and 'seize' him, and similarly of Hector and Achilles at 22.201 – and so on. Δυσχερής occurs only one time in the *Antiquitates Romanae*: Dionysius of Halicarnassus uses it in his description of Mettius Fufetius' succession to the command of the Alban army following the mysterious death of the king Cluilius, an event set at the army's encampment at that site that would come to bear Cluilius' name (*fossae Cluiliae*) – the very site of Coriolanus' encampment as he directed his rage against Rome – close by the site of the temple precinct of Fortuna Muliebris. Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 3.5.3) describes Mettius as a man who is nonfunctional in the role of protector of his city: ἀνὴρ οὔτε πολέμου ἡγεμὼν ἱκανὸς οὔτε εἰρήνης βέβαιος φύλαξ 'a man sufficient neither as a leader of combat nor as a guardian of secure peace'. Dionysius goes on to say that upon assuming command, Mettius comprehended the ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι δυσχερῆ καὶ ἄπορα 'difficulties and aporetic state/helplessness of matters'. He sees that neither do all of the Albans still have ὁμοία προθυμία πρὸς πόλεμον 'an equal zealous spirit for combat' οὔτε τὰ σφάγια ὁπότε θύοιτο περὶ μάχης καλὰ γινόμενα 'nor were the victims auspicious whenever he would make sacrifice regarding battle'. This is the nature of the δυσχερῆ of the warrior: absence of rightly-directed rage and crisis in the arena of the gods.

In the annual celebration of the Mamuralia, Roman society makes ritual preparation for the advent of the season of war. The raging one of Mars, a *Mamurius veturius*, the Roman warrior whose raging state is misplaced within the boundaries of the city is driven away beyond the boundary of the city into a space where his rage can be turned against the enemies of society. This is a crisis ritually played out in the realm of the specialist of war as the old year spirals into disorder, to be reordered as the new. Just as the old year began the process of dissolution and unraveling with the ritual playing out of a crisis in the realm of the specialist of religious order with the celebration of the Regifugium and the flight of the Rex

[40] See Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:707.

(Sacrorum) across the boundary of the Comitium (February 24), so with the Mamuralia (March 14) the dissolution, leading to proper order, continues.[41]

Veturia must earn her name from her encounter with and her overwhelming of the warrior Coriolanus, who is **a** *Mamurius veturius*. This is the warrior whom she overwhelms by becoming combatant herself, turning him aside with her enunciations and her flaunting display of breasts and belly/genitals. Compare the enunciation and action of Mugain, leader of the nude delegation of the women of Emain Macha who come out of the city to confront the raging CúChulainn and turn aside his destructive fury aimed at his own people: of their bared breasts, Mugain says, "These are the combatants who will come against you today" (*Táin Bó Cúailgne* 812–813). As CúChulainn must then turn away his gaze, so the Volscian warriors must do the same. It is demanded by the tradition; it is, I have argued, demanded by the underpinning ritual.[42]

Veturia plays an enunciative, intercessory role in the *mulierum agmen* that confronts the dysfunctional Coriolanus. In this way she is homologous, as we have just seen, to Irish Mugain, who is wife of the Ulster king Conchobor, and to Scannlach (with a name meaning 'Scandalous') in the version of that Irish tradition that appears in the Book of Leinster. The structural equivalent in Indic tradition is Śacī, wife of Indra who seeks him out in the distant space to which he has withdrawn and begins the process of turning aside his dysfunctionality. These are not elderly women of the sort that Livy (2.40.2) envisions Veturia to be when he describes her, as we have seen, as *magno natu mulier*; but this is Roman folk etymologizing of her name. In archaic Roman cult tradition, as examined from a comparative perspective, one might well expect the figure who is personified as the 'raging woman', the *veturia* who confronts the dysfunctional warrior, to be other than the old woman.[43]

The Roman tradition that we see unfolding before us is intriguing in that, *inter alia*, there are two separate feminine figures that appear to be homologues of Mugain, Scannlach, Śacī (and others).[44] There is a second named prominent

[41] On these matters, see Woodard 2011 and 2013 *passim*.
[42] See Woodard 2013:130–201.
[43] Contrast Plutarch's *Life of Coriolanus*, in which (see 33.2) the warrior's mother is given the name Volumnia and his wife is called Vergilia.
[44] Though operating with a quite different interpretative model, Champeaux (1982:345) already suggests that the two figures Volumnia and Veturia were "à l'origine, n'e faisaient qu'une," linking this duality with the dual statues associated with the cult of Fortuna Muliebris and, as a source for this,

member of the *mulierum agmen* – Volumnia, presented as wife of the dysfunctional warrior, and in that way the exact equivalent of Śacī vis-à-vis Indra. In the context of Roman cult her name is one that is otherwise known. Thus Varro, as he etymologizes the derivation of names, writes (*Ling*. 9.61): *videmus enim Maniam matrem Larum dici, Luciam Volaminiam Saliorum Carminibus appellari* . . . 'So we see that the Mother of the Lares is called Mania and that Lucia Volaminia is called upon in the *Carmina Saliorum'*. *Volaminia*, the form of the name given here, is the reading of the principal manuscript, *Codex Laurentianus* (*F*); it is unique in the quality of the second vowel. Maurenbecher (fr. 5) opts for the variant *Volumina*: *Volumina* is the reading of *Codex Havniensi* (Spengel 1885; and Augustine reports this name *Volumina*, or *Volumna*, to which matter we shall soon turn). Other editors emend Varro to read *Volumnia*.

The dual invocation of Volumnia/Volumina and Mamurius Veturius 'raging one of Mars' in the cult hymns of Mars' priests the Salii[45] surely illuminates the joining of Volumnia to Coriolanus in the tradition of this dysfunctional warrior – a *Mamurius veturius* whose rage has been turned against his own society. What cult significance, if any, there is in Varro's discursive conjoining of Mania, the *Mater Larum*, with Volumnia/Volumina at *Ling*. 9.61 is unclear; but in light of the Salian hymnic joining of Volumnia/Volumina and Mamurius Veturius, it makes *séduisant* the presence of cult personnel of the *Mater* in the procession of the Mamuralia.

But Varro's cult reference to Volumnia/Volumina appears not to be a solitary one. In a denunciatory explication of Roman deities whose domain is human birth and children, Augustine lists a goddess named Volumna:

> *. . . Quid opus erat parturientibus invocare Lucinam, cum, si adesset Felicitas, non solum bene parerent, sed etiam bonos? Quid necesse erat Opi deae commendare nascentes, deo Vaticano vagientes, deae Cuninae iacentes, deae Ruminae sugentes, deo Statilino stantes, deae Adeonae adeuntes, Abeonae abeuntes; deae Menti, ut bonam haberent mentem, deo Volumno et deae Volumnae, ut bona vellent; diis nuptialibus, ut bene coniugarentur, diis*

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the duality of the cult of Fortuna at Antium. In invoking a cult relationship with Fortuna at Antium, Champeaux adapts the earlier work of Gagé (see 1961:42–43; Gagé himself gives a nod to Otto, see especially Gagé 1963:53–54) who, however, opposes the figures of Valeria and Volumnia in this regard (cf. Gagé 1976:188–193). On the duality of Fortuna at Antium, see Mart. 5.1.3; Macr. 1.23.13.

[45] Gagé (1961:39–40) noticed the co-occurrence of the names in the hymns; he writes: "Et croira-t-on que cette coïncidence est négligeable . . . ?". For Gagé the thematic linkage is one of two elderly figures – the old man Mamurius and the old woman Veturia. See also Champeaux 1982:341.

> *agrestibus, ut fructus uberrimos caperent, et maxime ipsi divae Fructeseae; Marti et Bellonae, ut bene belligerarent. . .?*
>
> . . . What was the need for those giving birth to invoke Lucina, when, if Felicitas were present, they would not only birth well, but they would birth good children? How was it necessary to commend the newly born to the goddess Ops; the crying to Vaticanus; the reclining to Cunina; the suckling to Rumina; the standing to the god Statilinus; the toddling toward to the goddess Adeona and the toddling away to Abeona; to the goddess Mens, that they might have a good mind; to the god Volumnus and the goddess Volumna, that they might want good things; to the nuptial gods, that they might unite well; to the gods of the fields, that they might obtain the most bountiful produce – most of all to the goddess Fructesea herself; to Mars and Bellona, that they might battle well . . . ?
>
> (*C.D.* 4.21)

Again there is manuscript variation in name-form. While the edited text here cited (Dombart-Kalb) has *Volumna* (and *Volumnus*), *Codex Augustanus* (*A*) provides the variant *Volumina* (and *Voluminus*).

That for Varro the figure of Volumnia/Volumina has neonatal affiliations similar to those Augustine attaches to Volumna/Volumina is certainly suggested by the praenomen of *Lucia* that Varro prepends (cf. Fest. pp. 119, 148M). Champeaux,[46] following upon the work of Gagé,[47] has called attention to this deity Volumna/Volumina in conjunction with her study of Fortuna and appropriately notes the deity's accord with *la femme féconde* who characterizes the cult of Fortuna Muliebris.[48] The unnamed *matronae* who compose the *mulierum agmen* and the named member of that host, Volumnia, who is accompanied by the two children whom she produced for Coriolanus, clearly constitute an expression of fecundity in this tradition.[49] In this role the *mulierum agmen* is a recognizable reflex of the erotic and fertile feminine who surfaces again and again in the primitive tradition of the Indo-European dysfunctional warrior and who plays the crucial role of saving

[46] Champeaux 1982:1:340 and 351.
[47] *Inter alia* Gagé 1961 and 1963.
[48] On possible mention of the masculine Volumnus in works of Tertullian and Minucius Felix, see Champeaux 1982:1:351.
[49] Regarding the primitive Indo-European ideology of three "classes" (Benveniste) or "functions" (Dumézil) – those of specialists in the realms of religion, physical power, and sensuality and fecundity – and the perseverance of this ideological structure in archaic Roman cult and law, see, among other possible sources, Woodard 2013:12–34, specifically here with regard to survival of elements of such an ideology in the rites of the Parilia.

society from the warrior's dysfunctionality. Compare here especially that body of Roman slave-women that went out to sleep with and disarm an invading warrior host – an act commemorated in the annual observance of the Nonae Caprotinae, with all of its fecund symbolism.[50]

Clearly Augustine, and his sources, link the name *Volumna*/*Volumina* to Latin *volō* 'to want', though one might again be prone to suspect a typical sort of Verronian folk-etymologizing. The existence of a primitive Indo-European antecedent of the Roman tradition in which Volumnia plays a conspicuous role and the occurrence of Volumnia/Volumina in the archaic hymns of Mars' Salii make especially likely the prospect that we should see an Indo-European etymon lying behind that name. Latin *volo* is a reflex of the root *wel- 'to wish, will', another possible Latin derivative of which is *voluptās* 'pleasure',[51] and Gagé,[52] following Preller,[53] explores an etymological connection with *Volumnia* along these lines.[54] Gagé also writes[55] of a personal recollection of a suggestion made by Michel Bréal regarding a possible connection of Volumnia to Latin *volvō* 'to turn; etc.' in its use (one of its several senses) to denote the cycling of seasons, drawing attention in this regard to the performances of the Salii in March as the new year begins.

Latin *volo* and *volvō* are descended from homonymous Indo-European roots *wel-. The etymon of *volvō* is *wel- meaning 'to turn, roll'; it is the extended root *welw- that provides Latin *volvō* (*welw-yo-); compare Old English *wealwian* and Gothic *–walwjan* 'to roll'.[56] The Latin nominal *volva*, *vulva* (*wolw-ā-) denoting 'womb', and by extension also 'female genitals', is a reflex of an *o*-grade form of the same root, *wolw-;[57] for the sense compare Sanskrit *ulva-* 'womb; female genitals' and also denotation of the membranous sack that surrounds a fetus.[58] The Latin verb *volvō* displays a variety of nuances, typically having a middle sense when occurring with passive morphology: among fundamental meanings are (following

[50] See Woodard 2013, especially pp. 176–178, 208–215.
[51] See, *inter alia*, Walde-Pokorny 1930:295; Watkins 2011:100.
[52] Gagé 1961:41.
[53] Preller 1881–1883:2:212n3.
[54] See Gagé for a response to the claims of Etruscan borrowing.
[55] Gagé 1961:42.
[56] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:301; Chantraine 1968:321; Lehmann 1986:9; Watkins 2011:101.
[57] A suffixed zero-grade root *wl̥w-ā- gives Latin *valva* 'a double door or folding door'; 'a leaf of such a door' (OLD 2009), usually plural *valvae*, with derivatives *valvātus* 'having folding doors', *valuolae* '(two-sided) bean shell'. See Ernout and Meillet 1959:712; Watkins 2011:101.
[58] Walde and Pokorny 1930:299. Others have linked the Latin form to *$g^{w}elb^{h}$- 'womb': see Mallory and Adams 1997:615, who, however, characterize *volva* vis-à-vis this etymon as "more difficult to relate" and write: "Perhaps we have more than one word here . . . ."

the *OLD*) 'to move with a sinuous motion' (middle sense), as of a snake; 'to cause to move with an undulating motion', as of liquids rolling along; 'to impel forward in a rotary motion'. It must be such notions of fluid motion that lie at the core of the use of the nominal derivative *volva* to denote 'womb', bound up with sympathetic naming intended to effect a fluid delivery. Bettini has extensively investigated and documented the biological imperative in classical antiquity (and beyond) of the language and processes of promoting a delivery that glides smoothly through the knots of the womb.[59] Pliny, for example, writes that a sloughed snakeskin attached to a woman's 'loins' (*lumbī*) makes childbirth easier (*HN* 30.129).[60] Bettini reports that the notion survived into the Middle Ages and beyond: in the *De mulierum passionibus*, (so-called) Trotula (of Salerno, twelfth century) prescribes the same procedure.[61]

Relevant to the form that supplies the name of the wife of Coriolanus is the primitive Indo-European suffix *-m(e)no-, used to form middle and passive participles in several Indo-European subfamilies.[62] It occurs only rarely in Latin, surviving in nominalizations that semantically project, in effect, a participial notion of mediality or passivity.[63] Latin *fēmina* 'woman' provides an example; *fēmina* evolves from *d^heh_1-menā-, meaning 'one giving suck', a reflex of the Indo-European etymon *d^heh_1(i)- 'to suckle'; the root is the source also of Latin *fēlix* 'fertile; fortunate'; Greek θηλή 'nipple', θῆλυς 'female'; Sanskrit *dhātrī* 'a nurse'; etc.[64] Latin also preserves *alumnus* and *alumna* 'nursling' (male and female), from *al-o-mno-, *al-o-mnā-, formed with the Indo-European root *al- 'to grow; to nourish'; thus *alumnus* is 'nourished one'.[65] *Volumna* / *Volumina* presents itself as a member of the same semantic and morphosyntactic set as *fēmina* and *alumna* – an archaic stem expressing a notion within the semantic realm of fertility and formed with the *-m(e)no- suffix – constructed with the extended root *welw-:[66] that is,

[59] See Bettini 2013; on the womb as a "symbolic place of knots and binding," see pages 69–82 especially.
[60] See Bettini 2013:124.
[61] See Bettini 2013:294n3.
[62] See Benveniste 1935:119–120.
[63] Benveniste (1935:120) writes that "les mots qui en sont pourvus ressortissent à la sphère du sujet et dénotent une activité où participe la personnalité, un état qu'elle subit, un procès où elle est engagée."
[64] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:829–831; Ernout and Meillet 1959:224; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:1:487; Watkins 2011:18.
[65] See, *inter alia*, Ernout and Meillet 1959:23 and Watkins 2011:3.
[66] The extended root also forms a frequentative-intensive verb *volū-tō* 'to impel forward by rolling or by an undulating movement', 'to roll about', including in erotic contexts (see *OLD* 2102). Nominal derivatives of this verb form include *volūtābrum* 'a place for pigs to wallow', *volūtātiō* and *volūtātus* 'a rolling about, a wallowing', *volūtābundus* 'wallowing' (see Ernout and Meillet 1959:752).

*welu-m(e)nā-.[67] *Volumna*/*Volumina* is she who is 'birthing easily' or 'causing to birth easily'. *Volumnia* is then a further derivation, an abstract noun in *-ia*,[68] denoting 'easy birthing'.[69] In the aetiology of the cult of Fortuna Muliebris it is the name assigned to her who is the fecund feminine, personifying the successful delivery amidst the dangers of childbirth, who turns aside the misplaced murderous rage of the dysfunctional warrior.

The third named feminine in the tradition of the *mulierum agmen* that confronts Coriolanus is Valeria. Champeaux – and here she is indebted it seems to Gagé – locates the source of Valeria's name in the morphology of *valēre* 'to be powerful; to be robust'.[70] Champeaux writes "le nom évoque le vocabulaire de la santé"[71] – a "*virgo* vigoureuse et vaillante"[72]. But if this etymological source should be the correct one, as it must be, the nature of the semantic connection between the etymon and Latin reflex is, I suspect, rather different than that one envisioned by these scholars.

Valeria is presented as a clairvoyant figure, operating under divine influence in a moment of crisis. She acts as a mediating figure, one who bridges the space between the Capitoline heights of urban Rome and the boundary locale in which Coriolanus rages, effecting an encounter between the host of *matronae* and the dysfunctional warrior, an encounter that will save society from the consequences of his dysfunctionality. She will become the first priestess of the cult of Fortuna Muliebris. Fulfilling these roles, Valeria presents herself as an exact homologue of the recurring figure of a feminine clairvoyant that one encounters predictably in the various Indo-European expressions of the tradition of the dysfunctional warrior. In Ireland she is the sorceress and poet named Leborcham; it is she who perceives the

[67] Compare *volūmen* (genitive *volūminis*) 'a roll, rolling movement' and *Volūtīna*, a goddess that oversees grain while leaves roll around the ear (Augustine *C.D.* 4.8): see Ernout and Meillet 1959:752. Corresponding to Latin *volūmen*, notes Chantraine (1968:321), is Greek ἕλῡμα 'stock of a plough', about which he remarks: "avec un υ long qui pose un problème" and "(ϝ)ελῡ-μα présente la même longue finale secondaire que lat. *volūmen*. . . ."

[68] A common abstract-noun morphology, as in *audācia* 'boldness' (from *audāx* 'bold'), *mīlitia* 'soldiering' (from *mīles* 'soldier'), *miseria* 'wretched condition' (from *miser* 'wretched'), *dūritia* 'being hard' (from *dūrus* 'hard'), and so on.

[69] Among other derivatives of the extended root are these: *volūtus* 'an undulating method of progress' (*OLD* 2102), as of a snake; *volūcra* 'leaf-roller' (larva of a moth) and *involūcrum* 'wrapper' (cf. Greek ἕλῠτρον 'sheath, case' and Sanskrit *varŭtra-* 'outer garment, cloak'). See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:301; Ernout and Meillet 1959:752; Chantraine 1968:320–321; Mallory and Adams 1997:91; Watkins 2011:101.

[70] Champeaux 1982:340.

[71] Compare Gagé 1961:42–43.

[72] Here she quotes Gagé 1963:63. For his argument for the virginal status of Valeria, see Gagé 1963:59–63.

approach of raging CúChulainn, declaring it to Conchobor, the Ulster sovereign, who commands that the troop of nude women be sent out to confront the dysfunctional warrior. In India she is Upaśruti, spirit of divination with a name denoting 'oracular voice'. She leads Śacī to the distant space in which her husband, Indra, the warrior *par excellence*, languishes in dysfunctionality. In Iranian Nart traditions she is the sagacious sorceress Satana who provides the aqueous means of robbing Batraz of his fiery trauma. Elsewhere in Rome it is an *anus*, the 'motherly priestess' (*alma sacerdos*) of Bona Dea, who, positioned at the entrance to the goddess's Aventine grove, foretells the result of Hercules'/Semo Sancus' encounter with the women bathing therein. The list could be extended.[73]

Latin *valēre* is descended from Proto-Indo-European *wal-, root meaning 'to be strong'. The reflexes of the root are myriad – typically denoting 'sovereignty' in some sense: for example, Old English *wealdan* 'to rule; Old Norse *valdr* 'ruler'; Old Church Slavic *vladǫ* 'to possess, be master'; Old Prussian *wāldnikans* 'kings'; Tocharian A *wäl* and Tocharian B *walo* 'king'.[74] Morphologically a still closer cognate to Latin *valēre* is Old Irish *flaith* 'sovereignty': in Irish tradition Flaith is personified as a feminine figure who is erotically involved with a man who will, in consequence, become the Irish king; she is often presented as an old hag who is transformed into a beautiful young woman in conjunction with this erotic encounter. While Flaith is not implicated in the tradition of the cooling of the rage of CúChulainn, one avatar of Flaith is Medb of Connacht, at one time Conchobor of Ulster's queen, who is repeatedly involved in the sexual conquest of one warrior or another, as is the related figure Medb of Leinster.[75] Moreover, Flaith, like Leborcham and the nude delegation of Irish women, plays a fundamental and essential role in the preservation and restoration of societal order. That the clairvoyant feminine in the Roman tradition of the dysfunctional warrior Coriolanus, who is equally identified as the founding priestess of Fortuna Muliebris, can be assigned a name cognate to that of Irish Flaith – herself a figure of primitive Indo-European origin – reveals, I believe, a Roman conjoining of traditions that gives unified synchronic expression to diachronic variants of a primitive trope. This is a quite remarkable phenomenon and its situation within the aetiology of the cult of Fortuna Muliebris suggests that it is in cult that this operation of the weaving

[73] See Woodard 2103, especially pp. 133–138 and 202–215.
[74] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:219; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:831; Mallory and Adams 1997:490; Watkins 2011:97–98.
[75] See Woodard 2002:92–93 for further discussion, particularly for Indic expressions of the same ancestral figure.

together of ancestral traditions is occurring – not that that should come as any surprise.

Now, within this scenario of ideology preserved in cult, the beginnings of the name *Coriolanus* remain to be considered. Already in antiquity the notion that a warrior should have been awarded a geographic attribute for heroism at a backwater site such as Corioli had come under scrutiny, though without a rejection of the tradition[76]. Among modern scholars the suggestion that Coriolanus was artificially associated with the capture of the place Corioli, in order to provide an aetiology (and etymology) of his name, is not a new one.[77] Ogilvie would see the name "in the original myth" as an ethnic adjective situating the local origin of the figure in the Latin town of Corioli; but, as he observes, ". . . if he were a citizen of Corioli his presence and position at Rome is equally inexplicable".[78] Yet of the names we have been considering, it is perhaps the name of Coriolanus that is most transparent when viewed from the perspective of Indo-European myth and ritual; and this too has not escaped the attention of earlier investigators.

Primitive Indo-European *koryo- is a term that denotes 'warrior band' (and *koro-, as in Old Persian *kāra-* 'warrior band', Lithuanian *kãras* 'war'). Reflexes include Germanic forms such as Old Norse *Herjann*, epithet of Odin as 'warrior-band leader' and *Einherjar*, term denoting the warrior band that inhabits Valhalla; Gaulish names such as *Coriono-totae* and Middle Irish *cuire* 'army'; Greek κοίρανος 'warrior commander'; Lithuanian *karỹs* 'warrior'.[79] Mycenaean Greek preserves *e-pi-ko-wo*, matching Homeric ἐπί-κουρος, can be reasonably understood as dervied from a form *kor-wo- and denoting 'warrior ally'.[80] In a study of early

[76] See Flor. *Epit*. 1.5.9: *Coriolos quoque – pro pudor! – victos adeo gloriae fuisse, ut captum oppidum Gnaeus Marcius Coriolanus quasi Numantiam aut Africam nomini indueret.*

[77] Thus Ogilvie 1965:315. See more recently the negative view of Hull 2003:37, without elaboration.

[78] Ogilvie 1976:95. For similar notion expressed more recently, see Cornell 2003:85–86.

[79] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:462–463; Benveniste 1969:1:111–115 and 302; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:644; Mallory and Adams 1997:31 and 348; Watkins 2011:45.

[80] See Woodard forthcoming b. Compare the Roman cognomen *Corvus* (beside *Corvīnus*). *Corvus* is conspicuously associated with Valerius Corvus, an heroic figure of the fourth century BC whose name was popularly attached to *corvus* 'raven, crow' (a term of primitive onomatopoeic origin), as a raven was said to have attacked the face of a Gallic warrior whom Corvus was fighting in single combat (see especially Liv. 7.26.1–10; D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 15.1.1–4; Gel. 9.11.1–10). As Oakley (1985:394) suggests the etymological tradition may rest upon the practice of adorning Gallic helmets with images of birds (and other animals), influenced by, I would suggest, the homonymy of the Latin word for 'raven' and a probable reflex of earlier *kor-wo- 'warrior'. Valerius Corvus is credited with the capture of Satricum and Cales. The nominal coordination of *Valerius* (masculine form of Valeria, discussed above) and *Corvus* echoes themes on display in the tradition of Coriolanus explored herein. Odin is both *Valdr* 'ruler' and *Herjann* 'warrior-band leader' – and also, intriguingly, is associated with ravens.

Indo-European *Männerbünde*[81] and their affiliations with wolves and dogs, McCone suggests that Latin *Coriolanus* may find its origins in a title such as *Corionos ("oder desgleichen").[82] McCone also reminds his readers that *Volsci* is probably from an earlier Italic *Wolp-sci (like *Osci* from *Opsci*), meaning 'the wolfish ones'. If this is correct, the especial prominence of the Volsci, including the identification of Corioli as a Volscian city, in what we see unfolding as a primitive tradition of the dysfunctional warrior that is steeped in symbolic naming becomes self-evident. But regardless of the etymology of Volsci and the affiliation of the name with warrior wolfishness, the toponym *Corioli* is likely to be traced to an Italic *corio-lo-s, derived from Indo-European *koryo- by means of the suffix *-lo-*, used to form nouns and adjectives of appurtenance and possession.[83] *Corioli* is the place 'of the warrior bands'. Among toponyms we might compare *Puteoli*, port city on the Bay of Naples, which for Varro (*Ling.* 5.25) is derived from *puteus* 'well of water'.

Are the situational semantics of these various names – Veturia, Volumnia, Valeria, Coriolanus – securely identified? Security is not always an abundant commodity in attempts to etymologize proper names. In these cases, however, I believe that there does appear to be unusual transparency individually; and more than that, there is a combinatory, or synergetic, factor here at work that surpasses individual considerations: namely, that the constellation of these names produces a highly charged semiotic system that is consistent with an otherwise well-attested tradition, within and without Rome, of primitive mythic and ritual significance. Said differently – the probability that the names of the major figures in this avatar of that primitive tradition – the avatar of Coriolanus and the *mulierum agmen* – could randomly come out as they have must be extremely slight.

As I have now mentioned again, the primitive tradition underlying the foundation aetiology of the cult of Fortuna Muliebris survives in other forms in Rome, but nowhere with the *metaphorical* and *archetypic* salience that is seen here in Fortuna's sanctuary on the Via Latina. The Raging Woman, the Easy Birther, the Potent Woman, and the Warrior-Band Man are all named as such, and the naming is plainly tied to cult aetiology: this is a generic prescription. And the named figures that personify each of these four categories probably did not once exist apart from

[81] For an earlier exploration of Coriolanus as a type of warrior consistent with those of Germanic warrior figures, see Gerschel 1953:38–39.
[82] McCone 1987:117–118.
[83] See Petersen 1916:431–432; Buck and Petersen 1949:355. For an argument to equate semantically *corio-lo- with a primitive Indo-European *eri-lo- (source of Old Norse *jarl* and Old English *eorl*), see Antilla 2000:49–50.

cult narrative. And the site at which the feminine disarming of the dysfunctional warrior occurs is said to be that of the *fossae Cluiliae*. Should we see with Gagé a verb meaning 'to purify', source of the nominal *cloāca*, lurking behind the name of this place of watercourses,[84] even if only by popular association, and a notional survival here of the watery locale of the cooling of the warrior's rage from a more primitive cult moment? That verb would be *cluō, cluere*, reputed source of *cloāca* (Pliny *HN* 15.119; Serv. *A.* 1.720). Compare Greek κλύζω 'to wash, to purge'; Irish *Cluad*, a river name (Clyde); Old Norse *hlér* 'sea'; Gothic *hlūtrans* 'pure'; Lithuanian *šlúoju* 'to clean'.[85]

But the cult narrative of Fortuna Muliebris, which was certainly given oral expression in ritual observance, intersects with other cult enunciations; for Varro tells us that both Mamurius Veturius, the 'raging one of Mars' and the easy-birthing Volumina are sung in the *Carmina Saliorum*. Writing in the last decade of the nineteenth century, Warde Fowler avowed (concerning the Mamuralia):[86]

> I rather incline to believe that the whole Mamurius-legend grew out of the Carmen Saliare, and that we may either have here one of those comparatively rare examples of later ritual growing itself out of myth, or a point of ancient ritual . . . misinterpreted and possibly altered under the influence of the myth.

I might hesitate to characterize the tradition as legend, and for many of us the myth-ritual opposition that Warde Fowler sets up would be an unnecessary, even undesirable, one; but the fundamental prospect that it is cult enunciation that makes Mamurius perpetually available to Roman oral tradition outside of cult, and so, in time, to Roman historiographic tradition, is plainly sensible and difficult to deny.[87]

We have knowledge of another cult hymn that was given expression in the sacred precinct of another goddess and in which the martial element is again pronounced. And this precinct, like that of Fortuna Muliebris was positioned along the ancient boundary of the Ager Romanus. In this hymn, as in the procession of the Mamuralia, Mars and the Lares would again conspire, if we were to see celebrants

[84] Gagé 1976:75.
[85] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:495–496; Mallory and Adams 1997:108; Watkins 2011:44.
[86] Warde Fowler 1899:49.
[87] Hull (2003:35) observes: "The Roman storytellers seem to have drawn on aetiological material a good deal also, since stories associated with landmarks abound, as, for example, in the account of the Horatii and the Curiatii (Livy 1, 26, 10–14) . . . ." (here "also" points to "Roman oral tradition, which appears to have continued in the folktale mould rather than the epic tradition as such, ...").

of the Mater Larum as participating in the procession of the Mamuralia. Here I am referring to the grove of Dea Dia and to the *Carmen Arvale*, the hymn sung by her priests, the Fratres Arvales. It is an archaic hymn and not fully intelligible. Each of the verses is repeated three times, except for the last (CIL I^2 2):

Enos Lases iuvate
Neve *luae rue* Marmar sins incurrere in pleores!
Satur fu, fere Mars, limen sali sta berber!
Semunis alternei advocapit conctos!
Enos Marmor iuvato!
Triumpe, triumpe, triumpe, triumpe, triumpe!

We could translate as follows:[88] (*sins* being a form of *sino* 'to allow')

Help us, O Lares!
O Marmar, don't let *dissolution*, *destruction* rush upon the masses (?)!
Be sufficiently strong, O savage Mars; leap to the boundary; stand; be steadfast!
You will invoke the Semones one by one, all together!
Help us, O Marmor!
Victory, victory, victory, victory, victory!

Underlying the hymn of the Arvals is awareness of the same set of potential societal dangers that lies at the heart of the aetiology of the cult of Fortuna Muliebris and other expressions in Rome, and beyond, of the primitive myth and ritual of the dysfunctional warrior. It is borne of the consciousness of the constant frailty of a society dependent upon the warrior's rage. The warrior may turn his unrelenting savage rage against his own society and cease to perform his proper protective function by becoming the enemy within: this is a breakdown in societal order – a *dissolution* of society. The warrior may abandon his own society for a distant place of retreat and cease to perform his proper function of wielding physical force to protect society from the enemy without; this is a societal anomaly that equally places at risk society's survival – the threat of a *destruction* that may rush upon society. Coriolanus, the Warrior-Band man, personifies both dangers in the cult narrative: he is the warrior who retreats into space, framed in this narrative as the consequence of

[88] The starting point for this translation is Schilling 1991, with modifications introduced in Woodard 2011 and others made herein.

plebeian opposition; and he is the warrior who turns his rage against his own society. In the precinct of Dea Dia it is the Roman priestly element that invokes savage Mars to be strong for society, taking his stand on the sacred boundary separating the space of society from the space of wilderness, to keep society from both dissolution and destruction. In the precinct of Fortuna Muliebris it is the Roman fecund element that takes a stand on that same boundary to turn away the savage warrior whose biform dysfunctionality threatens to dissolve and destroy society.

As I noted at the outset and have emphasized along the way, the tradition that pits Coriolanus against the *agmen mulierum* is an expression of a narrative that finds variant expressions elsewhere in Rome – all reflexes of a far more primitive, ancestral tradition, one that has been sculpted to conform to particular individual cult dimensions, but all still recognizable as descended from a common mythic and ritual tradition. Prominent are the tale of the encounter of Heracles/Semo Sancus with the devotees of the Aventine cult of Bona Dea; the tradition of Horatius and Horatia; that of Camillus and his own plebeian oppositions; and the aetiologies of the Poplifugia and the Nonae Caprotinae. There are cult intersections here also – not only thematically, as naturally the consequence of common evolutionary trajectories, but an intersection of cult calendar as well. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 8.55.4–5), the dedication date of the temple of Fortuna Muliebris is the Nones of July; this is a date that is also attached to the crisis of the disappearance from society of the warrior Romulus from within the extra-pomerial space of the Campus Martius, and a date attached to the celebration of the Nonae Caprotinae, when Roman women process to the Campus Martius to take part in ritual celebrations, tied to concerns of fecundity, that find their aetiology in the narrative of Roman slave women who had once confronted and erotically disarmed an invading warrior host, saving Rome from destruction.

It is clear that we see before us in early Rome a constant and in some sense coordinated concern for the ordered functioning of the warrior vis-à-vis the *populus Romanus*. Narratives of dysfunctional warriors who can effect the dissolution of societal order and the destruction of society find narrative expression in multiple cult settings. These are mythic narratives that continue in Rome antecedent dilemmas that ancestral societies addressed by ritual means. It is in the setting of cult – a cult of the archaic deity Fortuna – that the always-dangerous warrior band finds personification in Coriolanus in an aetiology of the triumph of the erotic and fecund

feminine.[89] The aetiology is borne of ancestral ritual practice and ideology. Coriolanus, the Warrior-Band Man, is personified product of cult. He is a historicized product of an annalistic tradition. It is to the aetiology of Fortuna Muliebris and other such early Roman cult narratives that we must look to find the oral sources that provide the traditions of dysfunctional warriors that will eventuate in the mythic-historic episodes of such figures in the historiography of Republican Rome.

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[89] For the identification of the delegation of women with the Dumézilian third function, see Dumézil 1995:3:239–262; Dumézil's treatment follows upon that of Gerschel 1953. Gerschel, and subsequently Dumézil, would see in the episode of the several Roman delegations sent to Coriolanus an expression of the three-part ancestral ideology. Regardless of how one evaluates that particular interpretation, the delegation of the *matronae* is a *de facto* expression of the body of the fertile, the fecund, the erotic, and thus embodies the ancient Indo-European ideology of *la classe des cultivateurs* (Benveniste) – *la troisième fonction* (Dumézil).

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