

THE DISRUPTION OF TIME IN MYTH AND EPIC

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An examination of Roman, Indo-Aryan, and Celtic traditions reveals evidence of previously unrecognized mythic and religious figures and motifs of common Indo-European origin: succinctly, a male figure of fertility associated with boundaries and a female figure of prosperity associated with warriors. These two figures, male and female, are, moreover, intimately linked with one another, though that linkage finds a variety of expressions; and each is also affiliated with some figure of sovereignty. The question to which we will come at the very end is the question of the preservation of these deeply archaic Indo-European elements in Greek epic.

That Greek historian of Rome, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (3.69.4–6), tells us that when Tarquinius was preparing to build the great temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, he summoned augurs to divine where the temple should be placed. The proper location was determined to be the Capitoline hill. That hill, however, was already cluttered with altars dedicated to numerous other deities, so the augurs further consulted the auspices to determine if the various divinities concerned would be amenable to having their own altars relocated for the construction of Jupiter's temple. All the gods were willing but two: Juventas, goddess of youth, and Terminus, god of boundaries. Both refused to budge in spite of much entreaty on the part of the augurs. Consequently altars to each were incorporated within the new temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

Some earlier scholars of Roman religion, it would seem, found it unlikely that the cults of such minor deities could have actually been so resilient in the face of such pressures and have claimed that the installing of altars to Juventas and Terminus within the Capitoline temple must have occurred in a later period. Georges Dumézil, the dean of comparative Indo-European mythology and religion, in characteristically brilliant fashion,

argued that, quite to the contrary, the affiliation of Juventas and Terminus with Jupiter is one of deep antiquity (1996.200–03). Dumézil proposed that Juventas and Terminus represent the Roman counterparts of those deities known among the Indo-Aryans as Aryaman and Bhaga, close companions of the great god Mitra, who, like Jupiter, is a god of sovereignty. Aryaman is the “spirit of the Arya,” the god of Aryan society; Bhaga is the deity who sees that society’s goods are rightly divided among society’s members. Like Aryaman, Roman Juventas, argued Dumézil, is chiefly concerned with the constituency of society: she “controls the entry of men into society and protects them while they are of the age most important to the state, while they are *iuvenes*” (1996.202). Like Bhaga, Roman Terminus protects the individual’s share of society’s holdings—though not portions of the moveable property of a pastoralist society but the parcels of bounded property of a land-owning society. Writes Ovid of Terminus: “Without you all lands would be disputed . . . You guard entrusted lands with pledge of law” (*Fasti* 2.660, 662).

Dumézil’s claim for identifying the Roman triad Jupiter-Juventas-Terminus with Indo-Aryan Mitra-Aryaman-Bhaga is well argued and is one that this author has previously endorsed. Yet there are unsettling elements in the comparison, and at least one aspect of this structure particularly leaves a sort of nagging discomfort—namely, the character of Terminus.

Dumézil, of course, perceived that the hallmark of Proto-Indo-European society was its tripartite nature—a society structuring itself into three *functions*, to utilize his terminology: the first function being that of religion, magic, and sovereignty, the second function that of physical force, the third function that of goods production and fecundity. Dumézil also perceived that, in the tripartite ideology inherited by the Roman descendants of the Proto-Indo-Europeans, third-function deities manifest themselves as the so-called gods of the Sabine king, Titus Tatius. Varro (*Ling.* 5.74) enumerates these for us; in addition to Quirinus, the principal Roman reflex of the Indo-European third-function gods, these are Ops, Flora, Vediovis, Saturnus, Sol, Luna, Volcanus, Summanus, Larunda, Vortumnus, the Lares, Diana, Lucina, and Terminus. Dumézil notes: “These gods share among themselves the portions, the dependencies, and the appendages of the domain of prosperity and fertility [i.e., the third function], and Quirinus is only one member of this great family” (1996.170).

The problem is obvious. On the one hand, Terminus seems to be closely affiliated with Jupiter, matching Bhaga in his relationship to Mitra, both members of the *first function* of divine society. On the other hand,

Terminus is counted among the “gods of Titus Tatius,” members of the *third function* of divine society. It seems that Professor Dumézil nowhere in the great body of his superb scholarship addressed this problem (let alone attempted a resolution of it). If, however, we begin with the default position that, as Varro tells us, Terminus is a deity of the third function, then a solution presents itself.

When, in the reign of the Etruscan Tarquins, the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was built, or begun, upon the Capitoline hill, the erection of this edifice involved much more than just the implementation of an ambitious building project. In effect, it marked a religious reformation or revolution. The ancient, or pre-Capitoline, Roman triad of chief deities consisted of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus. Among other evidence (Dumézil 1996.141–47, with references), their position of divine superiority is attested to by their priests, the *Flamines Maiores*. The *flamines* are members of an archaic priesthood; if Latin *flamen* is not strictly etymologically linked with Sanskrit *brahman*, the two priesthoods, Roman and Indo-Aryan, likely still have a common historical antecedent in early Indo-European times. There are fifteen *flamines* in Rome, twelve *Flamines Minores* and three *Flamines Maiores*, the latter being the *flamines* of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus. The assemblage of these three deities continues Proto-Indo-European tripartition, belonging to the first, second, and third functions respectively.

With the appearance of the Capitoline temple, however, we find that Mars and Quirinus are excised from this threesome, to be replaced by two goddesses, Juno and Minerva. The source of the new—Capitoline—triad is almost certainly Etruscan (see Dumézil 1996.306–10, Nagy and Woodard forthcoming). Roman religion is demonstratively conservative; only among the Italic peoples and those other peoples living along the outer perimeter of the ancient Indo-European speech area—Celts and Indo-Iranians—is the archaic Proto-Indo-European religious and legal vocabulary well preserved. The events of that process by which the Indo-European pre-Capitoline triad was supplanted by a non-Indo-European Capitoline triad are lost in obscurity, but it certainly could not have been a quick and easy transition meeting with no resistance.

The quaint story preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and other historians of Rome of the augurs consulting the many deities whose altars lay upon the Capitoline hill and of the unwillingness of Juventas and Terminus to move must hide a reality of intense and no doubt bitter negotiations. Dumézil has reminded us of how the college of the augurs opposed the Tarquin attempt to change the tribal structure of Rome (1996.188–89). Livy

(1.36.2–4) records how the Etruscan Tarquinius undertook to increase the tribal number from three, how he was opposed in that effort by the augur Attus Navius, and how the augur prevailed through the taking of auspices (cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 3.71). The insistence upon leaving Juventas and Terminus upon the Capitoline and the installation of shrines dedicated to them within the new temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus must surely be seen as a concession. Mars and Quirinus, the principal vestiges of the old Indo-European second and third functions are out, but other members of those ideological realms must remain in their place: Juventas and Terminus.

Variant expressions of the pre-Capitoline triad are otherwise known. Thus, for example, the threesome Jupiter, Mars, Ops (with Ops, the goddess of abundant harvest and one of the “gods of Titus Tatius,” replacing Quirinus) are joined in the Regia (see Dumézil 1996.172–74, 267; Boyle and Woodard 2000.210–11); and Jupiter, Mars, and Flora (goddess of flowering crops) appear as a triad in conjunction with certain ancient chariot races (see Dumézil 1996.270). Jupiter, Terminus, Juventas constitute a sort of pre-Capitoline triad within the Capitoleum; we might refer to them as the minor Capitoline triad.

We certainly see in the replacements Juventas and Terminus deities of lower rank than their respective predecessors Mars and Quirinus. It would seem improbable, however, that they were deities of little consequence in their own right, that the gods chosen to continue the presence of the age-old tripartite ideology on the revamped Capitoline hill would have been obscure and trivial representatives of their respective functions or ideological realms.

Identifying Terminus as belonging to that element of society concerned with fertility and growth rather than a first-function figure such as Bhaga, Mitra’s colleague, does not nullify his close affiliation with the great god of sovereignty. The installment of an altar dedicated to the sacred stone Terminus within the Capitoline temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus echoes references otherwise made to Jupiter Terminus (on which see, inter alia, Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.74.2, *CIL* 11.351; note also the comments of Frazer 1929.2.491). Ovid (*Fasti* 2.669–72) tells us that this was an altar above which an opening was left in the roof—no surprise, as Terminus must be worshipped beneath the open sky (see Festus p. 368M).

This structure of a sacred stone affiliated with a sovereign figure is not unique to Rome, but is one that recurs on both the eastern and western fringes of the ancient Indo-European world. In Indo-Aryan India, such a stone was placed upon a pyramid in the center of the king’s residence. In this stone was believed to reside the essence of sovereignty, and the position that

it occupied was believed to be the point where heaven and earth intersected (Gonda 1956.147)—a structural ensemble reminiscent of Terminus’s presence in the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (on the Capitoline summit) with his altar placed beneath open sky. In India, the stone is called a *linga*, a term meaning generally “mark” or “token,” but, in this use specifically, denoting a phallus. In Hindu tradition, the sacred stone, the *linga*, is the phallus of the god Śiva.

In ancient Ireland, on the western border of the Indo-European world, the elements of a sacred stone and kingship again co-occur. On the hill of the royal village of Tara there stood a stone called Fál. It had been brought to Ireland by the Tuatha Dé Danann (those divine and mortal beings of great knowledge, magic, and skill) from their home in the far north of the world. Ireland is at times referred to as “the island of Fál,” its king as the “ruler of Fál.” This stone, the “Stone of Knowledge,” is said to be a stone penis, and, in time, would come to be identified as the member of one Fergus (likely Fergus mac Róich, see below). It is this stone that reveals the rightful king of Ireland. In the *De Síl Chonari Móir*, we are told that the phallic stone of Fál stands at the end of the chariot course and that when he who is the rightful future king of Ireland drives his chariot by the stone, it rubs the axle of his chariot, screeching to announce his royal identity (Rees and Rees 1989.29, 146; Nagy and Woodard forthcoming).

In the three ancient Indo-European cultures most faithfully preserving Proto-Indo-European religious language and institutions, Indo-Iranian, Celtic, and Italic, we thus find the recurring affiliation of a sacred stone with a figure of sovereignty, and this affiliation is bound up with a particular space. Moreover, in each, the stone is explicitly identified as an element of fertility: in India and Ireland the stone is said to be a phallus; in Rome the sacred stone Terminus is identified as one of the gods of Titus Tatius, the deities of the realm of fertility.

	Sacred stone	Fertility	Figure of sovereignty	Space
India	<i>linga</i>	phallus	human king	pyramid within the royal residence
Ireland	Fál	phallus	human king	hill of the royal village of Tara
Rome	Terminus	gods of Titus Tatius	Jupiter	Capitoline hill

There appears to be yet another structural element shared by the Indo-Aryan and Irish configurations: the stone is at some stage of the attested tradition said to be the phallic member of a warrior figure—the warrior god Śiva in India, and one Fergus in Ireland, presumably Fergus mac Róich, a great hero of Ulster, famed for the size of his genitals (see MacKillop 1998.191, with references).

Certain earlier investigators ridiculed the notion that there could ever have been a cult of Terminus on the Capitoline hill prior to the building of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, as Terminus was simply assumed to be a *numen* of the boundary stone, and, it was said, there was hardly likely to have been a boundary on the Capitoline hill. For Dumézil, Terminus's presence in the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus is not a matter of the presence or absence of any boundary on the Capitoline hill or of any previous presence of an altar dedicated to Terminus on the Capitoline, but follows from the ancient nature of Terminus's affiliation with Jupiter. Dumézil and I are in fundamental agreement at this point, though, by the analysis proposed here, that ancient affiliation is between the sacred stone of fertility and the divine sovereign, rather than a relationship of two first-function figures paralleling that between Bhaga and Mitra.

This observation, however, immediately raises the question of why a sacred stone of fertility should be associated with boundaries at all. One could imagine that the development is entirely secondary. One might expect that the Proto-Indo-European pastoralists had no need for boundary stones. In the sedentary Indo-European daughter cultures, such as that of Rome, stones, as well as stumps, provide an effective means for marking boundaries, and the sacred stone of the third function might naturally be assimilated to such markers (even the divine name itself, Terminus, one might imagine, could be wholly secondary and have more to do with the boundary stone function than with the god's ultimate third-function nature; see Nagy and Woodard forthcoming).

While the Proto-Indo-European pastoralists probably had little or no use for boundary stones dividing separately owned plots of land, such boundary markers likely served a function in early Indo-European cultic practice. The evidence is provided by Vedic India. The Śiva *linga* has a Vedic predecessor, a post called the *yūpa* that served to mark the *boundary* of the delimited sacrificial area. It is to this post that the sacrificial victim is bound. Like the *linga*, the *yūpa* is an *axis mundi* and has phallic symbolism (see, inter alia, Gonda 1993.81, 173). Moreover, the Vedic *yūpa* also has a warrior god affiliation (a member of the Rudra/Śiva class of deities)—chiefly with

Visṇu (see Gonda 1996.6–7) and also with Indra (see Nagy and Woodard forthcoming).

The notion of fertility must have been nascent in the *yūpa*, the post that marks the boundary of the sacrificial area, and in its earlier Indo-European antecedent. Or, alternatively, the sacrificial boundary marker was perceived to be of such a nature and function that it readily gave itself to reinterpretation as an element of fertility independently in daughter Indo-European cultures. Within the same typological realm, one is reminded of the Greek herm, commonly marking boundaries and roads (as well as other spaces) and, in time, marked by phallic symbolism and affiliated with the god of fertility, Hermes.

What we can say thus far is this. Roman Terminus, the sacred stone, the god of the boundary, continues an early Indo-European figure of fertility. Like his Celtic and Indo-Aryan analogues, Terminus is closely linked to a sovereign being and is housed within a sovereign space. Like his comparand in the Vedic cult, the Roman reflex serves to mark a boundary. Unlike Terminus, the Celtic and Indo-Aryan analogues are not identified as distinct deities but as the male members of prominent warrior figures. Conversely, Roman Terminus, the sacred stone, is not explicitly identified as a phallic symbol, but has been fully integrated into the third function (the realm of fertility) as a distinct deity of that strata of divine society, catalogued among the “gods of Titus Tatius,” and fully in keeping with the particularly Roman propensity to embody objects with divine personalities (*numina*).

What of Juventas, who, like Terminus, refuses to vacate the Capitoline hill? The Romans will come to identify her with Greek Hebe, goddess of youth. The fit is not, however, a particularly careful one. Juventas is not the goddess of youth but of the *iuvenes*, the young men of appropriate age for military service. On this basis alone, there is a *prima facie* affiliation of Juventas with the realm of the warrior, the second function. Though affiliated with warriors, Juventas is never presented as explicitly martial herself (unlike Minerva, in the vestibule of whose shrine Juventas’s altar is installed; see Dionysius of Halicarnassus 3.69.5. On the character of Minerva, see Boyle and Woodard 2000.222–23, 227–28).

In *Les dieux souverains des Indo-Européens*, Dumézil writes at length about Juventas and her particular affiliation with the *iuvenes*, the military constituency of Rome, but he expands his analysis to include the entirety of Roman society and thus seeks to link Juventas with Aryaman. In so doing, he draws Quirinus into his analysis—Quirinus as the god of the

Quirites, the Roman citizens in their nonmilitary roles. The connection is made in part via Romulus, who is the quintessential *iuvēnis*, and who is transformed into Quirinus at the end of his earthly existence. That the *iuvēnes* and the Quirites together represent a totality of society and, as such, resonate a note of accord with Indo-Aryan Aryaman, the god of Aryan society, is not an objectionable observation. However, it is the *iuvēnes* with whom Juventas is explicitly affiliated, and the *iuvēnes* represent only a portion of Roman society, the contingent of military capability. The correspondence of Juventas (undeniably affiliated with the warrior element) alone with the first-function Aryaman seems a bit disjointed (and Dumézil leaves the impression of going to considerable lengths to try to make it a sensible and comfortable fit).

The name of Juventas has a clear etymology. Its origin lies in the Proto-Indo-European root *h₂yeu-, “vital force,” also the source of Latin *iuvēnis* and a host of words meaning “young” found across the Indo-European family (including English *young*, see Benveniste 1937). In Old Irish, the root provides *ōac*, “young,” seen notably in the Irish mythic tradition in the name of the Mac Oc, the “young son,” and found in Irish Gaelic *oglach*, “soldier.” Dionysius of Halicarnassus reports (3.69.6) that when Terminus and Juventas refused to leave the Capitoline, the augurs agreed this to be an omen that the boundaries of Rome would never be removed and that Rome would never lose its ἀκμή, its “strength,” its “vigor.”

Juventas is the goddess of the vital force of Roman military manhood. She is beyond that a vital force that is closely affiliated with sovereignty, being one of two of the “old Capitoline deities” who survived the razing of the Capitoline and were ensconced within Jupiter’s temple. A number of inscriptions preserve the title Jupiter Juventus (see Dumézil 1996.201). Dionysius of Halicarnassus records (4.15.5) that when a boy entered the ranks of the *iuvēnes*, his family was to make a monetary offering to Juventas (a custom established by Servius Tullius). Servius adds (*Eclogues* 4.50) that young men were required to go to the temple of Jupiter when donning the *toga virilis*. Ovid tells us (*Fasti* 3.771–72) that the day on which the *toga libera* (or *toga virilis*) is first put on by those young men who have reached the age of a *iuvēnis* is March 17, with which date Cicero (*Letters to Atticus* 6.1.12) concurs. It is reasonable to infer that it was on this day that the young men on the threshold of being *iuvēnes* customarily came to Juventas’s altar in the temple (likely with the presentation of offerings. On

other, probably later introduced, dates on which the ceremony was observed, see Fowler 1899.56).

In her role as the goddess of the vital force of Rome, preserving its strength, its ἀκμή, closely affiliated with the sovereign deity, do we find, as in the case of Terminus, that Juventas is closely paralleled by other such figures in other Indo-European cultures? Indeed. Among the goddesses of Indo-Aryan India, there is found one named Śrī or Lakṣmī. She is the goddess of prosperity, specifically the prosperity of the kingdom, a kingdom that is ruled in accordance with *dharma* (see Biardeau 1991a.831). She is the wife of Viṣṇu, a prominent member of the warrior class of divine society and one of the three principal deities of Classical Hinduism. In a tradition preserved in the *Mahabharata* (related by the dying Bhīṣma), however, she is also said to have come to Indra and offered to be his wife, an offer that was accepted (see Dumézil 1986b.122). Indra is the chief member of the Vedic class of warrior gods and, by the time of the epic tradition, recognized as king of the gods.

In both of the two great epics of ancient India, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, Śrī plays a seminal role. In the *Mahabharata* she is said to have become incarnate in the person of Draupadi, wife of the five Pāṇḍavas; likewise, in the *Ramayana*, she has taken human form in Sita, the wife of the principal character, Rama. The Pāṇḍavas of the *Mahabharata*, the five “sons” of Pāṇḍu, are in actuality each the son of a god, engendered on behalf of Pāṇḍu, who is unable to produce children owing to a Brahmin’s curse. It is the middle son, Arjuna, fathered by Indra, king of the gods, who wins Draupadi as a wife to be shared with his brothers. At the same time, however, according to Puranic tradition, the five brothers, joint husbands of Draupadi, are also incarnations of portions of the glory of Indra that he had lost through sinful acts and that were distributed and placed within those gods fathering children for Pāṇḍu. By both traditions, Śrī, goddess of prosperity, is explicitly linked with the sovereign god Indra, through Draupadi’s marriage to the Pāṇḍavas (“she will always secretly favor him [i.e., Arjuna],” Biardeau 1991a.831). In the *Ramayana*, the more common tradition is invoked. The king Rama is said to be Viṣṇu incarnate; his wife, Sita, is Śrī, Viṣṇu’s wife, in human form. Yet this tradition is also conspicuously present in the *Mahabharata*: Kṛṣṇa, cousin and close companion of the Pāṇḍavas is Viṣṇu incarnate; his wife, Rukmini, is also Śrī incarnate.

Śrī is the prosperity of the kingdom. In both the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, the rightful king has been forced into exile. The wives of

these kings, Draupadi and Sita, both avatars of Śrī, accompany their husband into exile. Prosperity is thus removed from the kingdom; *dharma* has been disrupted. The removal of prosperity from the kingdom practically guarantees the eventuality of war. In the *Mahabharata*, we are told that Draupadi was born for the destruction of many warriors (Biardeau 1991a.839).

Śrī is not, however, a warrior goddess; this role is better assigned to Devi (on some local equations of the two, see Biardeau 1991b.869). Yet it is Śrī for whom war is waged. In the words of Biardeau, “It is for her and at her instigation that people fight” (1991b.869). In parallel fashion, in Rome, Juventas is not a goddess of war but the guarantor of Rome’s ἀκμή, its strength, its vigor, its prosperity. Yet she is the goddess of the *iuvenes*, the goddess of those who will wage Rome’s wars.

Since the 1930s and 40s (see, inter alia, Krappe 1942), arguments have been made for identifying Indo-Aryan Śrī-Lakṣmī with a well-known figure of Celtic myth, the feminine figure called Flaith, that is Sovereignty. In Irish tales, one who is a future king of Ireland enters into an intimate relationship with a hideous hag who, after their amorous encounter, is revealed as a woman of great beauty, calling herself Sovereignty, and showing to her lover that he is destined for the throne. Like Indo-Aryan Śrī, Irish Flaith also has her avatars, most notably the two Medbs—Medb of Leinster and Medb of Connacht. The latter, wife of Conchubur, great king of the province of Ulster, leaves her husband and returns to Tara, to the court of her father Eochaid Feidlech, king of all Ireland. This Medb will be married to at least four Irish kings (five according to some traditions), on repeated occasions marrying one who has killed her present husband in combat. The sometimes identified fifth husband is named Fergus, famed for a great penis, the favorite of all her lovers (see Dumézil 1973.85–87, MacKillop 1998.288–89; presumably that Fergus whose member is identified with the Stone of Fál); both Medb and Fergus are celebrated for their voracious sexual appetites. Medb of Leinster also has multiple sovereign husbands, and it was even written of her that, in her day, no man could become king in Tara without taking Medb as his wife. Both Medb of Connacht and Medb of Leinster designate and sanction the legitimacy of the king by marriage to him.

Like Śrī’s incarnations in the Indian epics, Draupadi and Sita, the Irish Medbs will bring about the loss of much warrior life. Medb of Connacht is the moving force behind the bloody conflict of the Irish epic *Táin Bó Cualigne* (the *Cattle Raid of Cooley*). Medb of Leinster is called Medb

Lethderg, meaning “red side” or “half red,” an apparent reference to the bloodbaths in which her suitors engaged (see Dumézil 1973.88).

Previous investigators readily perceived a feature binding together Irish Sovereignty and Indo-Aryan Śrī-Lakṣmī (the prosperity of the kingdom) that is of a quite specific, idiosyncratic nature and so a valuable diagnostic in identifying their ultimate common Indo-European origin. Irish Sovereignty, both as embodied in the goddess Flaith and, more obviously, in the guise of the two Medbs, is linked with a fermented, intoxicating substance. The very name of Medb (regardless of its morpho-semantic specifics, see Dumézil 1973.83–84) belongs to that cognate-set that includes Old Irish *mid*, Welsh *medd*, Sanskrit *mádhu*, Old English *meodo*, all meaning “mead” or some alcoholic beverage made from honey, Avestan *madu*, “berry wine,” Greek μῆθυ, “wine,” among still other members. Regarding Medb of Leinster, who is daughter of Conán of Cuala (see MacKillop 1998.290), it was said of her that, “A man would not be king over Ireland, unless the ale of Cuala should come to him” (see Dumézil 1973.94, with references). A fermented beverage also occurs in the tales of Flaith, the spirit of Sovereignty (see Rees and Rees 1989.75–76; Dumézil 1973.81–84, 92–94; MacKillop 1998.345).

The Rīg Vedic hymn 8.91 relates an encounter between the woman named Apala and the god Indra. Apala, who is identified with Śrī-Lakṣmī (see Dumézil 1973.95–96, Rees and Rees 1989.75), suffers with a skin disease and, because of her unattractiveness, has been rejected by her husband. She becomes Indra’s consort, bringing to him within her own mouth *soma*, the intoxicating substance craved by Indra and the other gods. As a result of their encounter, Indra receives his *soma*, and she is transformed into a woman of beauty. It also appears from the hymn that Apala is an adolescent at the time of the encounter and is brought to physical maturity through it.

What has not been noted previously is that Rome similarly shows a link between the feminine figure of the ἀρχή of the state and an intoxicating beverage. In Rome, as we noted earlier, on March 17, young men made their way to the Capitoline temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus to lay aside the *toga praetexta* of childhood, put on the *toga virilis* or *toga libera*, and join the ranks of the *iuvenes*. Offerings were almost certainly made to Juventas, goddess of the *iuvenes*, on this day at the Capitoline temple. This is not, however, a festival day dedicated to Juventas; there is no Juventalia in the Roman calendar. The day on which the ranks of Juventas’s *iuvenes* annually

swell is instead the day of the Liberalia, the festival of the Italian god Liber and the goddess Libera. These are deities of fertility, widely worshipped in Italy, and Liber is particularly associated with wine, the intoxicating beverage of the Romans (and was eventually assimilated to Greek Dionysus).

St. Augustine writes that Liber presides over the seeds of men and Libera over those of women, liberating those seeds in intercourse, and, for this reason, in their temple are set up images of male and female genitalia (*de Civitate Dei* 4.11, 6.9). He further tells us that during the festival of the Liberalia, among other activities, phallic symbols are placed in small carts and are conveyed from country crossroads into the city. In the town of Lavinium, he adds, the Liberalia continue for a full month, during which time the people of the city are expected to speak profanities. This activity continues until a phallus is carried through the forum to be set up in some public place and then crowned by the most honorable matron of that place (*de Civitate Dei* 7.21).

Much as in the case of Terminus, a recurring structural matrix links Juventas to other female figures affiliated with the vitality of the kingdom among the Celts and Indo-Aryans: Śrī-Lakṣmī, Apala, Draupadi, Sita, Flaith, the Medbs. In addition, these female figures of prosperity and vitality are involved in intimate liaisons. Śrī-Lakṣmī and Apala become consorts of

	State beneficence	Affiliated warrior(s)	Affiliated sovereign	Intoxicating substance
India				
Śrī-Lakṣmī	Prosperity	Viśvā	Indra	<i>soma</i>
Apala			Indra	
Draupadi		ksatriyas (Arjuna)	Yudhiṣṭhira	
Sita		ksatriyas	Rama	
Ireland				
Flaith	Sovereignty		Lug; Irish kings	ale
Medb I		Irish warriors	Irish kings	
Medb II		dueling suitors	Irish kings	
Rome				
Juventas	ἀκμή, vital force	<i>iuvenes</i>	Jupiter	wine

Indra; Flaith and the Medbs are presented as having sexual or otherwise romantic unions with Irish sovereigns (including the god Lug). In Rome, there are pronounced, bold sexual images and motifs associated with Juventas, but they find a displaced cultic expression in the Liberalia.

In summary, the minor Capitoline triad consists of the sovereign deity Jupiter plus the Roman expression of two figures who recur in those Indo-European cultures known for preserving archaic Indo-European religious traditions: (i) a male figure of fertility (affiliated with a sacred stone and closely aligned with a figure of sovereignty); and (ii) a female figure affiliated with the vitality of the kingdom and with the warrior realm—and usually with a body of warriors whom she invigorates (as well as being closely aligned with a figure of sovereignty, an intoxicating beverage, and sexual activity).

In Rome, vestiges of Proto-Indo-European ideology survive long after anything like a Proto-Indo-European tripartite social structure had disappeared from Roman society. It was of course the various Roman priests, holding offices of great antiquity, who were responsible in large measure for these preservations. One tool in the preservation of ancient cultic life was certainly the Roman calendar, controlled by priests and used to their own ends. In the 1920s, Wackernagel noted the similarity of the Roman calendar to that of the Indo-Aryans, and more recent work has drawn the Celtic calendar into this comparative analysis (on the Indo-Aryan and Celtic calendars, see Rees and Rees 1989.87–88).

Terminus and Juventas meet in the Capitoline temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. What seems to have gone unnoticed is that they also conspire in the Roman calendar. March had formerly been the first month of the Roman year, February the last. In *Fasti* 2.49–50, Ovid tells us that the final rites of the year are, appropriately enough, those of the god of boundaries, Terminus. The Terminalia are celebrated on February 23, very close to the boundary of the old and new years. But Ovid then goes on to describe subsequent rituals occurring in the final days of February, as if the Terminalia were not in actuality the final festival: Ovid appears to be self-contradictory. Ovid cannot be said to be innocent of that charge, though, in this particular case, the contradiction may be illusory.

The Terminalia are followed on February 24 by the peculiar and bizarre ritual of the Regifugium, “the Flight of the King.” Plutarch writes (*Quaest. Rom.* 63) that the Rex Sacrorum offered a sacrifice in the Comitium and then immediately fled away—the Rex Sacrorum being the priest who is said to have assumed the religious duties of the Roman king with the end of

the monarchy. This is essentially the extent of the information preserved from antiquity concerning this strange rite. It is certainly of significance that the Regifugium is one of only two named festival days in the Roman calendar that commence on an even, and thus unlucky, day.

We still have not reached the end of the year, however. The final rite is that of the Equirria, of February 27, at which horses were raced in honor of Mars on the Campus Martius.

March begins with the festival of the Matronalia, essentially a Mother's Day festival and feminine equivalent of the Saturnalia (December 17, see Boyle and Woodard 2000.210). The ritual is hardly typical of a New Year's Day celebration, and we would likely be justified in seeing the Matronalia as an addition to the March calendar made after the beginning of the year was assigned to January. The absence of any notation of this day in the only surviving republican calendar (the *fasti antiates maiores*) may confirm our suspicions.

In the republican calendar, the first named festival day appearing in the month of March is the Equirria of March 14, another occasion of chariot racing, and the second of the two festival days commencing on an even, unlucky, day (the Regifugium being the first).

On the day following the Equirria, the Ides of March, occurs the feast of Anna Perenna, a rollicking celebration marked by parades and the drinking of the number of cups of wine equivalent to a person's eventual years. The festival takes place on the Ides, the day of the first full moon of the year by the old lunar calendar (on which the Roman calendar was originally based, see Boyle and Woodard 2000.182–83), celebrating a female figure called Anna Perenna—with *Anna* derived from *annus*, “year” and *Perenna* meaning “through the year” (Macrobius 1.12.6)—the festival is undoubtedly in origin a New Year's rite (see Boyle and Woodard 2000.219–20).

Two days later, March 17—and two days must elapse so that the date will be odd and lucky—comes the Liberalia and the induction of a new contingent of young men into the warrior body of which *Juventas* is patron, the *iuvenes*.

The succession of the Terminalia, Regifugium, First Equirria, Second Equirria, Anna Perenna, and Liberalia, straddling the boundary of the old and new year, is certainly highly significant. Two of these festivals, the Regifugium of February 24 and the Equirria of March 14, highly marked by being the only festivals assigned to even, inauspicious, days, must certainly be seen as bracketing this transitional period.

FEBRUARY			MARCH		
23	24	27	14	15	17
Terminalia	[Regifugium]	1st Equirria	2nd Equirria]	Anna Perenna	Liberalia

What it is that they bracket is a disruption in time, a disruption of order, a disruption of *dharma*—the king offers a sacrifice and then turns and flees like a common fugitive. For an Indo-European parallel, we need only look to the last day of the Irish year, the eve of Samain (Hallowe'en), and the crazed disorder that grips the Celtic community on this day. Samain eve is a seam dividing the old year from the new, and the seam has come unraveled: "The placement of the *Regifugium* immediately after the *Terminalia*, the festival of the Boundary, which one might have expected to bring the old year to a close, [is] simply a cultic expression of the seam that has ruptured, bringing disorder into the community, turning society on its head" (Boyle and Woodard 2000.203, see also Woodard forthcoming). Among the Celts, order is restored with the arrival of Samain. Not so in Rome; the end of the disruption must be marked by the second Equirria, and the restoration of order by the arrival of the Ides, the celebration of the New Year's feast of Anna Perenna, and the swelling of the ranks of the *iuvenes* under the watchful eye of Juventas, guarantor of the vitality of Rome.

The primitive Indo-European origin of the disruption of Roman time and order and its restitution is revealed by closely parallel episodes in ancient India. What are preserved as elements of cult and calendar in Rome find expression in the epics of the Indo-Aryans (which Dumézil long ago demonstrated to preserve Indo-European religious and mythic motifs transposed into a narrative framework, see Dumézil 1986b.61–285). In both the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, the rightful king is forced to flee into exile in the wilderness. Yudhishthira and his Pandava brothers are exiled when their kingdom is lost to Duryodhana in a dice game. Rama is forced to become a fugitive in exile when the evil queen Kaikeyi tricks Rama's father into giving the throne to her own son Bharata, not the legitimate king. In both epics, one who ought to be king must cross the boundary of the settled world into the wilderness, the domain of Śiva, the place of rakṣasas and of wild and strange creatures. *Dharma* is threatened and there is a disruption in the flow of time. The period of exile, especially clear in the *Ramayana*, is a time of waiting, a lull—time, as it were, that is held in limbo (awaiting the return of the king).

Both Draupadi in the *Mahabharata* and Sita in the *Ramayana*,

incarnations of Śrī, analogues of Juventas, play an essential role in the restitution of order. In both instances, this is achieved through war, through the mobilization of those who make war. In the *Mahabharata*, order is restored when the sons of Pandu destroy their evil cousins in the eighteen-day battle of Kurukṣetra. In the *Ramayana*, the abducted Sita refuses to be rescued by Hanuman, Rama's monkey ally, resulting in a full-scale battle in which many warriors meet their death but in which Rama is victorious and regains Sita.

In Rome, time progresses beyond the boundary marker of the year, the Terminalia, and the king flees as disorder grips the world. The disruption of time continues, at least calendrically, until the arrival of the New Year. Its restoration is accompanied by a calling forth of the *iuvenes*, those who will protect Rome, under the watchful eye of Juventas.

We now come at the end, and briefly, to the question set forth in the opening paragraph. Is there any evidence that this set of archaic Indo-European motifs survived in Greek epic? Well perhaps, in an appreciably restructured form; or perhaps not. But if so, it would seem to be in that episode of the Trojan War that Homer unfortunately ignores or suppresses, as the case may be. The Greeks have gathered on the boundary of terra firma and the sea, at Aulis, attempting to cross that boundary to sail against Troy to recover Helen and fill the treasuries of Greece with Trojan gold. But the Greek warriors languish in tedium and idleness. The flow of time has, as it were, been disrupted, has been frozen. Contrary winds prevent the Greeks from sailing; contrary winds summoned by Artemis, goddess of the wild places, those spaces beyond the ἐσχατιάι, the boundaries, the liminal spaces between the settled world and the wilderness. In this liminal space of Aulis, where time has halted, is Agamemnon, king of Mycenae. He has left that city, in which remain Clytemnestra as well as Aegisthus, an illegitimate king of perverse conception and so reminiscent of the evil Kauravas of the *Mahabharata*. It is Iphigenia—a maiden becoming patron of the warrior body by her sacrifice, the first casualty of the war, the bride of sovereign Greece (rather than Achilles)—who restores the order threatened by mutiny and chaos.

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