The Suodales of Poplos Valesios
Bremmer, J.

Published in:
Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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

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

Publication date:
1982

Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database

Citation for published version (APA):

Copyright
Other than for strictly personal use, it is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

The publication may also be distributed here under the terms of Article 25fa of the Dutch Copyright Act, indicated by the "Taverne" license. More information can be found on the University of Groningen website: https://www.rug.nl/library/open-access/self-archiving-pure/taverne-amendment.

Take-down policy
If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Downloaded from the University of Groningen/UMCG research database (Pure): http://www.rug.nl/research/portal. For technical reasons the number of authors shown on this cover page is limited to 10 maximum.
THE SUODALES OF POPLIOS VALESIOS

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

IEISTETERAI POPLIOSIO VALESIOSIO
SUODALES MAMARTEI
.....(?) have erected - of Poplios Valesios -
the sodales - to Mamars

On the basis of archaeological and epigraphical considerations the inscription could be dated to the period around 500 B.C., and the Dutch Institute proceeded with great energy to publish its important find. Within three years it issued a
large-scale study of the stone, in which Stibbe himself discussed the archaeological
evidence (pp. 21-40), G. Colonna the epigraphical features (pp. 41-69), C. de Simone
the linguistic aspects (pp. 71-87) and H. S. Versnel the historical implications of the
inscription (pp. 97-150); a preface by M. Pallotino introduces this excellent publication
(pp. 13-17).

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

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

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

---

1) C. M. Stibbe et al., Lapis Satricanus, Archeologische Studiën van het Neder-
2) Servius Aen. 6.845, 7.614, 8.1.
M. Sordi, Il giuramento della 'legio linteata' e la guerra sociale, in M. Sordi (ed.),
I canali della propaganda nel mondo antico (Milano 1976), 160-68.
4) M. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage (London 1974), no's 28f., 234 and
notes.
he compared those groups of comrades who were closely tied to their leader in war and peace, and who would sometimes refuse to survive their leader in the case of his death, 5) groups such as the Iberian soldurii, 6) Gaulish ambacti and clientes, 7) and the Homeric ἔταιροι (see below). His final conclusion: "The analogy with other cultures has shown us in which sphere we may look for this sodalitas (viz. of Poplios Valesios): comradeship ('Genossenschaft') in time of peace, feasting and carousing in closed groups, which, in wartime, functioned as the 'Gefolgschaft' of an aristocrat or prince with whom a coniuratio relationship could exist." 8)

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


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

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

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

11) Liv. 42.2.1.

12) See R. Wenskus, Stammesbildung und Verfassung (Köln/Graz 1961), 347-352;
distinction could prove useful for an interpretation of the inscription, since we cannot exclude the possibility that the *suodales* were comrades for only one raid, instead of over a longer period of time.

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

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

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


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

13) See most recently, R. M. Ogilvie, A Commentary on Livy, Books 1-5 (Oxford 19703), 363; J. -P. Neraudeau, La jeunesse dans la littérature et les institutions de la Rome républicaine (Paris 1979), 278; P. W. de Neeve, Colonus (Diss. Utrecht 1981), 261 n. 49. For the traditional view, see DH 9.15.3; Festus 451 L; Serv. Aen. 6.845.

14) The same mistake is made by De Simone, Lapis Satricanus, 84. When Versnel (p.120) observes that “the picture of the group of iuvenes alternates with that of the group of clientes and sodales: Livy 1,5,7 uses in connection with the attack of Numitor and Romulus on Amulius the term cum globo iuvenum, where DH 1.83,3 says: ἄγων ὀπλαμένους ... τῶν τε ἄλλων πελατῶν καὶ ἑταῖρων καὶ ἑφερ- πείνας πετάτης χειρα ὀφθ. ἄλεγνυ,” Versnel fails to note that in fact Livy says that the attack happened non (!) cum globo iuvenum but pastoribus.
The Suodales of Poplios Valesios

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

Except for the Fabian passage all these *sodales* are young men, and, as Versnel (p.119/120) stressed, this can hardly be chance. The *sodales* belong typically, although not exclusively, to the world of the young. This fits in very well with an observation of Dumézil that the Indian element *sva*, 'one's own', which is related with *sodalis*, is in the *Rg Veda* characteristic of the god Indra and his followers, the *Marut*, an autonomous group of young men.  

Another word related to *sodalis* is *éta̱kōoc*, and Versnel did not fail to note that the *éta̱kōol* also often were of the same age. But they do not always constitute a "consistent (his italics) 'Altersklassenverband'," and this is evidently the reason why he declined to follow up the connection of youth and retinue, since the observation made him "refrain from referring to the abundant literature on secret societies and Männerbiinde, which would exceed the scope of this investigation."  

Yet we have plenty of evidence that age-sets among the Indo-Europeans were not exclusively composed of youths. Although our tradition about the *iuvenes* of early Rome is rather slim, recent investigations have now demonstrated that Archaic Rome had age-sets which were not yet fully integrated into society.  

Our earliest Roman example of such a group of youths is the 'Jungmannschaft' around Romulus and Remus which, as befitted such a band, was located in the wilderness. Our tradition is unanimous in having the twins also accept run-away slaves, criminals and murderers among the *iuvenes*. We find the mixed character of the age-set of the young also in the initiatory traditions of the Italic Leucani.

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

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

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

18) Fabius Pictor *FGrH* 809 F 4; Liv. 1.8.5; Luc. 1.97; Juv. 8.272–275 etc.
whose sons were separated from their families at an early age and sent to the Brettians who raised them in the bush where they had to live from plundering raids. The boys received into their body run-away slaves, and we hear only of them because they had become a nuisance after having founded a community. 19)

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

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


25) Simon. 77D; Antipho 6.22; Schol. Aeschin. 1.10; Schol. Lyc. 11, p. 2, 3-5 Scheer; C. Calame, Les choseurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaique (Rome 1977), 1, 57ff.

26) For the Germanic 'Gefolgschaft', see the studies mentioned in n. 12; H. Kuhn,
nullam habent infamiam quae extra lines cuiusque civitatis fiunt; atque ea iuventus exercendae ac desidiae minuendae causa fieri praedicant. It is important to note that participation was obligatory, since the stay-at-homes were reckoned among desertorum ac proditorum numero; the raids probably had an initiatory character. The object of these raids very often was cattle, the solae et gratissimae opes of the Germans (Tac. Germ. 13).\textsuperscript{27}) Such a raid was the foray of the Sygambri who crossed the Rhine to pillage the Eburones and magnop pecoris numero, cuius sunt cupidissirni barbari, potiuntur (Caes. BG. 6.35.6); as we will see, cattle-raiding is also found among other Indo-European peoples as one of the main activities of the youth.

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

We do not learn from Tacitus whether criminals or exiles also formed part of the Kleine Schriften II (Berlin 1971), 420-483; H. Gneuss, Die Battle of Maldon als historisches und literarisches Zeugnis, SB München 1976; H. J. Diesner, Westgothische und longobardische Gefolgschaften, SB Leipzig 1977.

\textsuperscript{27}) On Germanic cattle, see H. Jankuhn in R. Much, Die Germania des Tacitus (Heidelberg 1967\textsuperscript{2}), 115-118.

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

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

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

We also find a retinue of youths among the ancient Celts. During the second Punic War Hannibal had to act as an arbiter for the Allobroges, whose king had been expelled by fratre et coetu iuniorum (Liv. 21.31.6f). In this particular case we can still remain sceptical but our next instance hardly admits of any doubt. During the siege of Gergovia a certain Convictolitavis tried to persuade quibusdam adulescentibus...quorum erat princeps Litoviccus atque eius fratres, amplissima familia nati adulescentes (Cae. BG. 7.37.1). When the plot was thwarted, Litaviccus had to flee cum suis clientibus (7.40.7). Although social relations in Gaul are difficult to reconstruct because of the variety of terms used by our sources - ambacti, amici, clientes, comites, familiares (see note 7) - the inference presents itself that these clientes were the same as the aforementioned adulescentes. We have no further information about the composition of this particular retinue, but the presence of outlaws in the retinue of prominent Gauls appears from the following examples: Indutiomarus exsules damnosque...ad se adlicere coepit (BG.5,55,3), and Vercingetorix in agris habet dilecturn egentium ac perditorurn (BG. 7.4.3).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


The role of the dog has been much less researched, but we may mention the Longobard Cynocephali who have been studied in a brilliant article by O. Höfner, Cangrande von Verona und das Hundesymbol der Longobarden, in Brauch und Sinnbild. Festschrift E. Fehrle (Karlsruhe 1940), 101-137; H. Birkhan, in Festgabe für Otto Höfner (Wien 1976), 36f. (on the Lithuanian 'Jungmannschaft' fighting with dog's heads); L. Kretzenbacher, Kynokephale Dämonen südosteuropaischer Volksdichtung (Miinchen 1968); Kothe, op. cit., 251, 259 (dogs and tribal names); C. Lecouteux, Zs. f. deutsches Alt. 110 (1981), 213-217.
Our classical texts make no mention of cattle-raiding Celts on the continent, but insular and isolated Ireland has preserved vivid memories of the times in which cattle-raids were an honourable activity. The technical term for such a raid was *tbin*, the most familiar being the famous *Tōin bō Cuoilinge* which recounts the *geste* of the great hero of Ulster, CúChulainn, but we also have the titles of a great number of similar epics, the contents of which are now irretrievably lost. These poems originally treated the raiding of cattle, but in the final form that we have this subject is already disappearing into the background; around the year 1000 A.D. the word *tbin* had virtually disappeared and was replaced by a different one, *crech*, a word which contains a pejorative undertone absent in *tbin*. In Ireland, as already much earlier in mainland Gaul, the cattle-raid had gradually given way to different forms of warrior exploits, forms that were better adapted to a society in which cattle were no longer the main expression of wealth.

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

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

---


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

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

The more general meaning 'friend, companion' seems to be a later development, since this meaning does not tally so well with the typical element *swe which indicates, as Benveniste expressed it, the membership of a group of "siens propres". 41) Once again we find outlaws amidst the members of the age-set: Hector killed Lycophron, who had become a comrade of Ajax after having committed a murder at Cytheron (II. XV. 430-39); another of Hector's victims was Epigean, who was a comrade of Achilles after having murdered his nephew (II. XVI. 370-76). Telemachos, whose ἐταῖροι were of the same age (Od. 3.363ff.), happily received Theoclymenos, a fugitive who had killed a man (Od. 15.2241, amongst his comrades. Although the ἐταῖροι often function as a kind of permanent retinue, we also find ἐταῖροι for only one expedition as in Diomedes' nightly expedition. 42)

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

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

41) E. Benveniste, Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes (Paris 1969) 1,331-2 who also points at the relationship of ἐταῖρος and sodalis; see also De Simone, Lapis Satricanus, 84.

42) II. X. 234ff; similarly Od. 14.247.


44) For the Indian mārya and Marut, see S. Wikander, Der arische Mannerbund (Diss. Uppsala 1938); L. Renou, Etudes vediques et paninkennes 10 (Paris 1962); J.C. Heesterman, Indo-Iranian Journal 6 (1962), 16f; B. Lincoln, Priests, Warriors and Cattle (Berkeley etc. 1981), 122-132.
colours and accordingly call for a careful evaluation of the information given by the Avesta and other Zoroastrian writings, it is consistent with the picture we have developed so far that these \textit{mairya} are said to be accompanied by robbers - the booty, hardly surprisingly, consists of cattle - and that they are called 'two-pawed wolves'.\footnote{For the Iranian mairya, see Wikander (previous note) and G. Widengren, Hochgottglaube im alten Iran (Uppsala/Leipzig 1938), 311-351; Lincoln (previous note), \textit{loc. cit.}} Scholars have for a long time connected the word \textit{mbrya (mairya)} with the term \textit{maryanni}, the warrior aristocracy of the Mitanni. The occurrence of these Indo-European warriors in the Near East is a splendid example of a group of youths who have established themselves abroad after one of their raids.\footnote{The most recent literature on the \textit{maryanni} is surveyed by M. Mayrhofer, \textit{Die Arier im Vorderen Orient - ein Mythos?}, SB Wien 1974 and idem, Welches Material aus dem Indo-Arischen von Mitanni verbleibt für eine selektive Darstellung?, in Gedenkschrift für H. Kronasser (1982). From Mayrhofer's survey it appears clearly that the objections of A. Kamenhuber, \textit{Die Arier im Vorderen Orient} (Heidelberg 1968), 220ff. against the Indo-European interpretation of \textit{maryanni} have not found acceptance among other scholars.}

In ancient Iran we find the related term \textit{marika} in Darius' inscription of Naqsh-i Rustam as a term for 'vassal', as Widengren has demonstrated in a detailed discussion. This strongly suggests, as Widengren rightly observes, that the feudal structure of the Achaemenid empire evolved from a society of young man which, we may add, had apparently broken away from the former tribal structure.\footnote{Widengren, Der Feudalismus (above n. 20, 12-21.}

Less remote in history than these bands of \textit{mairya} are the bands of Persian youths described by Strabo (15.3.18). The geographer gives us as extensive description of the education of the Persian youths which he most likely derived from Hecataeus' \textit{Periodos}.\footnote{Cf. \textit{F. Lasserre}, MH 33 (1976), 71} The boys are called in the Persian language \textit{cardaces} because they have to live by theft for, according to Strabo, "\textit{carda} means the manly and warlike spirit." The passage was deleted by Meineke but inspection of the Strabonian palimpsest has definitely shown that this suspicion was unfounded.\footnote{Cf. \textit{F. Lasserre apud A. Alföldi, Schweiz. Arch. f. Vkd. 47 (1951), 14f. and idem, Die Struktur, 140. This has (understandably) escaped Walbank on Pol. 5.79.11 and Bosworth on Arr. 2.8.6.}

Around 400 B.C. the \textit{cardaces} were already mercenaries, as appears from a neglected fragment of the comedy writer Theopompos,\footnote{Theopompos apud Ael. Dion. K 11 Erbse. For the identity of Theopompos,} and later in the
fourth century *cardaces* appeared in the army of Autophrodates (*Nep.Dam.* 8.2).\(^{51}\) At the battle of Issus the *cardaces* seemed to have constituted the flower of the Persian army (Bosworth on Arr. 2.8.6), and in the early second century B.C. we still hear of a village of *cardaces* (Walbank on Pol. 5.79.11). The term *cardaces* recurs in a Pahlavi text, Draxt-i-Asurig § 18, where it has the meaning 'wanderer', a meaning that fits mercenaries and bands of youths who most likely had to wander around in order to commit their robberies. Thus it seems that in this case, too, a group of young men developed into a band of wandering warriors that could be enlisted by kings or condottieri into their service.

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

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

---

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

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

\(^{53}\) Cf. Wenskus (above n.12), 295f., 299, 509 n. 533; Dobesch (above n.7), 196 n.57.
Third, the separate group of youths could function as a retinue, whether for one raid only or for a longer period of time; in either case the main object of raids in the archaic period was the cattle of neighbouring peoples. We have evidently no further information about the event(s) that occasioned the dedication, but if the stone was erected after a single raid, it is highly tempting to think of a cattle-raid, since at that time cattle will still have been the principal movable wealth; then, as much later, war was carried on mainly for the acquisition of booty. 54) We have seen that cattle-raids figured in most traditions of the early Indo-European societies, and especially in stories of the activities of the young. And indeed, Romulus was pictured by Eutropius as a cattle-stealer, and Schwegler already suggested that the traditions in which Romulus helped shepherds against the rustlers were later transformations of tales in which the founder of Rome himself participated in cattle-lifting. 55) Also the death of Tatius was explained as caused by a raid in which his friends had abducted some herds (DH. 2.51.1).

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

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

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

Utrecht \hspace{1cm} Jan Bremmer

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

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