

Carmenta - Aditi

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Résumé : Parmi les divinités primitives de Rome se trouve la déesse Carmenta, desservie par l'un des Flamines Minores archaïques. Elle est la divinité du carmen, terme latin désignant à la fois l'« énoncé solennel », religieux et légal, et l'« énoncé prophétique ». Dans son rôle de divinité de l'énoncé, Carmenta est présentée comme ayant deux aspects distincts, l'un orienté vers l'avant (Porrina ou Prorsa), et l'autre vers l'après (Postverta). Ce double alignement qui caractérise Carmenta, allant vers l'avant ou vers l'arrière, trouve une structure homologue dans la déesse védique bivalente Aditi, dont le nom signifie principalement « Dé-Liée », nom accompagné de l'alloforme divin Diti, « Lié ». On dit qu'Aditi possède « deux faces » (ubhayataḥśīrṣṇī), une condition bifrontale attribuée à son association avec le prāyaṇīya-, « aller de l'avant, entrer », et le udayaṇīya-, « sortir », rituels d'ouverture et de clôture du sacrifice du Soma. Nous rencontrons cette idée dans le Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 3.2.4.16, où Aditi est présentée comme étroitement corrélée à Vāc, déesse de l'énoncé sacré. L'italique Carmenta et l'indienne Aditi, chacune biforme de façon contrastive, descendent d'une déesse proto-indo-européenne trifonctionnelle dualiste. Mots-clés : Carmenta, Carmentalia, Porrina, Prorsa, Postverta/Postvorta, Janus, Ides, Aditi, Diti, sacrifice de la Nouvelle-Lune/Pleine lune, Vāc, trifonctionnel.

Abstract: Among the primitive deities of Rome is the goddess Carmenta, served by one of the archaic Flamines Minores. She is deity of the carmen, Latin term denoting both 'solemn utterance' - religious and legal - and 'prophetic utterance'. In her role as deity of the utterance, Carmenta is presented as having two distinct aspects, one that is oriented toward what is before (Porrina or Prorsa) and the other to what is after (Postverta). This dual alignment characterizing Carmenta, ranging forward and backward, finds a homologous structure in the bivalent Vedic goddess Aditi, having a name meaning essentially 'Un-Bound', who is accompanied by the divine alloform Diti 'Bound'. Aditi is said to be 'two-faced' (ubhayataḥśīrṣṇī), a bifrontal condition attributed to her affiliation with prāyaṇīya- 'going forth/in' and udayaṇīya- 'going out', opening and closing rituals of the Soma sacrifice. We encounter this idea in Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 3.2.4.16, where Aditi is presented as closely correlated with Vāc, goddess of sacred utterance. Italic Carmenta and Indic Aditi, each with a contrastive biform are descended from a dualistic trifunctional Proto-Indo-European goddess.

Keywords: Carmenta, Carmentalia, Porrina, Prorsa, Postverta/Postvorta, Janus, Ides, Aditi, Diti, New-Moon/Full-Moon Sacrifice, Vāc, Trifunctional.

For Nick Allen, true and trusted friend of many years, kind and constant companion in Oxford, guide and fellow trekker through the wondrous spaces of Port Meadow.

Carmenta

The goddess called *Carmenta*, who can equally be invoked as *Carmentis*,¹ is an archaic Roman deity. Her name is simply a derivative of Latin *carmen*, a word that denotes (1) ‘solemn utterance, formula’, whether it be of a religious or legal nature, and also (2) ‘prophetic utterance’. For its origin we must look to the Proto-Indo-European root *kan- ‘to sing’, source of, *inter alia*, Old Irish *canaid* ‘to sing, chant’, including prophecies and spells, ‘to announce, utter’; Welsh *canu* ‘to sing’; Umbrian **kanetu arġkani** ‘to chant a chant’ (in Iguvine ritual) and *procanurent* ‘to call, sing’, of oracular bird signals interpreted by an augur; and Latin *canere* ‘to utter, prophesy’, ‘to sing, chant’ including spells. Latin *canere* is the immediate source of *carmen*, from the stem *can-men- by dissimilation.² *Carmenta* clearly holds membership in an ancestral Indo-European family of words dedicated to signifying performative utterance in the realm of the first function (Dumézil), of *la classe des prêtres* (Benveniste).

Cicero (*Brutus* 56) reveals to us that a Flamen is dedicated to the goddess Carmenta.³ Her priest, the Flamen Carmentalis, is one of the nine *Flamines Minores* – ‘minor’ in that the deities whom they serve lie outside of the archaic ‘major’ set composed of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus (preserving as a triad an expression of the ancestral Indo-European trifunctional ideology), deities to whom the *Flamines Miores* attend. That Carmenta is to be numbered among the archaic deities of Rome is indicated by the assignment to her of a Flamen, primitive Roman priest. Carmenta is celebrated in an annual festival of two days’ duration – first on 11 January – and then again on 15 January. There are other Roman festivals that are celebrated on multiple days, but the structure of the Carmentalia is a marked one, not only for (1) the separation of the rites by a space of three intervening days (rather than by a space of one intervening day, as in typical Roman fashion, and this in order to prevent ritual observance from falling on an inauspicious, even-numbered day), but (2) for the intervention of the Ides between the two installments of these Carmentalia. In both the first and, *a fortiori*, the second respect, the festival of Carmenta is unique in the Roman ritual calendar.

At least in part, the setting of the rites of the Carmentalia must have been the *fanum* of Carmenta located at the base of the Capitoline hill. This ‘shrine’⁴ of

1. *Carmenta* is the form that will be regularly utilized herein, regardless of the form used in the various textual references cited.

2. See, *inter alia*, Mallory and Adams 1997:519; Untermann 2000:366–367; Rix *et al.* 2001:342–343; Watkins 2011:38; eDIL s.v. *canaid*.

3. See also CIL VI 31032

4. Also designated as *sacellum* and *ara/arae*. Solinus (1.13) reports that the site of the ‘shrine’ (*fanum*) had previously been the location of the ‘dwelling place’ (*habitaculum*) of Carmenta.

the goddess was located nearby the Porta Carmentalis, a gate set within the Servian walls through which ran the Vicus Iugarius, street passing from about the Area Volcani out toward the Quirinal hill.⁵ The position of the shrine thus places it in direct intercourse with perhaps the most sacred site of archaic Rome, the Comitium in which burns the fire of Volcanus, which, as Dumézil has argued insightfully, is a Roman reflex of one of the three sacred fires of Indo-European cult ideology, corresponding to the Vedic *Dakṣiṇāgni* (the other two being the *Gārhapatyā* and *Āhavanīyā*).

We might reasonably anticipate that the supervising priest of the Carmentalia was the Flamen Carmentalis. In opening lines of his *Fasti* treatment of the Carmentalia, Ovid characterizes the event as *sacrum pontificale deae* ‘pontifical ritual observance of the goddess’ (*Fasti* 1.462), suggesting that Pontifices (also) played an officiating role. To this extent the rites of Carmenta would appear to parallel those of the Larentalia (festival for Acca Larentia, foster mother of Romulus; Ovid *Fasti* 3.55–58, Festus p.119M), celebrated little more than a fortnight earlier, on 23 December (the final festival of that month). In this instance, as reported by Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 7.7.7), the Flamen Quirinalis presides. But add to this Cicero’s remark (*Epistulae ad Brutum* 1.15.8) that Pontifices customarily offer sacrifice to Larentia at her altar in the Velabrum; the site is said to be outside the Porta Romanula, the gate associated with the primitive Palatine *pomerium* (Varro *De lingua Latina* 5.164, 6.24). It would appear probable then that both the Larentalia and Carmentalia were jointly in the charge of Flamines and Pontifices. These two festivals share further in common that each is dedicated to a figure who is assigned the role of *mother* of one who founds a Palatine settlement: Acca Larentia/Romulus and Carmenta/Evander (on the latter see below). In addition, Varro (*De lingua Latina* 6.24) writes that the Larentalia was celebrated ‘at the tomb of Acca’ (*ad sepulcrum Accae*); similarly Servius (on *Aeneid* 8.337) reports that the tomb of Carmenta is situated in the vicinity of her ‘altar’ (*ara*). To some degree we must be dealing here with synchronically competing, or otherwise variant, cult narratives regarding one who is the “mother” of Rome’s founding settler.

The placement of the Carmentalia in the month that begins the year, the month that bears the name of Janus, is notable. The only other festival marked in the ancient calendars in large letters within this month falls on 9 January, designated as AGON – that is, *Agonalia*,⁶ *Agonium*,⁷ or *dies Agonalis*⁸ (the signification of the name remains uncertain). The Agonalia of January, to

5. See, *inter alia*, Richardson 1992:72, 424.

6. Festus p. 10M, p. 340M; Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.4.9, 1.16.6; Joannes Lydus *De mensibus* 4.155.172; Ovid offers *Agnalīa* as syncopated variant of *Agonalia* at *Fasti* 1.325.

7. Verrius Flaccus *Fasti Praenestini*; Festus p. 10M.

8. Varro *De lingua Latina* 6.12; Ovid *Fasti* 1.318, 324.

judge by Ovid's (*Fasti* 1.317–336) and Varro's (*De lingua Latina* 6.12) comments considered together, entails the Rex Sacrorum offering a 'ram' (*aries*) to Janus in the Regia. Other festivals that are similarly named occur on 17 March (AG),⁹ 21 May (AGON),¹⁰ and 11 December (AG).¹¹ Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.16.6) attaches a certain primacy to the Carmentalia and the Agonalia, together with the Lupercalia of 15 February, calling them the chief among festivals having a fixed date. The characterization is significant and likely a reflection of the great antiquity of the observances within the system of the Roman sacred calendar.¹² Carmenta, goddess of the 'ritual utterance' (*carmen*), can be characterized as a deity of prophecy, cast in the role of primeval mantis. Thus, for example, Livy (1.7.8–9) describes her as a *fatiloqua* 'prophetess', held in esteem prior to the arrival of the Sibyl in Italy. Virgil (*Aeneid* 8.340) calls her a *vates fatidica* 'prophesying seer'. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.31.2) reports that she proclaims 'through song/incantation' (δι' ᾠδῆς) those things which are about to happen. Plutarch (*Life of Romulus* 21.2), who himself served as a priest at the oracle of Apollo in Delphi,¹³ writes that some people say Carmenta was a μαντική 'prophetess' and one φοιβαστική ἐμμέτρων χρησμών 'uttering¹⁴ verse oracles'. The sphere of Carmenta is that of sacred speech, of *carmen* – the domain of the formularies and enunciations of religion and law; yet as Roman goddess of sacred speech Carmenta's specialization encompasses prophetic speech as well. Comparative evidence indicates that Carmenta's prophetic role is consistent with the activities of ancestral Indo-European mantics, while undoubtedly showing some accommodation to typical forms of divination in the Italian peninsula.

Roman Carmenta is assigned two distinct and contrastive cult epithets. On the one hand she is called *Porrina* or *Prorsa*.¹⁵ Ovid (*Fasti* 1.635) is at least

9. Cooccurring with the *Liberalia*.

10. Also day sacred to Vediovis.

11. Also day of the *Septimontium/Septimontia*. Varro suggests that all four Agonalia are characterized by the Rex Sacrorum offering a ram in the Regia.

12. One would then anticipate that an Ur-Carmentalia and Ur-Lupercalia formed a part of that Roman time-reckoning system that preceded the addition of January and February to the archaic ten-month Roman calendar (March–December). If there were some integral affiliation of the Agonalia with the Carmentalia, should we imagine that the Carmentalia were celebrated in March and December (months in which Agonalia were observed)? Any suggestion of such would be highly speculative, of course, but there is reason for understanding Carmenta as a deity associated with beginnings and endings, as we shall see.

13. On which see, *inter alia*, the fairly recent work of Casanova 2012.

14. The sense of the adjective is more literally something like 'functioning like a Phoebic mantic', such as the Pythia, but what is connoted is undoubtedly a verbal act.

15. *Porrina*: Ovid *Fasti* 1.633; Servius on *Aeneid* 8.336. *Prorsa*: Varro in Aulus Gellius

conceptually, and likely linguistically, accurate when he links *Porrima* to the adverb *porro*, in the sense ‘in the (distant) past’.¹⁶ The alternative *Prorsa*, being simply the feminine adjective *prorsa* (with variant *prosa*), is literally ‘following a straight line’, with a past directionality certainly to be understood in its use as epithet of Carmenta.¹⁷ On the other hand, Carmenta is also called *Postverta* (or *Postvorta*) – that is, ‘turned toward what comes later’.¹⁸ In describing the rites of the Carmentalia of 15 January, Ovid advises his readers (*Fasti* 1.631–632):¹⁹

*Siquis amas veteres ritus, adsiste precanti;
nomina percipies non tibi nota prius*
If you love old rituals, attend to the one who is praying;
You will hear names unknown to you before.

Ovid here gives voice to the great antiquity and arcana of the ritual utterances associated with the Carmentalia. He then, in the four lines that immediately follow, addresses the two distinct aspects of Carmenta’ sphere of action (*Fasti* 1.633–636):

*Porrima placatur Postvertaque, sive sorores,
sive fugae comites, Maenali diva, tuae;
altera quod porro fuerat cecinisse putatur, 635
altera venturum postmodo quicquid erat.*
Porrima is appeased and Postverta, either your sisters,
or your fellow exiles, O Maenalian goddess;
one chanted (it is thought) what was past or *porro*, 635
the other what would come later or *post*.

There are several points that need to be made regarding these four lines. Carmenta is addressed as the “Maenalian,” in the metonymic sense “Arcadian,” after Mt. Maenalus in the Greek region of Arcadia. Reference is being made to the Roman tradition that assigned to Carmenta the role of mother of Evander, the Arcadian Greek who was said to have settled the Palatine in a distant

Noctes Atticae 16.16.4; Tertullian *Ad nationes* 2.11 attests *Prosa*.

16. Here the Latin gloss, as typically throughout the present work, rests on the treatment of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. The *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* utilized herein is that of Monier-Williams and the *Greek-English Lexicon* that of Liddell and Scott.

17. The adverb *porro* can also denote ‘straight on’. Is *Prorsa* here simply a “translation” of *Porrima* using a more familiar form?

18. *Postverta*: Ovid *Fasti* 1.633; Varro in Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 16.16.4; Tertullian *Ad nationes* 2.11; Servius on *Aeneid* 8.336. *Postvorta*: Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.7.20.

19. English translations of Ovid’s *Fasti* used herein are those of Boyle and Woodard 2004 with minor, if any, modification.

moment, prior to the foundation of Romulus' city.²⁰ But Ovid here presents the prospect that Porrina and Postverta, the twin aspects of Carmenta, are *sorores* 'sisters' of the goddess. And if not, a possibility that Ovid seems to allow, then Porrina and Postverta are (at least) her *fugae comites* 'fellow exiles' (i.e. from Arcadia). The idea of a duality (or grammatical plurality) of "Carmentas" is found elsewhere. Servius (on *Aeneid* 8.336) claims that *carmentes* (plural) was an archaic word for 'seers' (*vates*) and those who recorded their utterances were called *carmentarii*. Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 16.16.4) cites Varro for the report that 'altars' (*arae*) were set up in Rome *duabus Carmentibus* 'for two Carmentas'. Compare here Dionysius of Halicarnassus' (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.32.2) report that he had seen not only the altar of Carmenta by the Porta Carmentalis but an altar of Evander near the Aventine hill, close by the Porta Trigemina, gate within the Servian walls (likely in the vicinity of Santa Maria in Cosmedin).²¹

Gellius' comment is offered in connection with another role that was assigned to the goddess Carmenta, one that is a fundamental function for her: not only is she made to be mother of Evander but she is also identified more broadly with *motherhood*. Carmenta is a deity of childbirth; she has 'power' (*potestas*) over what Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 16.16.4) describes as 'turned about' (*perversus*) and 'straight' (*rectus*) forms of birth. Her dual epithets Prorsa and Postverta are associated, respectively, with a breech (i.e. foot-first) birth and with a head-first birth. In effect, in the latter instance (when Postverta is relevant) the child arrives with face forward (as if toward the future), in the former instance (when Porrina is relevant) the child is born with face turned back (as if toward the past): there is an implicit notion of bifrontal-ness attached to Carmenta.

Augustine (*De civitate Dei* 4.11) bridges Carmenta's two functions (prophetic and maternal) when he writes of the goddesses who 'are called' (*vocantur*) *Carmentes* (plural), identifying them as they *quae fata nascentibus canunt* 'who chant what is fated for those birthed'. Here Augustine places the *Carmentes* within the set of what he calls the 'mob of . . . Plebeian gods' (*turba . . . Plebeiorum deorum*): in Augustine's inventory the *Carmentes* are preceded by (1) Mena, who controls menstrual cycles, (2) Lucina, the birth-goddess, (3) Ops, harvest-goddess here

20. See, *inter alia*, Virgil *Aeneid* 8.336; Livy 1.7.8; Ovid *Fasti* 1.497–499; Hyginus *Fabulae* 277; Strabo 5.3.3 C230. She can be equated specifically with a nymph called Themis or Nicostrate (see, for example, Strabo 5.3.3 C230; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.31.1; Plutarch *Roman Questions* 56; Servius on *Aeneid* 8.51 and 8.336), among still other names (for further on Nicostrate see below). For Dionysius (1.32.2) the Carmentalia is celebration of both Carmenta and Evander. Plutarch makes her the wife of Evander at *Life of Romulus* 21.2 (see below for a possible comparative significance), but mother of Evander at *Roman Questions* 56.

21. See Richardson 1992:310.

linked to Earth (Terra), (4) Vaticanus, associated with the beginning of speech,²² (5) Levana (obscure),²³ and (6) Cunina, the cradle-goddess. And the Carmentes are immediately followed by (1) Fortuna, goddess particularly worshipped by women (as Fortuna Muliebris) and here presumably in coordination with the notion of “what is fated”, (2) Rumina, here associated with breast milk (in her cult she received offerings of milk rather than wine),²⁴ (3) Potina, whose functional domain is a weaned child’s sipping,²⁵ and (4) Educa (elsewhere Edusa or Edulia), goddess of a child’s eating.²⁶ Carmina, expressed as a plurality, is made to be a core member of deities overseeing the generative and nurturing processes.

Plutarch (*Roman Questions* 56; also *Life of Romulus* 21.2) teases apart Carmenta’s twin functions somewhat, stating that some view Carmenta as a Fate (Μοῖρα) and others as a seer (prophetess mother of Evander). Regardless, Plutarch still affirms Carmenta’s affiliation with motherhood and her link to Roman mothers. Both identifications of the goddess are offered in answer to his posed question (*Roman Questions* 56): Διὰ τί τὸ τῆς Καρμέντης ἱερὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκοῦσιν αἱ μητέρες ἰδρῦσασθαι καὶ νῦν μάλιστα σέβονται; ‘Why are the [Roman] mothers thought to have established the temple of Carmenta and even now worship her most?’

Let us return our attention to Ovid’s lines of *Fasti* 1.633–636. It seems clear that the poet is reflecting a tradition which acknowledges that Carmenta faces in two different directions – as with the infants whose birth she supervises – and that these opposing orientations recapitulate the semantics of the nominal, *carmen*, of which she is the deification. As forward-facing Postverta she is concerned with chanting what is to come – that is, with divinatory utterance. As back-facing Porrina she is concerned with chanting what is past – that is, with the traditional formulae of worship: this is underscored by the two lines that immediately precede (i.e. 631–632, considered above), in which Ovid makes explicit reference to arcane formulae of worship in conjunction with the Carmentalia and what his readers may learn by attending to them.²⁷ Engagement with traditions of ritual utterance can result in intellectual discovery – ritual utterance that pivots at a present moment toward future oracular utterance and discovery.

Ovid’s point is made with near equal explicitness by the antiquarian Macrobius in his *Saturnalia* (1.7.20). Uniquely among ancient sources on the deity of the *carmen*, Macrobius’ uses *Antevorta*, rather than *Porrina* or *Prorsa*, to identify

22. See Varro at Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 16.17.2.

23. Augustine forges a semantic link between the goddess and *levare* ‘to lift up’.

24. See Varro *Res Rustica* 2.11.5.

25. See Varro at Nonius Marcellus p. 108M.

26. See Varro at Nonius Marcellus p. 108M (Edusa) and at Aelius Donatus commentary on Terence *Phormio* 49 (Edulia).

27. Servius (on *Aeneid* 8.336) observes simply that *Porrina* and *Postverta* are relevant terms because ‘both things past and things future’ (*praeterita et futura*) are known to seers.

the back-looking aspect of the deity Carmenta. Macrobius states that a ‘king’ (*rex*) *et praeterita nosset et futura prospiceret, sicut Antevorta et Postvorta, divinitatis scilicet aptissimae comites, apud Romanos coluntur* ‘should know things past and should foresee things future – just as Antevorta and Postvorta, of course being the most appropriate companions of the divining [deity], are worshipped among the Romans’. Macrobius does not here explicitly invoke the name *Carmenta*, a casual silence that is made all the more interesting by the context in which he offers this remark – the context being a euhemeristic discussion of Janus (*rex* of the Janiculum), who, Macrobius states, had two faces so that he could ‘look at’ (*intueri*) what was before and what was after.²⁸ While there is perhaps no evidence for Carmenta being iconographically characterized by Janic bifrontalism, the parallelism that Macrobius offers is such that Carmenta is automatically drawn into the ambit of twin-faced Janus. Elsewhere (1.9.13) Macrobius reports that Janus is ‘two-faced’ (*bifrons*) as he is the ‘doorkeeper’ (*ianitor*) of both supernal and infernal regions.

This Janus-Carmenta parallelism is consistent with the temporal structures of the Roman calendar that we considered at the outset. The festival of Carmenta is positioned within the month of biform Janus, and, aside from one installment of the recurring Agonalia, is the only major festival held in that month. The two days on which the Carmentalia are celebrated are markedly arranged so that they bookend the Ides. The Ides of every month are dedicated to Jupiter; and on each of the Ides, Jupiter’s priest, the Flamen Dialis, offers a white lamb, the *ovis Idulis*, to his god.²⁹ The Ides of January are curiously distinct, however, and depart from this generalization. According to Ovid (*Fasti* 1.588), the animal offered on the Ides of January is not the typical lamb but a ‘castrated ram’ (*semimas ovis*). The Ides belong to Jupiter as he is *summus* ‘highest’ and the Ides mark the *apical* midpoint – the ‘summits’ (*summa*) – of the month (Varro at Augustine *De civitate Dei* 7.9) and thus, ideally, the day of the appearance of the full moon.³⁰ This is a reckoning of course that approached astronomical reality only in an archaic period when the structure of the Roman year had been lunar, but the ideology survived.

The separation of the rites of the Carmentalia by the intervening (astronomically-historical) lunar apex of January can be plausibly interpreted as a temporal symbolic echo of the bifurcation of Carmenta into Porrima and Postverta. From the perspective of the Ides (*summa*) of Janus’ month (13 January) one looks *back* to the Carmenta of 11 January (= Porrima), facing a

28. Compare Joannes Lydus *De mensibus* 4.2, who writes that Janus is διμωρφος from having one ‘face’ (ὄψις) toward us and one toward the gods.

29. See Ovid *Fasti* 1.56; Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.15.14–16; Festus p. 104M.

30. See Plutarch *Roman Questions* 24; Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.15.15; Johannes Lydus *De mensibus* 3.10.47.

period of the waxing moon, of diminishing darkness, of increasing illumination. From that same vantage point one looks *forward* to the Carmenta of 15 January (= Postverta), facing a period of the waning moon, of increasing darkness, of diminishing illumination. Obtaining knowledge through sensory perception is appropriate to the preceding time of waxing light; extrasensory perception is necessary for the coming time of waning light.

The idea of a link between the two aspects of Carmenta and the two halves of the month, as it turns out, is one that had appeared in print already in the nineteenth century. Otto Gilbert (1883:259) asserted the claim, without elaboration, that Carmenta was “nichts anderes als eine Mondgöttin,” and that in Porrima and Postverta one can recognize the ‘waxing’ (*zunehmend*) and ‘waning’ (*abnehmend*), respectively, of the moon.³¹ There seems to be no good evidence for identifying Carmenta as a Moon-goddess within the synchronic system of archaic Roman religion. She is instead a deity with homogeneous but opposing forms who, given that characteristic, has significance for archaic Roman concepts and structures of lunar time reckoning, which continue far older concepts and structures.

Two further, and somewhat curious, aspects of the Roman tradition of Carmenta and her cult require some consideration before we turn our attention to Vedic India. Ovid reports that the second of the twin Carmentalia (15 January) were instituted in conjunction with the reproductive capacities of Roman matrons. This would perhaps seem *de facto* unsurprising (given the association of Carmenta with birth); but the aetiology of the foundation of the festival and the etymological link with Latin *Carmenta* that the tradition entails may seem eccentric. At 1.619–622, Ovid writes:

Nam prius Ausonias matres carpenta vehebant
(haec quoque ab Euandri dicta parente reor); 620
mox honor eripitur, matronaque destinat omnis
ingratos nulla prole novare viros.

31. A similar proposal regarding Carmenta as Moon-goddess and the affiliation of Porrima and Postverta with the growing and shrinking phases of the moon was offered by Raffaele Pettazzoni in a 1942 article (updated and published in English in 1967). Pettazzoni’s analysis of Carmenta and her historical background is at points quite speculative and markedly different than that one presented herein, including (1967:124) his interpretation (following Pagliaro 1947–1948:121) of Latin *Carmenta* as denoting “the curved one”, from either “the root *cam-*” (citing Latin *camurus* ‘curved inwards’; a word of uncertain origin [see Ernout and Meillet 1959:91]) or “from *ker-*” (comparing Carna [whom Pettazzoni himself elsewhere argued to have lunar affiliations], goddess associated with nutrition whose name is most likely to be connected with Latin *caro*, *carnis* ‘flesh’ [see Boyle and Woodard 2004:283–284]). Pettazzoni (p. 121) seems to have reversed the directional significance of Porrima and Postverta.

Early Ausonian mothers rode in wagons (*carpenta*,
 named from Evander's mother, too, I think). 620
 The privilege is soon removed. All matrons refuse
 to renew their ungrateful husbands' stock.

The event with which this pericope begins is fixed during the time of Camillus (early fourth century BC).³² Prior to attacking the Etruscan city of Veii, Camillus vowed to Apollo a portion of the spoils, followed by performance of rites of *evocatio*, by which Juno was called to abandon Veii in exchange for the promise of an Aventine temple. The vow to Apollo was at first neglected, however, and later had to be made up by compulsory contributions from the *populus Romanus*, as directed by the Pontifices. It was determined that the fulfillment of the vow should take the form of a golden votive offering that would be sent to Delphi, but when too little gold was initially made available, the matrons of Rome contributed their personal golden jewelry. As a reward, report Livy (5.25.8–10) and Festus (p. 245M), the Senate granted to Roman matrons the previously-denied right to ride to sacred rites and to games in a *pilentum*, a luxury four-wheeled carriage, and also the right to ride in a *carpentum*, a two-wheeled cart, on both festival and non-festival occasions (*festo profestoque*; Livy 5.25.9). In 215 BC, however, the awarded rights were severely restricted by the *lex Oppia*, along with other privileges granted to women, though re-instated in 195 BC (see Livy 34.1.1–8.3). In the *Fasti* passage presented just above, Ovid declares that when the women's rights were curtailed (i.e. historically by the legislation of 215 BC) Roman matrons responded by withholding sex from their husbands. It was in response to this reproductive boycott, continues Ovid, in lines 625–628, that the Senate restored the lost rights (i.e. the *lex Oppia* was repealed) and, according to Ovid, directed the women to add a second day to the Carmentalia. Plutarch (*Roman Questions* 56) similarly attests a tradition which concerns Roman women and their right to utilize 'carriages pulled by draft animals' (ζευκτά). Again, it is a scenario of rights awarded, only to be taken away, and then restored consequent to the withholding of sex and abrogation of reproduction. But upon restoration of the rights, according to Plutarch, the women responded by founding a 'temple' (ἱερόν) for Carmenta, and (as noted above) it is this temple that Roman mothers most revere, even in Plutarch's own day: the reference is presumably to the shrine of Carmenta at the base of the Capitoline. Plutarch makes no mention of a second Carmentalia being added to the calendar, though the two events (founding of temple and establishment of festival) would by no means be mutually exclusive.

32. See Livy 5.19.1–32.9; Plutarch *Life of Camillus* 5.1–13.2. For the discussion of the episode as a Roman reflex of the primitive Indo-European tradition of warrior crisis, see Woodard 2013:109–110.

Ovid, in his *Fasti* record of the second day of the Carmentalia, and Plutarch, in his *Roman Questions* 56, preserve a Roman tradition of female empowerment, of sexual abstinence, of reproductive control. The trope is linked to foundation traditions associated with the cult of the goddess Carmenta. In each instance, Ovidian and Plutarchian, this Carmenta-linked reproductive trope is merged with Republican legal history, made to be a response to the *lex Oppia* of 225 BC and conditioning its abrogation in 195 BC. That this is an interweaving of cult-mythic narrative and historical record, a process typical of earlier Roman annalistic tradition, is made clear by the twenty-year interval that separates those two legal events – an unlikely duration for maintenance of intentional erotic and reproductive disruption. The fabric that takes shape is clearly one that underscores Carmenta's association with motherhood, but is also one that indicates that Carmenta is at home in the legal realm (as her onomastic association with legal formulae equally reveals). Ovid pulls the threads more tightly when he offers a popular etymology, one typical of Varronian style, that ties the name *Carmenta* together with the term denoting one of the wagons bound up with the legislative issue – *carpentum*, a technical signifier seemingly borrowed from Celtic.³³ Is it merely the phonic similarity between (plural) *carpenta* and (singular) *Carmenta* – a minimal pair in structural linguistic parlance – that drives the etymological proposal, or is there some further conditioning factor? It is worth noting that Plutarch (*Life of Camillus* 8.3) departs from Livy and Festus in identifying the boon that had been granted to Roman women in return for donated gold in the matter of Camillus' vow to Apollo: what was granted, reports Plutarch, was the right for women, no less than men, to receive thenceforth a funeral eulogy. Plutarch, as we have seen, also reports a connection between the legal restriction of women's rights to utilize certain forms of transportation and a reinstatement of those rights with the Carmenta-cult tradition of a reproductive boycott, but he does not fit that into the tradition of Camillus' unfulfilled vow. We see here component units of Roman mythic history being structured in varying ways. Ovid rehearses one of those components and capitalizes on punning etymologizing (*carpenta* ~ *Carmenta*) to bind empowered matrons even more tightly to Carmenta. The second matter of which we should take note is one that Ovid succinctly broaches immediately after he reports the establishment of the second day of the Carmentalia, that is – upon the return of reproductive functionality. In the couplet of *Fasti* 1.629–630 we read:

*Scorteia non illi fas est inferre sacello,
ne violent puros exanimata focos.*

630

33. See Ernout and Meillet 1959:101.

It is unlawful to lug skins into the shrine
lest the pure fires be defiled by death. 630

Ovid declares *non est fas*, more literally ‘it is not sanctioned by the gods’, to bring something made of hide into the shrine of Carmenta. In his commentary on the *Fasti*, Frazer (1929:2:237) draws attention to Varro’s comment at *De lingua Latina* 7.84. Here, as Varro notes the use of *scortum* to denote both ‘hide’ and ‘whore, prostitute’, he rehearses a *scriptum* that is reported to be deployed at ‘some’ (*aliquot*) sacred sites and shrines, though how many and which he does not specify: *ne quod scortum adhibeatur* ‘let nothing made of hide be brought in’ – the significance of which, he adds, is that no dead thing is to be present. Ovid, as we see, makes the same link in his line 630. Frazer writes (citing Paley’s comment on the couplet in his own edition) that the prescription is appropriate to Carmenta’s shrine because of her affiliation with childbirth and her child-bearing worshippers’ efforts to keep away from the shrine any taint of death.

Aditi

Introducing brief remarks on Roman Carmenta, Dumézil (2000:396–398) describes her as seemingly rooted in the same ideology as Vedic Vāc,³⁴ goddess said to provide the Indic seer with inspiration (as in *Rig Veda* 10.125.5; cf. *Atharva Veda* 4.30.3). Vāc represents a deification of ‘speech, voice’ (*vāc-*): her name finds its origin in Proto-Indo-European **wek^w*- ‘to speak’, equally the source of Latin *vōx* ‘voice, word’, Avestan *vāxš* ‘voice’, Greek *ōψ* ‘voice, word’.³⁵ As we shall see, Dumézil’s is a fair equation, but there is more that needs to be said.

Among the preparatory rites of the Soma sacrifice that are described in the third *kāṇḍa* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is that of paying homage to the *Soma-kṛāyaṇī*, the cow that is used as barter to purchase Soma plant-material for the pressing ceremony – the “Soma-cow.” As a part of this ritual a myth is rehearsed (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.2.4.1–6) that tells how the Gandharvas had stolen Soma and how the gods had sent the goddess Vāc to the Gandharvas to recover the Soma, which she did. The angry, lustful Gandharvas then demand that Vāc be returned to them, in exchange for their loss of Soma.³⁶ The ritual performance that then follows recital of the myth is one that recapitulates the myth, with the Soma-cow being likened to Vāc: thus, the Adhvaryu approaches the cow and addresses her with formulae (*Vājasaneyi Samhitā* 4.19a) in which he declares

34. Dumézil 2000:396: “Les Romains honoraient une déesse dont le nom au moins semble ressortir à la même idéologie.” On Carmenta see also Dumézil 2003 (= 1982):125–130.

35. See, *inter alia*, Ernout and Meillet 1959:753–754; Chantraine 1968:845; Mallory and Adams 1997:623; Watkins 2011:100.

36. An arrangement is agreed upon whereby the Gandharvas and the gods will each try to woo Vāc, who will choose between them. She is lured back to the gods.

to the cow that she is *cít-* ‘thinking’, *mánas* ‘perception’, *dhi-* ‘knowledge’, and *dákṣiṇā* (gift made to the officiating priests), endowments associated with Vāc, and he proclaims that the Soma-cow is Vāc. As Vāc was sent forth to obtain Soma, so the cow is to be sent forth to obtain Soma (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.2.4.10, 15–16). But as the ritual utterance continues, the Adhvaryu announces to the cow that *she is Aditi*,³⁷ here described as *ubhayataḥśirṣṇī*, ‘double-faced’ (literally ‘a head’ [*śīrṣṇī*] turned ‘to either side’ [*ubhayátaḥ*]) Aditi. In the logic of ritual, a connection between Vāc ‘Speech’ and ‘double-faced’ Aditi is here forged by production of utterance alterations and ritual inversions: ‘he makes to follow the thing which [rightly] precedes, and he makes to precede the thing which [rightly] follows’ (*yadāparam tatpūrvam károti yatpūrvam tadāparam; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.2.4.16).

The priest then implores the Soma-cow (= Aditi) to go forth to Soma and to come back – understand, come back with Soma (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.2.4.17). The dual action of going ‘forth’ (*prá-*) and coming ‘back’ (*práti-*) appears to be clearly linked with the bifrontalism of *ubhayataḥśirṣṇī* Aditi, who here has been ritually merged with Vāc in the myth of the recovery of Soma from the Gandharvas. Aditi serves as an alloform of Vāc. Aditi also figures in her own aetiological myth. The opening ceremony of the Soma sacrifice is the *prāyañīya*, the ‘going forth’. The closing ceremony of the Soma sacrifice is the *udayañīya*, the ‘going out’. The associated action holds that these two ceremonies were explicitly dedicated to Aditi as compensation after the gods had excluded her from sacrifice (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.2.3.1–6; cf. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 1.7). According to *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 6.1.7.5 Aditi is assigned the descriptor *ubhayataḥśirṣṇī*, ‘double-faced’ because these two ceremonies of the Soma sacrifice, that of the very beginning and that of the very end, both belong to her. Also, a ritual inversion is effected in the performance of the two ceremonies in that the *anuvākyā* (invocational formula) of the *prāyañīya* is used as the *yājyā* (offering formula) of the *udayañīya*, and the *anuvākyā* of the *udayañīya* is used as the *yājyā* of the *prāyañīya*³⁸ – certainly yet another ritual expression of the inherent dualism of *ubhayataḥśirṣṇī* Aditi.

In the performance of the *prāyañīya*, the opening ceremony, as in the performance of the *udayañīya*, the closing ceremony, offerings are made to a series of gods: Agni, Soma, Savitr, Pathyā Svasti (the ‘Path of Well-Being’), and then to Aditi herself (see *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.2.3.7–23, 4.5.1.1–4, respectively). Following the specification of these offerings in the description of the *udayañīya*, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (4.5.1.4) declares that Pathyā Svasti is Vāc ‘speech’ and that Aditi is the sacrificial ground on which Vāc was established, and having been established there, on Aditi, Vāc *vadati* ‘speaks’;

37. On Aditi as cow see also, *inter alia*, *Rig Veda* 1.153.3.

38. See the comments of Eggeling 1996:2:48n1.

i.e. the deified “Utterance utters.” The essential inseparableness of Aditi from the ritual functionality of Vāc, the Utterance deified, is here underscored by a foundational act. The equation Pathyā = Vāc can be expanded by the addition of a third term: Pathyā = Vāc = Aditi.

Rig Veda 10.63 is a hymn in which both the goddess Aditi and the concept of *svasti* ‘well-being’ (as in Pathyā Svasti) figure conspicuously. Consider pādas 15a and 15c with their parallel onsets:³⁹

10.63.15a *svastí naḥ pathíyāsu* . . . ‘well-being for us on the pathways . . .’,
 10.63.15c *svastí naḥ putrakṛthéṣu yóniṣu* ‘well-being for us in son-making
 in the womb’

In the description of the *prāyañīya* – opening ceremony dedicated to Aditi – which is found in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (1.9),⁴⁰ the Hotar chants the mantras of *Rig Veda* 10.63.15 in addressing Pathyā Svasti: *svastí naḥ pathíyāsu* . . . ‘well-being for us on the pathways . . .’ In his remarks on the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* passage, the commentator Sāyaṇa states that *Pathyā* is another name for Aditi, an equation that we have just seen to be indicated by the formulae of the opening and closing ceremonies dedicated to Aditi in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.⁴¹ Pāda c of *Rig Veda* 10.63.15, sharing a parallel onset-phrase with pāda a, is significant in this regard: *svastí naḥ putrakṛthéṣu yóniṣu* ‘well-being for us in son-making in the womb’. As we shall soon see, Aditi is intimately associated with motherhood.

These two ceremonies, the *prāyañīya* and *udayañīya*, as markers of beginning and ending of the Soma sacrifice, find structural equivalents in, and also respectively entail, the *prayāja iṣṭi* (the ‘pre-sacrifice’, i.e. preliminary offering) and the *anuyāja iṣṭi* (the ‘after-sacrifice’, i.e. the final offering) of the new-moon/full-moon sacrifices (the *darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi*).⁴² These are ceremonies that are celebrated each month, at an interval of two weeks, as the darkened moon is about to begin to wax (named after the act of ‘looking out’ [*darśa-*] for the re-appearing moon) and again as the moon reaches its zenith (*pūrṇa-māsa-*).⁴³ Preparatory arrangements for their observance involve the sacrificer and his wife taking a vow (*vrata*) of abstinence and preparation of the three sacred flames: *Gārhapatya*, *Āhavanīya*, and *Dakṣiṇāgni*, which, as we noted at the outset of the discussion of Carmenta, are of primitive Indo-European origin and find homologues in Roman cult.

Aditi is conspicuously present in the ritual utterances of the preparatory rites of the new-moon/full-moon sacrifices. When the black-antelope skin, a

39. The text of the *Rig Veda* used herein is that of van Nooten and Holland 1994, though here with slight modification.

40. Compare *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* 7.8

41. See Haug 1922:12n3.

42. See again the discussion of Eggeling 1996:2:48n1.

43. *Darśa-pūrṇa-māsau* is a dual compound denoting ‘new and full moon’.

crucial accoutrement of Brahminic function, is about to be spread out on the ground, the Adhvaryu recites verses from the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* 1.14 (pāda 19) in which *cārman-* ‘hide’, referencing the antelope skin, is punned with *śārman-* ‘joy, delight’, declaring to the ‘hide’ (*cārman-*), *śārmāsi* ‘you are joy’. Then, as he spreads it out on the ground, the priest announces *Ādityās tvāg asi* ‘you are the skin [tvāc-] of Aditi’. Here Aditi appears in her sometime presentation as *earth*, secondary to a primary role as *mother* (on which see below).⁴⁴ The Adhvaryu is reciting a mantra intended to remove any potential metaphysical conflict between Aditi (as earth of the sacrificial space) and the hide placed over her. A similar mantra is uttered when the mortar for grinding rice is placed on “Aditi’s skin” (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.1.4.4–7), as also when the lower mill stone is placed thereon (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.2.1.15). Geen (2007:48) identifies these as instances of what he calls the “appeasement mantra,” giving particular expression to a notion of “fear” with which, he underscores, the new-moon/full-moon rituals are saturated (p. 42). At several points within the rituals “fear” is bound up with potential threats posed by Rakshasas, demonic beings who may despoil the ritual. Thus, as the *cārman-*, the black-antelope skin, is deployed (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.1.4.4) it is shaken while the Adhvaryu chants the mantra of *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* 1.14b: *āvadhūtam rākṣó . . .* ‘shaken off is the Rakshas . . .’. A similar formula (*Vājasaneyi Samhitā* 1.16b) is uttered as rice is winnowed in preparation of the rice dish: *pārāpūtam rākṣaḥ . . .* ‘cleansed away is the Rakshas . . .’ (see *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.1.4.21). And so on.

Geen divides the various expressions of “fear” manifested in the new-moon/full-moon rituals into three major categories, with further subcategorization: (1) fear of committing technical errors; (2) fear of antagonism; (3) fear of ritual impurity, including “physical impurity” (pp. 43, 52–54). One aspect of such physical impurity is provided by the sacrificer’s wife, who during the ceremony must be girt (i.e. yoked) with a *yóktra-*, a cord used for yoking, at the level of her navel, for the reason that the part of woman below the navel is announced to be *amedhya-* ‘impure, unholy’ (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.3.1.13).⁴⁵ During the girding ritual the Āgnīdhra chants *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* 1.30a, *Ādityai rāsnaṣi* ‘you are the girdle of Aditi’, and announcing that Aditi is a *devānām pātnī* ‘Wife of the Gods’ (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.3.1.15, 17).⁴⁶ Compare here Aditi’s epithet *pastyā-* ‘she of the household’, seen in *Rig Veda* 4.55.3 and 8.27.5.

44. There are also occasions when Aditi is likened to *heaven*, as we shall see just below. Though, as Macdonell (1974:121) points out (following Muir 1868–1872:5:40–42) in the *Rig Veda*, in lists of deities, Aditi can be specified separately from Heaven and Earth. See in this regard *Rig Veda* 3.54.19; 5.46.3; 6.51.5; 9.97.58; 10.63.10.

45. See Jamison 1996:42–48.

46. See also *Rig Veda* 5.46, in which the wives of the gods are called upon as model of the sacrificer’s wife. See the comments of Jamison and Brereton 2014:721.

Aditi is notably associated with light.⁴⁷ In *Rig Veda* 1.136.3 Aditi is described as *jyótiṣmat-* ‘luminous’ as she daily accompanies Mitra and Varuṇa. Similarly in *Rig Veda* 7.82.10 and 7.83.10 *dyumná-* ‘brilliance’ is attributed to Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman (and also Indra) and *avadhrám jyótiḥ* ‘beneficent light’ to Aditi. In pāda 19a of *Rig Veda* 1.113, a hymn to Uṣas (‘Dawn’), Uṣas is called *the Āditer ánīkam* ‘face of Aditi’. *Rig Veda* 4.25.3b poses the question: *ká Ādityāṁ Āditiṁ jyótiṣ itte* ‘who implores the Ādityas and Aditi for light?’

The theonym *Aditi* is perhaps most readily recognizable as source of this just-encountered term identifying a class of gods, the *Ādityas*, the *Āditeḥ putrāḥ* ‘sons of Aditi’,⁴⁸ chief of whom are Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Dakṣa, and Amśa (*Rig Veda* 2.27). Aside from the linguistic one, the particular connection between the goddess and this canonical set of “first-function” deities⁴⁹ is not explicitly documented: what can be inferred, *prima facie*, is that the assigned mother-son relationship points to Aditi’s own intrinsic affiliation with the realm of law and religion/magic, the ambit of *la classe des prêtres* (Benveniste). As Macdonell (1974:122) notes, Aditi is essentially characterized by two (“and only two”) distinctive features, one of which is that of *mother*. I noted above that Aditi’s characterization as *earth* is secondary to her fundamental role as *mother*. Thus, among verses of the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* chanted at the construction of the Āhavanīya altar⁵⁰ is 13.18 (= *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* 7.4.2.7, uttered as perforated-bricks [*svayamāṭṛṇṇa-*] are put down) which declare “you are *bhū*” (‘earth’), “you are *bhūmi*” (‘ground’), “you are Aditi,” who is *viśvādḥāyas-* ‘all nourishing’ and *viśvasya bhúvanasya dhartrī* ‘supporter of all the world’.

Consider two stanzas from *Rig Veda* 1.89, a hymn dedicated to ‘All Gods’ (*Viśve Devās*), in which we encounter Aditi as mother (see also *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 3.3.31). Stanza 3 presents her alongside her sons (*Ādityas*) and other deities in lines that call for the employment of ancient ‘liturgical formulae’ (*nivid-*, from the complex verb *ni-vid-* ‘to utter’, ‘to deliver’):

*Tān pūrvayā nividā hūmahe vayām Bhāgam Mitrām Āditiṁ Dākṣam asrīdham
Aryamānaṁ Vāruṇaṁ Sómam Aśvínā Sārasvatī naḥ subhāgā máyas karat.
Them [the gods] we invoke with ancient formulae Bhaga, Mitra, Aditi,
unfailing Dakṣa*

Aryaman, Varuṇa, Soma, Aśvins. Let well-shaped Sarasvati prepare pleasure for us.

47. See, *inter alia*, the summary discussions of Muir 1868–1872:5:36; Macdonell 1974:122; Keith 1998:216.

48. The possessive phrase can be seen at *Rig Veda* 2.28.3; 7.60.5; 10.72.8; 10.185.3. Varuṇa is identified by the singular “son of Aditi” at *Rig Veda* 4.42.4.

49. See, *inter alia*, Dumézil 1986:86–114.

50. See *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* 6.1.1.1–7.5.2.62.

The poet returns to Aditi in stanza 10, closing out the hymn with a flourish of praise for the goddess:

*Āditir dyaúr Āditir antárikṣam Āditir mātā́ sá pitā́ sá putráḥ
viśve deva Āditiḥ páñca jánā́ Āditir jātám Āditir jánitvam.*

Aditi is heaven, Aditi is atmosphere Aditi is mother, she is father, she is son,

Aditi is the All Gods, the five peoples Aditi is what has been born, Aditi is what is to be born.

Not only is Aditi’s fundamental maternal function of bringing into existence on display here, but so is the bidirectionality of *ubhayataḥśirṣṇī* (‘double-faced’) Aditi. She is both genitrix and generated; she looks back to all that has come into existence and forward to all that will come into existence. A similar expression of Aditi’s bifrontalism is to be seen in the cosmogonic hymn that is *Rig Veda* 10.72: Dakṣa is numbered among the Ādityas; Aditi is the mother of the Ādityas, hence mother of Dakṣa; yet in pādas 4c–d we read *Āditer Dākṣo ajāyata Dākṣād u Āditiḥ pári* ‘from Aditi Dakṣa was born, and from Dakṣa was Aditi’. The engendering bidirectionality here expressed is elaborated in stanza 5:

*Āditir hí ajaniṣṭa Dakṣa yā duhitā́ táva
tām devā́ ánv ajāyanta bhadrā́ amṛtabandhavaḥ.*

Because Aditi is born O Dakṣa, she who is your daughter,
following her the gods were born blessed kinsmen of immortality.

Elsewhere in this hymn, *Rig Veda* 10.72, we encounter the epithet *uttānāpad* ‘with feet spread apart’; it occurs in the phrasing of pādas 3c–d and 4a–b, just before the line *Āditer Dākṣo ajāyata Dākṣād u Āditiḥ pári* ‘from Aditi Dakṣa was born, and from Dakṣa was Aditi’. *Uttānāpad* can be reasonably understood to be applied to Aditi and to reference the spreading apart of her legs in the act of giving birth. In pādas 3c–d the poet proclaims that “what exists” (from pādas 2c and 3a) was born from *uttānāpad*, ‘[Aditi] with feet spread’, and in pādas 4a–b that earth was born from *uttānāpad*, ‘[Aditi] with feet spread’. Images of the goddess appear to capture her in the posture of a woman giving birth, with feet and knees spread far apart, such as that which forms the horizontal (earth-like) surface of an altar from Alampur, functioning as a water basin. Here the head and throat of the goddess are depicted as a lotus flower, replete with teeming buds. In the summing-up of her treatment of the image, Kramrisch (1956:269–270) offers a pair of particularly interesting remarks. One concerns the positioning of the lotus over the throat of the goddess: “There the subtle centre (*cakra*) of the articulate Voice is situated, of Speech and of the Word,” i.e. of Vāc. The second concerns the double row of lotus petals depicted on

the image, one set facing downward, the other upward; the bidirectionality is conspicuous and one that Kramrisch appears (p. 270 n39) to draw into the Vedic presentation of Aditi as *ubhayatahśīrṣṇī* ‘double-faced’.

The second of the two features that distinctively characterize Aditi is “her power of releasing . . . ,” to excerpt Macdonell succinctly (1974:122). And with this characteristic of the goddess we come to the matter of the meaning of her name *Ā-diti-*, ‘Not-Bound’, a negated nominal derivative of the verb *dyāti* ‘to bind’. It is a verb of primitive Indo-European origin, finding a homologue in Greek *δέω* (from *δε-*yō*) ‘to bind’ (and Homeric and Boeotian *δίδημι* ‘to bind’), Hittite *tiya* ‘bind!’, Old Avestan *ni.diiātqm* ‘ought be bound’. These point to an ancestral root *deh₁- ‘to bind’.⁵¹ The Sanskrit verbal adjective *dita-* ‘bound’ corresponds to Greek *δετός*, as in Oppian *Cynegetica* 4.289, of Pentheus binding the hands of Dionysus which ought not be ‘bound’. The Greek formant produces numerous compounds; the feminine of the simplex, *δετή* (earliest at Homer *Iliad* 11.554 = 17.663), idiosyncratically signifies ‘torch’.

The goddess Aditi finds an onomastic antithesis in the figure called *Diti*, the two semantically contrasting as ‘Not-Bound’ and ‘Bound’, respectively. *Diti* is sparsely-attested in the *Vedas*. Only twice in the *Rig Veda* do the goddesses appear together as a pair. *Rig Veda* 5.62 is a hymn to *Mitra* and *Varuṇa* in which these two chief *Ādityas* are called upon to send rain – so that plants will grow (pāda 3c): this is a hymn designed to restore earth’s fecundity. In stanza 8 *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, positioned on their golden throne at the dawning of the sun, are said (pāda 8d) to ‘look upon’ (*caḥṣāthe*) ‘Aditi and Diti’ (*Āditim Ditim ca*). The intent of the hymn and the temporal setting at dawn are consistent with the identity of Aditi that we have been examining. Her seemingly intuitive, unconditioned conjoining with *Diti*, a notionally contrasting figure, would appear to reveal a familiar pairing of the two that was readily accessible to the poet. That at an early period *Diti*, in her conjunction with Aditi, can function (or at least be formally identified) as a beneficent deity is indicated by *Rig Veda* 4.2.11c–d: here *Agni* is invoked to ‘yield’ (*rāśva*) *Diti* and to ‘deliver, secure’ (*uruṣya*) Aditi. The desired outcome of *Agni*’s provision of the pair of goddesses is this: ‘for goods’ (*rayí-*, Latin *rēs*) and ‘for good offspring’ (*sv-apatyá-*); *Diti* and Aditi conspire beneficially within the realm of production and reproduction. The third occurrence of *Diti* in the *Rig Veda* reveals a character consistent with what we have thus far observed. Aditi is absent in this instance, which is itself interesting in terms of Vedic *Diti* having a significance not wholly dependent on Aditi: in *Rig Veda* 7.15, a hymn to *Agni*, *Diti* clusters in stanza 12 with *Savitṛ*

51. See, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:269–270; Mallory and Adams 1997:64 (who add Albanian *duaj* ‘sheaves’); Rix et al. 2001; Watkins 2011:15. The ancestral etymon *deh₁- ‘to bind’ appears not to survive in Italic.

and the canonical Āditya Bhaga (who sees that society's goods are rightly distributed), and Diti is said to give *vāryam* 'wealth, goods'.

As a pair Aditi and Diti can also be seen outside of the *Rig Veda*. In *Atharva Veda* 11.3.4, in a hymn in praise of the *odana* (the rice dish prepared in sacrificial ritual), in which various components of the dish and its preparation are assigned metaphysical equations, Diti is said to be the *śūrpaṃ* 'winnowing basket' and Aditi the *śūrpaḡrāhī* 'winnowing-basket holder': the pair serve hand-in-hand, as it were, in the preparation of nourishment. Aditi and Diti appear conjoined twice in *Atharva Veda* 15, a collection of hymns associated with the much-discussed Vrātyas, figures that appear to be rooted in a pre-Vedic Indic era, members of roaming Männerbünde.⁵² Sanskrit *Vrātya-* is derived from *vrāta-* 'troop, host, swarm'. It is a term of primitive Indo-European ancestry; homologues include Old Irish *foirenn* 'band, troop', and its Welsh counterpart *gwerin*, and also Old English *worn* 'band, troop'.⁵³

The hymns of *Atharva Veda* 15 describe, *inter alia*, the Vrātya's movements into various spaces, detailing divine and cult entities that "follow" the Vrātya in the described movements. In 15.6.7 the Vrātya departs toward a 'region' (*dis-*) identified as *ánāvṛtta-*, literally 'not returned', but of uncertain significance; he is followed by Diti and Aditi in the company of a paired *Iḍā* and *Indrāṇī*. *Iḍā/Iḍa* is a gender-transitioning figure associated with the beginnings of sacrifice (in her affiliation with Manu; see *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.8.1.1–44, including the *iḍā* offering).⁵⁴ The name *Iḍā* means 'Refreshment, Nourishment' and the Soma-cow, identified with Aditi, can also be identified as *Iḍā* (as in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.3.1.4). Formally, *Indrāṇī* merely designates the 'wife of Indra' (see, especially, *Rig Veda* 10.86 in this regard), one of the Wives of the Gods (as at *Rig Veda* 1.22.12; 5.46.7–8).

The second appearance of Aditi and Diti in *Atharva Veda* 15 is to be found at 15.8.4, a line in which anatomical elements of the Vrātya's head are equated to divine beings: Aditi and Diti are said to constitute his twin 'skulls' (dual *śīrṣakapālē*), while as a whole his 'head' or 'skull' (*śīras-*) is equated to the 'year' (*saṃvatsarā-*). In the same verse, and conjoined to 'Diti and Aditi', *ahorātré* 'a day and a night' (dual) are said to be his nares. The seeming significance of the contrasting pair Diti and Aditi equating in tandem to a lunar year, in conjunction with specification of 'a day and a night', is worth noting.⁵⁵ The

52. For general survey of work on the Vrātyas and helpful annotated bibliography, see Harzer 2019.

53. See, *inter alia*, Lehmann 1986: Mallory and Adams 1997:268; eDIL s.v. *foirenn*.

54. For a brief overview of *Iḍā* see Macdonell 1974:124.

55. In *Atharva Veda* 15.18 the eyes of the Vrātya are said to be an Āditya (perhaps Sūrya, who can in the late *Rig Veda* be identified as one of the 'sons of Aditi'; see, for example, *Rig Veda* 1.191.9) and Candramas, the 'Moon'; and Agni and Pavamāna (god of wind) are said to be his ears. Compare the Indic reflex of the ancestral Indo-European

poet of *Rig Veda* 10.190 declares (pādas 2b–c) that the year ‘apportions, distributes’ (*vidhā-*) ‘days and nights’ (plural *ahorātrāṇi*). The use of conjoined and contrasting “day and night” as a means of metaphorically referencing an indefinite duration of time in Indo-European time-reckoning tradition – a tradition in which *contrasting periods* are fundamental – is one well known⁵⁶ and one which here locates Aditi and Diti, at least along a diachronic axis, within the ambit of that ancestral Indo-European calendrical tradition.

In *Atharva Veda* 7.7.1, a hymn of a single verse (typical of book 7 of the *Atharva Veda*) we find coupled (by asyndeton) a reference to *Dīteḥ putrāṇām Aditer*, a gapped genitival phrase dependent on *akāriṣam āva*: ‘I have commemorated the favors of the sons of Diti [and the sons] of Aditi’. Here the ‘sons of Diti [and the sons] of Aditi’ is modified by the ensuing appositional phrase *devānām bṛhatām anarmānām* ‘great, irresistible gods’.⁵⁷ The verse appears in *Kauśika Sūtra* 59.18 in a *kāmya* rite⁵⁸ (a rite dedicated to gaining some particular desired outcome and making up part of the new-moon/full-moon ceremonies), in this instance a *kāmya* rite designed to bring about the acquisition of goods, of wealth. Presumably two different sets of sons are envisioned. In any event, the corporate collection of divine sons clearly is viewed as a beneficent one.

Diti enjoyed a much-elaborated *Nachleben* in Sanskrit epic and afterward, identified as a daughter of Dakṣa (compare Aditi, mother and daughter of Dakṣa) and as one of the wives of the famed seer Kaśyapa (as Aditi too came to be identified – thus, for example, in *Mahābhārata* 1.70.9 and in various Purāṇas). In the genealogy set out in the first book of the *Mahābhārata*, Diti is at one point said to have produced only a single son, Hiranyakaśipu (1.59.16; incarnated as Śiśupāla [1.61.5]). But typically Diti is made to be mother of the derivatively-named set of *Daityas*, as in, for example, *Mahābhārata* 3.219.29, beings who exist in opposition to the gods (and of the *Daityas*, Hiranyakaśipu can be identified as one); in this epic passage mother Diti herself is identified as Mukhamaṇḍikā, a Graha (‘Grasper’) who brings disease to children, devouring their flesh.

One quite often encounters an assumed parallelism between the morpho-semantic relationship of *Asuras* : *Suras*, on the one hand, and that of *Ādityas* : *Daityas*, on the other. Sanskrit *āsura-* denotes ‘divine’ or ‘god’; compare cognate Avestan *ahura-*, as in *Ahura-mazdā-*, Old English *ōs* ‘god’, and Old Norse *Æsir*, among yet other Germanic forms, all descended from a Proto-Indo-European

cosmogonic tradition of the dismemberment of the primeval cosmic giant which is presented in *Rig Veda* 10.90, the *Puruṣa-Sūkta*: in pāda 13a, Candramas, the ‘Moon’, is said to have been created from the *mānas* ‘mind’ of Puruṣa.

56. For discussion of that tradition as preserved among Celts and Greeks, see Chapter Thirteen of Woodard 2022.

57. Here *anarmānām* is read as *anarvānām*; compare *Rig Veda* 10.36.11.

58. See the comments of Whitney 1905:390, 394.

nominal $*h_2ensu-$, likely a derivative of the verb root $*h_2ens-$ ‘to give birth’ (Hittite $hāsi$ etc.).⁵⁹ With Avestan *Ahura-mazdā-*, compare the use of *ásura-* in the *Rig Veda* as a descriptor of, especially, Varuṇa, but also of Indra, Agni, Aryaman, and still others. Now, Sanskrit *sura-* also encodes the notion ‘god’. A long-held view is that *sura-* is a neologism backformed from *ásura-*, as if the initial vowel of *á-sura-* had come to be interpreted as the negative prefix *a-* (which it is not); and, thus, with the advent of this backformation, *ásura-* acquired its common meaning of ‘evil spirit, demon’, a nuance/signification that *ásura-* can carry already in the *Rig Veda* (as in, for example, 2.30.4). It is clear, however, that this derivational scenario does not provide an equivalent to the process by which *Daitya-* was generated (vis-à-vis *Ādityá-*): *Daitya-* is not a positively valued form coined as a backformation to *Ādityá-*. In the case of *Asuras* : *Suras*, the form lacking the (imagined) negative prefix (i.e. *Sura-*) is positively valued (i.e. *divine* as opposed to *demonic*). In contrast, in the case of *Ādityas* : *Daityas* (derivatives) the form lacking the (actual) negative prefix is negatively valued (i.e. *demonic* as opposed to *divine*). The class-name *Daitya-* is a straightforward *vṛddhi* derivative from the theonym *Díti-* and does not depend upon a popular morphological re-interpretation of *Ādityá-* for its generation. The oppositional character that sets *Ādityas* against *Daityas* is one that is secondary to the linguistic contrast between the designations of their respective genetrices: *Ā-diti-* and *Díti-*. The character common to the two onomastically-contrasting Vedic figures, Aditi and Diti, appears to be a corporately benevolent one. It is post-Vedic Brahmanic elaboration that assigns to Diti a class of sons and makes of them (and her) negatively-valued spiritual opponents of the positively-valued sons of A-diti. And finally, let us note that through her equation with *Vāc* in the rites of the cow of the Soma sacrifice, we see that the generative vastness of Aditi – *ubhayataḥśirṣṇī* (‘double-faced’) Aditi – is such that she can be characterized, in Dumézilian terms, as “trifunctional.” When the cow, *who is Aditi*, is led away to be bartered for Soma stalks, the priest is to follow her, stepping on seven successive hoof-prints (of the right front hoof). In *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.3.1.2 the priest, in performing this ritual act, is himself said to constitute a *rūpa-*‘form’ of *Vāc*; he utters the mantra of *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* 4.21a:

Vásvy asy Āditir asyādityāsi Rudrāsi Candrāsi.

You are a Vasvī, you are an Ādityā, you are a Rudrā, you are Candrā

In the first three equations the goddess is made a member of each of the three major sets of deities – Vasus, Ādityas, and Rudras – that correspond to the human *varṇas* of goods-producers, priests, and warriors, respectively (i.e. third-, first-, and second-function figures); *Candrā* is feminine form of *Candra*,

59. See, *inter alia*, Mayrhofer 1992–1996:1:147–148; Mallory and Adams 1997:330; Watkins 2011:4.

name assigned to the Moon-deity (cf. *Candramas* above). In *Rig Veda* 8.101.15, Aditi (again identified with the cow) is said to be the mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, and the sister of the Ādityas. In cryptic verses in the *Rig Veda* Aditi is identified as mother of the Maruts, troop of warrior deities, divine Männerbund (see *Rig Veda* 8.94.1; cf. 10.77.2); Diti is equally assigned this maternal role (see, for example, Sāyaṇa's commentary on *Rig Veda* 1.114.6⁶⁰ and Puranic tradition as, for instance, in *Matsya Purāṇa* 7.1–65).⁶¹

Carmenta and Aditi

The two goddesses that we have examined in the pages that precede are characterized by shared particularistic features that constitute, as a whole, an idiosyncratic set. We can sum up these features as follows.

Fundamental to the identity of Carmenta is her role as mother and her association with birth and, *ergo*, motherhood. She is made to be the mother of the primeval settler of the Palatine, the Greek Evander, and to have power over the passage of children through the birth canal and the ensuing course of life. The role of mother is equally fundamental to Aditi – one of her two essential distinctive features, as we have seen. The second of Aditi's distinctive features, “her power of releasing . . .,” that distinction encoded by her name, ‘Not-Bound’, is one that cannot be fully separated from the first. This can be seen clearly in her presentation as Aditi *uttānāpad* ‘with feet spread apart’, the divine mother *freely* birthing. Unbinding of the womb is a matter of desperate concern in the birthing process, one which humankind has sought to control by the intervention of the magico-religious specialist.⁶² Roman women were not permitted to wear knots while worshipping Lucina (see Servius on *Aeneid* 4.518), a member of the birthing cohort to which Carmenta belongs (as described above) – the presence of knots may bind the womb, as Ovid acknowledges at *Fasti* 3.255–258 – and the pregnant woman is to pray (line 258): *ut solvat partus molliter illa suos* ‘that she [Lucina] may gently unbind her [the woman's] birthing’. We can be reasonably confident that Ovid is here, and in lines that precede, preserving the language of a traditional formula of prayer recited for unbound birthing. Carmenta too has power over loosening and binding in birth: Varro (at Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 16.16.4) reports concerning a breech birth that the child is apt ‘to be held fast, held back’ (*retineri*) so that the mother gives birth ‘more vexedly’ (*aegrius*). To turn away this danger, reports Varro, altars were set up for Carmenta Postverta and Carmenta Prorsa. Easy

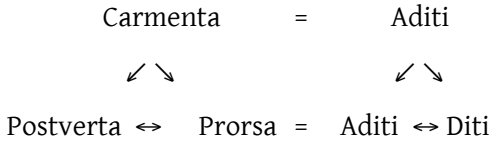
60. See Muir 1868–1872:4:305–306 and 5:147.

61. Commonly the mother of the Maruts is identified as Pṛṣṇi ‘Dappled Cow’, as at *Rig Veda* 1.168.9; 2.34.2; 5.52.16; 5.58.5; 5.60.5.

62. See, *inter alia*, Frazer 1929:3:60–61 and Bettini 2013, especially pp. 60–91, both with bibliography.

and vexed birthing lie as points on a continuum, but diametric points that are realized in a moment as the child enters the birth canal on the journey into light. As Postverta, Carmenta can ease the child's journey into light; as Prorsa she has power to bind delivery by means of the turned-back birth. Hers is the choice of directionality and, hence, of fate. Luminous Aditi too is linked with beneficent light, with the returning, dawning sun, and through her identification with Pathyā Svasti (the 'Path of Well-Being') with well-being in the journey and with *svastī naḥ putrakṛthēsu yōniṣu* 'well-being for us in son-making in the womb' (*Rig Veda* 10.63.15c).

The functional and semantic contrastiveness seen in Carmenta Postverta and Carmenta Prorsa, as deities not-binding and binding in birth, is answered onomastically by the contrastiveness of Aditi and Diti: that is to say, the two sets of goddesses, Roman and Indic, can be said to correspond in this way:



And yet, as this structure would suggest (Postverta and Prorsa being alloforms of Carmenta), or at least allow, in a variant, perhaps more primitive, expression of innate contrastiveness, Aditi in and of herself can express bidirectionality, as is made plain by her epithet *ubhayataḥśīrṣṇī*, 'double-faced', characterizing her cult identity as one going 'forth' (*prá-*) and coming 'back' (*prāti-*). She is genitrix and generated, looking back to all that has come into being and forward to all that will come into being. Hers is both the *prāyañīya*, the opening ceremony of the Soma sacrifice, and the *udayañīya*, the closing ceremony. These twinned ceremonies, dedicated to Aditi, "correspond to"⁶³ and find a ritual morphological germ in the *prayāja iṣṭi* and the *anuyāja iṣṭi* of the new-moon/full-moon sacrifices. While the aetiology of Aditi's possession of the *prāyañīya* and the *udayañīya* may be localized within descriptions of the Soma sacrifice, the correspondence between Aditi's opening and closing Soma ceremonies and the preliminary offering and final offering of the new-moon/full-moon sacrifices certainly suggest an intrinsic connection between Aditi *ubhayataḥśīrṣṇī*, 'double-faced', and the recurring journey of the moon from (birth-like) appearance to disappearance. And Aditi herself, through her identity with the Soma-cow, can be addressed as Candrā 'Moon' (feminine). The new-moon/full-moon sacrifices can be plausibly understood as a particular Indic ritual reflex of primitive Indo-European time-reckoning. Aditi's association with (lunar) time-reckoning is further underscored by the presentation of Aditi and

63. Eggeling 1996:2:48n1.

Diti as, effectively, two hemispheres of the year (the metaphoric head of the perpetually-journeying Vṛātya), who exist in metaphoric proximity to *ahorātré* ‘a day and a night’. Aditi’s Italic counterpart Carmenta is equally implied in the Roman reflex of that same ancestral calendrical tradition as expressed in the twin Carmentalia that precede and follow the Ides (= the full moon) in the month of *Ianus biformis* (Ovid *Fasti* 1.89). And if Carmenta is not specified to be *biformis* herself, an insinuated biformity is on display as she is presented as facing in two directions – in the matter of birthing, in the matter of lunar phases, in the matter of the traditional ritual formulae, pointing back, and of prophecies, pointing forward, collectively the utterances of which she is the divine embodiment. This again is a characteristic that Carmenta shares with Aditi, who, as we have seen is equated in Vedic cult with Vāc, the deified ‘Speech’ of cult performance.

Aditi is most conspicuous as mother of the Ādityas, gods of the Dumézilian first function. Aditi is Vāc, ‘Speech’, the deified ritual utterance of the Brahman. Aditi’s functional sphere is reasonably posited to be the same as that which we would assign to Carmenta by the denotation of the word which provides her name: *carmen*, the formulaic utterance of law and religion, the prophetic pronouncement. The two goddesses, Italic and Indic, share in common a particular identity that finds onomastic expression through a process of linguistic derivation, though the directionality of the process differs (i.e. the ritual and prophetic ‘utterance’ *carmen* provides the derived theonym *Carmenta*, while the theonym *Aditi* provides the derived set-name of the first-function *Ādityas*).⁶⁴

Yet we have seen unmistakable evidence that Indic Aditi properly resides within that category that Dumézil calls “trifunctional,” affiliated with priests, warriors, goods-producers collectively. Aditi is said to be Ādityā, Rudrā, and Vasvī. She is said to be the mother of the Rudras, daughter of the Vasus, and sister of the Ādityas. Both Aditi and Diti can be identified as mother of the warrior Maruts. This broad ideological association with Indic divine society is consistent with Aditi’s fundamental role as mother, and so as Earth, and as genetrix of all that has come into existence. Carmenta too would appear to constitute such a trifunctional figure. Her role as deified *carmen*, as just pointed out, places her firmly within the priestly ambit. Her conspicuous role as goddess of childbirth assigns here securely to the ideologic realm of fertility and fecundity, i.e. of the third function. But what of the second function and Carmenta?

64. Unless, of course, the name by which we know the Vedic goddess, *Aditi*, is one that is back-formed from the designation assigned to her sons, *Ādityas*, as has been speculated. That would seem to be both unnecessary and misleading.

In a brief *esquisse* on Carmenta, offered as a follow-up to and “rectification” of remarks made in *La religion romaine archaïque* (1974 [= 2000]:396–398), Dumézil (1982:104–106 [= 2003:128–130]) proposes that Carmenta is a trifunctional deity. Her role as prophetess reflects first-function affiliation and her association with birth third-function. He writes concerning an affiliation of second-function ideology with Carmenta that it is “plus pauvrement, mais suffisamment attesté,” offering two pieces of evidence. First, Dumézil adduces (2003:130) a comment made by Plutarch in his *Life of Romulus* 21.3: Plutarch reports that the ὄνομα κύριον ‘real name’ of Carmenta (here said to be γυνή ‘wife’, rather than mother of Evander; cf. Aditi as sister of the Ādityas and as *devānām pātṇī* ‘Wife of the Gods’) was Νικοστράτη ‘victorious warrior horde’,⁶⁵ “dans lequel sont associés les mots signifiant ‘armé’ et ‘victoire’.”

We can add to Dumézil’s observation an additional and perhaps crucial piece of evidence pointing to Carmenta’s affiliation with the second function. At *Fasti* 2.201–202, entry for 13 February, Ovid writes of the ‘right arch of the porta of Carmenta’ (i.e. of the Porta Carmentalis) and urges his readers not to pass through it, for *omen habet*, i.e. ‘it is cursed’.⁶⁶ 13 February marks the anniversary of the destruction of the more than 300 warriors of the family Fabii who had marched out through the right arch of the Porta Carmentalis⁶⁷ in 479 BC to hold in check the forces of Rome’s Etruscan adversary Veii. In 477 BC the Fabii would be overwhelmed in combat with Veientes and all the Romans slaughtered but one.⁶⁸ Ovid (line 204) adds the curious, somewhat conflicted comment: *porta vacat culpa, sed tamen omen habet* ‘the gate is blameless, but still it is cursed’. Hence the right-side gate came to be called the *Porta Scelerata* (Festus pp. 334–335M).⁶⁹

While Livy (2.49.9–12) does depict the warriors of the Fabii as keeping Rome secure in the two years that separated their departure from Rome through the Porta Carmentalis and their destruction in battle, the scenario of the disastrous fate to which the Fabii came may seem to offer very little, if any, reason for associating Carmentis with *victoire* in association with an *armé* (the semantic components of Νικοστράτη). This scenario is, however, completely consistent with the Roman depiction of Carmenta as a deity bifrontal in nature, if not in iconography, characterized by diametric contrasts and opposing fates. Her plus-minus nature is evidenced in the warrior realm, as well as in the priestly and the fecund. But there is more that can be said in this regard. When the

65. See, *inter alia*, Strabo 5.3.3 C230, Plutarch *Roman Questions* 56, Solinus 1.10, Servius on *Aeneid* 8.51 and 8.336, for Νικοστράτη as name of Evander’s mother.

66. See also Festus p. 285M.

67. See Livy 2.49.1–8.

68. See Livy 2.50.1–11.

69. See also Florus 1.6.2–3; Servius on *Aeneid* 8.337.

relevant literary references are considered in coordination,⁷⁰ together with iconographic evidence, there is reason for identifying the left-side arch of the Porta Carmentalis as the *Porta Triumphalis*, the gate by which triumphal military processions entered the city (the right-side gate from an extramural perspective); and this identification is now generally endorsed.⁷¹ The two arches of the Porta Carmentalis encode a symbolic juxtaposition of victory (left) and defeat (right) through tradition and name: the contrastive nature of the goddess Carmenta appears to be clearly on display here within the warrior sphere. Was the gate through which the warriors of the Fabii left Rome assigned an affiliation with bifrontal Carmenta only after the military reversals of which Ovid and Livy preserve a memory? More likely, the fateful exit of the Fabii warriors from the city was assigned *ex post facto* to the Porta Carmentalis. Why is the right arch the inauspicious one and the left the auspicious? This itself is a curious reversal in direction from the anticipated, but compare the curious formulaic reversals that characterize performance of Aditi's Soma-sacrifice rituals, the opening *prāyaṇīya*, the 'going forth' (into the arena of ritual), and the closing *udayaṇīya*, the 'going out' (away from the rites).⁷² The second piece of evidence that Dumézil (2003:129) offers in contending for Carmenta's association with the Roman warrior is provided by the entry in the *Fasti Praenestini* (the calendar of Verrius Flaccus) for 15 January, day of the second Carmentalia (CIL I², p. 231). Here we read:

*Feriae Car[me]nti ob eandem caussa[
III Idus. Hic [d]ies dicitur institutu[. . .
si Fidenas eo die cepisset
Festival of Carmentis for the same cause[
11 January. The day so named established[. . .
since on that day he had captured Fidenae*

70. See Cicero *In Pisonem* 55; Martial 8.65; Josephus *Jewish War* 7.130–131; Tacitus *Annales* 1.8; Suetonius *Life of Augustus* 100.2; Casius Dio 56.42.1.

71. See, *inter alia*, Coarelli 1988:368, 409–410 and 2007:312; Richardson 1992:301. Other structures, arches, modeled and called after the Porta Triumphalis of the Servian Walls likely stood elsewhere within the circumference of the walls or beyond; see Coarelli 1988:372. Among these would be that structure standing in the Campus Martius beneath which a returning army passed, and which likely cannot be separated ideologically and cultically from the *sororium tigillum* and the *iugum*; see Woodard 2013:192n141.

72. Unless of course the Roman orientation of auspicious versus inauspicious is based solely on the position of the arches as viewed when approaching the wall from the exterior, which is perhaps unlikely. The Servian Walls run directly north-south at the point of the Porta Carmentalis. Perhaps the cardinal direction is of some significance in distinguishing the diametric values assigned to the two arches?

As Dumézil allows, there is much here that is uncertain. But what seems to be indicated is that Flaccus is rehearsing a tradition that attributes the establishment of (at least) the second Carmentalia to a military victory over Rome’s ancient rival Fidenae. In sum, there is good evidence that Carmenta, no less than Aditi, has broad affiliations with primitive Indo-European three-part social ideology: both of these bifrontal goddesses can be appropriately characterized as “trifunctional.”

Trifunctionality, the Fourth Function, and Concluding Remarks

As is well known N. J. Allen – the comparative mythologist N. J. Allen – employed a finely-honed interpretative model in which Dumézilian (and Benvenistian) Indo-European tripartition was expanded to include a *fourth function*. Nick Allen was always concerned that his readers have a proper understanding of his model, so that frequently his comparative investigations would be prefaced by a brief introduction to the notion of a fourth function, F4; though in one particular publication (Allen 1987 [= 2020:10–24]) he addresses his own approach, vis-à-vis Dumézilian tripartition at some length. While Nick Allen operated with a fourth function, his analyses are in fact *pentadic* in that the fourth function has both a positive aspect, F4+, and a negative aspect, F4-, or a positive and negative “half-function.” Here I quote his definitions of the fourth-function and its aspects that appear in Allen 2007 (p. 192). First, “the fourth function is defined as covering what is other, outside, or beyond relative to the three ‘classical’ functions, and its positive aspect covers sovereigns, kings, founders, and creators, while its negative aspect covers enemies, slaves, demons, and other devalued outsiders.” This quotation is drawn from a study of Śiva in which Allen identifies Indra as eligible for F4+ status and Śiva, one who is very much an “outsider,” for F4-. One of the insightful observations that Allen offers in this work that demands attention is this comment found on p. 193, set in a section in which he discusses the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, essentially the protagonists and antagonists of the *Mahābhārata* epic, respectively, and of the failure of the Dumézilian tripartite schema to accommodate adequately the evil Kauravas:

From a commonsensical point of view one might expect any ideology to have some place for the enemies of the cosmic order, and more pertinently, there has to be something wrong with an account of Vedic and Hindu tradition which glosses over the god-demon opposition. The problem was sensed by F. B. J. Kuiper (1961), but he offered no solution to it.

In the preceding pages I have proposed that both Carmenta and Aditi can be plausibly identified as “trifunctional,” in the Dumézilian sense. But it is also the case that bifrontal Carmenta and Aditi, with their dualistic aspects, provide particular expressions of the ideologic contrast that is fundamental to Allen’s F4+ versus F4- distinction. This is especially clear in the case of Aditi and Diti. What little Vedic evidence for Diti there is would seem to suggest that *Vedic* Aditi and Diti constitute a rather homogeneous set of alternants, though undoubtedly they must vary from one another in some manner that is consistent with their opposing names ‘Un-Bound’ versus ‘Bound’. *Post-Vedic* evidence quite vividly indicates a Diti whose essence negates that of Aditi: Aditi is mother of the Ādityas, of the gods; Diti is mother of the opponents of the gods, the Daityas, and can be identified as mother of the demonic Asuras. Aditi, as genetrix of all that has come into being and all that will, fully satisfies Allen’s description of the F4+ aspect; in her trifunctionality she is collectively, *ipso facto*, “beyond” the “three ‘classical’ functions” taken individually. In contrast, *post-Vedic* Diti unquestionably satisfies the description of the F4- aspect, being mother of demonic forces, enemies of the gods. We are hampered in our full understanding of the matter by the dearth of information available for *Vedic* Diti. Perhaps she too was of a nature that would place her unambiguously in the F4- category, but there is hardly a *prima facie* indication of such.

Much the same case could be made for Carmenta as being an expression of the fourth function. Beyond her own trifunctionality she parallels Aditi’s status as creator to the extent that she is *genetrix* (Ovid *Fasti* 1.479) of the primeval inhabitant of the Palatine, the historical heart of the *urbs* that will become *orbis*.⁷³ This is Carmenta as a whole. But when we consider the twin aspects into which she shades, Prorsa and Postverta, while we see that they are contrastive in nature, could we properly evaluate the contrast as one of F4+ versus F4-? The two Carmentas surely diverge in directionality, as growing versus diminishing light, as face-forward easier birth versus face-turned-back vexatious birth, as triumph versus defeat. Perhaps at points this differentiation approaches but does not quite arrive at fourth-function bivalency. Carmenta’s contrasts within the realm of the priest, that of traditional formulae versus prophecy appears to be further removed still from F4 aspectual distinctions.

Preceding Roman Carmenta and Indic Aditi there must lie, along the diachronic axis of theological and cult evolution, a common Indo-European proto-deity. She is a trifunctional figure, goddess pertinent to the functional output associated with each of the three elements of Indo-European social ideology. She is affiliated with the performative enunciations of religious practitioners, the practitioners of speech – both the deliberate formulae of ritual observance that must be habitually enunciated without error and with the inspired nonce

73. See Woodard 2006:247–249.

utterances spontaneously produced by raving mantics. She can be invoked to bring combat-triumph to the warrior, but she, deity of opposing results, may deliver, or allow, defeat instead. She is associated with light, and so with its absence. She is Mother and Nurturer and has power in the bringing forth of the fruit of the womb, with the result that birth may be easier, or vexed. She is a dualistic deity who subsumes the continua of life and of nature, including temporal continua and the entailed rhythm of cyclic light and darkness that provide the metaphysically-charged contrastive building blocks of the Indo-European calendar.⁷⁴

It would perhaps be simplistic to claim that *unitary trifunctionality* equates to “fourth-function” status, but it clearly seems to be a relevant linkage in the particular case of trifunctional bivalent Carmenta, Aditi, and, by diachronic projection, of their common Proto-Indo-European ancestor. Before proposing such an hypothesis of equation more cases would need to be investigated. As noted above, post-Vedic Diti clearly conforms closely to the description of F4-, repository of the demonic, the enemy. Carmenta Prorsa, on the other hand, while she has her dark affiliations and death is within her purview it would seem, has not been correspondingly made demonic. In light of this distinction between two goddesses that appear to be of common Indo-European origin, should we consider the prospect that pentadic structure is a post-Proto-Indo-European phenomenon? In other words, was the development of a *negative aspect* of a super- or trans-tripartite ideological category a development that ought to be associated with particular linguistic-cultural nodes in the evolutionary pathway by which the historical Indo-European societies took shape? Should we look to a common Indo-Iranian node (or antedating this, to a common Helleno-Indo-Iranian node) for the development of this ideological feature, i.e. of the F4- aspect? If so, the ancestral duality of Indic Aditi must have drawn her inescapably into a pentadic structure, though quite possibly, or probably, only as a consequence of post-Vedic Brahmanic speculation. In other words, the F4- category must have existed as a part of Indic (and if so,

74. It might be here, perhaps, in the lunar time-reckoning procedures of an oral culture of deep antiquity that we find a base function on which the goddess’ tripartition rests. Age-old ritual observance with its crucially associated priestly enunciations heralding the cyclic apex of the lunar orb and the arching sliver of light marking the moon’s emergence from darkness undoubtedly lie commonly behind Indic and Italic practices. The coordination of the ongoing cycles of lunar rebirth with the rhythms of human fertility offer a natural synapse between first-function and third-function functionality on the part of the goddess. A natural segue from lunar and calendrical phenomena to the warrior realm may be less obvious, though one thinks of the color of black, symbolic of darkness, with which early Indo-European Männerbünde may be associated at times (see Sergent 2003:17).

then surely Indo-Iranian) ideology long before Diti became an expression of that category.

There is more that could be explored regarding features common to Carmenta and Aditi, but that will have to wait for another occasion. I close by simply pointing out a couple of intriguing cult similarities, Italic and Indic. These have to do with Ovid's aetiology of the second Carmentalia (*Fasti* 1.618–628) and his comments on the prohibition against bringing hide into the shrine of Carmenta (1.629–630), two separate, but I suspect related, pericopes that he presents in sequence. The aetiology, as we saw earlier, is concerned with the legal right of Roman matrons to ride in certain vehicles, one type of which being called *carpenta* (plural). This is an episode of Roman legal history that has been woven into a cult narrative that concerns abstinence, suspension of reproductive function, and female empowerment. In assigning an aetiological value to this episode, Ovid seeks to link *carpenta* etymologically with *Carmenta*, a pseudo-etymology, and to attribute Senatorial appeasement of Roman matrons to the foundation of the second Carmentalia. We also saw that in the preparatory rites of the new-moon/full-moon sacrifices, as the Adhvaryu is about to spread the black-antelope *cárman-* 'hide' on the ground, he chants certain mantras designed to appease Aditi. Do we find here particular expressions of Italic and Indic reflexes of a common tradition of appeasement of the ancestral goddess in conjunction with a cult accoutrement made of hide? In one reflex of an ancestral cult tradition with lunar affiliations (Indic) appeasement is accomplished by ritual utterance as the hide is deployed within cult space; in the other reflex (Italic) appeasement is accomplished by prohibiting the presence of the hide within cult space. The aetiology of the second Carmentalia (celebrated following the "full moon" of the Ides) crucially entails female empowerment and a temporary state of sexual abstinence, much as the Vedic sacrificer and his wife take a vow of abstinence in preparation for celebrating the new-moon/full-moon sacrifice, and the erotic potentiality of the wife is one element of the ritual about which fear is expressed. This is also a temporary state as the "girdle of Aditi" will be removed from the wife with the conclusion of the ceremony, signaling "an end to the temporary chastity."⁷⁵ Is the pseudo-etymology of Latin *Carmenta* a reflex (adapted to Roman legal history) of cult-punning that marked the liturgy of the dualistic ancestral goddess – of which the Adhvaryu's punning of *cárman-* with *śárman-* is equally a reflection?⁷⁶ The

75. Jamison 1996:47. For an interpretation of the binding and unbinding of the sacrificer's wife with the "girdle of Aditi" as a thoroughgoing expression of female empowerment see Jamison's discussions of pp. 34-35, 50–50, 56, and 61.

76. The superficial phonic similarity of Sanskrit *cárman-* and Latin *carmen* is merely that. For the word history of Latin *carmen* see the opening paragraph of this work. Sanskrit *cárman-* is descended from Proto-Indo-European **ker-men-*, source also of Avestan *čarəman-* 'hide, leather', Old Persian *čarman-* 'hide', and Old Prussian *kērmens*

proximity and direct connection of the shrine of Carmenta (with her lunar associations) with the space of the Volcanalia (via the Vicus Iugarius) takes on particular interest in light of the association of Aditi with the new-moon/full-moon sacrifices at which the *Dakṣiṇāgni*, as well as the *Gārhapatya* and *Āhavanīya*, was kindled. And lastly, it is worth noting too that much as the highly marked sacrifice of a castrated ram to Jupiter occurs on the Ides that separate the two celebrations of the Carmentalia, so a ‘barren caw’ (*vaśā*) is offered for Mitra and Varuṇa at the closing ceremony of the Soma sacrifice, ceremony that belongs to Aditi.

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‘body’ (see, *inter alia*, Mayrhofer 1992–1996:1:537; Mallory and Adams 1997:522). No Latin reflex of *ker-men- is attested, but Sanskrit *cárman-* is probably ultimately related to Latin *corium* ‘leather’.

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