

At the same time we have gained a new etymon *\*krip-* 'hair' or 'curly' vel sim., which apparently favoured a suffix in *\*-s-*. We may now seek a comparandum. There is a noun in Albanian *krip* m., def. *krip-i*, which denotes 'hair'; it is not the dominant and most usual noun for 'hair', but it is well attested and appears in the major dictionaries. Tagliavini mentions the etymon (*La stratificazione del lessico albanese: elementi indoeuropei*, 1943, ristampa Bologna 1965, p. 91), but records it only for Sicilian Arbëresh and, on the authority, of Jokl, for Old Geg (attested in Bogdan). Actually the noun is much better attested than that, and I have recorded it in the far North Geg dialect of Gusî (Gusinje, Crna Gora), where it denotes short hair, including facial hair.

G. Meyer left the word without explanation or comment. Tagliavini reproduces Jokl's comparison with Lith. *krypti* 'sich drehen' (IE *\*greip-*, WP. II 571) and his claim that the original meaning would have been 'ricciolo'. But, he concludes, "la connessione non è però del tutto sicura."

Walde-Hofmann *LEW*<sub>3</sub> 293 doubts the relation of Lat. *crispus* to Lith. *kreĩpti*, but on the basis of an incorrect reconstruction of *crispus*, as we now see. Fraenkel *Lit. EW* 292 also doubts any connexion between *kreĩpti* (and hence *krỹpti*) and *crispus* but without offering further reasons. Russ. *kres* and *krës* and congeners (Vasmer *REW* 1. 660) is of ambiguous consonantism<sup>1</sup>).

Any direct relation to the Baltic and Slavic etyma must remain speculative for the Latin, British Celtic and Albanian words. But a semantic connexion '(short) hair' : 'curly' : 'turn' is now potentially of firmer basis than it was before.

Nevertheless, the Latin and British Celtic *-s-* suffix is a significant shared feature to be noted in particular.

## ***Culus, Clunes* and their Synonyms in Latin**

By J. N. ADAMS, Manchester

The anus (or rectum : see below, p. 235 on the tendency for popular speech to ignore the distinction between the two parts) was a common topic of risqué humour in Latin, partly because it was seen as

<sup>1</sup>) The fullest account of the Slavic etymon *krës-* is to be found in Sławski, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego* 2. 227–9 (1968).

a sexual part. As such it attracted a variety of euphemisms and also metaphors, many of them invented off-the-cuff in suggestive contexts and used nowhere else. The presence of some of these metaphors in certain literary genres (notably epigram) can be attributed not simply to the habits of Latin sexual humour, but to the influence of the corresponding Greek genre. Indeed much of the evidence for the Latin sexual language in general is literary, and hence to some extent is likely to be artificial. Nevertheless not every metaphor should be classed as Grecising simply because it has a parallel in Greek. Sexual symbolism may be seen in certain objects in many cultures. One must consider the distribution of a metaphor in Latin to determine whether its origin is Greek.

The impression should not be given that the lower varieties of the Latin sexual language are a closed book. There is little evidence for the private language of families, for popular slang or spoken jests, but the standard obscenities of vulgar speech are well attested.

A distinction must be made between the extra-linguistic taboo which places a restriction on the mention of certain objects or themes, and the linguistic taboo associated with certain words. For non-linguistic reasons one does not find the anus mentioned in certain types of polite writing, such as epic, but nevertheless there are sober genres in which the organ must be dealt with (notably medical writings). Here the operation of the linguistic taboos can be observed.

The buttocks are generally not regarded as particularly indecent, and are sometimes mentioned even in respectable literary genres. I include words for 'buttocks' here because words originally meaning either 'buttocks' or 'anus' are not always strictly differentiated in sense.

#### CVLVS and PODEX

Latin had a set of primary obscenities for sexual parts and acts (e.g. *cunnus*, *mentula*, *futuo*, *pedico*) and for aspects of excretion (*caco*, *merda*). These *voces propriae* had no other meaning: their impact was not softened by any metaphorical or other associations. Like the equivalent words in other languages, they were banned from polite society and literature (except on special ritual occasions), even though they were looked upon as the strict and accurate designation of the objects or acts in question<sup>1</sup>). In a serious discus-

<sup>1</sup>) To use such words was to speak *Latine* i.e. straightforward Latin (see *Priap.* 3.9f.).

sion of obscenity Cicero did not permit himself, even in quotation marks, as it were, to let slip any such words (*Fam.* 9.22); he alluded to them instead in a variety of circuitous ways. To this set belonged *culus*, but not its synonym *podex*.

*Culus* and *podex* indicated the anus, *clunes* and *nates* the buttocks. The sense of *culus* is manifest at (e.g.) *Priap.* 31.4 'haec mei te uentris arma laxabunt, / exire ut ipse de tuo queas culo' and of *podex* at *Hor. Epod.* 8.6 'hietque turpis inter aridas natis / podex uelut crudae bouis'. For a variety of reasons anatomical terms sometimes shift their reference slightly to an adjoining part, either permanently or in isolated contexts (see below, p. 239), and this group of words was not immune from such semantic shifts (cf. the indeterminacy of Eng. *arse*). For *culus* perhaps applied to the buttocks, see *Priap.* 11.4 'traiectus conto sic extendere pedali, / ut culum rugam non habuisse putes' (cf. Sp. *culo*, < *culus*, which may indicate both the buttocks and anus), and for *clunes* and *nates* virtually referring to the anus, see *Pompon.* 76 'praeteriens uidit Dossenium in ludo reuerecunditer / non docentem condiscipulum, uerum scalpentem natis', *Mart.* 9.47.6 'in molli rigidam clune libenter habes', 12.75.3 'pastas glande natis habet Secundus', *CIL* X.4483 'caca, ut possimus bene dormire et pedicare natis candidas'. See further below, p. 241f. on a further shift suffered by *clunes* in later Latin. But for the most part the two pairs of words retained their original senses in recorded Latin.

The distribution of the basic obscenities in Latin shows much the same pattern. They are common in graffiti (particularly from Pompeii) and in epigram (Catullus, Martial, the *Corpus Priapeorum*), but are avoided in other literary genres, including most satire (that which was written after the first book of Horace's *Sermones*). They are usually well-represented in the Romance languages, as low terms. Such is the distribution of *culus*. It is found five times in the published Pompeian graffiti (see *CIL* IV.8899 for an example in the Supplements to *CIL* IV), and once in a compound form (8473 *culibonia*). There are two examples on the Perusine sling bullets (*CIL* XI.6721.7, 14). Catullus uses the word six times in the shorter poems, hendecasyllabic and elegiac (23.19, 33.4, 97.2, 4, 12, 98.4), Martial sixteen times, and the author of the *Corpus Priapeorum* four times (11.4, 31.4, 58.2, 68.6). It is no accident that Catullus (followed by later epigrammatists) shares *culus* with Pompeian graffiti. In his use of this and other obscenities it can be shown that he displays the influence of the lowest variety of current sexual

phraseology: note 97.12 'aegroti culum lingere carnificis' and 98.4 'culos et crepidas lingere carpatinas', and compare *CIL* IV.4954 'linge culu'. *Culus* occurs elsewhere in literature only at Phaedr. 4.18.36: Phaedrus, like the epigrammatists, admitted various basic obscenities. The conjecture *culi cultor* (Neukirchius) at Titin. 137 (printed in the following form by Ribbeck: 'lotilente! — flocci fiet. — culi cultor!'; the MSS. of Nonius read *cularcultor*) is not convincing, since *culus* is not found in any other variety of Latin comedy. There were certainly sexual themes in the *fabula togata* (note Quint. 10.1.100), but there are no grounds for thinking that those themes were presented in the most basic sexual vocabulary. It is also implausible that the highly euphemistic Tertullian used *culus* at *Pall.* 4.1 (Salmasius, a conjecture accepted by V. Bulhart, *CSEL* LXXVI; *a talo, ab ala* codd.).

*Culus* is notable not only for its abundant survival in the Romance languages, but also for its rich productivity in supplying derivatives there<sup>2</sup>). In the Latin period it was already productive: note Petron. 38.2 *culo*, 62.3, 67.3 *apoculo*, *CIL* IV.8473 *culibonia*, *CGL* II.164.9 *culiola* (a type of whore), *CGL* V.329.5 *reculo* (interpretation doubtful). These derivatives are further evidence of the vitality of the word in Vulgar Latin.

*Podex* is a derivative of *pedo* ('fart'; cf. Lith. *bizdas* = 'anus', a word of the same root<sup>3</sup>), and as such it may once have been offensive (*pedo* is attested in much the same places as the other basic obscenities). Nevertheless in the historical period its distribution is completely different from that of *culus*. It is not found at Pompeii. It did not produce derivatives in Vulgar Latin. It has not a single reflex in the Romance languages. It is not used by Catullus, and found only twice in Martial (2.42.1, 6.37.1) and once in the *Corpus Priapeorum* (77.9). On the other hand, unlike *culus*, it is admitted by Juvenal (2.12), who in company with Persius rigorously avoided obscenities of the type which Horace sometimes allowed in the first book of the *Sermones*. Ausonius too uses it once in an epigram (93.3, p. 346 P.), whereas he excluded the primary obscenities of earlier epigram and returned to a Latin version of the more polite sexual language of Greek epigram. The presence of *podex* once in

<sup>2</sup>) The article in W. von Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bonn. 1928–69), II.2.1505ff. runs to almost 20 pages. On the productivity of *culus* in Romance, and particularly Gallo-romance, see II.2.1520.

<sup>3</sup>) See J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I (Bern 1959) p. 829.

the *Epodes* of Horace (8.6) in no way tells for its currency or obscenity: despite the grossness of some of the subject matter of the *Epodes*, Horace turned away from the linguistic obscenity of his Greek predecessors Archilochus and Hipponax.

The Romance evidence shows that *podex* eventually fell out of use whereas *culus* lived on; and the distribution of the two words even in the classical period suggests that *podex* was already obsolescent (and hence more acceptable to Juvenal than the current vulgarism *culus*). Certainly in later Latin the lack of currency of *podex* caused it to rise in status. Whereas earlier medical writers (Celsus, Scribonius Largus) avoid *podex*, in later medical Latin it is admitted alongside the standard medical term *anus*, though it continues to be outnumbered. In the *Gynaecia* of Caelius Aurelianus *podex* is used eleven times<sup>4</sup>). There are four examples in Marcellus Empiricus (7.20, 30.74, 31 tit., 31.26) and eleven in Cassius Felix (pp. 102.7, 117.15, 123.6, 126.6, 135.9, 135.11, 155.3, 178.5, 178.23, 192.21). Another euphemistic writer who has the word is Arnobius (*Nat.* 1.16).

It follows from the above remarks that when Cicero at *Fam.* 9.22.2 wrote "“anum” appellas alieno nomine; cur non suo potius?" he had in mind *culus* as the *vox propria* for 'anus', not *podex*. To call a sexual part by 'its own name' (*suo nomine*) was, in the terminology of Cicero in this letter, to apply to it the basic obscenity (as distinct from an established euphemism of the educated language): cf. *ibid.* 'quod tu in epistula appellas *suo nomine*, ille tectius "penem"'. Here Cicero is thinking of *mentula*: cf. his allusion at § 3 to diminutive forms of *menta* and *pauimenta* (i.e. *pauimentula*).

### The Rectum

It is only in the medical language that a distinction is consistently made between the anus and rectum. If strict logic is applied, metaphorical and other substitutes for *culus* might in some cases be said to refer to the anus, in others to the rectum, but it is doubtful if the users of such metaphors and euphemisms, who for the most part in extant Latin are dealing with the site of sexual acts, usually have the one part or the other specifically in mind. It is only in a protracted description that there is any need to introduce anatomical

<sup>4</sup>) Pp. 7.158, 40.1020, 41.1052, 68.149, 71.244, 73.283, 296, 74.311 twice, 92.786, 95.873 (page and line numbers from the edition of M. F. Drabkin and I. E. Drabkin, *Caelius Aurelianus, Gynaecia* (Baltimore, 1951)).

precision. In later sections I have made no very rigorous attempt to pin down the precise implication of metaphors and euphemisms from this general area.

In this section I collect technical words for 'rectum'. Because of the technical nature of the distinction between the anus and rectum, words for the latter, even in technical language, tend sometimes to be used rather loosely in contexts in which one might strictly have expected a word meaning 'anus' (see further below).

In early medical Latin the rectum (Gk. ἀπενθυσμένον ἔντερον) is referred to by means of *intestinum* with a specifying adjective: *rectum intestinum* (Cels. 4.1.9 'atque hinc dextra recuruatum in imo derigitur, qua excernit; ideoque id ibi rectum intestinum nominatur'; cf. 4.1.11, 4.1.12, Plin. *Nat.* 11.202), *directum intestinum* (Scrib. Larg. 142). These expressions were presumably attempts to render the Greek technical term. Scribonius also calls the rectum *intestinum extremum* at 232. The same phrases are sometimes found in later writers (e.g. *rectum i.* at Cael. Aurel. *Acut.* 3.17.165, *directum i.* at Marc. Emp. 28.3; note too *rectum* at Vindic. *Gyn.* 14 (G), p. 442 'et quod eustes Graeci rectum dicatur uel arcus'). *Intestinum* on its own is occasionally used unambiguously of the rectum: Veg. *Mul.* 1.50.1 'inuenies duritiem in intestino' (cf. *ibid.* 'longanone patere sine ulla inflatione repereris'), *Antidot. Brux. Sec.* 128, p. 387.1f. 'si infanti uel maiori ad assellandum intestinum descenderit' (of a prolapsed rectum).

In later Latin two further technical terms appear, *longao*<sup>5</sup>) and *extalis* (which often has the form *stalis*, by aphaeresis). Whatever the origin of *longao* (a loan word?), it was popularly connected with *longus*: Varro *Ling.* 5.111 'tertium fartum est longauo, quod longius quam duo illa', Vindic. *Gyn.* 13 (E), p. 464 'longaone uero iuxta est uesica habens collo longo'. The example in Varro indicates a type of sausage (cf. Apic. 4.2.13, and below, n. 6 for this meaning in Romance); it is only much later that the meaning 'rectum' is attested. Another word which combines the meanings 'sausage' and 'intestine' is *hilla* (cf. Varro, *loc. cit.*). It is of course possible that even at the time of Varro *longao* was in popular Latin used of a portion of the gut which might be stuffed to form a sausage.

Examples of *longao* with the indisputable meaning 'rectum' are common enough: e.g. *Mul. Chir.* 230 'subicies in anum, <in> interiorem partem longaonis' (cf. 229, 233, 236 for equally clear ex-

<sup>5</sup>) On the various forms which this word has, see *TLL* VII.2.1622.33ff.

amples), Veg. *Mul.* 1.42.1 'longanon autem intestinum uocatur, per quod stercois egeritur', Oribas. *Syn.* 1.19 La, p. 67.4 Mørland 'in longaone intestino' (= τὸ ἀπενθυσμένον), *Syn.* 1.20 La, p. 69.2 'ad paralysin intestini longaonis' (Aa 'in stale intestino paralysin patientibus', = τοῦ ἀπενθυσμένου ἐντέρου), Soran. Lat. (Mustio), p. 77.14 'in longaone stercois retentio'.

The definition given by Vegetius above occurs in a section based on *Mul. Chir.* 213f., where *longao* is used without such a gloss. *Longao* was obviously a technical term rather than a word of ordinary speech<sup>6</sup>); but it was presumably familiar to farmers, to judge by its frequency in the *Mulomedicina* (fifteen times)<sup>7</sup>). There are also twelve examples in Vegetius' *Mulomedicina*. But it was not exclusively a veterinary term: a number of examples, for instance, are to be found in Caelius Aurelianus (*TLL* s.v.).

There is a curious example of *longao* at Vindic. *Epit. Alt.* 32, p. 480.18 'huius ceruicis uel cornu in tribus foraminibus porrigitur usque ad longaonem, in qua res uenerias perficitur' (= 'vagina'; cf. *Gyn.* 17 (V), p. 445 'tribus foraminibus erigitur usque ad longaonem', = *P* 'cum tribus foraminibus porrigitur usque ad locum in quo rei ueretri usus perficitur'). Perhaps *longao* tended to be generalised (presumably partly because of its association with *longus*, and partly because of its recherché character) to passages other than the rectum. See also below, p. 262f., on *cunnus* = *culus* and *culus* = *cunnus*.

*Extalis* seems to be a derivative of *exta* (which is not, however, a common medical word, and is not as a rule used of the intestine). For the sense 'rectum' see *Mul. Chir.* 475 'si quod iumentum disinteriam habuerit, reuersatio est extalis' (= ἐντερον: *Hipp. Berol.* 39.1, *CHG* I, p. 204.15f. δυσεντεριῶντος τοῦ ἵππου, ἐκτροπή γίνεται καὶ πρόπτωσις τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἔδραν ἐντέρου), Oribas. *Syn.* 1.36 Aa, p. 69.1 Mørland 'in stale intestino paralysin patientibus', = La 'ad paralysin intestini longaonis . . .', *Syn.* 9.12.1 Aa, p. 295 'in extremo intestino apeutismemo quem latine stalem dicunt', Vindic. *Gyn.* 14 (G), p. 442 'apeudismenon extalem dixerunt'. *Extalis* too is common in the *Mulomedicina* (ten times) and Vegetius (seven times), but there are also examples in medical writers (*TLL* s.v.).

<sup>6</sup>) *Longao* survives as Log. *longu*, but with the meaning 'sausage': see W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*<sup>3</sup> (Heidelberg, 1935), 5114a.

<sup>7</sup>) See the index to the edition of E. Oder (Leipzig, 1901), p. 390, where the meaning is erroneously given as 'anus'.

Although *extalis* certainly indicated the rectum, and although it is equated with *longao* in one of the above passages, it was not synonymous with it. In the majority of cases *extalis* is used of a prolapsed or prominent rectum, and hence was almost certainly connected popularly with *ex(s)to*. The distinction between the two words is well illustrated at Anon. *Med.* ed. Piechotta CLXIII 'stentinum que longaone uocant intra anum reuocat, hoc est cui stalis exiet'. The only two examples in Marcellus Empiricus refer to a prominent rectum (31.17, 22). Note too Vulg. 1 Regn. 5:9 'computrescebant prominentes extales', *Mul. Chir.* 476 'si cui extalis ergo procederit', 720 'extalis si elapsus fuerit', 721 'si quod iumentum extalis elapsus fuerit', Veg. *Mul.* 2.70. tit. 'si extalis exeat animali', 2.70.1 'ex perfrictione nonnumquam animalibus foras procedit extalis' (*extalis* continues to be used in this chapter, §§ 2, 3), Diosc. 4.115, p. 57.4 'inposita stale infantum reuocat'<sup>8</sup>).

Two other words which sometimes come very close to the meaning 'rectum' are *uenter* and *aluus*; on these see below, p. 261f.

*Extalis* has virtually shifted to the meaning 'anus' at *Mul. Chir.* 722 'si cui iumento fici nati fuerint super extalem uel in uirginalem'; cf. *CGL* III.604.12 'podicem stalem'. At *Mul. Chir.* 475 it translates ἔδρα: 'ex eo procedit stentinum foras, qui praepositus est extali', = *Hipp. Berol.* 39.1, *CHG* I, p. 204.19f. καὶ προπίπτει τὸ ἔντερον τὸ προσκείμενον τῇ ἔδρα. Similarly at p. 52.4 Soranus Latinus (Mustio) uses *longao* ('nam et ad longaonem oleum dulce et calidum ad plenum acetabulum inicimus') to translate ἔδρα (Soran. p. 309.17 εἰς τὴν ἔδραν) in a passage in which Caelius Aurelianus (*Gyn.* p. 68.149) translates by *per podicem*. It is in this sort of context that a blurring of the distinction between the anus and rectum is particularly likely to occur. In describing an insertion into the rectum a writer can speak indifferently of an insertion 'through' or 'into' the anus, or 'into' the rectum. If he speaks of an insertion 'through the rectum', he has definitely conflated the two parts, as is done by Vegetius at *Mul.* 3.10.4 'quod medicamentum . . . interdum per intestinum inicis animali' (contrast 1.62.2 'prono animali in intestinum uel quinque uel septem uel nouem collyria inicere curabis'). For this loose use of *intestinum*, see *Mul. Chir.* 475, where it translates σφιγκτήρ: 'quod si coeperit curari, circumsecabis eum sic, ne intestinum tangas', = *Hipp. Berol.* 39.1, *CHG* I, p. 204.16ff. ἦν δεῖ

<sup>8</sup>) The *reuersatio extalis* at *Mul. Chir.* 475, quoted above, p. 237, is also a prolapse of the rectum. The rectum comes out 'inside out', as it were. The Greek version is more precise.



θεραπεύειν περιτέμνοντα, καὶ προσέχοντα, μὴ τοῦ σφιγκτήρος περιτέμνηται.

See further below, p. 261f. on *uenter* and *aluus* = 'anus'.

We have now seen various pieces of evidence for the tendency of anatomical terms to shift their sphere of reference slightly to a neighbouring part. Since further examples will be mentioned below, it is worthwhile to comment on the circumstances under which such shifts take place. Lack of a precise boundary between two body parts may facilitate the change (cf. words for 'anus'/'rectum' above). So the buttocks are not rigidly distinguished from the loins, and in later Latin *clunes* showed a tendency to extend its reference to the latter part (see p. 233). The vagueness of the limits between the thigh and hip must have been at least partly responsible for the replacement of *femur* by *coxa* (> Fr. *cuisse*). The obsolescence of a word may lead to uncertainty about its original sense and make it subject to misuse. *Clunes* was obsolete by the time it changed meaning. Alternatively the obsolescence of a word may cause a word for an adjoining part to fill the gap vacated. The shift of *bucca* from the meaning 'cheek' (puffed out) to 'mouth' (Fr. *bouche*, etc.) may have been partly determined by the obsolescence of the monosyllabic *os* in Vulgar Latin. Euphemism is a potent factor in prompting a writer (or speaker) to avoid an indelicate *vox propria* and replace it with an innocent word from a neighbouring area. *Inguen*, lit. 'groin', is one of the most common euphemisms for the genitalia of male or female in Latin (cf. Engl. *groin*). *Femur* is often used suggestively when the writer has in mind the genitals (e.g. Jerome *Epist.* 65.10.2 'femor significet opera nuptiarum'). Words for 'buttocks' are sometimes used euphemistically of the anus (p. 233). And words for 'buttocks' in their turn may be replaced by words which strictly denote the hip or thigh<sup>9</sup>). Finally technical terms, which have a precise sense in the language of specialists, may be subject to shifts when used by non-specialists ignorant of anatomy. Those technical terms which signify internal organs with which the layman is unfamiliar are especially likely to be used imprecisely. The glossing of *stalis* by *podex* (see above) was presumably motivated by anatomical ignorance on the part of the glossator.

#### CLVNES and NATES

At first sight there seems to be a clear stylistic distinction between *clunes* and *nates*. In the Republic and early Empire only *clunes* is

<sup>9</sup>) See below, n. 49.

found in the more polite genres. Lucretius (4.1270), Varro *Rust.* (five times), Manilius (2.462), Livy (44.5.7), Celsus (7.29.8), Seneca (*Epist.* 47.6), Petronius (twice in narrative, once in verse) and Columella (nine times) all use *clunes* to the exclusion of *nates*. *Nates* is not found in prose of any type until Apuleius.

In genres which drew on the colloquial or vulgar language it is *nates* which is slightly preferred:

|                            | <i>clunes</i> | <i>nates</i> |
|----------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| Lucilius                   | 1             | 2            |
| <i>Atellana</i>            | –             | 3            |
| Varro <i>Men.</i>          | –             | 1            |
| Mime (Laberius)            | 1             | –            |
| Catullus                   | –             | 1            |
| Horace <i>Serm., Epod.</i> | 3             | 2            |
| Persius                    | –             | 1            |
| Martial                    | 4             | 11           |
| Juvenal                    | 5             | 1            |
| <i>Priapea</i>             | 1             | 4            |

In these writers *nates* predominates by 26 : 15, whereas in those listed above *clunes* is preferred by 22 : 0. A possible example of *nates* in Ennius (*Var.* 29 'ille ictus retro reccidit in natem supinus') in no way establishes that the word was stylistically elevated. If the attribution is right, it is found in the *Sota* (the quotation is at *GL* VI.613.17, ascribed to the *Sota* by Lachmann on *Lucr.* 1.186). Most writers of sober prose and high poetry (orators, historians, epic poets) either avoided both words (the buttocks were unmentionable in Latin epic, although Homer had referred to this part of the anatomy)<sup>10</sup> or had no occasion to use either, but it is clear enough that technical writers who had to refer to the buttocks preferred *clunes*.

But this is not the whole story. *Clunes* is used particularly often in reference to animals. In Plautus *nates* occurs once, in reference to a man (*Pers.* 847), and *clunes* once, also of a man, but the speaker compares himself with a wolf (frg. 5 Lindsay 'quasi lupus ab armis ualeo, clunis infractos fero'). Varro and Columella use *clunes* of animals only. In Horace *nates* is applied only to the buttocks of

<sup>10</sup> *πυγή* is not found in Homer, but *γλουτός* is used of the buttocks (*Il.* 5.66, 8.340, 13.651). In Latin epic *clunes* and *nates* do not occur, with the exception of one example of *clunes* in Lucretius (4.1270).

gods or humans (*Epod.* 8.5, *Serm.* 1.8.47), but two of the three examples of *clunes* refer to animals (*Serm.* 1.2.89, 2.8.91; cf. 2.7.50). Livy has *clunes* only in application to the haunches of an elephant (44.5.7).

It is highly likely that *clunes* was in origin used of animals, whereas *nates* was applicable to the human anatomy. This distinction to some extent accounts for the different distribution of the two words in the writers listed above: some of the non-vulgar writers who admit *clunes* do so only in reference to animals. But one is still left with the need to posit a stylistic distinction as well. Like so many words strictly appropriate to the animal anatomy, *clunes* was transferred to the corresponding part of the human body (first in Lucilius, 330), and it would seem to have acquired a higher status than *nates* relatively early, to judge by its use (to the exclusion of *nates*) in Lucretius, Manilius, Celsus, and the narrative of Petronius. Nevertheless the evidence for a stylistic distinction is not as clear-cut as one might at first have thought.

In later Latin *clunes* tended to be differentiated semantically from *nates*. In Caelius Aurelianus it is used to translate *ὀσφός*: e.g. *Gyn.* p. 30.763f. 'magis pubetenus et sub umbilico ac clunibus', = Soran. *Gyn.* p. 233.6f. *καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὸ ἐφήβαιον καὶ τὸ ἐπιγαστριον καὶ τὴν ὀσφόν*<sup>11</sup>), p. 90.754f. 'admouentes spongias pubetenus, pectini atque clunibus', = Soran. p. 345.3ff. *σπόγγους . . . περιβάλλειν ἐφήβαίῳ καὶ ὀσφύι*. Hence it refers to the loins or small of the back. Indeed the word is used by Caelius in contexts in which Mustio translates by means of *renes*<sup>12</sup>). Note too *CGL* V.277.56 'clunes renes', II.332.33 'ἰξός clunis'. Similarly the glossing of *clunes* by words meaning 'hip' also suggests that its field of reference had shifted upwards slightly: *CGL* IV.216.44 'clunes coxae' (cf. II.102.18, IV.408.9)<sup>13</sup>), II.102.7 'clunis ἰσχίον ὀρθοπύγιον'. Isidore makes a distinction between *nates* and *clunes* which suggests that he too thought of *clunes* as indicating an area higher up the body than *nates*: *Etym.* 11.1.101 'clunes uocatae, quod sint iuxta colum, quod

<sup>11</sup>) Soranus' gynaecological work is here quoted from the edition of V. Rose, *Sorani Gynaeciorum uetus translatio latina* (Leipzig, 1882), in which the Greek remains are printed after the translation ascribed to Mustio (sometimes referred to as 'Soranus Latinus'). Note that in the passage quoted *pubetenus* (as elsewhere) translates *ἐφήβαιον*.

<sup>12</sup>) See the edition of Drabkin and Drabkin, cited above, n. 4, p. xi for the equivalence. The *TLL* s.v. does not mention this later use of *clunes*.

<sup>13</sup>) These glosses could however be interpreted as showing that *coxa* had changed meaning slightly (at least in certain varieties of Latin): see n. 49.

est longao. nates, quod in ipsis innitimur dum sedemus'. It is doubtful whether these new senses of *clunes* had any currency outside scientific vocabularies. The word does not survive in the Romance languages; by the time of Caelius Aurelianus and Isidore it may well have been highly *recherché*. The variety of meanings ascribed to it in glosses implies that glossators could not base their definitions on real usage.

I mention finally here a derivative of *nates*, *natica*, which, unlike its base-form, is extensively represented in the Romance languages<sup>14</sup>). It is mistakenly given by Meyer-Lübke as a hypothetical form<sup>15</sup>): note Soran. Lat. (Mustio), p. 79.2 'ita duplicatur ut sedenti similis naticas foris ostendat', Cael. Aurel. *Gyn.* pp. 28.714, 52.1342, *CGL* II.425.63 'πυγή natica', IV.260.39 'naticae non est'<sup>16</sup>).

### Metaphors

There are considerably more metaphors for the anus (rectum) than the buttocks attested in Latin. This cannot be put down to the special need felt to be euphemistic when speaking of the anus, although most metaphors can be classed as euphemistic, in that they result in the calling of something by a name other than its own. Various metaphors for the anus are in a genre which admitted obscenities (epigram), and in any case there existed acceptable 'scientific' euphemisms for the anus as well as for the buttocks (notably *anus*, which began as a metaphor). The anus had strong sexual associations in Greco-Roman society. The sexual parts attract metaphors more than other parts of the body. These metaphors are often intended as humorous or risqué rather than merely euphemistic.

Not all of the metaphors which are listed below had been banalised. Many of the metaphors attested for sexual parts in Latin occur just once, and there is frequently no reason to think that they were anything but *ad hoc* coinages.

In what follows I have not separated metaphors for the anus (rectum) from those for the buttocks.

<sup>14</sup>) See A. Zauner, 'Die romanischen Namen der Körperteile', *RF* 14 (1903), p. 502. For the suffix, cf. *nastica* (Zauner, p. 362), and, with a long *i*, *uesica* and *landica*.

<sup>15</sup>) *REW* 5848.

<sup>16</sup>) See also J. Svennung, *Untersuchungen zu Palladius und zur lateinischen Fach- und Volkssprache* (Lund, 1935), pp. 273ff.

## i Ring

*Anus* was not, as Cicero was aware (see above, p. 235), the strict *nomen* for the anus, because it originated as a metaphor. For the literal sense 'ring', see Plaut. *Men.* 85 'compediti ei anum lima praeterunt'. It is a fair supposition that by the late Republic many speakers were not aware of the metaphor, for the literal meaning had passed to the diminutives *anulus* and *anellus*. But Cato obviously knew the etymology of *anus*. At *Agr.* 159 he uses the diminutive *anulus*, which was already the standard word for 'ring' in Plautus, in the sense 'anus' (in a medical context). Note too Vindic. *Gyn.* 14 (G), p. 442 'latinae autem anum uocant, eo quod in rotundo constringat in modum anuli'. The etymology of a dead metaphor may remain familiar to some learned speakers.

Cicero's comments on *anus*, quoted above, p. 235, show that for him the word was inoffensive. It was the standard word for this part in medical and technical prose at all periods. As a learned term it did not survive in the Romance languages. The word was not inoffensive merely because its etymology was forgotten. The metaphor itself could not have had the vulgar or offensive flavour of its English counterpart, or Cato would not have used *anulus* in a medical context. Similarly *δακτύλιος* is used in the same sense in later medical Greek and other polite genres (Pollux 2.210, Diosc. 1.70, Luc. *Demon.* 17, *PRyl.* 28.68; cf. *CGL* II.266.7, 284.43, III.176.66, Vindic. *Gyn.* 14 (G), p. 442). Not all sexual metaphors in Greek and Latin were risqué, humorous or in some sense colourful. Doctors tended to describe the human anatomy in a terminology which was to some extent metaphorical<sup>17</sup>). Each metaphor must be treated as a separate case, and its tone determined from its distribution.

*Anus* for the most part retains the strict sense 'anus', but occasionally it is used rather loosely: note *CGL* III.248.57 'anus *πυγή*'

<sup>17</sup>) This of course is a topic in itself, but a few examples can be given here. In medical Greek the penis came to be called *καυλός*, lit. 'stem of a plant' (e.g. Galen, *VP* 14.12, II, p. 324.19f. Helmreich), and on this usage was based the Latin calque *caulis*, which was Celsus' standard word for 'penis' (cf. Theod. Prisc. *Eup.* 1.78, p. 82.13, *Mul. Chir.* 474). The glans of the penis was called *βάλανος*, Lat, *glans* (Celsus). On the animal metaphor *ταῦρος*, of the perineum, see below, p 257. *πυλωρός* lit. 'gate-keeper' had a metaphorical use in the medical language ('pylorus': note Celsus' remarks at 4.1.7). From the semantic field under discussion here *σφιγκτήρ* (lit. 'that which binds, a bond') may well have originated as a metaphor, to judge by the Latin borrowing *spinter* ('bracelet, armband': Fest, p. 449).

(or was the glossator ignorant of the precise sense of *πυγή?*), and perhaps Vindic. *Epit. Alt.* 30, p. 479 'anum apud Grecos multis nominibus uocauerunt. est enim ipsum intestinum palmorum trium, et ab ipso omnes intestini incipiunt' ('rectum'?). Presumably too Celsus had in mind a prolapsed rectum at 6.18.10 'si anus . . . procidit'.

## ii Doors and the like

In Greek and Latin both the anus and external female genitalia were readily likened to a door. It is worth stressing that the metaphors for the anus are basically the same as those for the *cunnius* in Latin. Certain metaphors which happen to be attested for the one part would no doubt have been transferable to the other. I deal specifically with attested words for 'anus' in this section.

No one word of this semantic field seems to have become a banalised term for 'anus' in Latin, but the symbolism of doors was well recognised. This can be deduced from the popular etymologies at Isid. *Etym.* 11.1.137 'uulua uocata quasi ualua, id est ianua uentris' and 8.11.69 'Iunonem dicunt quasi ianonem, id est ianuam, pro purgationibus feminarum, eo quod quasi portas matrum natorum pandat, et nubentum maritis'. Examples of the metaphor in Latin are at Catull. 15.12 'quem tu qua lubet, ut lubet, moueto / quantum uis, ubi erit foris paratum' (?), 15.18 'quem attractis pedibus patente porta / percurrent raphanique mugilesque' (cf. *Priap.* 52.5 'porta te faciet patentiore'). Housman was also undoubtedly right in proposing *ualuas* (lit. 'folding doors') for *uuluas* at Pers. 4.36 'penemque arcanaque lumbi / runcantem populo marcentis pandere ualuas'<sup>18</sup>). For the plural one might compare the use of *σανίδες* ('folding doors') at Antiphilus, *A. P.* 9.415.6, = *κόσθοις*. For *θύρα* = *πρωκτός*, see Apollod. frg. 13.9 Kock, Eur. *Cycl.* 502. The participle *patente* with *porta* at Catull. 15.18 above is worthy of comment. Verbs of opening are common with *culus*, *cunnius* and equivalents in Latin: Plaut. *Curc.* 56 'pandit saltum sauuis', *CIL* IV.8899 'non est hic tutum culu aperire tibi', *CIL* XI.6721.14 'L. A(ntoni) calue, Fulua, culum pan(dite)', *Priap.* 83.22 'nec tibi tener puer / patebit ullus', *Anth. Lat.* 144.2 'uirgineos ardens pandere fraude sinus'. In these verbal usages the imagery of doors is implicit. Given the inscriptional examples above, one would not be justified in treating

<sup>18</sup> A. E. Housman, 'Praefanda', *Hermes* 66 (1931), p. 406, = J. Diggle and F. R. D. Goodyear, *The Classical Papers of A. E. Housman* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 1178f.

literary examples of the door-metaphor as consciously Grecising, especially since the image is an obvious one.

On *posticum* at Varro *Men.* 430, see below, p. 251.

### iii Ditch

The symbolism of the ditch would have been obvious to Latin speakers, as is clear from the remarks of Verrius Flaccus indirectly reported by Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.15.21 'Verrium Flaccum . . . dicere solitum . . . quia feriis tergere ueteres fossas liceret, nouas facere ius non esset, ideo magis uiduis quam uirginibus idoneas esse ferias ad nubendum'. *Fossa* is also used in reference to the *cunnus* at *Priap.* 46.9, 83.32, but at *Juv.* 2.10 *fossa* = *culus* is used *pars pro toto* of a *cinaedus*: 'cum sis / inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinaedus'. These nominal metaphors would probably not have been separated in the popular mind from various verbal usages. *Fodio* = *pedico* may well have had some currency: note *Juv.* 9.45 'seruus erit minus ille miser qui foderit agrum / quam dominum', *Priap.* 52.8 'cum te male foderint iacentem'. Nevertheless the presence of much the same metaphor in Arnobius, who is always euphemistic (*Nat.* 4.7 'uirginalem scrobem effodientibus maritis'; *effodio* = *futuo*; note too *scrobis* = *cunnus*, a metaphor which should be compared with *fossa* above), suggests that it was not vulgar. Similarly *fossor* is used as an equivalent of *pedicator* at Auson. *Epigr.* 77.7, p. 341 P. 'peruersae Veneris postico uulnere fossor', and perhaps *Mart.* 7.71.4 'nec dispensator nec uilicus ulcere turpi / nec rigidus fossor sed nec arator eget'<sup>19</sup>). Cf. *Aristoph. Pax* 899 *δρύττειν* = *βινεῖν*.

### iv Other agricultural metaphors

There is a considerable number of metaphors of this type in Latin. In no other respect is the overlap of words for 'anus' and those for 'female external genitalia' more apparent. I begin with a clear example of the influence exerted by the Greek sexual language on literary Latin.

In Greek *κῆπος* is sometimes used of the *κόσθος*<sup>20</sup>, but in Latin the only exact parallel is a late example of *hortulus* = *cunnus*

<sup>19</sup> The implication of the line may be that even the most virile members of the *familia*, like everyone else, are *ficosi* (i. e. afflicted by sores caused by anal penetration). For *rigidus* = 'erect', see, e.g. *Catull.* 56.7, *Petron.* 134.11, *Mart.* 9.47.6, 11.16.5, and for the metaphor of ploughing, see below, p. 248f.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. in a new fragment of Archilochus, ed. R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *ZPE* 14 (1974), p. 99, line 16, = D. L. Page, *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis* (Oxford, 1974), 478.24; cf. D. L. 2.116.

(a conjecture: *horto* S) in a Grecising passage at *Anth. Lat.* 712.18. In view of the lack of currency of a sexual use of *hortus*, it is certain that *hortus* = 'anus' at *Priap.* 5.4 ('quod meus hortus habet, sumas impune licebit, / si dederis nobis, quod tuus hortus habet') is based on κῆπος = κόσθος, with an easy transfer of sense. There may also be a similar example of *pratium* = *culus* at *Priap.* 52.9 ('qui cum te male foderint iacentem, / ad pratium ueniet salax asellus'), based on λειμών = κόσθος (Eur. *Cycl.* 171), if one accepts a conjecture by Housman<sup>21</sup>). The conjecture is not certain. *Pratium* would certainly be appropriate both in its literal and in a metaphorical sense as a goal for the *asellus*, but there is nothing to suggest that λειμών = κόσθος was anything other than an off-the-cuff metaphor in Euripides; one would expect a calque in Latin to be based on a well-established Greek usage (like κῆπος). It is preferable to adopt Salmasius' *partes*.

I move on to the symbolism of figs. To judge from Martial, there was a preoccupation in the Empire with sexually transmitted diseases, which were thought to be caused by the damage of sexual penetration. The usual word for a sore, for the most part in the anus, induced by penetration was *ficus*, 'fig' (cf. σῦκον, σύκωσις in Greek). The usage probably began as a medical calque (Cels. 6.3.1f. 'est etiam ulcus, quod a fici similitudine sycosis a Graecis nominatur: caro excrescit . . . duae species sunt . . . fit utrumque in iis partibus, quae pilis conteguntur'; cf. Marc. Emp. 31.16, 31.21), but it had spread beyond the medical language: cf. Juv. 2.13 (*marisca*, a type of fig), Mart. 1.65.4 (*ficus*), 4.52.2 (*ficus*), 6.49.11 (*ficus*), 7.71 (*ficosus*, four times), 12.33.2 (*ficetum*), 14.86.2 (*ficus*), *Priap.* 41.4, 50.2 (*ficosus*?)<sup>22</sup>). In Greek, words for 'fig' and 'fig tree' also had a number of anatomical senses in addition to the medical sense above, viz. 'anus', *cunnius*, or even 'penis'<sup>23</sup>). ἰσχάς = 'anus', for example, is found twice in Priapic epigrams indicating the site of Priapus' attack: Philip, *A. Plan.* 240.7f. τὰμὰ κατέσθων / σῦκα δὸς εἰθύμωσ ἰσχάδα τὴν ὀπίσω, Argentarius, *A. Plan.* 241.5 ἦν δὲ μόνον σὸ θίγγης

<sup>21</sup>) *Op.cit.* (see n. 18), p. 404, = *Classical Papers*, pp. 1176f.

<sup>22</sup>) These passages are discussed by V. Buchheit, 'Feigensymbolik im antiken Epigramm', *RhM* 103 (1960), pp. 200ff., but I disagree with his interpretation of some of them: see my article, 'Anatomical terms used *pars pro toto* in Latin', forthcoming in *PACA*, on Mart. 4.52.2. On *Priap.* 41.4, 50.2, see J. P. Hallett, 'Something in excess?: *Priapea* 50, 2', *Mnem.* 31 (1978), pp. 203ff.

<sup>23</sup>) See Buchheit, pp. 200f., J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane*<sup>2</sup> (Paris, 1965), pp. 72f., 76.



τῆς ἰσχάδος, ἰσχάδα δώσεις. One might compare with these passages Mart. 6.49.11 ('nascetur, licet hoc uelis negare, / inserta tibi ficus a cupressu'), where in an identical context *ficus* is used of an anal sore. Martial may have had in mind the Greek use of ἰσχάς (or the like) in Priapic epigrams, but he gave *ficus* a slightly different sense (one which was established in popular Latin) instead of employing it as a direct calque on ἰσχάς. There is however one place where Martial (no doubt with Greek usage in mind) comes close to giving some nouns of this semantic field certain anatomical senses.

At 12.96 Martial argues that a wife whose husband has a penchant for young boys should not object, because they give what she is unwilling to give (anal intercourse). The wife (7f.) is imagined as saying that she does grant *pedicatio*, to which the reply is (9f.): 'It is not the same thing: I want the Chian fig, not the *marisca*. If you are wondering what the Chian is, yours is the *marisca*':

non eadem res est: Chiam uolo, nolo mariscam:  
ne dubites quae sit Chia, marisca tua est.

The Chian fig was pungent, the *marisca* insipid (7.25.7f.). Given this distinction, the sentence taken at its face value provides a perfectly reasonable analogy in the context; indeed at 7.25.7f. the same two nouns are used in an analogy of a non-sexual kind. Nevertheless, in view of the banalised symbolism of figs in Greek, an educated reader may well have taken *marisca* as suggesting the female *culus*, and *Chia* the *culus* of boys<sup>24</sup>), although that is not the same as saying that *marisca* and *Chia* are used metaphorically; rather, an analogy has been used suggestively. This anatomical implication of *Chia* would have been reinforced by the fact that the Chians were notorious for pathic behaviour. Trimalchio (Petron. 63.3) remarks that 'a puero uitam Chiam gessi', = 'I submitted to *pedicatio*'. And at *CIL* IV.1820 someone with an anal *ficus* is addressed, perhaps in jest, as *Chie*: 'Chie, opto tibi ut refricent se ficus tuae ut peius ustulentur quam ustulatae sunt'. Martial's joke, if it is such, looks as if it has been made off-the-cuff; its meaning is spelled out, and it is assumed that the wife will not get the point. It is a joke for a reader familiar with Greek. This is almost certainly the only passage in Martial in which words for 'fig' approach an anatomical implication of the Greek kind.

Words for 'field' are well attested in Latin in application to the anus (as well as the *cunnus*) (for roughly similar metaphors in Greek,

<sup>24</sup>) See Buchheit, p. 201.

cf. κῆπος and λειμών above, and πεδίον at Aristoph. *Lys.* 88). For *agellus* = *culus*, see Mart. 12.16:

addixti, Labiene, tres agellos;  
emisti, Labiene, tres cinaedos:  
pedicas, Labiene, tres agellos.

*Agellos* (3) is used *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* as the object of *pedicas*, but Martial is punning on the sense 'anus'. So *ager* is used suggestively at 7.71.6 'res mira est, ficos non habet unus ager'. The epigram is about a family who are all *ficosi*, i.e. prone to anal intercourse. Since everyone bears figs, it is amazing that there is one *ager* (namely their farm) which does not. It is implied in *unus ager* that there are other *agri* (i.e. *culi*) which are *ficosi*. The same suggestive use of *ager* is also found at 9.21.1–2 'Artemidorus habet puerum sed uendidit agrum; / agrum pro puero Calliodorus habet'<sup>25</sup>). These usages can be compared with *aruos* . . . *ager* at Plaut. *Truc.* 149 'non aruos hic, sed pascuost ager: si arationes / habituris, qui arari solent, ad pueros ire meliust' ('this is not arable land, but pasture land'; by implication boys had an *aruos ager*).

The applicability of this type of metaphor to both the *cunnus* and *culus* can be seen at Plaut. *Cas.* 922 'ubi illum saltum uideo opsaeptum, rogo ut altero sinat ire' (understand *saltu* with *altero*, = 'anus'). For such metaphors indicating the female parts in Latin, see *aruum* at Lucr. 4.1107, Virg. *Georg.* 3.136, Tert. *Anim.* 27, Aug. *Ciu.* 14.23, *Anth. Lat.* 712.17, *fundus* at Plaut. *Asin.* 874, and *saltus* at Plaut. *Curc.* 56.

One can deduce from the frequency of jokes based on the metaphor of the field (*et sim.*) in Plautus and Martial that the metaphor was a very familiar one to Latin speakers. Yet its presence in Lucre-

<sup>25</sup>) This epigram finishes 'dic uter ex istis melius rem gesserit, Aucte: / Artemidorus amat, Calliodorus arat'. As the epigram stands, the last line contains neither paradox nor point. Artemidorus, who acquires the *puer*, *amat*, while Calliodorus, who acquires the *ager*, *arat*. There is a striking contrast between the last line here and that of 12.16 above and 12.33 ('ut pueros emeret Labienus uendidit hortos. / nil nisi ficetum nunc Labienus habet'), both of which, like 9.21, also describe an exchange of property. Paradoxically, after the exchange in the other two epigrams the subject ends up (thanks to a pun) in the same situation as before: in 12.33, for example, Labienus still has a fig garden (i.e. *culos puerorum*, damaged by *pedicatio*), though he has sold his garden. S. Gaselee's conjecture (*CR* 35 [1921], pp. 104f.) *arat* for *amat* in the last line is a definite improvement, because it introduces a paradox: Artemidorus no longer has his *ager*, but he still ploughs (the boy's *ager*).

tius and Virgil suggests that it was by no means vulgar or offensive; it may well have had an urbane or literary flavour, like the metaphor of ploughing in English. Most of the examples are in double entendres: there is no evidence that any word from this semantic field became banalised as a moribund metaphor for either the anus or female parts. The metaphor of ploughing, which is closely connected with that of the field (note Plaut. *Asin.* 874, *Truc.* 148ff., Mart. 9.21 for the association), is also found in Lucretius (4.1272f.), and must therefore have been mild in tone<sup>26</sup>).

#### v Anatomical Metaphors

The anus (or rectum) is jokingly called *inferior guttur* at Plaut. *Aul.* 304:

quom it dormitum, follem opstringit ob gulam.

AN. qur? STR. ne quid animae forte amittat dormiens.

AN. etiamne opturat inferiorem gutturem,  
ne quid animai forte amittat dormiens?

Two factors lie behind such a metaphor: (a) there is a strong tendency in popular thought and humour to give the anus oral characteristics. Sometimes in Latin the anus is described as 'hungry' or 'eating' (the penis): Catull. 33.4, Mart. 2.51.5f., 12.75.3. Artemidorus (5.68) tells of a man who dreamt that he had teeth and a mouth in his rectum, through which he spoke and ate. The 'speaking anus' is common in Greek and Latin: Aristoph. *Ran.* 273f., Eubul. frg. 107, *POxy.* 1083.15f. (?) (Soph.), Herod. 2.44, Antipater or Nicharchus, *A.P.* 11.415.3, Zen. 6.8, p.163, Sen. *Apoc.* 4.3, Augustine, *Ciu.* 14.24; (b) It was not unusual to liken a sexual part to, or identify it with, another part of the body. So Martial compares a *laxus cunnus* with a pelican's throat (*guttur*) at 11.21.10. The phallus of Priapus seems to be called *brachia macra* at *Priap.* 72.4. This usage is probably based on the similarity between a grotesquely exaggerated phallus in art, and an extended arm<sup>27</sup>). The clitoris is a 'bearded nose' (*barbatus nasus*) at *Priap.* 12.14. This metaphor recalls the comparison between a penis and nose at Mart. 6.36.1 ('mentula tam magna est quantus tibi, Papyle, nasus') and Phaedr. 1.29.7f. ('similem si negas / tibi me esse, certe simile est hoc rostro

<sup>26</sup>) For the literary flavour of the corresponding Greek metaphor, see H. Herter, *Gnomon* 17 (1941), p. 328.

<sup>27</sup>) See K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London, 1978), p. 131 on a representation of a satyr's penis which resembles his arm.

tuo'). Caricatures sometimes show men with grotesque noses of phallic shape<sup>28</sup>). Moreover mutilation of the nose was recognised as a castration symbol, as in the story of Deiphobus (Virg. *Aen.* 6.497; cf. Mart. 3.85 for an awareness of the symbolism of the story) and in the punishment of adulterers (Mart. 2.83). It is possible that *ῥίς* is used of the phallus or its tip in Hipponax (22, 118 West)<sup>29</sup>).

#### vi Caves

The metaphor seems an obvious one, though it is not attested in Greek. For *antrum* = *culus*, see Auson. *Epigr.* 106.9, p. 351 P. 'luteae Symplegadis antrum'<sup>30</sup>), Fulgent. p. 38.25 Helm 'sicut enim pauus stellatum caudae curuamine concauans antrum faciem ornet posterioraque turpiter nudet'. *Cauerna* suggests both the *cunnus* and *culus* at Auson. *Epigr.* 79.7, p. 341 P. 'deglubit, fellat, molitur per utramque cauernam'<sup>31</sup>). Similarly *specus* indicates the *cunnus* at *Priap.* 83.28, 35, as well as at Auson. *Cent. Nupt.* 113, p. 216 P; cf. Diom., *GL* I.512.28 'Priapeum, quo Vergilius in prolusionibus suis usus fuit, tale est, "incidi patulum in specum procumbente Priapo"' (= *culus* or *cunnus*?). The metaphor of the cave is almost restricted to the poem known as *Priap.* 83 (not a part of the original collection, but once ascribed to Tibullus) and Ausonius. There is little doubt that Ausonius knew the poem; his *Cento Nuptialis* has a series of parallels with it.

#### vii Paths and the like

The anus (rectum) and the *cunnus* may be called a 'path' in Latin. At Varro *Men.* 430 the rectum is perhaps a *posticus callis*<sup>32</sup>):

<sup>28</sup>) See *CIL* IV.7248, and *Graffiti del Palatino, II. Domus Tiberiana*, ed. V. Väänänen, P. Castrén, H. Lilius (*Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae*, vol. IV, Helsinki, 1970), nos. 25, 36, and p. 77.

<sup>29</sup>) See M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin - New York, 1974), p. 143.

<sup>30</sup>) The reference to the 'muddiness' of the *culus* recalls Artem. 3.29, where it is asserted that mud signifies a *κίραδος*. For *lutum* as the contents of the *cunnus*, see *CIL* IV.1516, *Priap.* 83.37.

<sup>31</sup>) For *cauerna* see also *TLL* III.646.41 ff. It had some currency in medical Latin (see e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 28.106, = 'anus'). It is used again at Auson. *Cent. Nupt.* 119, p. 217 P. 'insonuere cauae gemitumque dedere cauernae'.

<sup>32</sup>) *Callem* here is a conjecture by Erycius Puteanus (*uallem*, Nonius p. 217 M., = p. 321 L.). It is possible that Varro used substantival *posticum* (lit. 'back door'), and that the next word is corrupt. If so the passage belongs in Sect. ii above.

'retrimenta cibi qua exirent, per posticum callem feci'. *Posticus* is frequently used in circumlocutions suggesting the anus: cf. Arnob. *Nat.* 2.16 'superfluas foeditates inferioribus egerunt abiciuntque posticis', 4.26 'in partibus Fabius aduritur mollibus obsignaturque posticis', 5.28 'postica ex parte nudatus'; cf. Auson. *Epigr.* 77.7, p. 341 P. 'peruersae ueneris postico uulnere fossor'.

*Tramites* is used in the same sense by Arnobius, *Nat.* 2.16 'quod natura iam respuit per eosdem effundimus tramites'. But it is *meatus* which is particularly common in later Latin, both of the anus and *cunnus*; it may well have had the flavour of a scientific term: note Macrob. *Sat.* 7.4.24, Hipp. *Aer.* 21, p. 41.9, Orib. *Syn.* 9.45 Aa, Isid. *Etym.* 11.1.105. At *Anth. Lat.* 149.7 ('fessae cornipedis fricas meatum'), where it is equivalent to *cunnus*, *meatus* should never have been replaced by *hiatus* (Baehrens)<sup>33</sup>.

#### viii Nautical metaphors

It has been asserted that *puppis* at Plaut. *Epid.* 74 ('*puppis pereunda est probe*') is used punningly with the secondary sense 'anus'<sup>34</sup>. But metaphors of the type 'one's ship is in trouble' (= 'one is in trouble') are common in Plautus, particularly in the mouths of slaves (e.g. *Bacch.* 797 'bene nauis agitur, pulchre haec confertur ratis', *Most.* 737 'ita nunc uentus nauem <nostram> deseruit'; cf. Sen. *Contr.* 2.6.4 'nauem in portu mergis'). *Pereo* was the *vox propria* for shipwreck (e.g. Cic. *Deiot.* 25, Suet. *Aug.* 27.4). The sense is 'I'm ruined', with no allusion to a body part.

*Nauis*, however, seems to be used of the rump of a chicken at Apic. 6.8.2 'pullum aperies a nauis et in quadrato ornas' ('ouvrez le poulet par le croupion'—J. André) and 6.8.5 (same phrase)<sup>35</sup>. It is possible that *nauis* in this sense was a culinary technical term, inspired by the similarity of this part of a chicken to the prow of a ship.

*Nauis* may have the same anatomical implication at Quint. 6.3.87, in a joke: 'cui sine dubio frequentissimam dat occasionem ambiguitas, ut Cascellio, qui consultatori dicenti "nauem diuidere uolo", "perdes" inquit'. The sense requires that the second speaker delib-

<sup>33</sup> See Svennung, *Unters.*, p. 584, D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Towards a Text of 'Anthologia Latina'* (Cambridge Philological Society, Supplementary Volume no. 5, Cambridge, 1979), p. 22.

<sup>34</sup> W. Goldberger, 'Kraftausdrücke im Vulgärlatein', *Glotta* 18 (1930), p. 42.

<sup>35</sup> So H. Rönisch, *Semasiologische Beiträge* I (Leipzig, 1887), p. 49.

erately misunderstand the first. As the text is printed here (a humanist emendation), it is difficult to see a joke at all. But if one follows *A* (*pedes*), the sense is: 'I want to divide my boat / split my rump'; 'Then you will fart'. For 'splitting' in such a context, see Hor. *Serm.* 1.8.46f. 'pepedi / diffissa nate ficus'. But it must remain doubtful whether Quintilian would have admitted the obscenity *pedo* even in a quotation.

An alleged example of *navis* = 'rump' in an Old Latin version of I Regn. 5:6 ('et adduxit super eos mures, et ebullierunt in nauibus eorum')<sup>36</sup> can be disregarded. Jerome found a reference to the *nates* here (Vulg. 'et percussit in secretiori parte natium Azotum, et fines eius'), but the earlier translator would obviously have rendered *ναῦς* in the Septuagint without observing any indecency (LXX *καὶ ἐξέζεσεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ μέσον τῆς χώρας αὐτῆς ἀνεφύησαν μύες*)<sup>37</sup>.

The only sure example of *navis* with an anatomical implication (apart from those in Apicius referred to above) is in a joke by Julia quoted by Macrobius, *Sat.* 2.5.9 'cumque conscii flagitiorum mirarentur quo modo similes Agrippae filios pareret, quae tam uulgo potestatem corporis sui faceret, ait: "numquam enim nisi nauī plena tollo uectorem"' ('I never take a passenger except when the ship (i.e. the womb) is full'; for this sexual sense of *tollo*, see Petron. 25.6). It is the hollowness of the hull which lies behind the metaphor; for the metaphor of sailing (*uectorem*) in reference to intercourse in Latin, see Ovid *Ars* 2.725f. 'sed neque tu dominam uelis maioribus usus / defice, nec cursus anteat illa tuos'. One cannot argue from this example that *navis*, whether = 'womb', 'cunnus' or 'culus', was an established usage. It was obviously an *ad hoc* metaphor: Julia gave a formulaic phrase a sexual twist, just as proverbs are often misused (e.g. Petron. 25.6).

<sup>36</sup> Quoted by Rönsch, *loc. cit.* There is of course no satisfactory edition of the *Vetus Latina* for this part of the Old Testament.

<sup>37</sup> Why the LXX has *ναῦς* here is a mystery. The Hebrew 'ofalim, which may have indicated the buttocks, or some affliction of the buttocks or anus, is usually rendered by *ἔδρα* in the LXX (e.g. I Regn. 5:9, 12, 6:4), and in our passage both the *Codex Alexandrinus* and Origenes text also have *ἔδρας*. Jerome presumably translated 'ofalim directly as *nates*. If *ναῦς* is a corruption, the *nauibus* of the *Vetus Latina* at least shows that it was early. I know of no evidence for a metaphorical use of *ναῦς* = 'buttocks'. I am grateful to Dr. P. S. Alexander and Dr. J. A. L. Lee for advice on this point.

Lewis and Short give the sense 'pudenda muliebria' for *navis* at Plaut. *Men.* 401f. and *Rud.* 354<sup>38</sup>), and V. Grassmann<sup>39</sup>) accepts this meaning for *Men.* 401f. ('prandi in nauī, inde huc sum egressus, te conueni. ER. eccere, / perii misera! quam tu mihi nunc nauem narras? MEN. ligneam, / saepe tritam, saepe fixam, saepe excusam malleo'). There is no compelling reason to adopt such an interpretation. The second Menaechmus has arrived by boat, as he says. Erotium, who mistakes him for his brother, is surprised that he should be speaking of a boat. Nor need the other Plautine examples of *navis* be taken in a sexual sense.

It is only in the culinary language that one can be relatively certain that *navis* was used of the rump. The other possible examples of the word with an anatomical sense are either dubious, or used *ad hoc* rather than taken from the current language.

#### ix Topographical metaphors

There is an interesting class of topographical metaphors for various sexual parts, including the anus and buttocks, in both Greek and Latin. The Latin examples are confined to epigram, and as such were almost certainly inspired by Greek. The sexual part is referred to by the name of a place to which it might be seen as having some resemblance. All examples of these metaphors have been collected below, and not merely those applied to the anus or buttocks.

Hipponax's *Σινδικὸν διάσφαγμα* (frg. 2a West), used of the *κόσθος* (Hesych. *Σινδικὸν διάσφαγμα· τὸ τῆς γυναικός*), is almost certainly a topographical image. The Sindoi (*Σινδοί*), a Scythian people, inhabited an area called *Σινδική*, which can be identified with the modern peninsula of Taman, which jutted into the narrow entrance to the *Palus Maeotis* from the *Pontus Euxinus* (*RE*<sup>2</sup> V. 224ff.). Hipponax's 'Sindic *διάσφαγμα*' can only refer to this entrance. It takes little effort of imagination to see in the entrance a resemblance to the *κόσθος*, with the *Palus Maeotis* representing the womb.

At *Thesm.* 647 Aristophanes uses *ισθμός* of the perineum (he had in mind the resemblance of the part to the Isthmus of Corinth): *Ἰσθμόν τιν' ἔχεις, ἄνθρωπ'· ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω | τὸ πέος διέλκεις πυκνό-τερον Κορινθίων* (cf. *Pax* 879, where *ισθμός* indicates the *κόσθος*).

<sup>38</sup>) C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879), s.v. P. Pierrugues, *Glossarium Eroticum Linguae Latinae* (Paris, 1826), s.v., adds *Cas.* 557.

<sup>39</sup>) *Die erotischen Epoden des Horaz* (Zetemata, Heft 39, Munich, 1966), p. 28.

Rufinus' *Ἐθρώτας* = *κύσθος* (*A. P.* 5.60.6) is probably another topographical image. Page<sup>40</sup>) rejects an etymological pun based on *εἰρός*, on the grounds that the girl is *παρθένος*, but offers no other explanation. The river Eurotas flows into the Laconian sea between two peninsulas; the peninsulas closely resemble two thighs, and the river the *κύσθος* between them.

*τὸ κοῖλον Ἄργος* at Machon 386 appears to have an anatomical sense (= *κύσθος*)<sup>41</sup>). It was presumably the fact that Argos was called *κοῖλον* which lay behind the metaphor.

It was in Latin that this type of metaphor was extended to the anus and buttocks. At Mart. 11.99.5 ('sic constringuntur magni Symplegade culi') the *culus* described as having *Symplegades*, i.e. 'buttocks'. Ausonius took this metaphor over at *Epigr.* 106.9, p. 351 P. ('luteae Symplegadis antrum'). He invented one of his own at *Epigr.* 93.4 p. 346 P.: 'sed quod et elixo plantaria podice uellis / et teris inclusas pumice Clazomenas'. Clazomenae was a small island, roughly round in shape, joined to the Ionian mainland by a narrow man-made causeway<sup>42</sup>). One can readily see in the anus a resemblance to an island surrounded by the sea (the buttocks); for the buttocks compared to water, see Rufinus, *A. P.* 5.35.7f., 5.60.3f. *Inclusas* provides the clue to the implication of the proper name: it is only to the anus that this participle could be applied<sup>43</sup>).

Anatomical symbolism is often seen in topographical features, and place names sometimes owe their origin to a similarity felt between a place and a portion of the anatomy (human or animal). *Brundisium* is based on an Illyrian word meaning 'horns of a stag' (cf. Ovid's use of *cornua*, *Her.* 2.132, in reference to a bay). The

<sup>40</sup>) D. L. Page, *The Epigrams of Rufinus* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 92.

<sup>41</sup>) See A. S. F. Gow, *Machon, the Fragments* (Cambridge, 1965), p. 124.

<sup>42</sup>) For a map, see G. E. Bean, *Aegean Turkey, an Archaeological Guide*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1967), p. 135.

<sup>43</sup>) There may have been more in Ausonius' mind. Clazomenae may have been a place notorious for unnatural relations between males (a vice associated with the Ionians in general: see, e.g. Aristoph. *Ach.* 104ff., *Thesm.* 163, Hesych. *s.v.* *Ιωνικόν*). Under *Κλαζομένιοι* Hesychius has the entry *οὕτω κομψοῦνται. δοκοῦσι γὰρ ἐπικύπτοντες προστιλᾶν*. It would be bizarre (although not for that reason inconceivable) if the Clazomenians were notorious for a special method of stooping to defecate. Hesychius' remark may be based on a misinterpretation of an example of *ἐπικύπτω* in a sexual sense (of bending over to submit to *pedicatio*) applied to Clazomenians in a context in which the act of *pedicatio* was looked upon as causing defecation (for which theme see Mart. 9.69).



Greek name *Cynoscephalae* obviously had an anatomical origin. Xenophon (*Hell.* 5.4.50) mentions a mountain called the 'Old Woman's Breast' (*Γραδὸς στῆθος*)<sup>44</sup>, and *μαστός* is sometimes applied to hills (e.g. Xen. *Anab.* 4.2.6). In Latin one could talk of the 'head' (Virg. *Aen.* 4.249) or 'foot' (Amm. 14.8.10) of a mountain, and in Greek the long walls at Athens were called *τὰ σκέλη* (whereas to Livy 31.26.8 they were 'arms'). *Supercilium* was a technical term of the *gromatici* (e.g. *Grom.* pp. 5.9., 91.19 Thulin). Apuleius likens certain islands to warts, *naevuli* (*Mund.* 5). To call a part of the human anatomy by a place name, as in the examples above, was simply to reverse the process of naming a place after a portion of the anatomy.

It is worth noting that not all geographical names given an anatomical sense are based on visual symbolism. They may contain an etymological pun. This is the case at Aristoph. *Lys.* 1168ff. (*τὸ δεῖνα τοίνυν, παράδοθ' ἡμῖν τουτονὶ | πρῶτιστα τὸν Ἐχνοῦντα καὶ τὸν Μηλιᾶ | κόλπον τὸν ὀπισθεν καὶ τὰ Μεγαρικὰ σκέλη*), where various parts of the figure of Reconciliation (*Διαλλαγὴ*) are given topographical names which have an etymological pun. *Ἐχνοῦντα* suggests *ἐχῖνος* (= 'sea urchin', and also probably *κόσθος*)<sup>45</sup>, *κόλπος* had an anatomical as well as a topographical sense, and *Μηλιᾶ* suggests *μῆλα*, which could be used of the breasts. Similarly personal proper names with a sexual sense may owe their force to a pun (*Μηριόνης* = *κόσθος* at Rufinus, *A. P.* 5.36.2 is interpreted as containing *μηρός*; *Ἐντρήσιος* at Eupol. frg. 56 Kock suggests the meaning 'easily penetrated'). On the other hand the physical appearance of a person sometimes inspired the application of his name to a sexual part. *Φορμίσιος* is used of the *κόσθος* by Aristophanes (*Eccl.* 97), because Phormisius was hairy and bearded and bore some resemblance to the external appearance of the organ<sup>46</sup>). This metaphor is parallel to the visually motivated topographical metaphors listed above.

#### x Seat

*Sedes* is used often in the sense 'seat, anus' by Pliny the Elder (e.g. *Nat.* 23.75 'infunditur sedis, genitalium, uulvae exulcerationi'; cf. 22.61, 22.143, 23.83, 26.90, 32.104), probably as a calque on *ἔδρα* (Hdt. 2.87, and often in medical Greek). Certain variants in later medical writers were also no doubt calques: Cael. Aurel.

<sup>44</sup>) See Duane W. Roller, *AJA* 82 (1978), pp. 107ff.

<sup>45</sup>) Taillardat, p. 75 (see above, n. 23).

<sup>46</sup>) Taillardat, *loc. cit.*

*Chron.* 4.3.45 'sessioni, quam Graeci hedram uocant' (*sessio* is found elsewhere in Caelius: cf. *Gyn.* pp. 7.154, 116.1460), Cass. Fel. 74, p.178.5 'in sessu, quem Graeci edran uocant' (cf. ps.-Theod. Prisc. *Add.* p. 286.28 'postea uero cum tepuerit sessum sibi lauet'). *Hedra* itself is found occasionally in Latin medical translations (Hipp. *Aer.* 3, p. 7.2 'et epinectidas plurimas et emorroidas in edra', = ἐν τῆ ἔδρῃ; cf. *CGL* III.600.11 'edram podicem')<sup>47</sup>, but it would not have had any currency in genuine Latin.

*Cathedra* may well have been in use in Vulgar Latin, at least in some areas, in reference to the rump. Its reflexes in Ibero-romance (Sp. *cadere*, Pg. *cadeira*) mean 'hip'<sup>48</sup>. This meaning may well represent a shift from an earlier sense 'buttocks, anus'. There is a tendency for words for 'buttocks, anus', 'hip' and 'thigh' to interchange (e.g. at *CGL* III.248.62 'γλουτός, natis, coxa, clunis' (cf. II.263.30), *coxa* is definitely given the sense 'buttocks', in anticipation of the meaning of some of its reflexes in Romance)<sup>49</sup>. It has been suggested that *cathedra* = 'anus' (used *pars pro toto*) is attested at Juv. 6.91 ('famam contempserat olim, / cuius apud molles minima est iactura cathedras')<sup>50</sup>, but this view is without justification. In the context the word indicates *matronae*, by metonymy<sup>51</sup>; *cathe-drae* were specifically seats used by women<sup>52</sup>).

Apuleius' *sessitandi regio* is a unique circumlocution for ἔδρα / *sedes* (*Dogm. Plat.* 1.16 'atenim illae opimae sunt partes quas labor subigit, ut femina ipsaque sessitandi regio est'). It has been thought that this expression indicates the anus<sup>53</sup>, but it is clear from the context that Apuleius had in mind the *clunes*.

xi Some metaphorical uses of locus

*Locus* (with a complement or without) is a common euphemism for various sexual parts, most notably the uterus or vagina<sup>54</sup>). The

<sup>47</sup> See further *TLL* VI.3.2590.67ff.

<sup>48</sup> See Zauner (above, n. 14), p. 456.

<sup>49</sup> For words strictly indicating the hip or thigh applied to the buttocks in Romance, see Zauner, p. 503. The reflex of *coxa* in Sallanches, Haute-Savoie (*couéssso*), for example, means 'buttocks'.

<sup>50</sup> See J. Cornu, *ALL* 12 (1902), pp. 282f., followed by Goldberger (cited above, n. 34), p. 42.

<sup>51</sup> See *TLL* III.612.21ff.

<sup>52</sup> See, e.g. Mart. 12.38.1; cf. *TLL* III.612.9ff.

<sup>53</sup> O. Hey, 'Euphemismus und Verwandtes im Lateinischen', *ALL* 11 (1900), p. 535.

<sup>54</sup> See *TLL* VII.2.1578.44ff. Occasionally *locus*, with some form of specification, is made to refer (non-metaphorically) to the anus (Plin. *Nat.* 28.106, *Mul. Chir.* 464, Oribas. *Syn.* 1.21 La, p. 71.2 Mørland).

following examples of the word, however, are metaphorical (= *culus*): Pompon. 126 'nisi nunc aliquis subito obuiam occurrit mihi, / qui oquiniscat, quo conpingam terminum in tutum locum', Sen. *Contr.* 1.2.22 'nouimus, inquit, istam maritorum abstinentiam qui, etiamsi primam uirginibus timidis remisere noctem, uicinis tamen locis ludunt'. In the first passage the metaphor is from land-marking. A *terminus* was a boundary marker (see, e.g. *Grom.* p. 58.31 Thulin), usually made of stone but sometimes of wood (= *palus*): see *Grom.* pp. 89.18–90.4 Thulin 'solent plerique lapidei esse . . . alii ponunt silice(o)s, . . . alii aut robure(o)s aut ex certa materia ligneos'; cf. p. 102.18f. 'in quibusdam uero regionibus palos pro terminis obseruant' (cf. p. 106.25). Metaphorically the word is used by Pomponius of the penis (cf. *palus* at Hor. *Serm.* 1.8.5). The use of *tutum locum* (= *culus*) could be described as a topographical, or even agricultural image, since the activity which serves as the vehicle of the metaphor was basically a rural one.

In the second passage the metaphor is also topographical. The 'neighbourhood' (of the *cunnus*) is the *culus*, and it is here that 'play' might take place on the wedding night.

## xii Animal metaphors

In Greek at least one animal name is attested in application to the anus (*ταῦρος*). A riddle at *A. P.* 14.43 seems to be based on this metaphor, and also on the use of *κῶων* = *πέος*. No comparable animal metaphors are found in Latin. An animal name for the perineum occurs at *CGL* IV. praef. XVIII ('taurus dicitur locus inter inguina et podicem medius'), but that 'is not a genuine Latinism but a calque on a medical use of *ταῦρος* (see Pollux 2.173). It is chiefly the male and female reproductive organs which attract animal metaphors in Greek and Latin, presumably because of the tendency for both organs to be personified.

## xiii Sheath

*Vagina* = *culus* at Plaut. *Pseud.* 1181 ('conueniebatne in uaginam tuam machaera militis') is obviously an *ad hoc* metaphor facilitated by the frequency of metaphors from weaponry applied to the penis.

Many of the metaphors discussed above would probably have seemed colourful to contemporaries, in that they were not banal, and were adopted as appropriate to literary genres which aspired to linguistic inventiveness, verbal humour or the imitation of Greek usage (notably epigram and forms of comedy). Few were

at home in sober prose (*anus*, *meatus* and *sedes* are exceptions, but the last of these was probably Greek in inspiration). The most obviously artificial metaphors are those which I have called 'topographical' in epigram. Ausonius was the most Grecising of the Latin epigrammatists, and he would undoubtedly have coined *Clazomenae* with certain Greek usages in mind. Other Grecising metaphors which have been seen are *hortus* (the *Corpus Priapeorum* too is much indebted to the Greek sexual language), *hortulus* and perhaps *Chia*. Not that the coining of sexual metaphors was exclusive to literary genres. The expression at Sen. *Contr.* 1.2.22, discussed above, p. 257, and Julia's use of *navis* (p. 252), though it is not strictly relevant to our semantic field, will serve as illustrations of the sort of *ad hoc* metaphors which would have been heard in risqué jokes. In such jokes it is not only *ad hoc* coinages or current vulgar metaphors which are put to use. Jokes based on the metaphor of the field are found in both Plautus and Martial, and hence the metaphor was scarcely an *ad hoc* coinage. But its presence in higher literary genres shows that the sexual symbolism which gives rise to jokes in ordinary speech need not be regarded as inherently coarse or obscene.

### Euphemisms

Euphemisms of a non-metaphorical kind may be sought by those with less taste for linguistic colour, such as writers of respectable prose. In this section I discuss some of the more colourless Latin euphemisms for the buttocks and anus.

#### i Specialisation

A common form of anatomical euphemism is specialisation: a writer will apply to a specific part a word whose field of reference is more general.

*Viscera* is often applied to the anus (rectum) or female internal genitalia. For *uiscera* = 'anus', see Juv. 9.43 'an facile et pronum est agere intra uiscera penem', *Priap.* 25.6 'intra uiscera furis ibit (sceptrum)'; for the sense 'cunnus', 'womb' (or both), see Ovid *Am.* 2.14.27, *Priap.* 66.4 (*intra uiscera*), Augustine *Ciu.* 14.26; cf. Mart. 11.61.6 'per omnes uiscerum tubos' (of the female internal genitalia). *Intra uiscera* seems to have been a euphemistic formula.

*Tergum* implies 'anus' at Auson. *Epigr.* 93.6, p. 346 P. 'tergo femina, pube uir es'. Photis' military expression *terga uertere* at Apul. *Met.* 2.17 ("proeliare" inquit "et fortiter proeliare, nec enim

tibi cedam nec terga uortam . . .") may have been intended (secondarily) to suggest a form of copulation. Perhaps too *νῶτα* implies 'anus' or 'buttocks' at Antipater, *A. P.* 11.327.1 *τὴν ξηρὴν ἐπὶ νῶτα Λοκαινίδα, τὴν Ἀφροδίτης / λῶβην, τὴν ἐλάφου παντὸς ἀπυγοτέρην.*

Comparable with *tergum* is *postica pars* ('back part') at Lucil. 119 'non peperit, uerum postica parte profudit' (for *posticus* in other allusions to the anus, see p. 250). So *posteriora* is used in the sense 'buttocks': *H. A., Hel.* 5.4 'posterioribus eminentibus in subactorem reiectis et oppositis'. A late formation of this root, with the suffix *-o*, is *posterio* (> OIt. *postione*, OFr. *poistron*)<sup>55</sup>: *CGL* III.596.7 'anum posteriorum', 601.13 'fincteri posteriorum'. For this suffix in an anatomical term, cf. *muto* = 'penis' (Lucil. 307, Hor. *Serm.* 1.2.68), late Latin *testo* = *testis*, 'testicle' (*CGL* V.516.46 'testones testiculi'; cf. 559.3), and *coleo* = *coleus* (*CGL* II.579.46 'famex spado contusis culionibus')<sup>56</sup>. The semantic interchange between words for 'back' and those for 'anus'/'buttocks' is widespread. *Culus* itself has some cognates which mean 'back' (OIr. *cul*, Welsh *cil*)<sup>57</sup>. Cf. Eng. *rear*, *posterior*, Fr. *derrière*.

A curious usage which belongs here is Julius Obsequens' *posterior natura* = *culus*: 40 'posteriore natura solidus'; cf. 26 'solidus posteriore naturae parte'. Elsewhere *natura* is only applied to the genitalia, male and female<sup>58</sup>. Presumably Obsequens had in mind the fact that the *culus*, like the other parts, performed certain 'functions of nature'.

*Medius* (in conjunction with a personal noun or pronoun) could be used to imply the genital area of male or female, or the anus. For the sense 'anus', see *Priap.* 54.2 'qui medium uult te scindere' (cf. the phrase 'split up the middle' = *futuo* at Plaut. *Cas.* 326 'illam mediam dirruptam uelim'), 74.1 'per medios ibit pueros mediasque puellas / mentula' (the first example refers to the *culus*, the second to the *cunnus*). For the implication 'penis', cf., e.g. Mart. 2.61.2 'lambebat medios inproba lingua uiros'.

*Corpus* in the appropriate context might suggest the male or female genitalia. For an example which implies the anus, see *Dig.* 3.1.1.6 'qui corpore suo muliebria passus est'.

<sup>55</sup>) This word is mistakenly given by *REW* 6688 (see n. 6) as hypothetical.

<sup>56</sup>) For *coleo*, see *REW* 2036 (It. *coglione*, Fr. *couillon*, etc.). For other such formations (reflected in Romance, but not attested in Latin), see Zauner, pp. 406 (*mentone* = *mentum*), 349 (*medullone* = *medulla*).

<sup>57</sup>) See Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I, p. 829.

<sup>58</sup>) See A. Pellicer, *Natura, étude sémantique et historique du mot latin* (Paris, 1966), pp. 357ff.

The anus may be euphemistically called the 'lower parts' or the 'bottom'. For the former type of expression, see Cels. 4.22.3 'si uetustior morbus est, ex inferioribus partibus tepidum infundere', *Mul. Chir.* 464 'strepitum ab inferioribus locis reddet'. For the latter, note Augustine, *Ciu.* 14.24 'nonnulli ab imo sine paedore ullo ita numerosos pro arbitrio sonitus edunt, ut ex illa etiam parte cantare uideantur'.

Another type of specialisation is the practice of ascribing to the whole person (expressed either by the verb-ending, or by a noun or pronoun) a state which strictly applies only to a sexual organ. For allusions of this type to the *culus*, see *CIL* XI.6721.11 'laxe Octauī sede', Mart. 11.43.1 'deprehensum in puero . . . me', *Priap.* 17.3 'laxior redibit', 31.3. 'haec mei te uentris arma laxabunt'.

#### ii Euphemistic omissions

Sometimes the sexual parts may be indicated by means of an adjective used independently with the appropriate noun (usually *mentula*) understood (e.g. Petron. 132.7 'totum ignem furoris in eam conuertit'). Alternatively a neuter demonstrative may be used instead of the noun (e.g. Catull. 67.27 'neruosius illud', Phaedr. 1.29.8 'simile est hoc rostro tuo'<sup>59</sup>). Theodorus Priscianus refers to the anus in this way at *Eup.* 1.81, p. 86.9 'nascitur in hoc saepissime indignatio uel feruor'. *Hoc* is probably neuter, but it is possible that *ano* is to be supplied.

#### iii Adverbs

Local adverbs can suggest an indelicate part. For such allusions to the anus, see Gallus, *A. P.* 5.49.2 τῶ δ' ὑπό, τῶ δ' ὀπίθεν, Oribas. *Syn.* 4.40 B 'donec digerat et purgetur iuso' (= *deorsum*, 'below'; this adverbial usage is parallel to the adjectival use of *inferior* seen above, p. 260).

#### iv *Pudenda* and the like

*Pudenda*, which is usually a euphemism for the genitalia (e.g. Sen. *Dial.* 6.22.3, [Auson.] *Per. Od.* 6, p. 395 P., Vulg. Nah. 3:5), has the sense 'anus' at Min. Fel. *Oct.* 28.9 'nec Serapidem magis quam strepitus per pudenda corporis expressos contremescunt' (for the genitive, cf. *uelanda corporis* at Plin. *Epist.* 6.24.3). A similar usage

<sup>59</sup>) I have collected the evidence for these phenomena in 'A type of sexual euphemism in Latin', forthcoming.

occurs in a gloss: *CGL* V.488.56, 518.21 'ueretillum podex'. *Veretillum* is the diminutive of *ueretrum* (cf. *Apul. Mag.* 34 'at quaesisse me fingeretis ad illecebras magicas duo haec marina ueretillam et uirginal' [fish allegedly named after the male and female genitalia]), which in later Latin was often treated as a derivative of *uereor* and hence as an equivalent of *αἰδοῖον* (for the equivalence see *CGL* II.206.32, III.311.60, 349.71, 351.55; cf. *Cael. Aurel. Gyn.* p. 6.150 'femininum . . . ueretrum', = *Soran.* p. 181.24f. *γυναικειῶν αἰδοῖον*). Hence its usual sense was 'genitalia' (most often of the male). It is not surprising that words as vague as *αἰδοῖον* and *pudenda* should occasionally be transferred to other taboo parts. For *αἰδοῖον* = 'testicle', see *Hipp. Berol.* 48.1, *CHG* I, p. 223.7 *αἰδοῖον τὸ προπεσόν, εἰ μὴ δύναται πάλιν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἀποκαταστῆναι*, = *testis* at *Mul. Chir.* 474; cf. *CGL* III.248.57 'διδύμων ueretrum' (*ueretrum* = *αἰδοῖον*, *δίδυμοι* = 'testicles'), IV.326.30 'culei uiriles testiculi *uerecunda*' (*uerecunda* = *αἰδοῖα*).

#### Miscellaneous

##### i *Venter* and *aluus*

At *Catalept.* 13.39 *uenter* appears to be an equivalent of *culus*: 'uidebo habentem praeter ignauos nihil / fratres et iratum Iouem / scissumque uentrem et hirneosi patrum / pedes inedia turgidos' (cf. *Priap.* 77.9 'scindere podices'). The *uenter* (= *aluus*) had long been looked upon as the organ of evacuation, and as such the word often comes close to the meaning 'intestine' (e.g. *Cels.* 2.7.5; for *aluus*, see *Cato Agr.* 156.2, 157.7)<sup>60</sup>. To Cato there was a *superior aluus* (*Agr.* 156.2 'aluus si uoles deicere superiorem'), and hence by implication an *inferior aluus* (= 'rectum')<sup>61</sup>. Similarly Cassius Felix talks of the *inferior uenter*, = 'rectum': 48, p. 122.10 'sequitur autem patientes iugis assellatio inferioris uentris, aliquando fellita, aliquando uiridis et sanguinolenta, aliquando mucilaginosa' (cf. *inferior uentriculus* = 'colon' at 51, p. 131.1 'est autem colica passio tumor cum ingenti dolore totius ipsius intestini quod Graeci consuecunt colon appellant, quod aliquanti inferiorem uentriculum dicunt'). Cf. *Veg. Mul.* 4.4.8 'quod sic uiride per uentrem proicit'. If *uenter* (with or without a complement) could be used to refer to the lower part of the intestine (the rectum), it might occasionally

<sup>60</sup> See further D. Gourevitch, 'Les noms latins de l'estomac', *RPh* 50 (1976), pp. 90, 95.

<sup>61</sup> Gourevitch, p. 90.

shift its reference slightly to the anus. So *aluus* is sometimes used of the anus, or at least has a meaning ambiguous between 'rectum' and 'anus' (e.g. Col. 6.6.5 'admixto melle decocto collyria immituntur aluo', 6.30.8 'manus uncta inseritur aluo')<sup>62</sup>).

#### ii *Puga*

The loan word *puga* (πυγή) is found a few times in Latin: Novius 19 'pati dum poterunt, antequam pugae pilant', Hor. *Serm.* 1.2.133 'ne nummi pereant aut puga aut denique fama'. It is impossible to say whether the word was literary, or had some currency in lower-class Latin, into which it might have passed from the speech of Greek slaves. Horace's *depugis* (*Serm.* 1.2.93 'depugis, nasuta, breui latere ac pede longo est') is presumably a literary borrowing based on ἄπυγος: cf. *CGL* II.243.30 'ἄπυτος [sic] inpuges', II.584.40 'inpuges qui minores naticas habet', *Gloss. Pap.* 'depygis denaticata, sine natibus. nam pyga extrema pars corporis'.

#### iii *Scultima*

A gloss reports an anatomical term *scultima*: *CGL* IV. p. XVIII 'scultimidoni qui scultimam suam quod est podicis orificium gratis largiatur'. *Scultimidoni* is printed by Marx as Lucilius 1373. The authenticity and etymology of *scultima* cannot be determined.

#### iv *Orthopygium*

*Orthopygium*, a Greek word strictly applicable to the rump of animals, is used by Martial in a figurative context of a woman: 3.93.12 'anatis habeas orthopygium macrae'. Terms for the anatomy of animals are often transferred abusively to the human anatomy<sup>63</sup>).

#### v *Fissum*

*Fissum* is used of the female genitalia by Ausonius, *Epigr.* 87.6, p. 344 P. 'fissi rima qua patet'. The word survived with this sense in Italian dialects (e.g. Sic. *fissa*), but in some areas it must also have shifted its reference to the anus / buttocks (Fr. *fesse*).

#### vi *Cunnus*

The similarity which was seen between the *culus* as the site of a sexual act and the *cunnus* manifests itself not only in shared metaphors but in the occasional application of *cunnus* to the anus

<sup>62</sup>) Svennung, *Unters.*, p. 552.

<sup>63</sup>) See A. Ernout, *Philologica* II (Paris, 1957), p. 64.



of a male (pathic): note *CIL* IV. 1261 'futebatur inquam futuebatur ciuium Romanorum atractis pedibus cunus'. Similarly at *CIL* IV. 10078 *cunnus* is used *pars pro toto* of a pathic: 'supreme c[inaede?] a(ssibus) IIII. salue, conu' (= *cunnus*, nom. for voc.). Martial's denial (11.43.12) that a woman has *duo cunni* also contains an implicit recognition that the *culus* could be put to the same use as the *cunnus*, and hence that *cunnus* could be used of the other part. There can be no doubt that this use of *cunnus* = *culus* was extremely pejorative. *Culus* itself, a gross obscenity, is often used in abusive contexts (as in Catull. 97), but the *culus* had functions other than the sexual (note Mart. 1.92.11). The applying of *cunnus* to the anus of a male focuses attention exclusively on the homosexuality of the referent.

Conversely in certain French dialects *culus* survived as an equivalent of *cunnus*<sup>64</sup>). See also above, p. 236f., on *longao*, normally = 'rectum', transferred to the vagina. And in Greek *κύσος* seems to have shared the meanings 'anus' and 'female pudenda'; see Hesych. *κύσος*: ἡ πυγή, ἡ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον.

About fifty different words and expressions for the anus or rectum have been mentioned above. Given the paucity of evidence for jokes of the type reported by Seneca at *Contr.* 1.2.22, in which sexual double entendre always has an important part, this figure is remarkably high, and it testifies to the Roman obsession with the *culus* as a sexual part. The great majority of metaphors for the *culus* are in epigram (Martial, the *Priapea*, and Ausonius), and this reflects the conventions of the genre. In Greek epigram the direct obscenities (including *πρωκτός*) are very rare. Sexual double entendre, sometimes of a protracted kind, was cultivated instead. The Latin epigrammatists from Catullus to the author of the *Priapea* innovated in introducing basic obscenities to the genre, but they did not reject the metaphorical language favoured by their Greek predecessors. That is not to say that their metaphors were in all or even most cases consciously Grecising. It is their taste for metaphorical language, rather than the nature of each individual image, which can be said to reflect Greek influence. In satire, on the other hand, there are remarkably few metaphors from our semantic field. The sexual vocabulary of Juvenal in particular is that of sober scholarly prose, in that he both avoids the basic obscenities and admits few metaphors.

<sup>64</sup>) See Zauner, p. 522.

The frequency of metaphors which can be described as agricultural causes no surprise. Various other sexual metaphors, denoting both sexual acts and other sexual parts of the body, are of this type (e.g. *caulis* = 'penis' in Lucilius, *irrumo*, *glubo* at Catull. 58.5). The Latin-speaking community had long been a rural one, and many Latin words for everyday objects and activities originated as agricultural metaphors.

The *culus* (unlike the *mentula*) is rarely given personal characteristics in Latin. One metaphor which perhaps is based on an implicit personification is that of 'eating', applied to the organ as the recipient of the *mentula* in a sexual act (see above, p. 249). But this is unusual. Since the anus was generally without a personality, it is not surprising that those metaphors which are attested compare the part with inanimate objects.

*Podex* is unique among the above words in that it is a verbal noun which alludes to one of the functions or acts of the part it describes. Anatomical terms of this 'functional' type are rare. From the sexual language one may note the *ad hoc* coinage *stator* = 'penis' (lit. 'the one which stands up') at *Priap.* 52.3. It may have been this abnormality which caused *podex* to fall out of use, though it is not certain that at our period it was still associated with *pedo*. One is tempted to think that *podex* was originally a humorous designation, since the act alluded to is scarcely the most distinctive function of the anus, although the word does have a parallel in Lith. *bizdas*.

Most of the euphemisms which have been seen refer in a general way to the position of the organ, at the 'back', or in the 'lower' or 'middle' part of the body. Sometimes too the anus bears the name of a neighbouring part (*aluus*, *uenter*, *longao*, *intestinum*).

One of the most striking developments within this semantic field was the tendency shown by the component words to undergo slight shifts of meaning. *Clunes* was sometimes used both of the anus and of the lower back. *Coxa* in turn encroached on the sphere of *clunes* / *nates*. *Longao*, *extalis* and *intestinum* all occasionally indicated the anus or sphincter, and *aluus* and *uenter* tended to shift their reference to the rectum or even the anus. Words for 'anus' on the other hand were sometimes transferred to the rectum or buttocks. There was no systematic restructuring of the semantic field. The shifts are mostly attested in individual writers, in response to the complex variety of factors listed above (p. 239)<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>65</sup>) H. D. Jocelyn read a draft of this article and made many useful comments.