

STUDIES IN THE ROMANIZATION
OF ETRURIA

BY

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PREFACE

The studies in the Romanization of Etruria here published were initiated as a part of the activities of the Finnish Institute in Rome, appropriately enough located on the *Lydia ripa* of the Tiber. They grew out of our annual seminars, normally covering the best part of the spring. Subjects and planning were gradually transformed under the impact of the milieu of classical scholarship in Rome. Today, nine years after the inception of the programme of study, it is hard to reconstruct the reasoning which ultimately formulated the main subject of our studies, the process of Romanization of Etruria, which could be regarded simply as one aspect of the problem: what happened to the Etruscans?

Problems such as this are, of course, continuously present to classical students living on the Etruscan bank—if they are aware of its being Etruscan. To us, Finns, originating in a bilingual country, the process of Latinization, the relationship between the Etruscans and the Romans, holds a particular attraction as a parallel to processes evident in our own society. Our immediate surroundings, the foreign schools of Rome, also actively forced our attention on Etruria. Here we would like very particularly to mention the late Professor Axel Boethius and his younger colleagues at the Swedish Institute, Eric Berggren, Paul Åström and Carl-Erik Östenberg; further, there was Frank Brown of the American Academy unravelling the secret of the *Regia* and excavating at Cosa, there was John Ward-Perkins and the British School's survey of southern Etruria, and there was the École Française painstakingly reconstructing the past of Volsinii, not to mention the activities of the *soprintendenze* and the institutions of the university of Rome.

It may be regarded as bold, even presumptuous, to claim a part of a field successfully cultivated by neighbours and friends. Yet, the very fact that top-ranking experts could be consulted in all the branches of research involved gave us courage to choose a topic out of the normal repertory of Finnish classical scholarship but nevertheless relevant as a topic to the scientific problems of today. Subsequently, we were interested in noting that the Sixth International Congress of Classical Studies (September 2–6, 1974) had decided on “Resistance and Assimilation to Ancient Culture in the Mediterranean World” as its general theme.

The final heading and the division of labour emerged only during the third seminar, in 1968, after certain misgivings. Of crucial importance to our future plans were two colloquies at the Institute, one with Professor Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli as guest of honour, the other attended by Professor Massimo Pallottino and his young collaborators Giovanni Colonna and Romolo Staccioli, together with Dr. A. J. Pfitlig, Austria, and M. Christian Goudineau of the École Française. Here was established the centre of gravity on late Etruscan history, and the division of labour between the individual lines of research, allowing for a diversity of approach and method.

The research programme was planned so as to take into account the different kinds of source material which would enable us to evaluate and follow chronologically the character and strength of the Roman penetration of Etruscan territory. We concentrated our energies on the latest phases of Etruscan life, considering that the disappearance of the Etruscan language should be regarded as an indicator of the stage not only of the Latinization but also of the Romanization. We were looking for aspects of Etruscan life not readily in evidence in the literary sources, and above all for the gradually growing external influence on the language as shown by the Latin inscriptions of Etruria. On the other hand, the more or less artificial revival of certain Etruscan institutions during the Principate was considered extraneous to our field of study.

The close co-operation of the members of the seminars in Rome was hard to maintain when the group dispersed; one of us eventually settled down in Zurich, another in Copenhagen, two of us in Turku in Finland, the others in Helsinki. In 1971 the manuscripts were on the whole completed, and Jorma Kaimio was able to present his contribution in print as his doctoral dissertation in the spring 1972, with Prof. Helmuth Rix, Regensburg, as opponent, whose advice was of great significance for the final elaboration of his part. At that juncture, very little more than the Conclusion, where the findings of the individual studies had to be evaluated, remained to be written. Bruun and Hohti were the only ones able to profit from the publication of three outstanding contributions to the history of the late Republic, namely P. A. Brunt's *Italian Manpower*, T. P. Wiseman's *New Men in the Roman Senate* and W. V. Harris' *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, all of them published in 1971, although Mrs. Ruoff enjoyed the privilege of consulting parts of Mr. Harris' studies before his book was published.

It goes without saying that many other important studies touching upon the subjects discussed in the subsequent chapters have been published in the years between the completion of the manuscripts and the final publica-

tion of the book. It is to be hoped that the results of our studies would not appear to be out of date despite the time lag due to the long lines of communication between authors and printer, and the labour difficulties in present day Rome.

Before we submit the results of our labours to our readers, we feel impelled, in addition to the above acknowledgements to the scholarly world of Rome, to express our gratitude to some of the individuals and institutions which have so generously extended their help to us as a group or to single members of our team when we roamed Etruria in search of material. It seems appropriate to mention the *soprintendenze* in the first place; the *soprintendenza* of southern Etruria, directed by Professor Mario Moretti, and his collaborators, Professor Mario Torelli, Dr. G. Ricci and Mr. Umberto Calace; and then the *soprintendente* of Florence, Professor Guglielmo Maetzke with his staff, from Dr. Clelia Laviosa and Professor Mauro Cristofani, the *continuator* of the *CIE*, to the keepers of the local museums, above all Professor Enrico Fiumi at the Museo Guarnacci of Volterra, and Dr. Loris Rossi of the Museo Archeologico of Chiusi. We recall particularly Prof. Fiumi as a helpful and indefatigable investigator of the Volterranean past with an encyclopedic knowledge of the archaeological history of his home town. In Umbria, our visit to the museum at Perugia was highly rewarding owing to the co-operation of Dr. Anna Feruglio.

Of particular importance to our endeavours to establish the continuity of the Etruscan burial customs was the willingness of the Fondazione Lerici to account for their most recent excavations both at Caere and at Tarquinii. We would like to thank Mr. Carlo Lerici himself, and his highly efficient scientific staff, Dr. Lucia Cavagnaro-Vanoni, Dr. Francesca Serra and Mr. R. Linington. The latter's reconstruction and analysis of the necropolis at Tarquinii is awaited with considerable interest.

Miss Clara Castelli, formerly librarian of the Finnish Institute in Rome, has undertaken the little rewarding task of editing the manuscripts and of acting as a go-between of the authors in Finland and the printers in Rome. On her leaving the employment with the Institute, Miss Margareta Steinby with customary helpfulness assumed this duty. We thank them both for faithfully executing a task, the difficulty of which in present day conditions is well nigh impossible to imagine.

Our studies were initiated under the auspices of the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, which now undertakes to publish the results in its *Acta*. After our return to Finland in 1968 the Finnish Commission of Humanistic Sciences on several occasions granted us adequate financial support for travel and for expenses of different kinds. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the generosity of these two bodies.

An ample grant from the Wihuri Foundation enabled Mrs. Ruoff to spend an entire year at the Institute in Rome. This proved indispensable for her own work as well as for the group as a whole.

Professor Robert Austerlitz and Peter Jones, B.A. kindly assisted us with the presentation of the text in English.

We would like to conclude this Preface by thanking all those participants at the seminars in Rome, who worked hard and made valuable suggestions concerning the studies at hand, but who for various reasons could not make part of the final team. They were: Sinikka Aurimaa, Jaakko Frösén, Marja Havu, Aulikki Hjerppe, Pirkko Hynönen, Unto Remes, Pekka Sarvas, Pentti Soukkanen, Kirsti Tala and Helena Sovinen.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Romanization of Etruria is the collective title of this series of studies concerned with the problem of what became of the Etruscans under the sway of Rome. How and when did they disappear as a people or, rather, as several peoples each inhabiting its own town, each conscious of its own age-old customs, its own religious beliefs, its own language as different from the language of the Roman intruders? When did they notwithstanding parochial loyalties and the maintenance of local traditions, begin to regard themselves as Romans or as members of the Roman commonwealth, only secondarily professing themselves heirs of their Etruscan forefathers?

From a more general point of view, what happened to the Etruscans during the last centuries of the pre-Christian era may to a certain extent apply to the other peoples of Italy as well. Thus, the Romanization of Etruria may have some bearing on the Romanization of the entire peninsula and consequently on the unification of Italy, i.e. on the creation of the Italy of the Principate. If the studies contained in this volume invite general conclusions as to the phenomenon of the Romanizing process as such, these are incidental by-products of our research. We have not attempted to work out any general theory regarding the process of Romanization, a theory to be tested on the material concerning the Etruscans and further applied to the other ethnic groups of inhabitants of the Italian peninsula.

1. THE GENERAL PLAN OF THE INVESTIGATION

The general principles underlying the conception of this volume can be described as follows:

The focus of our studies is on the Etruscans as supporters of one of the most advanced civilisations of the ancient world, and we concentrate on certain aspects of their relations with the Roman world. Investigating the Romanization of Etruria we hope to clarify why the Etruscans disappeared as ethnic entities.

We propose to study the relations between two different peoples, most easily distinguished from one another by their mother tongues, Latin and Etruscan. The latter people, the main object of our research, disappeared in the course of time without leaving behind any testimony of its history

expressed in narrative sources. The only sources of this kind preserved are consequently Roman, i.e. Latin or Greek. Thus, the narrative sources do not fulfil the requirement that all the parties concerned should have an opportunity to express their views on the subject in question. However, the Roman sources have their own shortcomings with regard to the aims of these studies; they were little concerned by the "disappearance" of the Etruscans. The Romanization of the Etruscans must have appeared as a natural phenomenon wholly in keeping with the general trend of the time. Moreover, in a certain sense the Etruscan inheritance of the Roman culture must have been so obvious¹ that the idea that the Etruscans were disappearing as a distinct demographic element in Italy cannot have been very clear to the Roman historians.

Romanization obviously concerns both society as such, its social institutions, and individual lives. The progress of Romanization and Latinization such as it appears on documents and monuments referring to individual Etruscans or their families or *gentes*, should be studied side by side with the infusion of Roman social institutions into Etruria. The main feature of the latter process was the concession of Roman civil rights to the Etruscan cities. Below, Mrs. Ruoff-Väänänen has tried to map out some of the most important landmarks of the Etruscan road to political incorporation with Roman society, as far as the death of Marius. Unfortunately the picture of this development has to be drawn mainly with the aid of Roman sources.

The different aspects of Etruscan life which we are to study against this background in order to gain insight into the particulars of the process of change, are necessarily limited by the availability of pertinent source material. Generally speaking the material comprises documents or monuments of a private nature, recording single Etruscans or their families. It is self-evident that the emphasis in the investigation is on the last phases of Etruscan life, the period during which the Etruscans disappeared as a distinct linguistic group, and in which Etruria was completely Romanized.

The transition from Etruscan to Latin, from Etruscism to Romanism will be studied below by individual members of our group in the light of

- (1) the epitaphs of the Etruscan cities,
- (2) Etruscan, i.e. conservative features of the paleography of the Latin epitaphs of Etruria,

¹ Cf. for instance the *haruspicina*, which survived into the Later Empire as illustrated by *Codex Theodosianus* XVI 10.

- (3) the archaeological material of the Etruscan necropoleis in order to establish the dates of certain linguistic phenomena and social changes,
- (4) a series of lid sculptures of Volaterran cinerary urns, which chronologically seem to cover the transition from Etruscan to Latin in Volaterran epigraphy.

The majority of our sources dealing with the Romanization process on the individual level can be defined as historical relics or remains. For large groups of these a relative chronology can be established; the possibilities of arriving at absolute dates are very rare. The nature of the sources available makes it difficult to reconstruct Etruscan society in the period of transition. It has therefore been thought advisable to supplement the picture with a study of contemporaneous Etruscan life based on the only narrative sources at our disposal, the Roman ones.

The conclusions we may be able to reach with the aid of the source material at our disposal will record our own views as to the reasons for and the methods of the Romanization of Etruria. This development constitutes a unique historical process dependent on the particular conditions prevailing in Etruria and the Roman attitude to the Etruscans. Certain aspects of the results arrived at may, however, have a more general bearing on the process of the Romanization of all Italy, possibly also of the provinces. Certain suggestions will be made in the Conclusion with due regard to the fact that despite the light from our sources, flickering above the Etruscans, at its best is uncertain and feeble, deep shadows encompass the fortunes of many other peoples subdued by the Romans.

2. SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF THE INVESTIGATION

The general programme of the studies of this volume, briefly outlined above, needs further definition and delimitation.

2.1 THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ETRUSCANS AND ROMANS

Any process of amalgamation concerning the life and institutions of two peoples is exceedingly complex. The Romanization of Italy is in a way the total sum of the individual processes a large array of peoples underwent in the several parts of the peninsula.

As time passed the character of the relations of the Romans with single peoples changed considerably according to the dictates of the political,

the cultural and the economic development in Italy along with the Roman expansion.

The Romanization process should be regarded as a resultant of different forces at work, a resultant of impetus and response. This interplay of action and reaction with regard to the two neighbouring peoples, the Romans and the Etruscans, has a long history which probably goes back to the times when Romulus is supposed to have marked the boundary of his city *etrusco ritu*. The pristine Etruscan superiority manifest, for instance, in the rule of the Etruscan kings of Rome, left an indelible mark on Roman life and institutions, but when, with the passing of time, Rome gained the upper hand in the political struggle, the process was reversed. The turning point was the Roman conquest of Etruria and the Etruscan loss of political independence, which asserted itself in varying degrees and ways, differing both locally and geographically.

These studies are mainly concerned with the final phases of the process of Romanization of Etruria, and this is one of the main problems in our studies. One complication is constituted by the fact that the crucial point, the final compromise between the Roman and the Etruscan element, in different fields of research, seems to have been reached at different times. Again, another difficulty is due to the fact that most of our knowledge of Etruscan everyday life and institutions has to do with the early period of power and glory, because it is to a very large extent based on deductions from artefacts. It is, so to speak, easy to be dazzled by the golden splendour of the archaic tombs. The late period, however, the era of Romanization proper, is poor with regard to reliable source material of a corresponding kind. Surely, this is one of the reasons why conditions in Etruria after the pacification have attracted but little scholarly attention.

Our main problem is: what happened to the Etruscans under Roman rule? How and when did they disappear as a people or, rather, as several peoples, inhabiting their towns—conscious of their own language and culture? When did they, and very likely other Italic peoples as well, notwithstanding local loyalties and the maintenance of local traditions, begin to regard themselves as Romans or as members of the Roman commonwealth, only secondarily professing themselves heirs to the Etruscans—or to the Sabines or Samnites?

What does Romanization signify? What does it mean to regard oneself as Roman and to consider the Etruscan heritage as something secondary? To accept the Roman way of life, Roman values, Roman traditions at least superficially, i.e. to admit in everyday life also the superiority of things Roman, to accept the political necessity of conforming to the institutions of the victorious Romans?

2.2 THE ROMAN CONQUEST AND ENSUING PACIFICATION

The primary interest of these studies is with the Etruscans; we are in search of the reasons which made the Etruscans disappear as distinct ethnic groups, as more or less autonomous communities located in territories subject to Roman political domination.

However, a point of departure for considerations of this kind must be an outline of the Roman subjugation and pacification of Etruria.

The Roman conquest of Etruria is a subject much discussed. No agreement has been reached with regard to its character and general chronology. Veii and Caere denote the two first milestones on the road to Roman domination of Etruria, but in both cases uncertainty prevails as to the correct interpretation of the data recorded by the narrative sources. The details of subsequent development are nebulous, to say the least. Whereas the final Romanization of Etruria is not in doubt, scholars disagree to a great extent as to the character of the process. The explanations vary from peaceful assimilation¹ to pitiless liquidation².

Departing from what is known of the Romano-Caeretan relations, the picture of the Roman infiltration into Etruria has been based on such controversial evidence as the accounts of the presumptive loyalties of the Etruscan towns towards Rome during the Second Punic War, or on the Roman colonization of Etruria in the third and second centuries. Despite the colonization, which deprived some important Etruscan centres of at least some of their territories and, no doubt, subjected them to a *de facto* political and military control, Etruscan life can be assumed to have gone on without fundamental changes. The records of the Etruscan necropoleis support this contention. One natural corollary of this is the view that the great change

¹ Cf. R. BLOCH, *The Etruscans*², London 1963, 115. Bloch, however, supports the view that several Etruscan towns sided with Marius and that Sulla after his victory took merciless vengeance: "Confiscations ruined the countryside and several military colonies were installed". E. T. SALMON, *Roman Colonization under the Republic*, London 1969, 131, is also inclined to explain the rapid spread of Latin in Etruria with reference to Sulla's colonies. His colonization should thus have promoted the Romanization. The completion of the process of Romanization was achieved under Augustus, although not as an outcome of a conscious policy (SALMON, 144). FR. VITTINGHOFF, *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur (Mainz). Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jhrg. 1951, Nr. 14, 98 records that Sulla deprived the Italiotes of land for the colonization of more than 100,000 soldiers, whereas under the triumvirs, land for 170,000 men was required. Finally, Augustus had to satisfy the land hunger of his soldiers.

² For Perugia, cf. R. SYME, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford 1939, 211 f.

in Etruria was brought about by the Social War, when the Etruscans are said to have seized the opportunity to acquire Roman citizenship. In exceptional cases, however, the resistance against the Romans is supposed to have continued at a somewhat later date according to Roman literary accounts. Such cases would have been the prolonged siege and the final capture of Volaterrae by Sulla in 79 B.C., and the Perusine War, disastrous not only for the followers of L. Antonius but also for the inhabitants of the city of Perusia. However, obviously the latter event was not due to Etruscan opposition to Rome but, as far as we can see, to an incidental political division of Italy between the adversaries and the supporters of Octavian. Nevertheless, the Perusine War brought merciless punishment upon the inhabitants of the Etruscan city.

The analysis given will show not only that the concessions of the Social War directly affected Etruria but little, but also that the Romans before the war were averse to extending civil rights to the Italic peoples. It is suggested that their attitude shows that the Etruscans at this juncture were to a large extent in possession of Roman citizenship. Consequently, any reform of local government carried out by Sulla in Etruria would not testify as to the character of the local government of former times. Mrs. Ruoff-Väänänen will show that there are ample indications as to the Etruscan territory originally defined as *ager peregrinus*, having acquired the status of *ager Romanus*, in other words, having been annexed by the Romans, long before the first century, in most cases probably before the Second Punic War. The records of the *prodigia* will be one of her main arguments for this point of view. Very likely the annexation of foreign territory was accompanied by the expedient of extending Roman citizenship, in most cases probably *sine suffragio*, to the inhabitants of the incorporated area.

The correctness of this unorthodox hypothesis seems to be supported by the *praefectura*-organization, originally, it would seem, a division of the *ager Romanus* in jurisdictional districts. The very existence of *praefecturae* in Etruria presupposes Roman settlements on Roman soil to a much larger extent than the known colonies. Our incomplete knowledge of the *praefecturae* seems to be due to the municipal reorganization of Italy in the 80's, which maintained the concept of the *praefectura* but defined its functions in different ways.

In this light it becomes apparent that although all the inscriptions of Etruria which record local *duumviri*, *quattuorviri* clearly are proof of, they do not establish the date of the Romanization of the administration. They are proof of local rule by officers of these descriptions; their absence from the earlier material of the subject tells us nothing of the kind of administration which preceded the *duumviri* or the *quattuorviri*, their presence

tells us nothing more than that such officials at a certain time must have been active within the local government.

The first task within the framework of these studies will accordingly be to survey the political status of the Etruscan communities in Etruria proper. The aim will be to establish the degree, the character and the dates of the Roman penetration into the different Etruscan territories up to the time of Sulla's municipal reorganization. Despite similar efforts in the recent past¹, the main body of the analysis will comprise a survey of the evidence appertaining to the individual Etruscan communities or administrative entities.

2.3 THE LATINIZATION, ONE ASPECT OF THE ROMANIZATION PROCESS

The Latinization aspect is the most conspicuous part of Romanization as it is reflected in the source material. In many cases the language shift is the sole indicator of Romanization.

The majority of the extant texts in Etruscan are short epitaphs from the necropoleis of Etruria. They constitute a tradition which continued as long as the necropoleis were used as burial places.

The source value of the epitaphs is manifold. They are relics of certain activities appertaining to the sphere of Etruscan social life, the language employed is suggestive of the process of Latinization, and so is the execution of the text, for instance the change of the direction of writing, and the abandoning of the Etruscan alphabet. At a later stage paleographical niceties are indicative of the development. Moreover, the contents of the epitaphs are records of social relations, most commonly family relations. We shall see below how the Etruscan name forms are Romanized and how far the development of name forms reflects changes in the social pattern.

The linguistic material is exceptional in two respects. It offers continuous information over a very long period of time and amply covers all the time relevant to our study of the Romanization of Etruria. Further, it faithfully registers local traits and peculiarities against the common background of Etruscan social ideas and conditions. Consequently, it is unsurpassed as a source of knowledge with regard to the Romanization of Etruria. The reverse of this type of material is that it can rarely be exactly dated. This regards the early inscriptions in particular. Other fields of research must therefore supply the chronological landmarks necessary for a proper evaluation of the epigraphical material.

¹ A. J. PEIFFIG, *Die Ausbreitung des römischen Städtewesens in Etrurien und die Frage der Unterwerfung der Etrusker*. Bibl. "Studi Etruschi" 2. Firenze 1966.

Now, the Latinization discernible in the epitaphs of Etruria is a process of gradual evolution. The Latin epitaphs appear as a natural continuation of similar epitaphs in the Etruscan language; the burial places and the burial customs do not seem to have changed in connexion with, or because of Latinization. Latin epitaphs are found in the same necropoleis and in the same tombs as the Etruscan ones. At times single family tombs illustrate the Latinization process.

Unfortunately a complete survey of all the necropoleis and other burial places employed by the population of any one Etruscan city has never been carried out. However, the finds up to this day, incomplete as they may be (though it is hard to conceive of any large cemeteries e.g. outside Caere that have escaped discovery) suggest that the Latinization process was carried out at a time when old Etruscan burial grounds were still in use. We may also note that the necropoleis, where the Latin epitaphs make their appearance, have produced almost no material datable to the Principate. Particularly striking is the absence in the Etruscan necropoleis of the Roman built-in grave reliefs and the free-standing stelai, both recalling the Roman *imagines* of wax or terracotta in *armaria*¹. Such funerary monuments have been found in Etruria², but most commonly along the roads. Thus they bear witness to a kind of Romanization of the burial customs of Etruria. Consequently, the Latinization of the epitaphs precedes the Romanization of the burials and the desertion of the Etruscan necropoleis. It would therefore be very important to establish when the traditional burial grounds of Etruria were abandoned.

2.4 THE DATING OF THE ROMANIZATION

The study of the language shift as well as of the gradual Romanization of certain social institutions as mirrored in the epitaphs of Etruria permits us to reconstruct the successive stages of development in many of the Etruscan cities. The relative chronology thus established locally has to be related to absolutely fixed dates. Only this will enable us to reconstruct the historical setting of the Romanization and to understand and explain the development.

Dated documents or monuments are sorely lacking in Etruria. Alternatively they are completely unrelated to the source material submitted to analysis in the subsequent studies. Unfortunately, the archaeological mate-

¹ J. M. C. TOYNBEE, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, London 1971, 246 f.

² Browsing through the relevant volumes of *CIL* eloquently demonstrates the character and the extent of the Romanization of the burial customs.

rial in this particular case comes short of our expectations, and fails to supply us with the chronological backbone so badly needed. There are several grounds for this, one of them being that very few inscriptions have been found *in situ*, and fewer still in untouched tombs preserving all the funeral objects deposited there at the time of the burial. Accordingly, the possibilities of connecting well defined phases of the linguistic evolution with archaeologically datable objects are exceedingly few.

We should further remember that during the best part of the last few centuries the interest of scholars and connoisseurs alike has been centred on products of ancient art. Few cared for the provenance of the objects, or for the circumstances surrounding the finds, which would or could have given a clue for instance to the date of the burial. Other objects, insignificant in the eyes of past generations of scholars, were frequently disregarded except for the specimens of Etruscan script they supplied. This applies to the inscribed *cippi* of Caere, the inscribed tiles of Clusium and the whole range of undecorated or crudely executed ceramic products. Accordingly, with very few exceptions, the monuments of Etruria have to be studied without the aid of concomitant objects, that is, *per se*. Therefore, for the last centuries of the pre-Christian era, when modern diligent research, conscious of its aims and methods, unearths say a tomb or burial place, there is still no chronological tool, no established ceramical chronology. Only in the most recent years have French efforts succeeded in reconstructing the development and the dates of the early plain Arretine ware¹, and, certain of its immediate predecessors, the Etruscan black-glazed ceramics².

As a member of our group Mrs. Sarvas has evaluated the archaeological material and, considering the possibilities of using it for dating purposes, arrived at the conclusion, that it is of very little avail with regard to the special problems of our studies. It has been impossible in almost all cases to reconstruct the totality of findings of single tombs, and to connect single inscriptions with datable archaeological remains. In certain cases, however, we are able to establish time limits for individual tombs. This does not give us the date of the inscriptions found in the tomb in question, but establishes, nevertheless, a terminus for the use of the burial ground.

Time and again, when trying to restore the inscriptions to their original context we encountered insurmountable difficulties. Special efforts were made

¹ CHR. Goudineau, *La céramique Arétine lisse*. Fouilles de l'École Française de Rome à Bolsena (Poggio Moscini) 1962-1967, IV. École Française de Rome, *MEFR*, Suppl. 6, Paris 1968.

² A. Balland, *Céramique Etrusco-Campanienne à vernis noir*, fasc. 1. Fouilles... à Bolsena, III, fasc. 1, *MEFR*, Suppl. 6, Paris 1969.

with regard to Caere and Tarquinii, but, on the whole, we have to admit that they failed to achieve their ends. So we decided to abandon the idea of a special chapter devoted to the archaeological problems. However, in these circumstances it was considered appropriate to include, exceptionally, in the Introduction a comparatively detailed account of our attempts to construct, with the aid of the archaeological material (or, more correctly, the informal sources¹ of Caere and Tarquinii) a chronological framework for the linguistic analysis.

The material of the Caeretan excavations, particularly of the Mengarelli excavations was generously put at our disposal by the Soprintendente of southern Etruria, Mr. Mario Moretti. We were able to study Goffredo Ricci's analysis of the original notes from the Mengarelli excavations in advance² together with the inventories now in the Villa Giulia Museum, and subsequently to confront the material proper, the most precious specimens in the show cases of the museum, the vast majority of objects, however, stored in the magazines in the area of the Banditaccia necropolis. Some of the cases used for the transportation of the material to the Banditaccia were, at that time, still unpacked. The rest of the objects were displayed on large shelves, the individual tombs being separated from one another by low partitions, which at times had obviously not been sufficient to prevent the material from different tombs from getting mixed. Frequently it proved impossible to remedy this because in numerous cases the labels containing the numbers of the inventory, pasted on to the objects, had got lost. We were reluctantly forced to admit that any reconstruction of the state of the tombs at the time of the excavations would remain hypothetical and would therefore be largely a waste of time and energy.

Hence, we abandoned our efforts and decided to try to form a general opinion of the chronology of the area excavated above all by Mengarelli with recourse to Ricci's publication³. A clear indication of how long the Banditaccia necropolis was used as a burial ground is given by the not very numerous fragments of Arretine ceramics found⁴; therefore it cannot

¹ G. J. GARRAGHAN, *A Guide to Historical Method*², Fordham University Press 1948, 109 f.

² 'Necropoli della Banditaccia, Zona A 'del recinto' - Caere', *MALinc.* 42 (1965), 202-1047.

³ *MALinc.* 42 (1965) constitutes a gallant effort on the part of modern scholarship to remedy the irrevocable damage to systematic archaeological research done in the 20's by the preoccupations of Mengarelli and his contemporaries with tomb architecture and, in general, with the splendour of archaic Etruria.

⁴ Cf. the *Via dei vasi Arretini* of the necropolis and the Arretine fragments, *MALinc.* 42 (1965), nos. 49634, 49691-2.

have been abandoned until the later part of the first century B. C. at the earliest.

Tarquinius proved a much more rewarding field although, on the whole, the findings tell us little beyond the fact that the necropolis was still in use in the reign of Tiberius. Individual inscriptions can only be dated approximately; a tomb containing both an Etruscan and a Latin epitaph¹ is regarded as comparatively late, which may point to the first century B.C. It is, however, important enough to establish as a fact that the traditional Etruscan burial ground was not abandoned before the death of Augustus².

¹ Lerici excavations no. 4961, cf. *SE*, 33 (1965), 486 with the inscriptions nos. 28 and 29.

² This picture of the development at Tarquinius is based exclusively on the results of the Lerici excavations, which were still going on in 1970, and which members of our group had the privilege of discussing both in 1968 and in 1970, by kind permission of Dr. Carlo Lerici, with Mr. R. E. Linington, Dr. Lucia Cavagnaro Vanoni and Dr. Francesca Serre. The inscriptions have all been published by Dr. CAVAGNARO VANONI in *SE*, 33 (1965) together with brief characteristics of the archaeological material.

As far as an outsider can judge, these complete and systematic excavations of certain areas of the necropolis look very promising indeed. The rich and varied material may enable the archaeologists to reconstruct the typological development of certain Late Republican ceramic objects (e.g. the so-called *balsamari fusiformi* and the ceramics *a parietali sottili*) and thus provide scholars with yet another chronological key to the finds of the Late Republic and the Early Empire. Mr. Linington's projected analysis of the "architectural history" of the area may contribute considerably to the general discussion of the chronological problems.

Dr. Cavagnaro Vanoni was kind enough in June 1970 to allow me to survey the objects found in tombs, where epitaphs had also been discovered. Without going into details, which, it is to be hoped, will be published shortly by the excavators, it is sufficient for our present purpose to state that the *terminus post* for the closing of one tomb is c. 10 B.C., and of five others A.D. 15.

The first tomb, that of 10 B.C., is no. 4938 (*SE*, 33 (1965), 483 with the Latin inscriptions nos. 21-22. The chronological criterion is an Arretine fragment, listed as no. 16 among the objects of the tomb, with an inscribed stamp in the centre, by Goudineau, 353 f., 360 dated as 10 B.C. at the earliest).

Among the objects found in the five other tombs mentioned and which I saw, there were Arretine fragments marked with inscribed stamps *in planta pedis*, a design which according to Goudineau, 353 f., 360 was introduced c. A.D. 15. These tombs are no. 4794 (*SE*, 33 (1965), 486 ff. with the Latin inscriptions 30-32. In addition to the stamp *in planta pedis*, no. 9, there is also a fragment of *terra sigillata*, no. 10); no. 4865 (*SE*, 33 (1965), 490, with the Latin inscriptions nos. 38-39, with the stamp *in planta pedis*, no. 61); no. 5048 (*SE*, 33 (1965), 492, with the Latin inscription no. 42 and a stamp *in planta pedis*, no. 13); no. 4973 (without epitaph, but with several Arretine fragments with stamps *in planta pedis*, i.e. nos. 5, 36, 71, and with a coin struck by the Augustan moneyer, *Maecilius*

In addition to these dates concerning southern Etruria, we have a fairly recent note from Asciano¹, showing burials with three Etruscan and one Latin epitaph, with the burial date indicated by means of a coin find as being A. D. 15 or later.

Our efforts to arrive at an exact chronology by way of orthodox archaeological methods have been poorly rewarded. Under these circumstances another way of attaining our end seems to be a study of a series of objects, which to past generations has appeared in itself significant enough to merit collecting, and which consequently is represented by a large number of specimens. These objects should have properties which would form a link to any one of the other groups of source material we studied. Our final choice, inasmuch as we really can be said to have had to choose between several possibilities, the cinerary urns of Volaterrae, or rather, the lids of the urns, is surely not very surprising. The inscriptions on the lids either in Etruscan or in Latin cover the language shift chronologically and form a link with the linguistic analysis. The study of the typology of the reclining figures on the lids on the one hand provides the criteria for the relative chronology of the lids, on the other, with reference to certain typological characteristics, suggests the approximate dates of clearly defined groups of lids. The latest lids seem to belong to the reign of Tiberius. With due regard to local discrepancies regarding the general course of development, this Volaterran chronology can be projected into other fields of study.

2.5 THE PATTERN OF CHANGE

All the different studies outlined so far have implied analyses of historical documents or monuments. Despite conscious efforts to assemble the results of any studies of this kind, it is quite clear that the sum of probabilities and approximations gives a poor picture of Etruscan society and its reactions to the political, social and psychological pressures from an ever more dominating Roman Republic.

Tullus in 2 B.C., cf. *BMCRE* I, 42 f., nos. 217-223, dated by K. KRAFT, 'Zur Datierung der Münzmeisterprägung unter Augustus', *Mainzer Zeitschr.*, 46-47 (1951-52), 31) and, finally, no. 5090 (without epitaph but with a stamp *in planta pedis*, no. 31). I may add that in each of the three latter tombs one fragment of Arretine ceramics with stamps *in planta pedis* also had decorations in the form of applied reliefs (*des reliefs d'applique*), a technique which according to GOUDINEAU (304, 306, 360) was introduced a short time before the stamp *in planta pedis*.

¹ *SE*, 27 (1959), 277-300.

We have, so far, on purpose, to a large extent ignored the Roman narrative sources which even in the most fortunate circumstances give a very fragmentary impression of the gradual transformation of Etruscan society. However, in order to supplement the picture of Etruria and to show it as being inhabited by human beings and not solely by persons mentioned in funeral inscriptions, we have decided to pick out a historical person of undoubted Etruscan descent. Mr. Hohti will study the texts in which this Etruscan appears and see how he fits into the Etruria of his times, into the Etruria which was in the crucial phase of Romanization. This Etruscan is Aulus Caecina of Volaterrae, a friend of Cicero, and the facts that are known about his life will illustrate something of the pattern of change in Etruria.

EEVA RUOFF-VÄÄNÄNEN

2 a. THE *CIVITAS ROMANA*-AREAS
IN ETRURIA BEFORE THE YEAR
90 B.C.

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1. INTRODUCTION

There are extremely few direct references in the ancient sources to the *civitas Romana* question before the Gracchan period, and even from that time onwards the references are probably due rather to the authors' interest in the strifes caused by the agitation for and against granting the *civitas Romana* to the allies than to any special interest in the actual social problem. In addition to the scarcity of the sources, they are also one-sided, for practically none of them deals with the *civitas Romana* problem specifically from the allies' point of view, though Appian and Diodorus, for example, have recorded at least some of the evils which the allies complained about. The task of studying the *civitas Romana* in Etruria is naturally all the more difficult because not a single Etruscan historical source has survived, which would throw some light on this problem. So one is obliged to try to detect traces of the expansion of the *civitas Romana* in Etruria in the Roman historical sources only.

In addition to the ordinary historical sources, I have used two sources—the public *prodigia* and the *evocatio* cases—which, though in a way historical too, are perhaps better characterized as religious. This, as such, should not surprise any student of Roman or Etruscan history, for religion played such a large part in Roman public life that it is often difficult to say where religious functions end and the activities of the State begin or vice versa. It is another thing, however, that the evidence of these sources points towards such conclusions which radically differ from some generally held views. I have discussed the value of the Roman *prodigia* as source material in *ager Romanus* questions in a separate study. The cases of the *evocatio* in Etruria, my other special source, has been studied in detail by Prof. Patrick Bruun².

Geographically, I have limited my study to the communities between the Tiber and the Arno. This means the exclusion of Pisae and the colonies of Luna and Luca, in which I feel justified since it was only

¹ E. RUOFF-VÄÄNÄNEN, 'The Roman Public *Prodigia* and the *Ager Romanus*', *Arctos*, N.S. 7 (1972), 133-162.

² P. BRUUN, 'Evocatio Deorum', *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis*, VI (1972), 109-120.

after the Social War that the frontier of Italy was extended north of Vada Volaterrana, and these towns had always been Ligurian rather than Etruscan¹. I have, however, written a chapter on Faesulae in spite of its lying north of the Arno, because it undoubtedly was an Etruscan city. I have also included Capena and Falerii in this paper, for though linguistically non-Etruscan, they sided with the Etruscans politically, and they had closer cultural links with them than with the Latin speaking peoples¹.

2. THE COMMUNITIES FOUNDED BY THE ROMANS

2.1 THE ROMAN COLONIES

2.1.1 THE COLONIES FOUNDED IN THE TERRITORY OF CAERE: ALSIMUM, CASTRUM NOVUM, FREGENAE, AND PYRGI

According to Dio Cassius, Caere was once obliged to surrender half of its territory to Rome in order to avoid going to war with her². Apparently part of this area lay on the Tyrrhenian coast, because the Romans established four citizen colonies there, viz. Alsium, Castrum Novum, Fregenae, and Pyrgi. Alsium and Pyrgi were old Etruscan towns and ports of Caere³. They are said to have been founded by the Pelasgians, and their names do in fact denote Greek origins⁴. Fregenae and Castrum Novum were probably new settlements⁵.

The colonies were established in Alsium in 247 and in Fregenae in 245⁶. Castrum Novum and Pyrgi are known to have existed in 197, but their exact foundation dates are not known⁷. Enking assumes that a

¹ Cf. W. V. HARRIS, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, Oxford 1971, 76 f.

² Dio 10, 33; about the dating of this fragment, see K. J. BELOCH, *Römische Geschichte bis zum Beginn der punischen Kriege*, Berlin und Leipzig 1926, 363 f.; L. R. TAYLOR, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic*, Papers and Monographs of the Am. Academy in Rome, 20, 1960, 89; M. SORDI, *I rapporti romano-etruschi e l'origine della civitas sine suffragio*, Roma 1960, 128-133; A. J. TOYNBEE, *Hannibal's Legacy*, 1, Edinburgh 1965, 419.

³ Diod. 15, 14, 3; Strabo 5, 2, 8; Serv. *Aen.* 10, 184, cf. Flor. 1, 5, 6; L. R. TAYLOR, *Local cults in Etruria*, Papers and Monographs of the Am. Academy in Rome, 2, 1923, 124 f. Cf. *CHL* XI 3367 *... curat(or) Pyrgens(um) et Ceretanor(um) ...*

⁴ Dion. Hal. 1, 20; Strabo 5, 225.

⁵ A. SOLARI, *Topografia storica dell'Etruria*, I, Pisa 1915, 18 f.

⁶ Vell. Pat. 1, 14, 8; Livy *Per.* 19, cf. 27, 38, 4; see also HARRIS, 148, n. 5.

⁷ Livy 36, 3, 4.

colony would have been established in Pyrgi around 241, when the Via Aurelia was built¹. According to the epitomator of Livy, a colony called Castrum was founded in 290², according to Velleius in 264³, but it is not known which, if either, of these dates records the founding of the Etrurian Castrum Novum, for there was a colony called Castrum Novum in Picenum too⁴.

Livy reports a public *prodigium* from Fregennae as having been expiated at Rome in 197⁵.

2.1.2 SATURNIA

The colony of Saturnia was founded in *ager Calettranus* in 183⁶. Calettra is one of the several Etruscan towns of the history of which no records survive⁷. It is otherwise mentioned only by Pliny, who having listed the towns of the seventh Augustan region, adds: "in eadem parte oppidorum veterum nomina retinent agri Crustumini Calettranus"⁸. The archaeological evidence shows that on the site of Saturnia there had been an older Etruscan town⁹, and this is confirmed by literary sources, too. It had been called Auria or Aurinia¹⁰, and Dionysios maintains that like Caere and Alsium it was originally founded by the Pelasgians and only later occupied by the Etruscans¹¹.

Each Roman colonist sent to Saturnia was allotted ten *iugera*¹². If they were 2,000 in number, as were the colonists sent to Mutina and Parma in

¹ ENKING, *RE* XXIV, 25; cf. TOYNBEE, II, 352-356; A. J. PFIFFIG, *Die Ausbreitung des römischen Städtebaus in Etrurien und die Frage der Unterwerfung der Etrusker*. Bibl. "Studi Etruschi", 2, Firenze 1966, 41 n. 113; see also Livy 25, 4, 1-11.

² Livy *Per.* 11.

³ Vell. Pat. 1, 14, 8.

⁴ Pliny *NH* 3, 110, cf. E. PAIS, 'Serie cronologica delle colonie romane e latine dalla età regia fino all'impero', *MLinc.*, S. 5, 17 (1923), 330 f.; TAYLOR, *LC*, 129, *FD*, 89, n. 29 and 91, n. 113.

⁵ Livy 32, 29, 2. N. B. in some manuscripts the place-name reads *Fregellae*.

⁶ Livy 39, 55, 9.

⁷ Calettra is supposed to have been situated in the valley of the river Albegna, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Marsiliana, A. MINTO, 'Saturnia etrusca e romana', *Mon.Ant.*, 30 (1925), 588; SOLARI, II, 190, n. 1.

⁸ Pliny *NH* 3, 52.

⁹ MINTO, *Mon.Ant.*, 30 (1925), 585-702.

¹⁰ Pliny *NH* 3, 52: *Saturni qui antea Aurini vocabantur*.

¹¹ Dion. Hal. 1, 20, 5.

¹² Livy 39, 55, 9.

the same year¹, the total area given to them would have amounted to roughly 5,000 hectares².

Public *prodigia* were reported from Saturnia to Rome in 172, 124, and 117³.

Saturnia was enrolled in the Sabatina tribe⁴. The Sabatina was probably also the tribe of Volci⁵, and perhaps that is why it has often been maintained that the territory of Saturnia would earlier have belonged to this city and have been yielded to the Romans in 280⁶. In that year—for the first and the last time—Volci is known to have been at war with Rome⁷. This evidence is, however, not very conclusive⁸.

For the *praefectura* of Saturnia see 3.2.

2.1.3 GRAVISCAE

The colony of Graviscae was founded in 181⁹ and the colonists—the number of whom is not known¹⁰—were allotted five *iugera* each¹¹. According to Livy, the area of this colony had earlier belonged to Tarquinii¹². Graviscae was probably the port of Tarquinii¹³, and the site of the ancient town has recently been identified¹⁴. We do not know when Tarquinii had been obliged to surrender this part of its territory to the Romans. In any case the *quondam captum* of Livy seems to indicate that

¹ Livy 39, 55, 10.

² Cf. TOYNBEE, II, 146 n. 1.

³ Livy 42, 20, 5–6; Obseq. 31, 36.

⁴ CIL XI 2650, 2661 (?), 2671, suppl. 7264 f., cf. also AE 1962, 152 f.

⁵ CIL XI 2930, 2939 a, 2941, cf., however, 2934.

⁶ A. MINTO, NSc 1919, 205; Mon.Ant., 30 (1925), 590; BELOCH, RG, 455; TAYLOR, VD, 86; TOYNBEE, II, 145 and 200; PEIFFIG, Ausbreitung, 51, and 'Das Verhalten Etruriens im Samnitenkriege und nachher bis zum 1. punischen Kriege', Historia, 17 (1968), 343.

⁷ fasti triumph., II XIII: 1, p. 73: [de V]ulsiniensibus et Vulcentib(us) k. Febr.

⁸ The Sabatina was, after all, quite a common tribe in Etruria: Livy 6, 5, 8, (Veii); it was also the tribe of Visentium (CIL VI 2381 b, XI 2910 f., 2914 a) and Volaterrae (CIL XI 1809, 1836, 2939 a, NSc 1930, 298 and 1955, 40).

⁹ Livy 40, 29, 1; Vell. Pat. 1, 15, 2, cf. also the eulogy of P. Claudius Pulcher, who was one of the *triumviri coloniae deducendae* CIL I, 2^c, elog. XXII = VI 1238 a = VI 31586.

¹⁰ TOYNBEE, II, 145, assumes that it would have been on the Latin-type scale.

¹¹ Livy 40, 29, 2.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ SOLARI, I, 26; PEIFFIG, Ausbreitung, 44, cf. Verg. Aen. 10, 184, who refers to Graviscae as an ancient city.

¹⁴ M. TORELLI, T. RASMUSSEN, etc., 'Gravisca', NSc 1971, 195–229.

the surrender had taken place at least some time before the founding of the colony¹. This proposition also receives some support from Silius Italicus, according to whom the Graviscae fought in the Roman army against Hannibal, but naturally this piece of information must not be too heavily relied on².

A public *prodigium* took place at Graviscae in 176 and it was duly expiated at the orders of the Senate in Rome³.

2.1.4 THE COLONY OF FERENTUM

The old Etruscan town of Ferentium was situated between Falerii and Volsinii. On the basis of its inscriptions it is believed to have belonged to the territory of Volsinii⁴. Volsinii had several wars with Rome and so it may have been obliged to give up part of its territory to the Romans for *ager publicus*⁵.

Regardless of whether Ferentium had belonged to the territory of Volsinii or not, it certainly belonged to the Roman *ager publicus* at least during the late Republic, for a citizen colony was established there probably in the 120's. The colony of Ferentium is attested by the *Liber Coloniarum*:

"Colonia Ferentinensis⁶ lege Sempronia est adsignata. Sed quod ante limitibus centuriatis fuit assignata, postea deficientibus veteranis iuxta fidem possessionis est recensita, sed numeris uncialibus termini sunt constituti..." (216).

As we know that C. Gracchus founded *complures coloniae in Italia* during his tribunate in 123⁷, it has been generally assumed that the *Lex Sempronia* of the above passage was one of those very laws, and that the colony of Ferentium was one of his citizen colonies⁸.

¹ Cf. BELOCH, *RG*, 456, 565 and 608; T. FRANK, 'On Rome's Conquest of Sabinum, Picenum and Etruria', *Klio*, 11 (1911), 379; TAYLOR, *LC*, 23, see also TOYNBEE, II, 145.

² Sil. It. 8, 474; on his sources see B. BILINSKI, *De Catone Silii in Italiae descriptione uno solo fonte*, Acta Sem. Phil. Univ. Leopold., II (1937), 48 ff.

³ Livy 41, 16, 16.

⁴ PFEIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 57 f. Ferentium also shared officials with Volsinii under the Empire, *CIL* XI 2699, 2710 a.

⁵ Livy 5, 31, 5-32, 5; 9, 41, 5; 10, 37, 2-14; 10, 41; *Per.* 11; Diod. 20, 35, 5; 20, 44, 9; Zonar. 8, 7; *fasti triumph.*, II XIII: 1, p. 73 (M. Atilius Regulus *de Volsinibus* in 294, Ti. Coruncanius [*de Vulsiniensibus et Vulcentib[us]* in 280), cf. Livy *Per.* 13 (*res praeterea contra... Etruscos prospere gestas continet*).

⁶ N.B. the chapter deals with Etruria.

⁷ Livy *Per.* 60; App. *BC* 1, 23, cf. Vell. Pat. 1, 15, 4.

⁸ E.g. PFEIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 58; P. A. BRUNT, *Italian Manpower 225 B. C.-A.D. 14*, Oxford 1971, 351.

2.1.5 THE COLONY OF TARQUINII

The *Liber Coloniarum* records a *colonia Tarquinios lege Sempronia adsignata*¹, which is also assumed to have been one of the Gracchan colonies founded in the 120's². The establishing of a citizen colony in Tarquinii³ suggests, at least in my opinion, that it had been reduced to a Roman *municipium* before that date. There are, however, other pieces of evidence, too, which seem to support this view⁴.

2.1.6 HEBA

Inscriptions found in the neighbourhood of Magliano prove that the Romans also founded a colony called Heba in Etruria⁵. There is, however, no mention of this colony in the literary sources. It has been unanimously assumed that it was founded under the Republic, because it is termed plain *colonia* in the inscriptions, i.e. the imperial dedications are lacking⁶.

Heba is commonly identified as the Ἡβη or Ἡβη of Ptolemy and oppidum Herbanum of Pliny⁷.

In Ptolemy's list Heba is located between Volci and Saturnia, and the above-mentioned inscriptions have, indeed, been found in the neighbourhood of Saturnia, north-west of Volci⁸. Minto explains the Herbanum of Pliny as an error of the scribe due to association with the immediately preceding place name, which is Hortanum. Accordingly, he suggests that Pliny's text should read Hebanum⁹.

¹ *Lib. Col.* 219.

² H. PHILIPP, *RE* VIII A, 2346; H. NISSEN, *Italische Landeskunde*, II, 1, Berlin 1902, 331; SOLARI, I, 233; PEIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 43, cf. *Livy Per.* 60, App. BC 1, 23, and *Vell. Pat.* 1, 15, 4.

³ PEIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 43, maintains that the colony would not have been set up in the Etruscan town proper. He seems, however, to entertain quite unheard-of views about the historical geography of the region, cf. BORMANN *CIL* XI, p. 510; PHILIPP, *RE* VIII A, 2346; SOLARI, I, 230; TAYLOR, *LC*, 141 n. 8.

⁴ See the discussion of Tarquinii pp. 52 ff.

⁵ MINTO, *NSc* 1919, 200; U. COLI, 'Magliano', *NSc* 1947, 49-68; G. MAETZKE, 'Magliano in Toscana', *NSc* 1955, 37-41; *CIL* XI 2644 ff. (Poggi Alti); *AE* 1957, 218 f.

⁶ MINTO, *NSc* 1919, 205; BELOCH, *RG*, 608; PEIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 52; HARRIS, 150; E. T. SALMON, *Roman Colonization under the Republic*, London 1969, 188 n. 202.

⁷ *Ptol. Geogr.* 3, 1, 42; Pliny *NH* 3, 52, cf. MINTO, *NSc* 1919, 201; SOLARI, I, 118; BELOCH, *RG*, 608; TAYLOR, *LC*, 168; PEIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 52.

⁸ Cf. *Tab. Peut.*: Hepe.

⁹ MINTO, *NSc* 1919, 201.

Some scholars are of the opinion that the area of Heba once belonged to Volci and was surrendered to Rome in 280¹. There is, however, no evidence to support this view.

2.2 THE ROMAN FORA

Four Roman *fora*, Aurelii, Cassii, Clodii, and Subertanum, are known to have existed in Etruria². The *fora* were small citizen settlements within the *ager Romanus* which had not acquired the status of a *municipium*, though their inhabitants served in the Roman army³. The three first-mentioned Etrurian *fora* were situated by the great Roman military roads as their names indicate. The site of the fourth of them, Forum Subertanum, is not known. Most probably it lay somewhere in Mid-Etruria, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Volsinii and Ferentium, for Ptolemy lists it between these two names⁴.

We do not know for certain to which Etruscan cities the areas of the *fora* had previously belonged. Yet it is generally assumed that the area of Forum Aurelii would have belonged to Volci⁵, that of Forum Cassii to Tarquinii⁶, and that of Forum Clodii to Caere⁷.

Neither is it known exactly when the Etrurian *fora* were founded. Anyway, Forum Subertanum was in existence during the Second Punic

¹ MINTO, *NSc* 1919, 205; BELOCH, *RG*, 265; TAYLOR, *LC*, 168. Also PFFIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 52, lists Heba under the title 'Gebiet von Vulci'.

² For references consult WEISS, *RE* VII, 65 f. A fifth *forum* may have existed in the territory of Perusia, see the discussion of Perusia p. 58.

³ Cf. Livy 25, 5, 6. See also K. J. BELOCH, *Der italische Bund unter Roms Hegemonie*, Leipzig 1880, 108-111; SCHULTEN, *RE* VII, 62; TOYNBEE, II, 152 f.; A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE, *The Roman Citizenship*, Oxford 1939, 70-72.

⁴ Ptol. *Geogr.* 3, 1, 43; cf. Pliny *NH* 3, 52 (Subertani) and Aeth. *Cosmogr.* 1, 19 (Foro Subverte). BORMANN, *CIL* XI, p. 454 identifies Forum Subertanum with the Etruscan city of Sorrinum, which lay in the neighbourhood of the present Viterbo. This theory cannot, however, be accepted, because the name of Forum Subertanum (*CIL* VI 2404 a 11) and the name of Sorrinum are recorded in the second century inscriptions, and it is thus impossible that they would have denoted the same place, cf. BELOCH, *IB*, 109 and HARRIS, 152 n. 2. FRANK, *Klio*, 11 (1911), 379 suggests that the area of Forum Subertanum belonged to Falerii.

⁵ BORMANN, *CIL* XI, p. 447; NISSEN, 327; BELOCH, *IB*, 59, *RG*, 608; H. RUDOLPH, *Stadt und Staat im römischen Italien*, Leipzig 1935, 173; A. AFZELIUS, *Die römische Eroberung Italiens 340-264 v. Chr.*, *Acta Jutlandica*, 14 : 3, 1942, 117; PFFIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 50 f.. TOYNBEE, II, 654, however, seems to be of the opinion that it belonged to Tarquinii.

⁶ BELOCH, *IB*, 59, *RG*, 565, 608; RUDOLPH, 173; AFZELIUS, 40, 117; PFFIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 44 f.

⁷ BELOCH, *RG*, 564 f.; PFFIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 36, 39 f.

War¹. Forum Aurelii and Forum Clodii had most probably also been established before the end of the third century². The founding of Forum Cassii is possibly connected with the building of the Via Cassia, but, as yet, we do not know the exact date³.

A public *prodigium* was reported from Forum Subertanum in the year 211⁴.

For Praefectura Claudia Foroclori see 3.2.

3. THE ETRUSCAN CIVITAS ROMANA-AREAS

3.1 THE MUNICIPIA

3.1.1 VEII

According to Livy, Veii and Rome were more or less continuously at war from the times of Romulus⁵. In 425 Veii was granted an *indutiae* treaty for twenty years⁶, and after its expiration the legendary war of *decem aestates hiemesque continuas*⁷ began in 405⁸. In spite of the help given by the neighbouring cities of Capena and Falerii, Veii was finally conquered in 396⁹, its inhabitants were reduced to slavery¹⁰, and the statue of Juno Regina, the tutelary deity of Veii, was transferred to Rome, where Camillus had a temple built for it on the Aventine hill¹¹. The territory of Veii was annexed to *ager Romanus* and at least part of it was

¹ Livy 26, 23, 5.

² BELOCH, *IB*, 59; NISSEN, 352; WEISS, *RE* VII, 65 f.; AFZELIUS, 117; TOYNBEE, II, 654, 660 f., 665. HARRIS, 162 f., 167, however, favours second-century dates, and BORMANN *CIL* XI, p. 502 suggests that Forum Clodii was possibly established only in 43, cf. SOLARI, I, 150, 191 f.; TAYLOR, *LC*, 132.

³ Cf. TOYNBEE, II, 664 f.; BELOCH, *IB*, 59, *RG*, 565, 608, followed by PFIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 44, n. 125, cf. HARRIS, 163, 167.

⁴ Livy 26, 23, 5.

⁵ Livy 1, 15, 5, cf. Dion. Hal. 2, 55, 5-6; Plut. *Rom.* 25, 5; *Vir. Ill.* 5, 2; Fest. p. 331 L (*Romulia*); see also *fasti triumph.*, II XIII, 1, pp. 65 ff.

⁶ Livy 4, 35, 2.

⁷ Livy 5, 22, 8.

⁸ Livy 4, 60, 9; Diod. 14, 16, 5.

⁹ Livy 5, 8, 4-9; 5, 13, 9-12; 5, 18, 7-10.

¹⁰ Livy 5, 22, 1; 6, 4, 2; Diod. 14, 93, 2, cf. Dion. Hal. 12, 13, 4.

¹¹ Livy 5, 22, 4-7; 5, 23, 7 and 31, 3, cf. 5, 15, 12; 21, 3-5, and 30, 3; Val. Max. 1, 18, 3; Dion. Hal. 13, 3; Plut. *Cam.* 6. See also TAYLOR, *LC*, 34 f.; J. MARQUARDT, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, III. Handb. der röm. Alterthümer, VI, Leipzig 1885, 35 f.; V. BASANOFF, *Evocatio*, Paris 1947, 42-50, 67; BRUEN, 110 f., 114, 120, cf. further Varro *LL* 6, 15, and Prud. *c. Symm.* 2, 347-361.

divided into virgane allotments soon after the war¹. Among the Romans who profited by this partition process were the patrician families Claudii and Sergii, and probably the Cornelii and the Manlii too². The destruction of Veii was, however, not quite as complete as Livy's record of it would make us believe³. After the Gallic sack of Rome the Senate contemplated whether the Romans should not actually settle down at Veii, because at that time there were more buildings intact than at Rome⁴: "Revocati quoque in urbem senatus consulto a Veiiis, qui aedificandi Romae pigritia occupatis ibi vacuis tectis Veios se contulerant" (Livy 6, 4, 5).

Also, the several public *prodigia* reported from Veii and *ager Veiens* to Rome prove that at least a small community of Roman citizens continued to exist there throughout the Republican period⁵.

During that last long Veientane war, which was followed by wars against Capena and Falerii⁶, a number of people fled to Rome from all these towns⁷. In 389, the Romans are said to have enfranchised these refugees and to have given them plots of land as well⁸. Two years later, four new tribes, the Arnensis, the Sabatina, the Stellatina, and the Tromentina, were founded *ex novis civibus*⁹. The names of the Arnensis and the Stellatina tribes are believed to indicate that the territory of Veii would have extended as far north and north-west as the Lacus Sabatinus and the river Arrone¹⁰.

3.1.2 CAPENA

Capena is seldom mentioned in the ancient sources except as an ally of Veii¹¹. It obviously had close relations with this city, and Cato even

¹ Livy 5, 30, 8; Diod. 14, 102, 4.

² TAYLOR, *UD*, 284.

³ Livy 5, 21, 10 - 5, 22, 8.

⁴ Livy 5, 24, 5-6; 5, 49, 8-55, 2; Diod. 14, 115, 2, cf. *CIL* I, 1², *elog.* VII = VI 1308, and J. B. WARD-PERKINS, 'Veii', *PBSR*, 29 (1961), 52-56, 116 ff.; 36 (1968), 145 f.

⁵ For the references, see Appendix II.

⁶ Livy 5, 8, 4-9; 5, 10, 12; 5, 12, 5; 5, 13, 9; 5, 19, 7; 5, 24, 2 f.

⁷ Livy 6, 4, 4.

⁸ Livy 6, 4, 4.

⁹ Livy 6, 5, 8.

¹⁰ Fest. p. 464 L f.; *Tab. Pent.* 4, 36; cf. KUBITSCHKE, *RE* II, 1204 f.; HÜLSEN, *RE* II, 1209; BELOCH, *IB*, 46; L. R. TAYLOR, 'The Four Urban Tribes...', *RPAA*, 27 (1955), 237; NISSEN, 352. For the etymology of the Stellatina and the Tromentina, see Fest. p. 464, 505 L; NISSEN, 360, and the discussion of Capena.

¹¹ Livy 5, 8, 4 and 9; 5, 12, 5; 5, 13, 12; 5, 14, 7; 5, 16, 2; 5, 17, 6;

claimed that it had been founded by the Veientes¹. After the final conquest of Veii, the Romans attacked the Capenates, their territory was thoroughly ravaged², and the war ended in a *pax*³. Thereafter, Capena is not mentioned in any historical context.

A number of other pieces of evidence prove, however, that Capena became a Roman *municipium* before the Social War. All scholars are, indeed, of the opinion that the incorporation of the Capenates into the Roman body politic took place at a relatively early date. The evidence runs as follows: the chief magistrate of Capena was a single *praetor* still under the Empire⁴, which proves that the Capenates were incorporated into the Roman state before the *quattuorviri* system was established in the Roman *municipia*, i.e. before the Social War⁵. There are also a number of imperial inscriptions where the inhabitants of Capena call themselves *Capenates foederati* and their community *municipium Capenatum foederatorum*⁶. Most scholars regard them as a proof of the fact that Capena became a Roman *municipium* not through conquest but through negotiations⁷. This would, indeed, explain why that event is not recorded in the sources, where such peaceful events are silently passed over in favour of battles and conquests. We know for certain that the Romans signed *foedus* treaties with at least some such communities which became *municipia* at an early date. Aricia was a *municipium... iure foederatorum*⁸, and the Lau-

5, 18, 7 and 10; 5, 19, 8, cf. G. D. B. JONES 'Capena and the Ager Capenas' I, *PBSR*, 30 (1962), 121 f.

¹ Serv. *Aen.* 7, 697.

² Livy 5, 24, 2 f.

³ Livy 5, 27, 10.

⁴ *CIL* XI 3872 (?), 3873, 3876 a.

⁵ BELOCH, *RG*, 446, 495; SHERWIN-WHITE, 64 f.; PFEIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 20 f.; HARRIS, 42.

⁶ *CIL* XI 3873, 3876 a, 3878, 3932, 3935 f.; *NSc* 1953, 18, 20 f., 23 f. (*bis*).

⁷ BELOCH, *IB*, 119 f., *RG*, 397, 446; TAYLOR, *LC*, 41; JONES, I, *PBSR*, 30 (1962), 124 f.; TOYNBEE, I, 397 f.; cf. BORMANN, *CIL* XI, p. 571 and n. 4; HÜLSEN, *RE* III, 1505 f.; J. HEURGON, *Recherches sur l'histoire, la religion, et la civilisation de Capoue préromaine*, Paris 1942, 187 f.; W. V. HARRIS 'Roman *Foedera* in Etruria', *Historia*, 14 (1965), 282 f. Some scholars (e.g. G. DE SANCTIS, *Storia dei Romani*, I, Firenze 1967, 104) claim, however, that *Capenates foederati* should record a federation of three communities in the territory of Capena and not a union with Rome. See HARRIS, *Rome in Etruria*, 87 f. for references and discussion.

⁸ Cic. *Phil.* 3, 6, 15.

rentines, too, had been incorporated into the Roman body politic through a *foedus*, which was renewed annually even under the Empire¹.

None of the above-mentioned pieces of evidence helps us to conclude at what date the Capenates actually received Roman citizenship. It has often been assumed that it would have taken place as early as 395², i.e. in connection with Capena's last recorded conflict with Rome³, because the Stelatina tribe was soon afterwards founded on the *ager Capenas*⁴. This need not, however, have meant the total annexation of the Capenan territory. The Capenates may have been obliged to cede only a part of their *ager* to the Romans at that time⁵.

The *terminus ante quem* for the final incorporation of Capena into the *ager Romanus* is the Second Punic War, for the first Capenan *prodigium* was reported to Rome in 217⁶. Among other *prodigia* of that year it was introduced to the Senate by one of the consuls, accepted and duly expiated⁷. The special offering given to Feronia was apparently necessitated by the Capenan *prodigium*, for she was the tutelary deity of the Capenates⁸.

3.1.3 CAERE

In 390 the Roman *sacra* were taken to Caere by the Vestal virgins and the *Flamen Quirinalis*, who sought shelter there from the Gallic Invasion⁹. According to Strabo, the Caeretans did not only receive them and other Roman fugitives with courtesy, but they also attacked the Gauls in the territory of the Sabines when they were returning from Rome with their booty, of which they were dispossessed by the Caeretans¹⁰. According to Livy, the Romans gave the Caeretans a *hospitium publicum* in the same year as a token of their gratitude for these good offices¹¹. According

¹ Livy 8, 11, 15; cf. *CIL* X 797; see also HEURGON, *Capoue*, 188.

² E.g. BELOCH, *IB*, 48; HULSEN, *RE* III, 1505; SOLARI, I, 243.

³ Livy 5, 24, 2 f.

⁴ Livy 6, 5, 8; Fest. p. 464 L.

⁵ Cf. TAYLOR, *LC*, 41; HARRIS, 42.

⁶ Livy 22, 1, 10; for further *prodigia* references see Appendix II.

⁷ Livy 22, 1, 8-18.

⁸ See e.g. TAYLOR, *LC*, 51 ff.

⁹ Livy 5, 40, 10; 5, 50, 4; 20, 3-7; Val. Max. 1, 1, 10; Plut. *Cam.* 21; Gell. 16, 13, 7; Porph. and Pseudoacr. *Schol. Hor. ep.* 1, 6, 62, cf. *CIL* VI 1272 = I, 1², *elog.* VI.

¹⁰ Strabo 5, 2, 3.

¹¹ Livy 5, 50, 3.

to other authors the Caeretans were, however, granted not a *hospitium publicum*, but the *civitas Romana sine suffragio*¹, which, in their day, was considered *ignominiosum*². The seeming incompatibility of these statements—gratitude versus *civitas sine suffragio*—has puzzled the ancient authors, and the learned debate on it still continues today³.

It may well be that this problem can never be definitely solved, but I think that it is nevertheless worth our while to ask a few questions. Firstly, it was no doubt ignominious for a community to be reduced to the status of a *civitas Romana sine suffragio* if this entailed the loss of its independence, i.e. the repealing of its laws and the dissolving of the local administrative system⁴. Now, do we hear of any such thing in the case of Caere? No, we do not. The Caeretans received the *civitas Romana* out of gratitude—in addition to their own citizenship⁵. So, they were in no need of the Roman *ius suffragii*. They freely continued to exercise their own *ius suffragii* at Caere as well as their other civic rights. Thanks to their readiness to help the Romans, they enjoyed a limited citizenship at Rome from the year 390 onwards besides retaining the full *civitas Caeretana* at Caere.

Then we may also ask whether the *hospitium publicum* of Livy and the *civitas sine suffragio* of the other authors are, after all, so thoroughly incompatible. We learn from Gellius that the *civitas sine suffragio* granted to Caere was not an ordinary *civitas sine suffragio*; for the Caeretans were exempted from *negotiis atque exercitus*⁶. So, in fact, they enjoyed the privileges of the *civitas Romana* without having any of the burdens otherwise attached to it. When we then study the substance of the Roman *hospitium publicum*, we see that it amounts to exactly what Gellius tells us about the "Caeretan *civitas sine suffragio*": all the rights of a Roman citizen—except that of the vote—and none of the obligations⁷. And, as the persons to whom the *hospitium publicum* had been granted were—naturally—not deprived of their native citizenship, the lack of the Roman *ius suffragium* was really of no concern to them—at least at an early date.

¹ Strabo 5, 2, 3; Gell. 16, 13, 7; Porph. and Pseudoacr. *Schol. Hor. ep.* 1, 6, 62.

² Pseudoacr. *Schol. Hor. ep.* 1, 6, 62.

³ Cf. e.g. BELOCH, *RG*, 363 f.; FRANK, *Klio*, 11 (1911), 377; SHERWIN-WHITE, 50–52; J. PINSENT, 'Municeps II', *CQ*, 7(1957), 90 f.; SORDI, 110–113; and also TH. MOMMSEN, *Römische Staatsrecht*. Handb. der röm. Alterthümer, III, Leipzig 1888, 572 n. 3.

⁴ Cf. Livy 9, 43, 23 f.

⁵ Cf. SORDI, 53.

⁶ Gell. 16, 13, 7.

⁷ Consult LEONHARD, *RE* VIII, 2498 s. v. *Hospitium*; for sources see also SORDI, 37 f., 110–113; TOYNBEE, I, 200 f.; HARRIS, 46.

The above considerations lead me to the conclusion that Caere received the Roman *hospitium publicum* in 390. That it was erroneously interpreted by Gellius and other authors to have been a *civitas sine suffragio* naturally gave rise to the faulty and therefore puzzling question: how could Rome have punished a friendly community in this manner?

One more question remains. At what date was Caere reduced to a Roman *municipium*? According to Livy the Caeretans joined the Tarquinians in a war against Rome in 353, but they soon regretted it, and the Romans granted them an *indutiae* truce for a hundred years¹. He makes, however, no mention whatever of Caere's becoming a *municipium* at that date, and that would not be compatible with the signing of the *indutiae* truce either. It is generally assumed, however, that this account of Livy's is, in fact, an anticipation of the conflict which actually took place at some later date, perhaps in 293 or 273², when Caere had to cede to Rome half of its territory³ where were later established four Roman colonies⁴. In truth, Dio Cassius, the only recorder of this surrender, does not mention a word of what happened to the Caeretans themselves at that time. The other pieces of evidence also conflict. In 310 Livy still speaks of a Caeretan as *hospes*⁵, but by 302 there are Caeretans serving in the Roman army and fighting against other Etruscans⁶. Yet persons in possession of *hospitium publicum* were not expected to do military service, and Gellius, too, explicitly states that the Caeretan *civitas sine suffragio* excluded it. On the basis of the present sources, no definite conclusion can obviously be reached in this matter. For my part, I would like to suggest that a possible date of Caere's incorporation might lie between the years 338 and 306. In Festus' list of early *municipia* Caere is placed between Aricia and Anagnia⁷. From other sources we know that these communities became Roman *municipia* in 338 and 306 respectively⁸. Observe that according to Livy all the Etruscans except the Arretines besieged Sutrium during the war of 311-308⁹. That the Caeretans were also involved in this war seems to be confirmed by Diodorus, although the *lectio* of this passage has sometimes been contested¹⁰.

¹ Livy 7, 19, 8-10; 7, 20, 1-8.

² See SORDI, 114, 128-133.

³ Dio 10, 33.

⁴ See the discussion "Colonies Founded in the Territory of Caere" pp. 34 f.

⁵ Livy 9, 36, 3.

⁶ Livy 10, 4, 9.

⁷ Fest. p. 155 L.

⁸ Livy 8, 14, 2; 9, 43, 24; Diod. 20, 80.

⁹ Livy 9, 32-33.

¹⁰ Diod. 20, 44, 9.

The Caeretans were nevertheless among the first Italian communities to be admitted to Roman citizenship¹. This is further confirmed by the fact that Caere was governed by two *dictatores* even under the Empire². This title occurs only in such communities which had been incorporated in the Roman body politic before the third century³. Caere could also boast of another magisterial appointment, viz. *censor perpetuus*⁴. So far at least this title has not been recorded in connection with any other community. The third century *civitas Romana* of the Caeretans is also attested by the fact that the earliest of the nine public *prodigia* reported from Caere to Rome dates from the year 218⁵.

In 205 Caere appears on Livy's well-known list of the Etruscan communities which promised to provide Scipio with supplies when he was setting out on his African campaign⁶. This passage of Livy's presents us with two problems. Firstly, Livy seems to number the Caeretans here among the *socii*. How is this possible? By 205 the Caeretans had certainly been in possession of the *civitas Romana* for a long time. Livy's use of the term *socii* rings all the more odd as he goes on listing Nursia, Reate, and Amiternum, too, and yet all three communities had been enfranchised before the Second Punic War⁷. The perusal of Livy's list shows that Camerinum is actually the only community on it, which was certainly a *socius* in the year 205⁸. In truth Livy's own text betrays that he has been using his sources perfunctorily here: "...Caerites frumentum sociis navalibus commeatumque omnis generis"⁹. This seemingly casual expression *sociis navalibus* states, at least in my opinion, that Caere—and the other Etruscan communities mentioned on the same list—were not *socii* themselves, but were only aiding the *socii*.

The second problem presented by this passage is whether the Etruscans really voluntarily aided Scipio. As that is what Livy explicitly says¹⁰,

¹ Fest. p. 155, *municipium*, for the *tabulae Caerites* consult HARRIS, 47.

² CIL XI 3593, 3614, 3615 (actually at Sutrium, cf. M. PALLOTTINO, 'Nuovi spunti di ricerca sul tema delle magistrature etrusche', SE, 24 (1955-56), 63.

³ BELOCH, RG, 498; SHERWIN-WHITE, 52; G. DE SANCTIS, *Scritti in onore di B. Nogara*, Roma 1957, 147-151; HEURGON, *Capoue*, 236.

⁴ CIL XI 3616 f., cf. BELOCH, RG, 505 f.; SHERWIN-WHITE, 86 n. 4.

⁵ Livy 21, 62, 5; for further references see Appendix II.

⁶ Livy 28, 45, 13-21.

⁷ As Sabine towns, their inhabitants had received Roman citizenship as early as the third century, cf. Vell. Pat. 1, 14, 6 f.

⁸ Livy 28, 45, 20; Cic. *Balb.* 46-48, 50; CIL XI 5631.

⁹ Livy 28, 45, 15.

¹⁰ Cf. Plut. *Fab.* 25; Zonar. 9, 11.

have we, on the whole, a right to doubt it? Yet, Livy himself records such events taking place in Etruria at that time, so that we must question the truthfulness of his above statement. Alarming anti-Roman demonstrations occurred at Arretium in 209 and 208¹. In 206 the ex-dictator M. Livius Salinator conducted investigations in Etruria as to what communities had revolted against Rome and which of them had aided Hasdrubal with auxiliaries and supplies². In 205 two Roman legions were garrisoned at Arretium³. The following year the consul, M. Cornelius, condemned many Etruscan leaders for having conspired with Mago against the Romans and had their property confiscated⁴. In 203 the Senate decreed that trials be held in Etruria because of these conspiracies⁵. There were two Roman legions in Etruria during the next three years as well⁶. When the relations between the Etruscans and Rome were as bad as that, can we avoid the conclusion that the "aid" given to Scipio by the Etruscan communities was in fact a punishment meted out by the Roman Senate because of the disloyalty of the Etruscans during the war?⁷

For the *praefectura* of Caere see 3.2.

3.1.4 VOLSINII

Volsinii was one of the richest and most powerful cities of Etruria, frequently praised as *Etruriae caput, florentissima, opulentissima, validissima*⁸. In 264 the Volsinian leaders are said to have asked the Romans for help, because slaves⁹ had taken over control in Volsinii¹⁰. The Romans besieged Volsinii for a long time, and when they took it, razed it to the ground¹¹.

¹ Livy 27, 21, 6 f. and 27, 24, 1-9; cf. Zonar. 8, 25, and the discussion on Arretium p. 50.

² Livy 28, 10, 4 f.

³ Livy 28, 46, 18.

⁴ Livy 29, 36, 10 ff.

⁵ Livy 30, 26, 12.

⁶ Livy 30, 27, 5; 30, 41, 3; 31, 11, 1 ff.; 31, 21, 1, cf. Zonar. 9, 14.

⁷ Cf. MOMMSEN, *RG.*, I, 652; A. J. PFIFFIG, 'Die Haltung Etruriens im 2. punischen Kriege', *Historia*, 15 (1966), 205 ff.

⁸ Livy 10, 37 4 f.; Val. Max. 9, 1, ext. 2; Oros. 4, 5, cf. Zonar. 8, 7; Pliny *NH* 2, 139; Flor. 1, 16.

⁹ On the interpretation of the *servos* in this passage, see BELOCH, *IB*, 162 f., *RG*, 458; SOLARI, I, 83 n. 1; PFIFFIG, *Historia*, 17 (1968), 346 f.; TOYNBEE, II, 542; HARRIS, 116 f., and *Historia*, 14 (1965), 291.

¹⁰ Livy *Per.* 16; Flor. 1, 16; Val. Max. 9, 1, ext. 2; Oros. 4, 5, 3-5; *Vir. Ill.* 36 f.; Zonar. 8, 7.

¹¹ Flor. 1, 16; Zonar. 8, 7; *Vir. Ill.* 36; *fasti triumph.*, II XIII: 1, p. 75; cf. BELOCH, *RG*, 458 f.; BROUGHTON, *MRR* I, 201 ff., see also Pliny *NH* 34, 34.

All the usurpers were killed, and the remaining inhabitants were settled on another site¹. The statue of Vortumnus, who was the tutelary deity of Volsinii, and according to Varro, the chief god of all Etruria², was transferred to Rome, where M. Fulvius Flaccus, who celebrated a triumph *de Vulsiniensibus* on the first of November 264³, had a temple built for its cult⁴. The Volsinian Vortumnus was probably the very Voltumna in whose grove the legendary Etruscan league used to hold its sessions⁵.

The Romans obviously succeeded in thoroughly destroying Volsinii in 264, for there is no mention of it in the historical sources thereafter. Four public *prodigia* were reported from Volsinii and the *ager Volsiniensis* to Rome between the years 208 and 93⁶. In particular Livy's relation of the *prodigia* of the year 208 shows how the finding of proper expiations for them was of the greatest concern to the Roman state and how the consuls finally suffered for not having succeeded in that task:

"Praetores in provincias profecti; consules religio tenebat, quod prodigiis aliquot nuntiatis non facile litabant. Et ex Campania nuntiata erant, Capuae... Cumis... Casini... et Ostiae... Caere vulturum volasse in aedem Iovis, Volsiniis sanguine lacum manasse. Horum prodigiorum causa diem unum supplicatio fuit. Per dies aliquot hostiae maiores sine litatione caesae, diuque non impetrata pax deum. In capita consulum re publica incolumi exitiabilis prodigiorum eventus vertit" (Livy 27, 23, 1-4).

The destruction of the old Volsinii, the resettling of its inhabitants, and especially the *evocatio* of Vortumnus⁷ and the above-mentioned four

¹ Zonar. 8, 7.

² Varro *LL* 5, 46.

³ *fasti triumph.*, II XIII: 1, p. 75; cf. Livy *Per.* 16.

⁴ G. WISSOWA, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*. Handb. der klass. Altertumswiss. V, 4, München 1912, 287 f.; BASANOFF, 56-63, 67 f.; TAYLOR, *LC*, 152 f.; see Fest. p. 228 L; Pliny *NH* 34, 34; Livy 44, 16, 10, cf. MARQUARDT, III, 35 f.; Varro *LL* 6, 15; Prud. *c. Symm.* 2.347-361. Cf. also the *donarium* of Flaccus: *M. Fulvio... D. Volsinio capto*, interpretation of M. TORELLI, 'Il donario di M. Fulvio Flacco nell'area di S. Omobono', *Quaderni dell'Istituto di topografia antica*, 5 (1968), 72, 75 f.

⁵ K. LATTE, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*. Handb. der klass. Altertumswiss. V, 4, München 1960, 191, cf. *CIL* XI 5265; Livy 4, 23, 5; 4, 25, 7; 4, 61, 2; 5, 17, 6; 6, 2, 2; see also 5, 33, 9; 5, 1, 5.

⁶ See Appendix II for the references.

⁷ The *evocatio* of the Volsinian Vortumnus has been contested by EISENHUT (*RE* VIII A, 1675 f., cf. G. RADKE, *Die Götter Altitaliens*, Münster 1965, 317 f.), because there was probably a statue of Vortumnus in the Vicus Tuscus quarter of Rome before 264. This proves, however, nothing against the *evocatio* of the Volsinian Vortumnus. Had there not been dozens, perhaps hundreds of statues of Juno in Rome before the *evocatio* of the Veientane Juno? Cf. BASANOFF, 56; BRUUN, 114.

prodigia are in my opinion conclusive proofs of the annexation of the territory of Volsinii, including perhaps Ferentium¹, to the *ager Romanus* and the granting or imposing of the *civitas Romana* on its inhabitants as early as the third century².

3.1.5 FALERII

The year 241 saw the final of the several wars between Falerii and Rome. Within six days the Romans are said to have killed 15,000 Falisci³. They also thoroughly devastated the town of Falerii, which lay on a hilltop, and compelled its inhabitants to settle down in a place of easier access⁴. The statues of Minerva and Janus, the tutelary deities of Falerii, were taken to Rome⁵. The Romans also reduced half of the Faliscan territory to *ager publicus*⁶. So the fate of Falerii is on the whole very reminiscent of the subjugation of Veii and Volsinii by the Romans. The above measures do, indeed, strongly suggest that the Falisci were incorporated into the Roman body politic in 241⁷, or as Ovid poetically puts it: *quos ego [Iuno] Romanis succubuisse tuli*⁸.

There are also further pieces of evidence to support this view. Three Republican inscriptions found at Falerii record praetors as supreme magistrates⁹, and this occurs only in such communities which had been admitted to the *civitas Romana* at an early date¹⁰. One more early inscription

¹ See the discussion of the colony of Ferentium p. 37.

² Cf. NISSEN, 339; SOLARI, I, 84, 267, 270 f.; J. HEURGON, *La vie quotidienne chez les Etrusques*, Paris 1961, 25, 126.

³ Livy *Per.* 20; Eutr. 2, 78; Oros. 4, 1, 5-10; Val. Max. 6, 5, 1; *fasti triumph.*, II XIII: 1, p. 77 (*Q. Lutatius C.f. C. n. Cerco cos. an. DXII de Falisceis k. Mart.*)

⁴ Zonar. 8, 18; Polyb. 1, 65; cf. Strabo 5, 2, 9; Verg. *Aen.* 7, 695; Sil. It. 8, 490.

⁵ JANUS: Serv. *Aen.* 7, 607 f.; Macrobi. *Sat.* 1, 9, 13; cf. Lydus *Mens.* 4, 1; August. *De civ. D.* 7, 4. MINERVA: Fest. p. 306 L, cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3, 835-844; for the interpretation see WISSOWA, 252 ff.; TAYLOR, *LC*, 74 f.; BASANOFF, 50-55, 67 f. N.B. the evidence for the often held view that the temple of Juno Quiritis had not been destroyed in 241 is by no means conclusive.

⁶ Eutr. 2, 28; Zonar. 8, 18; cf. Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2, 66.

⁷ Cf. NISSEN, 364; HÜLSEN, *RE VI*, 1970; A. BERNARDI, 'I cives sine suffragio' *Athenaeum*, N.S. 16 (1938), 270 n. 2, 276; BELOCH, *RG*, 610; TOYNBEE, I, 171 and n. 3; W. DAHLHEIM, *Struktur und Entwicklung des römischen Völkerrechts im 3. und 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Vestigia 8, München 1968, 33.

⁸ Ov. *Fast.* 6, 49 f.

⁹ *CIL*, XI 3081, 3156 a, suppl. 7504.

¹⁰ Cf. BELOCH, *RG*, 610.

records a possible Faliscan *censor*¹. That, too, is a title which is found in the early *municipia* only².

Also the *prodigia* reported from Falerii in 217 suggest that it had been reduced to the status of a Roman *municipium* as early as the third century. Among other *prodigia* of that year they were referred to the Roman Senate by the consuls and then expiated³. The silver gift given to Minerva was obviously a special expiation performed on account of the Faliscan *prodigia*⁴.

3.1.6 ARRETIIUM

The records of the early history of Arretium are relatively copious, but they do not provide us with any definite information about its official relations with Rome. In 302 the Romans interfered in the internal politics of Arretium on behalf of the powerful Cilnian family⁵, and in 283 they again intervened in Arretine politics under the pretext of helping her against the Gauls⁶. Then we hear nothing of Arretium until towards the end of the Second Punic War. In 209 the Roman Senate sends M. Marcellus, the consul-elect, to investigate the anti-Roman seditions which were taking place at Arretium, and two Roman legions were consequently garrisoned there⁷. In the following year the Senate again deemed the Arretine situation so precarious that C. Hostilius Tubulus was sent there to take 120 hostages. He managed to accomplish this task only with the greatest difficulties. One Roman legion was then again garrisoned at Arretium and another one encamped immediately outside its walls⁸.

In 205 Arretium is said to have aided Scipio by providing him with "tria milia scutorum, galeas totidem, pila gaesa hastas longas, milium quinquaginta summam pari cuiusque generis numero expleturos, secures rura falces alveolos molas, quantum in quadraginta longas naves opus esset, tritici centum et viginti milia modium, et in viaticum decurionibus remigibusque conlaturos" (Livy 28, 45, 16 f.).

¹ CIL XI 3158. On the *III viri* see p. 54 n. 7.

² KUBITSCHKE, *RE* III, 1906 f.; BELOCH, *RG*, 505 f.; SHERWIN-WHITE, 86 n. 4.

³ Livy 22, 1, 10-18; Oros. 4, 15, 1; cf. Plut. *Fab.* 2.

⁴ See above n. 3.

⁵ Livy 10, 3, 2; 10, 5, 13.

⁶ Polyb. 2, 19, 7 f., cf. 2, 16, 2. Polybios' account of these events shows that at least some of the Etruscans fought on the side of the Boii against the Romans.

⁷ Livy 27, 21, 6 f.

⁸ Livy 27, 22, 5 and 13.

How can it be explained that the Arretines have now so suddenly changed their attitude towards the Romans and are helping them in such a generous manner? Their contribution seems, indeed, to be much larger than the contributions of all the other Etruscan towns put together¹. Is this how the Arretines are trying to pay for their disloyalty in the past? Yes, it is undoubtedly so, but can we believe that they did it voluntarily, as Livy implies²? His own above-cited accounts of Arretine events during this war prove indisputably that the large and detailed contribution of the Arretines must, in fact, be regarded as a punishment, which the Roman Senate meted out to them, because of their anti-Roman activities in the immediately preceding years³. And why would the Senate otherwise have again sent two legions to Arretium in that very same year, if not to keep watch over the delivery of these goods⁴? Moreover, there was a Roman army at Arretium as late as 200⁵. It is also noteworthy that in these years the Roman legions were twice moved from Arretium to Ariminium, a Latin colony, as if both towns were fully at the disposal of the Roman Senate to be used as garrisons⁶.

The supreme magistrates of Arretium seem to have been the *duumviri*, evidence of which is provided by one Republican⁷ and three Imperial inscriptions⁸. This could denote that Arretium had become a Roman *municipium* before the Social War. On the other hand, we know that at least in Pliny's day there existed three Arretinian communities: *Arretini veteres*, *Arretini Fidentiores*, and *Arretini Iulienses*, the latter two of which were most probably colonies⁹. So the *duumviri* inscriptions might come from the other two communities and not from Arretium proper.

The view that Arretium had become a Roman *municipium* before the Social War is, however, strongly supported by the several public *prodigia* reported from there between the years 198-92. Livy records two public *prodigia* from Arretium which were duly expiated by the consuls at Rome¹⁰,

¹ Livy 27, 24, 1-9, cf. 27, 36, 12 (C. Terentius Varro, the commander of the Roman legion at Arretium in 208, was given two legions for Etruria also in 207).

² Livy 28, 45, 15-18; about the term *socius* see the discussion of Caere pp. 43 ff.

³ Cf. also Zonar. 9, 11 and Plut. *Fab.* 25.

⁴ Livy 27, 24, 1-9; 28, 10, 4 f.; 29, 36, 10, ff.; 31, 21, 1, see also nn. 1-3 above; cf. MOMMSEN, *RG.* 1, 652; TAYLOR, *LC.* 195; PEIFFIG, *Historia*, 15 (1966), 205 ff. and see the discussions of Caere pp. 43 ff. and Tarquinii pp. 52 ff.

⁵ Livy 28, 46, 13.

⁶ Livy 31, 21, 1.

⁷ Livy 28, 46, 13; 31, 21, 1, cf. 27, 7, 11 and Polyb. 3, 77, 2.

⁸ *CIL* I, 2², 2087 = XI 1845.

⁹ Pliny *NH* 3, 52; cf. *CIL* XI 1849, 6675; *Lib. Col.* 215.

¹⁰ Livy 32, 9, 3; 35, 21, 2 f.

and Obsequens records five Arretine *prodigia*¹. One of them—the discovery of two hermaphrodites in 92—required besides very special expiation ceremonies to be performed at Rome: *virgines viginti septem carmen canentes urbem lustraverunt*².

For my part, I am inclined to suggest that the Arretines had received the *civitas Romana*—probably *sine suffragio*—before the 198, when the first Arretine *prodigium* recorded by Livy was reported in Rome³. The arrogance with which the Roman Senate dealt with the Arretines during the years 209–205 leads me to believe that Arretium had actually been reduced to the status of a Roman *municipium* before the year 209⁴. And would the inhabitants of an independent city state have put up with such harsh treatment by the Romans, especially as they could have allied themselves with Hannibal against Rome? My view of Arretium as a third century Roman *municipium* is also supported by Silius Italicus' reproach of the consul Corvinus. He blames Corvinus for laziness in fighting against Hannibal, and he laments that due to this the Carthaginians can now attack Arretium unimpeded⁵. Granting poetic licence we must ask: would Silius have sorrowed for the fate of Italian communities other than Roman *municipia*?

At some unknown date Arretium had been obliged to cede part of its territory to the Romans, for the Gracchan land commission reclaimed Roman *ager publicus* there in the 130's⁶.

3.1.7 TARQUINII

Tarquinius is reported to have been engaged in several wars with Rome in the fourth century. Then, for nearly a hundred years, we hear nothing of it until Cn. Fulvius Flaccus goes there in exile in 211. Livy's cryptic statement concerning this incident—*id ei iustum exilium esse scivit plebs*—

¹ Obseq. 40, 49, 52, 53, 54.

² Obseq. 53, cf. Livy 27, 37, 7. This expiation was performed only for the hermaphrodite *prodigia*; see F. KRAUSS, *An Interpretation of the Omens, Portents, and Prodigies Recorded by Livy, Tacitus, and Suetonius*. Diss. Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1930, 130 ff.

³ Livy 32, 9, 3.

⁴ Livy 27, 24, 1–9; see notes 3 and 6 on the preceding page.

⁵ Sil. It. 7, 20–74.

⁶ *Lib. Col.* 215. PEIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 66, claims on the basis of this reference to the Gracchan land commission that a citizen colony would have been sent to Arretium at that time. In my opinion, this reference, however, shows only that the Gracchan commission had claimed land there.

has been much discussed¹. As it was necessary for the *plebs* to vote on Flaccus' place of exile we might assume that Tarquinii was obviously not one of the communities where the exiles were customarily sent to. From other sources we know that the places of exile seem to have been either Latin or federated communities². Consequently we might conclude that Tarquinii must have been a Roman *municipium* at that date³. Livy's above-cited statement could, however, also be interpreted so that Flaccus' voluntary exile—not the place of it—was considered *iustum*⁴. This interpretation, which seems to be the more plausible one, naturally leaves the questions of the status of Tarquinii unanswered.

A few chapters later, Livy lists Tarquinii among the Etruscan cities which contributed supplies for Scipio's African expedition in 205⁵, but this does not help us to ascertain the status of Tarquinii either⁶. As some Tarquinians seem to have been serving in Hannibal's army during the Second Punic War⁷, it is one more piece of evidence in favour of the view that those "contributions" of the Etruscan cities were actually punishments by and not voluntary aid to the Romans, as has also been pointed out in the discussions of Caere and Arretium⁸.

Under the Empire, the inhabitants of Tarquinii referred to themselves as *Tarquinienses foederati*⁹, which, as in the case of Capena, can be regarded as

¹ Livy 26, 3, 7-12: "De eo quoque novum certamen ortum; nam cum his pecunia anquisisset, tertio capitis se anquirere diceret, tribuni plebis appellati conlegae negarunt se in mora esse; quo minus, quod ei more maiorum permissum esset, seu legibus seu moribus mallet, anquireret quoad vel capitis vel pecuniae iudicasset privato. Tum Sempronius perduellionis se iudicare Cn. Fulvio dixit, diemque comitiis ab C. Calpurnio praetore urbano petit. Inde alia spes ab reo temptata est, si adesse in iudicio Q. Fulvius frater posset, florens tum et fama rerum gestarum et propinqua spe Capuae potiundae. Id cum per litteras miserabiliter pro fratris capite scriptas petisset Fulvius, negassentque patres e re publica esse abscedi a Capua, postquam dies comitiorum aderat, Cn. Fulvius exsulatum Tarquinius abiit. Id ei iustum exilium esse scivit plebs".

² Polyb. 6, 14, 7; Livy 29, 21, 1; 43, 2, 10; Cic. *Balb.* 28.

³ Cf. MOMMSEN, *Röm. Staatsr.*, III, 49 n. 1; BELOCH, *IB.* 59; SHERWIN-WHITE, 118 f.; J. GRÖSELING, *Rom und Etrurien*. Diss. Jena, 1913, 74. Cf. however Livy 4, 30 (certain people were banished to the Roman colony of Ostia).

⁴ HARRIS, 92 f.; cf. G. CRIFO, *Ricerche sull' "exilium" nel periodo repubblicano*, Milano 1961, 183 n. 200, 185-189.

⁵ Livy 28, 45, 15.

⁶ See the discussion of Caere pp. 43 ff. and Arretium pp. 50 ff.

⁷ VANONI, *SE*, 33 (1965), 472 f.; PALLOTTINO, *SE*, 24 (1955), 355.

⁸ See pp. 43 ff., 50 ff.

⁹ *NSc* 1948, 267; *AE* 1951, 191.

a proof of their having become Roman *municipes* at an early date, most probably as early as the third century¹.

This view is supported by the *prodigia* too. Livy records one *prodigium*—the birth of a deformed pig—from Tarquinii in 210. His report clearly shows that this Tarquinian *prodigium* was included among the Roman public *prodigia* of the year 210, and duly expiated at the orders of the pontifices². Obsequens reports *prodigia* from *ager Tarquiniensis* and Tarquinii in the years 104–3 and 100 respectively³. Naturally we have to remember that the *prodigium* from *ager Tarquiniensis* only proves that the Tarquinians had been obliged to cede part of their territory to the Romans. A territorial surrender is attested by other sources, too. The colony of Graviscae was founded by the Romans in *agrum Etruscum, de Tarquiniensibus quondam captum*⁴, and the Sempronian colony was naturally founded on Roman *ager publicus* as well⁵, like Forum Cassii perhaps, too⁶.

The sending of the above-mentioned Sempronian colony to Tarquinii further confirms the view that Tarquinii had been reduced to the status of a Roman *municipium* before the Social War⁷, and there is one further piece of evidence which shows that Tarquinii certainly did not belong to

¹ See the discussion of Capena, p. 42 and n. 8.

² Livy 27, 4, 14.

³ Obseq. 43 and 45.

⁴ Livy 40, 29, 1; cf. Vell. Pat. 1, 15, 2; see also the discussion of Graviscae pp. 36 ff.

⁵ See the discussion of the colony of Tarquinii p. 38.

⁶ See the discussion of *fora* p. 39.

⁷ BELOCH (*RG*, 488–522) has shown that certain uniform patterns can be detected in the magisterial nomenclature of the Roman *municipia*, colonies, *praefecturae*, *fora*, and of the Latin colonies in Italy. This idea of BELOCH's is, as such, most interesting indeed. Some less critical historians have, however, not borne in mind that the information that can be gleaned from these titles is suggestive rather than conclusive. The titles of the magistrates could and did change several times over the centuries. As far as Etruria is concerned PFIFFIG has recently claimed that the inhabitants of Tarquinii, for example, would have received Roman citizenship only after the Social War, "was das Quattuorvirat nach 87 v. Ch. eindeutig beweist" (*Ausbreitung*, 43, cf. 12). Let it be said here only that the *III viri* inscriptions from Tarquinii do not date even from the early Empire, and that there are several communities which are known to have been granted Roman citizenship before the Social War and to have been governed by *III viri* during the Republic as well as the Empire, as BELOCH (*RG*, 504) himself recognized. Besides A. DEGRASSI ("Quattuorviri in colonie romane e municipi retti da duoviri", *MAI*, *linc.*, S. 8, 2 (1949), 288 f.) has proved that a pair of *duoviri* and *aediles* could jointly be called *III viri*, i.e. a statement like the above-cited by Prof. Pfiffig carries no weight.

the Italian *municipia* which received Roman citizenship only after the year 90. Valerius Maximus reports that the poet and orator C. Caesar Strabo Vopiscus *Cinnanae proscriptionis tempore* fled to his estate at Tarquinii¹. It is not credible that C. Caesar would have fled before Cinna to a region the inhabitants of which would have been only recently enfranchised by the Lex Iulia, yet not admitted to the thirty-one rural tribes, and therefore naturally supporters of Cinna, who was violently agitating for their admission to them². On the basis of this evidence, i.e. the *Tarquinienses foederati* inscription, the Tarquinian *prodigia*, the sending of the Sempronian citizen colony to Tarquinii, and C. Caesar's flight there during the Cinna rule, I maintain that the inhabitants of Tarquinii received the *civitas Romana* before the Social War, probably as early as the third century, as Livy's *prodigium* and the *Tarquinienses foederati* inscription seem to indicate³.

3.1.8 FAESULAE

There is no direct evidence concerning the status of Faesulae before the Social War. The three public *prodigia* recorded by Obsequens from there in 96, 94, and 92 respectively⁴, suggest, however, very strongly that it had become a Roman *municipium* before the 90's at the latest⁵.

In this connection it is also appropriate to say a few words about the widely cherished belief that Faesulae was the last stronghold of the free Etruscans in the Social War⁶. This is based solely on the testimony of Florus' *Epitome*, and we would do well to cite the whole of the relative passage here. It runs as follows:

"Inde iam passim ab omni parte Italiae, duce et auctore belli discursante Poppaedio, diversa per populos et urbes signa cecinere. Nec Annibalis

¹ Val. Max. 5, 3, 3; cf. Cic. *De or.* 3, 10, and H. BENNET, *Cinna and his Times*. Diss. Wisconsin, Menasha 1923, 25 and n. 8.

² See the discussion of the distribution of the Etruscans in the Roman tribes pp. 78 ff.

³ Cf. BELOCH, *IB*, 59 f.; BORMANN, *CIL* XI, p. 510; SOLARI, I, 229 ff.; PHILIPP, *RE* VIII A, 2346.

⁴ Obseq. 49, 51 and 53.

⁵ Cf. HULSEN, *RE* VI, 1965; RADKE, *Kl. Pauly* II, 507.

⁶ See e.g. M. LOMBARDI, *Faesulae*. Italia romana: municipi e colonie, I: IV, Spoleto 1941, 21 f.; A. DE AGOSTINO, *Fiesole*, Roma 1949, 3; A. BOETHIUS (and others), *Etruscan Culture, Land and People*, New York 1962, 118.

nec Pyrrhi fuit tanta vastatio. Ecce Oriculum, ecce Grumentum, ecce Faesulae, ecce Carseoli, Aesernia, Nuceria, Picentia penitus ferro et igne vastantur. Fusae Rutili copiae, fusae Caepionis... Pompeius vero Strabo omnia flammis ferroque populatus non prius finem caedium fecit, quam Asculi eversione manibus tot exercituum, consulum direptarumque urbium dis litaretur utcumque" (2, 6, 10 f. and 14).

It is perfectly clear from this passage that it was Q. Poppaedius Silo, the leader of the insurgent Italians, and not the Romans that laid waste to those towns. Besides, does not Florus say that Pompeius Strabo, the consul of the year 89, avenged this atrocity on the allies¹? And why would Florus, or any other Roman historian for that matter, have complained on behalf of some insurgent Italian towns destroyed by the Romans²?

Faesulae was certainly not ravaged by the Romans during the Social War. The question remains, was it, after all, ravaged by anybody? Other literary sources attest that the Social War was fought mainly in Central Italy³. Faesulae is the only northern community mentioned in the records of this war, and it is mentioned only in the above-cited passage by Florus. When would the Italians have had time to march as far north as that only to besiege and destroy a single town? It would have been an extremely difficult task too, for Faesulae lay high above the surrounding countryside on the top of a steep, rocky hill. Could Florus possibly have meant some other town? The oldest extant manuscript of Florus' *Epitome*, the *Codex Bambergensis*, which dates from the beginning of the ninth century, reads in fact *pessulae* here—not Faesulae⁴—and I, for

¹ It should also be noted that none of the other towns mentioned by Florus in this passage is known to have fought against Rome during the Social War. On the contrary: Aesernia (Livy *Per.* 16; Vell. Pat. 1, 14, 8) and Carseoli (Livy 10, 3, 2, cf. 10, 13, 1; Vell. Pat. 1, 14, 6) were Latin colonies. Besides Nuceria (H. PHILIPP, *RE* XVII, 1235 f.), Oriculum (A. W. VAN BUREN, *RE* XVII, 1780 f.) and Grumentum (App. *BC* 1, 41; WEISS, *RE* VII, 1898, has misinterpreted this passage, and the references to Seneca and Macrobius given by him do not deal with the Social War at all) are expressly said to have been on the Roman side in that war. About Picentia nothing is known except the name, Flor. l.c.; Pliny *NH* 3, 70; Strabo 5, 2.

² Cf. A. KIENE, *Der römische Bundesgenossenkrieg*, Leipzig 1845, 200; A. DOMASZEWSKI, 'Bellum Marsicum', *SAWW Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 201 (1924), 16; I. HAUG, *Der römische Bundesgenossenkrieg*. Würzburg. Jahrb. Altertumswiss. 2:1-2 (1947), 212.

³ E. T. SALMON, 'Notes on the Social War', *TAPH.*, 89 (1958), 159-179.

⁴ Cf. the same Ms. 1, 5, 8, where Faesulae reads *phae sulae*. G. SAMONATI, "Fu veramente Fiesole...", *RIF.*, 11 (1958), 117 f., maintains that the *pessulae* of the *Codex Bambergensis* should be read Pausulae, which was a Picenian town, and this seems, indeed, to be a more likely conjecture than Faesulae.

my part, would hesitate to transcribe *pessulae* as *Faesulae*. I would maintain therefore, that *Faesulae* was not destroyed by the Italians during the Social War either.

3.1.9 VOLATERRAE

Our knowledge of the early history of Volaterrae is minimal. In 298 the Romans and the Etruscans are said to have fought a battle *ad Volaterras*, and it is very probable that the inhabitants of Volaterrae were involved in that battle¹. Thereafter, Volaterrae is mentioned in the historical sources only in connection with Scipio's African expedition in 205, when it contributed grain and interior ship fittings².

None of these above-mentioned references to Volaterrae helps us to decide what sort of relations it had with Rome before the year 90. I would, however, venture to suggest that the inhabitants of Volaterrae received Roman citizenship before the *Lex Iulia*. Obsequens records that a public *prodigium* from Volaterrae was expiated at Rome in 92³.

3.1.10 PERUSIA—*Ager Perusinus*

The first recorded war between Perugia and Rome took place in the late fourth century. Thereafter, Perugia together with Arretium and Cortona asked Rome for a *foedus* in 310, but they were granted only an *indutiae* treaty for thirty years⁴. In 308 the consul Q. Fabius is said to have left a Roman garrison at Perugia after having defeated the Etruscans in the surrounding area⁵. At that time or in 294⁶ Perugia had probably been obliged to sign such a treaty with Rome which contained the provision that it had

¹ Livy 10, 12, 4. PEIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 68, however, suggests that the text should actually read Volsinii and not Volaterrae. Note that the funerary inscription of Scipio (CIL I, 2², *Scip. elog.* 6.7), the leader of the Romans in this war according to Livy, records no war against the Etruscans.

² Livy 28, 45, 15. On the interpretation of this passage, see the discussions of Caere pp. 43 ff. and Arretium pp. 50 ff.

³ Obseq. 53.

⁴ Diod. 20, 35, 5; Livy 9, 37, 12; cf. 10, 30, 1-37, 5, which records a similar treaty, this time for forty years. One of these records is no doubt a duplication.

⁵ Livy 9, 40, 18 ff.

⁶ Livy 10, 30, 1-37, 5.

to supply the Roman army with a cohort¹. In 205 Perusia provided grain and wool for Scipio's African expedition².

Obsequens records a public *prodigium* which took place in *agro Perusino* in 106³. So we might maintain that Perusia had been forced to surrender at least some of its territory to the Romans probably in connection with the above-mentioned wars⁴. The existence of a pre-Social War community with the *civitas Romana*—a *forum*⁵?—in the neighbourhood of Perusia is also suggested by an inscription found in the vicinity which records an *octovir*⁶.

On the position of Perusia during the Social War see pp. 75 ff.

3.2 THE *PRAEFECTURAE*

Our knowledge of the *praefectura*-system is on the whole very meagre, for most of the *praefecturae* seem to have gradually disappeared before the Empire, i.e. they evidently acquired the more highly appreciated status of a *municipium* or a colony⁷. All scholars agree that there must have been far more *praefecturae* in Italy than we know of today⁸. It is another matter, however, as to whether all the *praefecturae* ever existed simultaneously.

¹ Livy 23, 17, 11, cf. 23, 20, 3. There were Etruscans serving in the Roman army also in 208 and the *praefecti socium* of that year were L. Arrenius and M. Aulius (Livy 27, 26, 11 f.). PFIFFIG, *Historia*, 15 (1966), 201 f., claims that they were Etruscans, the former from Arretium, the latter from Perusia. He has obviously not been aware of the fact that L. Arrenius was a tribune of the plebs in 210, i.e. he was a Roman, and I am of the opinion that Livy's *praefectus socium* does not here indicate a native of a *socius* community, but a Roman leading the contingents of the *socii*, cf. Livy 23, 7, 3.

² Livy 28, 45, 18. On the interpretation of this passage see the discussion of Caere pp. 43 ff. and Arretium pp. 50 ff.

³ Obseq. 41.

⁴ Cf. RUOFF-VÄÄNÄNEN, *Arctos*, N.S. 7 (1972), 151 and n. 12.

⁵ Cf. *CIL* XI 1946 ...[*fac*]ante in foro fecit...

⁶ *CIL* XI 1946; cf. BELOCH, *RG*, 499 f.; RUDOLPH, *RE* XVII, 1877 ff.; RUDOLPH, 66-86; TAYLOR, *VD*, 82 f.; TOYNBEE, I, 225 f.

⁷ See E. G. HARDY, *Roman Laws and Charters*, Oxford 1912, 145; RUDOLPH, 168 ff.; SHERWIN-WHITE, 141 f.; SACHERS, *RE* XXII, 2385 f.; cf. Dio 54, 26, 2.

⁸ Cf. Caes. *BCit.* 1, 15, 1, and see e.g. BELOCH, *IB*, 133 f.; SHERWIN-WHITE, 48, 50; TOYNBEE, I, 238.

We also know very little of the Roman *praefecturae* in Etruria. Festus mentions only Caere¹ and the Roman colony of Saturnia² in his list of *praefecturae*, which is far from complete, as he himself states³. Vitruvius casually mentions the *praefectura* of Statonia, which then obviously still existed in Augustus' day⁴. On the other hand, Pliny's list of the communities of the seventh region, i.e. of Etruria, expressly comprises only one *praefectura*, viz. Praefectura Claudia Foroclori⁵. He does name Statonia, too, but he does not specify its status, and it probably means that Statonia had succeeded in attaining the status of a *municipium* (or a colony) before Pliny composed his list⁶. Also Praefectura Claudia Foroclori attained the status of a *municipium* at some date⁷, but in spite of this, the old name, Praefectura Claudia, was retained even under the Empire, as two inscriptions bear witness⁸. The existence of Praefectura Statonia naturally proves that the inhabitants of that area, too, had been admitted to Roman citizenship before the year 90⁹.

The Etrurian *praefecturae*, which then were at least four in number¹⁰, must have contributed to the Romanization of the Etruscans to some extent. Still, I would not like to maintain that they played a large part in this respect, for the incorporation in a *praefectura* always presupposed the incorporation of the respective territory in the *ager Romanus* and the admission or the forcing of its inhabitants to become Roman citizens, which as such involved other, more Romanizing factors like military service. Many minor

¹ PEIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 36-39, seeks to identify the *praefectura* of Caere with Praefectura Claudia Foroclori, but his grounds are most unsubstantial. Let it only be mentioned that there is no evidence for the existence of the term *Praefectura Caere* which he painstakingly corrects into *Praefectura Caeretana*.

² On the discussion as to whether the *praefectura* of Saturnia was founded before or after the founding of the colony of Saturnia see MINTO, 591; BELOCH, *RG*, 455; RUDOLPH, 146 f.

³ Fest. p. 262 L; cf. the list of *praefecturae* made out by e.g. TOYNBEE, I, 239.

⁴ Vitr. 2, 7, 3; for the site of this *praefectura* see BELOCH, *RG*, 566 and HARRIS, 150 n. 7.

⁵ Pliny *NH* 3, 52.

⁶ See the references of notes 4 and 5 on the previous page.

⁷ *CIL* XI suppl. 7556: *municipes*.

⁸ *CIL* XI 3310 a, suppl. 7556, cf. 7555.

⁹ The area of this *praefectura* had probably belonged to Volci (SOLARI, I, 29 f.; TAYLOR, *UD*, 86) or to Volsinii (FRANK, *Klio*, 11 (1911), 379).

¹⁰ The Praefectura Volcentana ("die man auf dem abgetretenen Gebiet von Vulci um Forum Aurelii wird suchen müssen") mentioned by ENSSLIN, *RE* XXII, 1311, did not exist in Etruria at all, but in the neighbourhood of Volci as Ensslin's source, the *Lib. Col.*, 209 L, clearly states.

criminal cases could also be settled in the *praefecturae*, which were, of course, jurisdictional districts in the first place, as the name implies, without the aid of the Roman *praefectus i.d.*, as the following passage of Cato shows¹:

"Siquid emptor aut pastores aut pecus emptoris domino damni dederit, viri boni arbitrato resolvat. Siquid dominus aut familia aut pecus emptori damni dederit, viri boni arbitrato resolvetur. Donicum pecuniam solverit aut satisfecerit aut delegarit, pecus et familia, quae illic erit, pigneri sunt. Siquid de iis rebus controversiae erit, Romae iudicium fiat" (*Agr.* 149, 2).

Besides, a person who did not feel competent enough in the Latin language to prosecute in the law-courts could be represented by a *patronus*.

4. CONCLUSION

This study, like so many other studies on the Etruscans, has once again shown that a large part of the history of this people still remains unknown to us. When did the inhabitants of the large and prosperous Etruscan cities like Clusium, Cortona, Populonia, Rusellae, Vetulonia, and Volci receive the *civitas Romana*? There is no answer. There is no single piece of evidence which would suggest either a pre-Social War date for them or the years 90-84. Neither do we know whether the *civitas Romana* was granted to or forced on—whichever way we may want to express it—the inhabitants of the earlier Roman *municipia* in Etruria *sine* or *cum suffragio*. Neither do we know when the possible *civitas sine suffragio* rights were changed to full citizenship.

The results of my paper can be summarized as follows. The Romans established at least 12—Roman and Latin—colonies in Etruria before the Social War. To be more exact, they seem to have been founded between the year 391—the earliest foundation date for Sutrium²—and the 120's, when the colonies of Ferentium and Tarquinii were most probably established. The most northern colony was Saturnia in the former territory of Caletia, and the most southern colony, Fregene, lay only some 20 kilometres from Rome in the territory ceded by Caere. The foundation dates of the Latin colonies of Sutrium, Nepes and Cosa, are somewhat dubious, and the foundation dates of Castrum Novum, Pyrgi and Heba cannot be ascertained.

In addition to the colonies, there were at least four *fora* founded by the Romans in Etruria most probably in the late third century. None of

¹ Cf. M. WILASSAK, *Römische Prozessgesetze*, II, Leipzig 1891, 220 f.

² Dio. 14, 98, 5.

the foundation dates of the four Roman *praefecturae*, which would be of great interest to the students of the Romanization of Etruria, are known to us. Strictly speaking, we can only state that they were founded before the Social War, but they are certainly not earlier than the third century¹.

At least six Etruscan towns proper, i. e. Veii, Caere, Volsinii, Arretium, Tarquinii, and Faesulae, together with Capena and Falerii, seem to have been incorporated into the *ager Romanus* before the Social War. Also the incorporation of Volaterrae is possible, though I would not like to maintain this too strongly. The incorporation of the above-mentioned towns began with the conquest of Veii in 396, and it seems to have been largely completed by the end of the third century. Together with the inhabitants of these larger cities, those living in the smaller rural communities of the territories belonging to them must also have been admitted simultaneously to Roman citizenship. In most cases it is, however, virtually impossible to discover the limits of the territories, which may have fluctuated considerably over the centuries. Similarly it is impossible to say which particular part of the territory of a certain city was turned into Roman *ager publicus*. Yet, we know for certain that at least Veii, Caere, Tarquinii, Falerii, Capena, Arretium, Caletta, Volci, and Perugia had been obliged to surrender part of their territories to the Romans, who then converted it to *ager publicus*. It is to be concluded that Etruria, as far north as Saturnia and Volsinii, had to a very large extent been brought within the Roman area of administration by the end of the third and the beginning of the second century.

How far had this process been due to a deliberate conquering policy on the part of the Romans? There can be detected no signs of such a policy, although it must be admitted that the Romans seem to have been eager to seize the opportunity of interfering in the internal politics of the Etruscan cities, as the examples of Arretium and Volsinii show. Yet, on the whole, the Roman conquest of Etruria seems to have taken place in a random rather than in an organized manner: a colony was founded here, a *forum* was established there, as the need arose. And, let us also note that the submission of Etruria did not take place over a few years or a few decades, but that it was a long and gradual process. Nearly three hundred years separate the beginning of the Veientane war in 406 from the founding of the colonies of Ferentium and Tarquinii in the 120's.

The last question remains. How far did the establishing of the colonies, the *praefecturae*, and the *fora*, as well as the turning of certain Etruscan

¹ Livy 9, 20; cf. TOYNBEE, 1, 238-245.



cities into Roman *municipia*, contribute towards the Romanization of the Etruscan people? The question is not easily answered. I would, for my part, maintain that the settling down of Romans and other Italians both as colonists in Etruscan communities and as individual cultivators on the *ager publicus* played a greater part in the Romanization process than the official measures. Becoming a Roman citizen did not—especially in the earlier centuries—necessitate any particular changes in an ordinary individual's way of life.

The civil wars of the first century and the colonies founded by Sulla and Augustus in Etruria have often been regarded as the decisive blows to Etruscan culture. Without wanting to underestimate the distress caused by these events, I should like to conclude by stating once more that the gradual Romanization of Etruria began early in the fourth century, and that all of southern Etruria approximately as far north as the present boundary line of Latium seems to have belonged to the *ager Romanus* from the late third century onwards.

APPENDIX I

THE LATIN COLONIES

Nepes

Nepes was an old Etruscan town, originally dependent either on Falerii¹ or Veii². At an unknown date in the fifth or early fourth century Nepes had become a *socius* of Rome, though its inhabitants still seemed to have had strong pro-Etruscan preferences³. According to Livy, the triumvirs were appointed in 383 to establish a colony in Nepes⁴, but according to Velleius this colony was founded only in 273⁵. Some scholars, however, want to refute both these dates⁶. At any rate Nepes is listed in 209 among the twelve Latin colonies which declared that they were no longer willing to furnish soldiers and money for Rome⁷.

Sutrium

Like Nepes, Sutrium, too, seems originally to have been dependent on Falerii or Veii⁸, and there were several armed conflicts between Rome and the Etruscans as to the possession of Sutrium in the fourth century⁹. Little more can be said about the early stages of Rome's relations with this town, for the evidence of Livy, though fairly consistent as such, is contradicted by that of Diodorus and Velleius. These latter two authors record that a colony was established in Sutrium as early as 391¹⁰ or 383¹¹. Besides,

¹ BELOCH, *RG*, 306; TAYLOR, *LC*, 97; G. DUNCAN, 'Sutri', *PBSR*, 26 (1956), 66; TOYNBEE, I, 121, 182, 347, 347; HARRIS, 43.

² SOLARI, I, 27 f.; E. MEYER, *Kleine Schriften*, II, Halle 1924, 311 and n. 1; A. ALFÖLDI, *Early Rome and the Latins*, Ann Arbor 1963, 396, cf. *CIL* XI 3212.

³ Livy 6, 10, 1-6, cf. 6, 9, 3-12.

⁴ Livy 6, 21, 4.

⁵ Vell. Pat. 1, 14, 2.

⁶ See e.g. BELOCH, *RG*, 305 f.; PAIS, 321 f.; SORDI, 135-138; contra, TOYNBEE, I, 344 f.

⁷ Livy 27, 9, 7, cf. 29, 15, 1-15; Sil. It. 8, 489.

⁸ See the discussion of Nepes, nn. 1-2 above.

⁹ Diod. 14, 117, 4; Livy 6, 3, 1-15; 6, 9, 3-12; 9, 32, 1-12; 9, 33, 1; 9, 35, 1; 9, 37, 2-10; Eutr. 2, 1; Oros. 3, 2, 4; Front. in *Strat.* 2, 5, 2; Plut. *Cam.* 33, 35; *Elog. Camill.* (*CIL* I 1² *elog.* XXV = VI 1308), cf. Fest. p. 406 L and Plaut. *Cas.* 3, 1, 9.

¹⁰ Diod. 14, 98, 5.

¹¹ Vell. Pat. 1, 14, 2.

Diodorus speaks of the colony of Sutrium in 387 and in 309 as well¹. Livy, however, speaks of Sutrium as a *socius* of the Romans in 389, 386 and 311², but then in 209 he suddenly lists it among those Latin colonies which were no longer willing to do military service or otherwise provide for the Roman army³. We are, it seems, obliged to conclude that the colony of Sutrium was settled at an unknown date before the end of the third century⁴.

Cosa (?)

Most scholars are of the opinion that Cosa was a Latin⁵ colony founded in 273⁶ in the former territory of Volci⁷, which had been ceded to the Romans in 280⁸. Two scholars, Pais and Pegna, maintain, however, that there were two colonies called Cosa: a Latin one in Campania founded in 273 and a Roman one in Etruria founded at an unknown date⁹. On the basis of Pliny's *Cosa Volcientium a populo Romano deducta*¹⁰, Gröseling, too, thinks that the Etrurian Cosa was a Roman and not a Latin colony¹¹. This statement of Pliny's is, however, contradicted by Livy who lists Cosa among the Latin colonies in 209¹². Yet, Livy's terminology is not to be heavily relied on, for just a few passages earlier he calls some of the other Latin colonies *coloniae populi Romani*¹³. The archaeological excavation of Cosa can possibly help to resolve both problems, i.e. whether it was founded in the 270's or not, and whether it was a Latin or a Roman type colony. Before the First Punic War, the Roman colonies were small settlements of only a couple of hundred colonists, whereas the Latin colonies were much larger comprising 2,500 or more colonists.

¹ Diod. 14, 117, 4; 20, 35, 1-5.

² Livy 6, 3, 2; 6, 9, 3-12; 9, 32, 1.

³ Livy 27, 9, 7, cf. 29, 15, 1-15 and Sil. It. 8, 491.

⁴ Cf. BELOCH, *RG*, 319; PAIS, 321 f.; DUNCAN, *PBSR*, 26 (1958), 66-69; PFIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 29.

⁵ Livy 27, 10, 8 (the other colonies of this list are known to have been Latin ones).

⁶ Livy *Per.* 14; Vell. Pat. 1, 14, 7, cf. 2, 16, 3 (emendation *Compsam*, but in the Ms. *Cosam*).

⁷ Pliny *NH* 3, 51.

⁸ *Fasti triumph.*, II XIII: 1, p. 73; cf. Flor. 1, 5, 6 and see NISSEN, 310 f., 328.

⁹ PAIS, 331 ff.; PEGNA, 'La vera origine di Cosa Vulcente', *SE*, 22 (1961), 411-420.

¹⁰ Pliny *NH* 3, 51, cf. Livy 27, 10, 8.

¹¹ J. GRÖSELING, *Röm und Etrurien*. Diss. Jena, 1913, 71.

¹² Livy 27, 10, 8.

¹³ Livy 27, 9, 7.

APPENDIX II

THE PUBLIC *Prodigia* FROM ETRURIA BEFORE THE YEAR 90 B. C.

Place	Year	Reference
Ager Perusinus	106	Obseq. 41
Ager Tarquiniensis	104/103	Obseq. 43
Ager Veiens	174	Livy 41, 21, 12
Ager Veiens	173	Livy 42, 2, 4
Ager Veiens	169	Livy 44, 18, 6
Ager Veiens	125	Obseq. 30
Ager Volsiniensis	104/3	Obseq. 43
Arretium	198	Livy 32, 9, 3
Arretium	192	Livy 35, 21, 3
Arretium	96	Obseq. 49
Arretium	93	Obseq. 52
Arretium	92	Obseq. 53
Arretium	91	Obseq. 54, cf. Oros. 5, 18, 4
Caere	218	Livy 21, 62, 5
Caere	217	Livy 22, 1, 10, cf. Val. Max. 1 6, 5
Caere	216	Zonar. 22, 36, 7-8
Caere	208	Zonar. 27, 23, 3
Caere	206	Zonar. 28, 11, 3
Caere	174	Zonar. 41, 21, 13
Caere	163	Obseq. 14
Caere	147	Obseq. 20
Caere	95	Obseq. 50
Capena (v. <i>etiam</i> Lucus Feroniae)	217	Livy 22, 1, 10, cf. Oros. 4, 15
Etruria	223	Oros. 4, 13, 12; Dio Cass. 12; Zonar. 8, 20, 4
Faesulæ	96	Obseq. 49
Faesulæ	94	Obseq. 51
Faesulæ	92	Obseq. 53
Falerii	217	Livy 22, 1, 10-18; Oros. 4, 15, cf. Plut. <i>Fab.</i> 2
Forum Subertanum	211	Livy 26, 23, 5
Fregenæ (<i>si modo lectio certa est</i>)	197	Livy 32, 29, 1
Graviscae	176	Livy 41, 16, 6

Place	Year	Reference
Lucus Feroniae	210	Livy 27, 4, 14
Lucus Feroniae	196	Livy 33, 26, 8
Saturnia	172	Livy 42, 20, 5
Saturnia(?)	117	Obseq. 36, cf. 31 (<i>Saturae</i>)
Tarquinius (<i>v. etiam ager Tarqui-</i> <i>niensis</i>)	210 100	Livy 27, 4, 14 Obseq. 45
Tuscia	102	Obseq. 44
Veii (<i>v. etiam ager Veiens</i>)	207	Livy 27, 37, 1
Veii	198	Livy 32, 9, 1
Veii	166	Obseq. 12
Volaterrae	92	Obseq. 53
Volsinii (<i>v. etiam ager Volsinien-</i> <i>sis</i>)	208	Livy 27, 23, 3
Volsinii	94	Obseq. 51
Volsinii	93	Obseq. 52

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EEVA RUOFF-VÄÄNÄNEN

2b. THE ETRUSCANS
AND THE *CIVITAS ROMANA*
PROBLEMS DURING THE YEARS
91-84 B.C.

The bill granting the *civitas Romana* or the *ius provocationis* to the Italians proposed by M. Fulvius Flaccus during his consulship in 125 shows that Roman citizenship was coveted by more and more Italians at that time. Flaccus proposed this bill in order to pacify those Italian landowners who had cultivated the Roman *ager publicus* and who had been profoundly disturbed by the Gracchan land reform¹. The Gracchan agrarian commission had limited—or re-enacted an old law that limited—the amount of *ager publicus* to be cultivated by a single person². In many cases this meant that the Italian landowners were suddenly deprived of land, which their families had cultivated perhaps for several generations, and which they had in a way begun to regard as their private property. In 122 C. Gracchus proposed the full enfranchisement of the Latin and the granting of Latin rights to the other Italians³. Also the *Lex (Acilia) Repetundarum* of 123/122⁴ shows that the Romans were fully aware of the Italians' desire to gain either full Roman citizenship or at least some of the rights pertaining to it⁵.

¹ App. *BC* 1, 18, 21 and 34; Val. Max. 9, 5, 1; Cic. *Balb.* 53 ff.; see E. GABBA, *Appiani Bellorum Civilium Liber Primus*. Bibl. di studi superiori, 37, Firenze 1958, 87; P. A. BRUNT, 'Italian Aims at the Time of the Social War', *JRS*, 55 (1965), 90.

² App. *BC* 1, 8, f.; Livy *Per.* 58; *Vir. Ill.* 64; see A. BURDESE, 'Studi sull'ager publicus', *MemIstGiurUnivTorino*, S. II, 76 (1952), 55–59, 62, 152; G. TIBILETTI, 'Il possesso dell'ager publicus e le norme del modo agrorum sino ai Gracchi', *Athenaeum*, 26 (1948), 173 ff.; 27 (1949), 28 ff.; GABBA, *Comm.*, 34 f., 37; A. J. TOYNBEE, *Hannibal's Legacy*, II, Edinburgh 1965, 554–561; E. BADIAN, 'Caepio and Norbanus', *Historia*, 11 (1962), 210.

³ Vell. Pat. 2, 6, 2; Plut. *C. Gracch.* 5, 19, 12; App. *BC* 1, 23; Gell. 9, 14, 16; 10, 3, 2; Cic. *Brut.* 99; *De or.* 3, 183; see E. BADIAN, *Foreign Clientelae*, Oxford 1958, 299 ff.

⁴ This is the classical date; see, however, MATTINGLY's recent discussion on this topic 'The Extortion Law of the *Tabula Bembina*', *JRS*, 60 (1970), 154–168.

⁵ *CIL* I 198, ll. 76 ff., cf. Cic. *Verr.* 1, 51; *Balb.* 24, 54; see G. ROTONDI, *Leges publicae populi Romani*, Hildesheim 1962, 322; HARDY, 41; MATTINGLY, *JRS*, 60 (1970), 163 f.

Towards the end of the 90's, the tension between Rome and her allies on the citizenship issue was gradually heightened. There had been a series of laws expelling from Rome large numbers of people who did not possess the *civitas Romana*: Chaldeans and Jews in 139¹, Italians in 126, and again in 95², as well as the Latin rhetors in 92³. The Italians naturally regarded these two decrees as an outrage against themselves, and the imprudence of the *Lex Licinia Mucia* of 95 was later to be condemned by Roman historians, too⁴.

In 91 M. Livius Drusus the Younger was elected a tribune of the plebs. He conceived a far-reaching reform plan which included—among other issues—the founding of new colonies, the settling of the *repetundarum* question, the further dividing of the *ager publicus* among the Roman plebs, and the granting of the *civitas Romana* to the Italians⁵. These issues were unavoidably intermingled. The political agitation for and against the granting of the *civitas Romana* to the allies was now reaching a climax. Drusus could not think of carrying on the land reform without simultaneously promising Roman citizenship to the allies as a compensation for the economic losses they were to suffer because of it⁶.

At this stage the Etruscans suddenly make their appearance in Appian's account of the activities of Drusus. According to him they were—like other Italians and the Umbrians, too—apprehensive of the difficulties which Drusus' colonial and agrarian laws would impose on them⁷. So they flocked to Rome, at the instigation of the consuls, ostensibly to oppose Drusus and to wait for the *dokimasia* meeting but actually to assassinate him⁸. Drusus was, indeed, killed some time later, while still a tribune of the plebs, but it is not known by whom he was killed nor whether it happened before or after the *dokimasia* awaited by the Etruscans⁹.

¹ Val. Max. 1, 3, 2, cf. Livy *Per.*, Oxy. 54.

² Schol. Bob. Sest. 30; Ascon. Corn. 60; Cic. Balb. 54; Off. 3, 47, cf. BRUNT, *JRS*, 55 (1965), 92, 96.

³ Gell. 15, 11, 2; Suet. *Rhet.* 1.

⁴ Cic. Off. 3, 47, cf. Balb. 21, 24; Brut. 16; De Or. 2, 257; Sest. 30; Sall. *Hist.* 1, 20.

⁵ CIL I, 1², *elog.* XXX; Livy *Per.* 70 f.; Vir. Ill. 66, 80; Flor. 2, 5; Val. Max. 9, 5, 2; App. BC 35; Cic. Dom. 41, 50; Leg. 2, 14 and 31; Diod. 37, 17 ff.; Vell. Pat. 2, 14, 1; Oros. 5, 18, 2; Plut. Cato Min. 2.

⁶ Cf. Schol. Bob. Mil. 7, 1; Flor. 2, 5, 6; L. Ampelius, *Lib. mem.* 19.

⁷ App. BC 1, 36; cf. J. HEURGON, 'The Date of Vegoia's Prophecy', *JRS*, 49 (1959), 41 ff.

⁸ App. *ibid.*

⁹ App. *ibid.*; Livy *Per.* 71; cf. Cic. Mil. 16 (cf. Schol. Bob. Mil. 7, 1 and 3, 9); Nat. Deor. 3, 80 f.; Oros. 5, 18, 7; L. Ampelius, *Lib. mem.* 19, 26; Vir. Ill. 66, 11 f.

These above statements of Appian present us with several problems. For instance, what were the contents of the bill to be proposed at the *dokimasia*? At first glance it seems as if Appian clearly meant that it was Drusus' colonial law that was to be voted on that day¹. Gabba's critical review of the sources proves, however, that the colonial law must have been passed earlier². He suggests that Drusus wanted to present the bill granting Roman citizenship to the Italians on that day. Haug and Badian, on the other hand, are of the opinion that the *dokimasia* was actually the meeting at which all the laws of Drusus were repealed by a *Senatus Consultum*³. Obviously the contents of this ambiguous word *dokimasia* cannot be definitely explained on the basis of the present sources. I am, however, rather inclined to accept Gabba's view. If the Senate was about to repeal the legislation of Drusus, which is Badian's theory, it does not seem reasonable that the consuls would still have wanted to have Drusus murdered and to have gone into the trouble of sending for the Etruscans and the Umbrians, nor does it really make sense—if the *dokimasia* was to be only a procedure at the Senate—that the Etruscans stayed in Rome and waited for it, as Appian says they did.

Appian's record makes it clear that the Etruscans were not in favour of the extension of Roman citizenship to the Italians, at least not on the terms that Drusus had been offering it. They can scarcely have feared his agrarian reform more than other cultivators of the Roman *ager publicus*. Did they then hate the idea of the *civitas Romana* so much that they did not even stop at thinking of assassinating him? And this cannot have been any rash decision, for at least the Umbrians had a long way to come to Rome. We should also ask: how was it actually possible for the Etruscans and Umbrians to come to Rome, to stay there, and publicly to cry down—as Appian says—the bill of Drusus though all persons not possessing Roman citizenship had been banished from the city by the *Lex Licinia Mucia*⁴. Besides at least in the Gracchan period the non-citizens had been expelled from Rome on those days when it was to be voted on such

¹ App. *ibid.*, cf. BRUNT, *JRS.* 55 (1965), 94 f.

² E. GABBA, 'Le origini della guerra sociale e la vita politica romana dopo l'89 a. C.', *Athenaeum*, 32 (1954), 48; review of BADIEN'S *Foreign Clientelae* in *RFIC*, 37 (1959), 196 ff., cf. R. THOMSEN, 'Das Jahr 91 v. Chr. und seine Voraussetzungen', *C&M*, 5 (1942), 34 f.

³ I. HAUG, *Der römische Bundesgenossen Kriege*, Würzb. Jahrb. Altertumswiss. 2:1-2, 1947, 130 ff.; E. BADIEN, *Historia*, 11 (1962), 225 ff., cf. however *FC*, 217 ff.

⁴ See above, preceding page, n. 2.

issues where their interests were at stake¹. There is only one logical answer to the above questions: the Etruscans opposing Drusus already possessed the *civitas Romana*.

The Italians were to be given the *civitas Romana* as a compensation for losses incurred through Drusus' agrarian reform. The Romans for their part were to profit by the agrarian reform. For the Etruscans already in possession of the *civitas Romana* there was, however, nothing to be gained by any of Drusus' laws. In fact, they could only lose; both the granting of the *civitas Romana* to the rest of the Italians and the land reform would have worsened their situation. It is, indeed, no wonder that they grasped at the summons of the consuls to come to Rome². This fact also further confirms my view that they already possessed the *civitas Romana*. In the circumstances of the autumn 91 it would have been very rash of the consuls to send for non-citizens whose appearance in Rome would have occasioned undue astonishment. It would also have been somewhat short-sighted of them to summon to the city such persons whom Drusus had the right to send packing by referring to the *Lex Licinia Mucia*. Drusus seems, indeed, to have resigned himself to the presence of the Etruscans in Rome, although he had learnt about the murder plot³.

The dying Drusus is said to have prophesied the outbreak of the war of the allies against Rome⁴, and this prediction soon came true, whether it sprang from wishful thinking or from Drusus' keen perception of the prevailing political situation. The long-fomented dissatisfaction of the allies against Rome reached a climax after the massacre at Asculum, and the Social War definitely broke out among the Marsi, the Paeligni, and other Mid-Italian tribes early in the year 90⁵.

For a long time none of the Etruscan communities joined in the war. According to Appian, the Etruscans were excited to action only when they heard of the campaigns on the Adriatic side of Italy in the autumn⁶. The Romans were alarmed by this news; the war was not going too well for them, and they wanted at all costs to avoid becoming surrounded by it on the Etrurian side, too. So the Senate voted that all loyal Italians

¹ App. *BC* 1, 23; Plut. *C. Gracch.* 12, cf. Cic. *Brut.* 109; *Off.* 2, 47; Fest. p. 388 L; Val. Max. 9, 5, 4, see also BADIEN, *FC*, 177, 190; BRUNT, *JRS*, 55 (1965), 90 f.

² App. *BC* 1, 36.

³ App. *ibid.*

⁴ Diod. 37, 10.

⁵ Livy *Per.* 72; Flor. 2, 6, 9; Obseq. 54; Oros. 5, 18, 8; Eutr. 5, 31; App. *BC* 1, 38 f.; Diod. 37, 2, 5.

⁶ App. *BC* 1, 49, cf. GABBA, *Comm.*, 212; HAUG, 228 f., 240, see also 212 f.

would be admitted to the *civitas Romana*. This decree was promulgated among the Etruscans, who, according to Appian, gladly accepted it¹.

Appian makes no mention of any armed conflict taking place between the Etruscans and the Romans, although he conscientiously records quite a number of seemingly insignificant skirmishes that took place in Central Italy. The compilers of Livy, however, relate that [*L.*] *Porcius Cato* [*pro*] *praetor Etruscos Plotinus legatus Umbros plurimo sanguine impenso et difficillimo labore vicerunt*². In spite of these forceful words of Orosius, that battle can scarcely have been more than a mere incident which only the most Rome-centred historians found worth recording³. Apparently the Etruscans immediately gave up fighting when they heard of the Senate's promise of citizenship. The insurgent Italians had sent 15,000 men to the Etruscans' assistance, when they learnt of their decision to stand up against Rome. The Etruscans had, however, already changed their minds before this force arrived in Etruria, and the Italians had to return without having accomplished anything there⁴.

We would naturally like to know which of the Etruscan communities had been engaged in the battle with Cato, i.e. which Etruscans were still without Roman citizenship in the year 90. There is, however, nothing much that could help us to answer this question. In the modern literature on the subject *Faesulae* has always been given as an example of the ruthless policy of the Romans towards the Etruscans during the Social War⁵, but there are no grounds whatever for this view. It is based on a double misunderstanding of *Florus'* text, as I have already shown earlier⁶. Yet I should like to draw attention to the following cryptic fragments from *Sisen-na's* fourth book on the Social War.

"Itaque postero die legatos Iguvium redeuntis apiscitur" (*Fr.* 94, *Peter*, I, p. 290).

"Tum postquam apud Iguvinos ac Perusinos eius facti mentionem proiecit..." (*Fr.* 95, *Peter*, I, p. 289).

As such, these fragments naturally prove nothing. We happen to know, however, that Iguvium was one of the very towns the inhabitants of which received Roman citizenship only after the year 90⁷. Would it be

¹ App. *ibid.*

² Oros. 5, 18, 17, cf. Livy *Per.* 74; *Flor.* 2, 6, 13.

³ Cf. HAUG, 211; BRUNT, *JRS*, 55 (1965), 94.

⁴ App. *BC* 1, 50.

⁵ See p. 55 n. 6.

⁶ See pp. 55 f.

⁷ Cic. *Balb.* 46 ff.

too rash to conclude that the Roman legate mentioned by Sisenna had come to Iguvium in order to negotiate peace there or to inform the Iguvians of the promise of the Roman Senate to grant the *civitas Romana* to the loyal allies¹? It may perhaps have been a similar errand that was accomplished at Perugia. Would the Perusians have been among the insurgent Etruscans in the Social War²? We know little of Perugia's earlier relations with Rome, but there is nothing that would expressly testify against this conjecture either. On the contrary, we know that Perugia furnished a cohort of its own for the Roman army in the Second Punic War, which presupposes an allied status³. True enough, Obsequens records a public *prodigium* which took place in *agro Perusino*⁴, and there is the *octovir* inscription found in the neighbourhood of Perugia, too⁵. These two pieces of evidence only prove, however, as I have pointed out earlier, that the Perusians had apparently been obliged to cede part of their territory to the Romans at an unknown date⁶.

There is still one slight and dubious piece of evidence concerning the insurgent Etruscans in the Social War⁷. According to Florus, their leader

¹ App. BC 1, 49. Or did they avenge their useless march to Etruria by devastating it? See Flor. 2, 9, 22.

² Cf. HAUG, 216; W. V. HARRIS, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, Oxford 1971, 217.

³ Livy 23, 17, 11; cf. 23, 30, 3 and also HARRIS, 89.

⁴ Obseq. 41.

⁵ CIL XI 1946.

⁶ See pp. 57 f.

⁷ Some scholars have drawn up the theory on the strength of Vell. Pat. 2, 20, 2 (cf. App. BC 1, 49) that the insurgent Italians would have been incorporated only in certain rural tribes (K. J. BELOCH, *Der italische Bund unter Roms Hegemonie*, Leipzig 1880, 42; J. W. KUBITSCHKE, *Imperium Romanum tributum discriptum*, Wien 1889, 61-75; E. T. SALMON, 'Notes on the Social War', *TAPhA*, 89 (1959), 179-184). It is, however, doubtful whether the measure referred to by Velleius was ever carried out in practice. In any case, it was only a temporary measure repealed in 84 at the latest. No traces of such a distribution remained at a later date, as TH. MOMMSEN, *Hermes*, 22 (1887), 101-106 could already prove. L. R. TAYLOR's study of the Roman voting districts shows further that there is no proof that this plan would ever have been carried out, let alone that it would have remained a permanent arrangement: *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic*. Papers and Monographs of the Am. Academy in Rome, 20, 1960, 112 f., and especially n. 31 a; cf. BRUNT, *JRS*, 55 (1965), 108. On the basis of this refuted theory, A. J. PEIFFIG (*Die Ausbreitung des römischen Städtewesens in Etrurien und die Frage der Unterwerfung der Etrusker*. Bibl. "Studi Etruschi", 2. Firenze 1966, 57, 61, 66, cf. 14), however, draws the singular conclusion that Arretium, Clusium and Volsinii were at war with Rome in 90, because they belonged to the Arnensis and the Pomptina, which have been reckoned among the "insurgent" tribes by the adherents of this theory. He seems neither to have consulted Taylor's study at this point nor thought of

was called Egnatius¹. Florus was, however, most probably confused at this point, for, according to other authors, [Marius] Egnatius was the leader of the Samnites². Yet several Egnatii are also known to have lived in Etruria, and so it would be theoretically possible that the Etruscan leader was an Egnatius too³. One should mention, as an interesting coincidence, that four Imperial inscriptions record Egnatii in the neighbourhood of Perusia, too⁴.

The promise of the Roman Senate to admit loyal Italians to citizenship acquired legal force through the *Lex Iulia* before the end of the year 90⁵. The following year the *Lex Plautia Papiria* extended citizenship to all the allies then domiciled in Italy, who registered themselves at the praetor's office within sixty days⁶. By virtue of these two laws the Etruscans who were still excluded from the *civitas Romana* in 90, could now acquire it.

The Romans were nevertheless determined not to let the new citizens get an upper hand in Roman politics. This would, however, have been inevitable, if they had been admitted into all the thirty one rural tribes, because they outnumbered the old citizens. So the Roman Senate at first thought of founding ten new tribes for their incorporation⁷. Very soon, however, it was obliged to give up this idea, and consent to their being admitted to a limited number (eight?) of old tribes⁸. Yet, it is doubtful whether this measure was ever carried out in practice⁹, for the Italians considered it an outrage, and there was a number of Roman politicians who well knew how

the possibility that even if this theory held true, which it does not, Arretium, Clusium, and Volsinii could have already been incorporated into the respective tribes before the Social War. Cf. the discussion of the distribution of the Roman tribes in Etruria, pp. 80 ff.

¹ Flor. 2, 6, 6.

² Livy *Per.* 75; App. *BC* 1, 40 f. and 45, cf. Vell. Pat. 2, 16, 1; see SALMON, 'NSW', 177; *Samnium and the Samnites*, Cambridge 1967, 84, 358, 366; A. DOMASZEWSKI, 'Bellum Marsicum' *S.H.W. Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 201, 1924, 14; HAUG, 224, 242.

³ *CIL* XI 3615, 3647 (Caere), 3083, 3168, suppl. 7505 (Falerii), 3257 (Sutrium), suppl. 7412 (ager Viterbensis), 2760 (Volsinii); *CIE* 200 (Saena), 352 (between Saena and Clusium).

⁴ *CIE* 3739, *CIL* XI 1924, 5470 ff.

⁵ App. *BC* 1, 49; Cic. *Balb.* 8, cf. *Fam.* 13, 30; Gell. 4, 4, 3, cf. *ILS* 8888; see BRUNT, *JRS*, 55 (1965), 107 f.; BADIEN, *Historia*, 11 (1962), 227.

⁶ Cic. *Arch.* 7; *Schol. Bob.* *ibid.*, cf. Sisenna fr. 113, 119 f. (PETER, I, p. 293);

⁷ App. *BC* 1, 49, cf. 53; Sisenna fr. 17 (PETER, I, p. 280); see TAYLOR, *FD*, 102 f.

⁸ Vell. Pat. 2, 20, 2.

⁹ Cf. the discussion of the Social War, n. 7 on the preceding page, and G. TIBILETTI, 'The Comitia during the Decline of the Roman Republic', *SDHI*, 25 (1959), 117 f., n. 90.

to play on their discontent in order to gain their support in furthering other causes¹.

In consequence of the civic strifes at Rome in 88, Gaius Marius had been obliged to escape to Africa². When he learnt that Cinna and Octavius, the consuls of the year 87, had disagreed about the tribal distribution of the new citizens³, he sailed back to Italy and landed at Telamon, on the Etrurian coast⁴. Badian and some other scholars consider this a proof that the Etruscans were staunch supporters of the Marian party⁵. Marius' landing at Telamon should, however, not be interpreted in such a haphazard way. First of all, most of the inhabitants of that region—the colonies Saturnia, Cosa, and Heba, and the *praefecturae* Saturnia and Statonia—possessed the *civitas Romana* at that date⁶. Thus, they were certainly not very eager to help Marius in his attempts to have the new citizens distributed throughout the old tribes⁷. The meagre outcome of Marius' pathetic recruiting tour in Etruria—squalid and long-haired he marched from town to town telling stories of his old victories—also shows that he had made a bad mistake, if he had calculated that he would meet with an especially favourable response among the Etruscans⁸. All in all he managed to assemble 6,000 men, a large number of whom were slaves⁹, for immediately on landing at Telamon he had proclaimed freedom to all

¹ Plut. *Sulla* 8; *Mar.* 34 f.; App. *BC* 1, 55; Livy *Per.* 77; Vell. *Pat.* 2, 18, 6; Flor. 2, 9, 6; Eutr. 5, 4; Oros. 5, 19, 3; *Vir. Ill.* 11.

² App. *BC* 1, 58–62; Plut. *Mar.* 41; Livy *Per.* 77; Cic. *Phil.* 8, 2; Vell. *Pac.* 2, 19; Val. *Max.* 3, 8, 5; F. VITTINGHOFF, 'Zur vorcaesarischen Siedlungs- und Städtepolitik in Nordafrika', *Röm. Forschungen in Niederösterreich*, 5 (1966), 225 ff.; P. A. BRUNT, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.–A.D. 14*, Oxford 1971, 577–580.

³ App. *BC* 1, 67; Livy *Per.* 79; Plut. *Sulla* 10, *Mar.* 41; Cic. *Phil.* 8, 2; Vell. *Pat.* 2, 20.

⁴ App. *BC* 1, 67; Plut. *Mar.* 41; cf. Gran. *Lic.* 35.

⁵ E. BADIEN, 'Caepio and Norbanus', *Historia*, 6 (1957), 340, 343 ff.; *FC*, 222 ff., 233 and n. 3; L. PIOTROWICZ, 'Quelques remarques sur l'attitude de l'Etrurie pendant les troubles civils à la fin de la république romaine', *Klio*, 23 (1930), 337, cf. SALMON, *SS*, 385; *RC*, 131.

⁶ The Roman colony of Saturnia was founded in 183, and the *praefectura* of Saturnia may have been founded at a still earlier date, see the discussions of Saturnia, p. 35 and the *praefecturae* p. 58.

⁷ Obs. it is no concern of mine to discuss here whether Marius had really taken this matter to heart or whether he used it only as a pretext to gain the support of the new citizens for other causes; for discussion, see e. g. BRUNT, *JRS*, 55 (1965), 106 f.

⁸ Plut. *Mar.* 41; App. *BC* 1, 67; Gran. *Lic.* 17.

⁹ Cf. T. F. CARNEY, *A Biography of C. Marius*, Chicago 1970, 63, n. 267.

the slaves that would join him, and he did not even hesitate to order *ergastula* to be broken open, if we may believe Iulius Exsuperantius¹. The rest of those 6,000 men had perhaps served under his leadership in the Cimbric and other wars and flocked to their old leader out of blind adherence even now when he was about to begin a civil war².

I am, however, sure that a first rank politician and general like Marius can scarcely have erred so much as to believe that he could assemble a large army of free men in Etruria. I would, for my part, interpret his landing at Telamon in the following way. Cinna had raised an army of eleven legions in southern and central Italy, and so Marius knew that there was no use his going there on the same errand. Marius certainly also wanted to avoid joining Cinna without any troops of his own. These two men were, in fact, no great friends, although they happened to share common interests in the prevailing circumstances³. It was not wise to land in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome either, for the city was in the hands of the Senate's party, and Marius' official expulsion from Rome had not yet been repealed. So he landed at Telamon, which was also advantageous in that there were plenty of slaves working on the large *latifundia* among whom he was bound to meet at least with some sort of support⁴.

Badian's theory of the Etruscans as supporters of the Marian party has been, to my mind uncritically, accepted by Taylor. She goes even further along these lines and comes to the conclusion that out of gratitude for the help given by the Etruscans to Marius in 87, he or his followers favoured them when the new citizens were distributed throughout the thirty-one rural tribes⁵. That is, the Etruscans were, in Taylor's opinion, distributed among more tribes than any other Italian people. Consequently, they would have had more influence in the tribus meetings, than would otherwise have been the case. The validity of this reasoning of Taylor's is, however, most questionable, as we shall see.

Marius died in January 86 without having done anything to help the admission of the new citizens to all the rural tribes, and as far as we

¹ Exup. 4, cf. App. *BC* 1, 67.; Plut. *Mar.* 41.; *Schol. Gron.* p. 410 Or.

² App. *BC* 1, 67; Plut. *ibid.* Plutarch relates that Marius was able to man 40 ships. This makes more or less exactly 6,000 men, as a ship took about 150 men at that time.

³ Plut. *Sert.* 5, cf. App. *BC* 1, 64, where he maintains that Cinna was bribed to call Marius back to Italy, see H. BENNETT, *Cinna and his Times*. Diss. Wisconsin, Menasha 1923, 6, 11 f., 30.

⁴ Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 8. Marius had had slaves in his army as early as 107, Plut. *Mar.* 9.

⁵ TAYLOR, *l'op.* 117, 310 ff.

know Cinna did not enact any such law either¹. It was only in 84 that the Roman Senate passed the decree: *novis civibus S. C. suffragium datum est*², which, following Mommsen, I understand to have meant that the new Italian citizens now received *ius suffragium [aequum]*, i.e. were at long last distributed among all the rural tribes³. This decree was an obvious emergency measure, for Sulla was about to return to Italy, and the Senate naturally feared that if it did not allow the Italians to be distributed among the thirty-one rural tribes, it would be all too easy for Sulla to get their support by promising this distribution to them⁴. At such a moment the Marians had scarcely the time or the inclination to think of a former service rendered by the Etruscans to their old leader—then more than two years dead—and to take care of arranging a conspicuously favourable tribal distribution for them. And, in addition, as I have just pointed out, the 6,000 men whom Marius succeeded in assembling after having landed at Telamon cannot really be regarded as a service to be gratefully remembered by his followers—on the contrary. What is more, apparently most of those *Bardaei* of Marius who had not already fallen in the previous battles were deliberately murdered after his siege of Rome in 87⁵. So there were few persons left to agitate for such a distribution.

It would be advisable, too, to examine Taylor's claim that the Etruscans were distributed among more tribes than other Italian peoples. She maintains that the Etruscans belonged to fourteen rural tribes⁶, but how many of these tribes were constituted in Etruria only after the Social War? Which of these tribes could Marius or his followers theoretically have determined?

¹ TAYLOR, *VD*, 105 f., 301, and CR. BULST, 'Cinnanum Tempus', *Historia*, 13 (1964), 325, however, suggest that Cinna really passed such a law. Yet, this view is supported with too many arguments *ex silentio*, cf. E. BADIEN, review of *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* by LILY ROSS TAYLOR, *JRS*, 52 (1962), 56 and 206.

² Livy *Per.* 84.

³ MOMMSEN, *Hermes*, 22 (1887), 103 and n. 2; cf. HARRIS, 232-236. The epitomator of Livy records in the same passage (*Per.* 84) the distribution of the freedmen among the thirty-five tribes. As it is not to be believed that the Senate would have dared to treat the Italians worse than the freedmen, this also proves that the idea of their incorporation into only eight tribes must have been abolished by now at the latest.

⁴ Livy *Per.* 83 f.; *Vir. Ill.* 69; App. *BC* 1, 76-79, cf. BULST, *Historia*, 13 (1964), 325.

⁵ App. *BC* 1, 69 ff.; Plut. *Mar.* 44, cf. 42; *Sert.* 5.

⁶ TAYLOR, *VD*, 115.

First of all we should state that the existence of three of Taylor's tribes¹ in Etruria is very doubtful, as she herself admits².

The Arnensis, the Sabatina, the Stellatina, and the Tromentina had been established in Etruria as early as 387³. As the tribes of the Roman and Latin colonies in Etruria had naturally been determined before Marius' day, too⁴, we also have to leave aside the Papiria, the Galeria, the Fabia, and the Voltinia⁵. As the inhabitants of Arretium, Caere, Falerii, Faesulae, and Volsinii had probably also been granted the *civitas cum suffragio* before the *Lex Iulia*, the Horatia, the Pomptina, the Scaptia, and the Voturia must also have been determined before the year 90⁶. Thus only one of Taylor's fourteen tribes, the Oufentina, could possibly have been determined by Marius or his adherents. It is, however, feasible that the Oufentina was not extended to Etruria before the founding of the colony of Sacna, and that it was founded only by the triumvirs or by Augustus. So, in the end, there remains not a single tribe which could reasonably be regarded as a novelty in Etruria between 87 and 84.

Taylor's theory of the wide tribal distribution of the Etruscans by the Marians appears all the more unfounded, when we recall that no Etruscan town⁷ belonged to the Cornelia, the Clustumina, or the Fabia, which she regards as the "Marian" tribes. In her opinion, Marius or his relatives had namely had a say in incorporating some Italian towns into these three tribes⁸. Moreover, Taylor makes a rather bad blunder in speaking of the tribes of the Etruscans and actually listing the tribes of the seventh Augustan region. When the tribes of the Roman and the Latin colonies of that region as well as the hypothetical Velina of Pistoriae are eliminated, it emerges that the Etruscans proper⁹ belonged—as far as we

¹ I.e. the Velina (Pistoriae), the Voltinia (Castrum Novum), and the Voturia (Caere).

² TAYLOR, *VD*, 115.

³ Livy 6, 5, 8.

⁴ Cf. TAYLOR, *VD*, 107-110; BADIEN, *JRS*, 52 (1962), 205; HARRIS, 237 f.

⁵ These were, according to TAYLOR, *VD*, 115, the tribes of Sutrium, Luna, Luca, and Castrum Novum.

⁶ See pp. 43-55.

⁷ Luca did belong to the Fabia, but a) it was no Etruscan town, and b) its tribe had been determined before Marius' day.

⁸ TAYLOR, *VD*, 310 f.

⁹ Naturally we could argue a little further here and claim that the Falisci were not real Etruscans and so eliminate the Horatia of Falerii, too; thus we would end up with only six "Etruscan" tribes.

know now—to seven rural tribes¹, which is a neither more nor less favourable representation than that which most other Italian peoples had in the Roman tribes. All of these seven tribes had also been established in Etruria before Marius' time, and an overwhelmingly large number of the Etruscans² belonged to the Arnensis, the Sabatina, the Stellatina, and the Tromentina, which had been founded in connection with the incorporation of the *ager Veientanus* in the year 387³.

¹ They were the Arnensis, the Horatia, the Pomptina, the Sabatina, the Scaptia, the Stellatina, and the Tromentina.

² I. e. the inhabitants of Capena, Clusium, Cortona, Horta, Perusia, Tarquinii, Tuscania, Veii, Visentium, Volaterrae, and Volci. Besides, the inhabitants of the *praefecturae* of Saturnia and Statonia most probably belonged to the Sabatina, too, because Visentium and the colony of Saturnia, which lay in these *praefecturae*, belonged to it. In addition Graviscae and Caere may perhaps also have belonged to the Stellatina, cf. R. SYME, 'Personal Names in the Annals I-VI', *JRS*, 39 (1949), 15; 'Senators, Tribes, and Towns', *Historia*, 13 (1964), 106; BADIEN, *JRS*, 52 (1962), 208. For Graviscae, see *CIL* VI 2928: *L. Caranus L. f. Ste. Valens domo Graviscis*. However, KUBITSCHKE, 85, on the basis of *CIL* VI 3884 also regards the Claudia as the possible tribe of Graviscae.

³ Livy 6, 5, 8.

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JORMA KAIMIO

3. THE OUSTING OF ETRUSCAN
BY LATIN IN ETRURIA

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ar. = Arretium	Ta. = Tarquinii
Ca. = Caere	Tu. = Tuscania
Cl. = Clusium	Vc. = Vulci
Co. = Cortona	Vs. = Volsinii
Sa. = Saena	Vt. = Volaterrae

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE PROBLEM AND THE MATERIAL

The problem of this study is: when and under which conditions did the Etruscan language cede to Latin in Etruria. It forms a part of a larger project initiated at the Finnish Institute in Rome and purporting to clarify the process of the Romanization of Etruria. Two other sections of the main project are organically connected with the present study, viz. the palaeographic analysis which, whilst employing the same epigraphic material, aims at establishing when and how the Etruscan alphabet was superseded by the Roman one, and the archaeological research which endeavours to relate the inscriptions to datable archaeological material and thus to test the validity of the chronological evidence external to the texts¹.

The way the question is set is unambiguous. The only restriction is that of the place: only Etruria proper is being treated, i.e. the area between Veii in the south and Faesulae in the north, between the Tyrrhenian Sea in the west and the territory of Perugia in the east. The Faliscan territory is omitted as being linguistically distinct from Etruria², as are also the territories outside Etruria once occupied by the Etruscans. It would not be correct to talk about a language shift in these provinces, where, excluding a short bilingual period, Etruscan had never been generally spoken.

On the other hand, the material itself sets its limitations. No literary sources elucidate the problem: the ancient writers were not interested in the fate of non-Roman languages. The study of the modern dialects of Italy admits in this respect only few conclusions, too. There remains only the epigraphic material. The inscriptions of the period of Latinization are more abundant in Etruria than in any other part of Italy. One purpose of this study concerns epigraphy: a detailed study of the inscriptions telling us something about the language shift in Etruria. There are two other aims.

¹ See BRUN (1) and MICHELSEN (4).

² However, the problem of the influence of Latin in the Faliscan territory has much in common with our problem, and the Faliscan inscriptions can sometimes be used as parallel material.

Firstly, in the linguistic field, to study the different phenomena of interference illustrating the process of Latinization, and secondly, in the historical field, to apply the results of the epigraphic and the linguistic research to the main project of the study of the Romanization of Etruria.

Three types of inscription in Etruria are of special interest: the Etruscan ones, in which the Latin influence is so evident that they cannot be considered purely Etruscan any more, the Latin ones, which still include Etruscan features, and the bilinguals written partly in Etruscan, partly in Latin. The inscriptions of the first type are exceptional, the third type, the Etrusco-Latin bilinguals has been studied by Deecke, Buonamici, Coli, Rix, and others¹. But as far as I can see, the second group, consisting of approximately five hundred Latin inscriptions with more or less clear Etruscan influence, still offers many undiscussed problems, and its richness makes it much more important than the bilingual group.

The great majority of these inscriptions is published in *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*², most of them also in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. XI and I². The recent finds are usually discussed in *Notizie degli scavi* or *Rivista della epigrafia etrusca* of *Studi Etruschi*. But the level of the publications is not very high, due to the difficulties in reading texts often partly mutilated and written in a language which is properly neither Etruscan nor Latin. In addition to this, many of the inscriptions had been lost before the CIE was published, and in a number of cases it has been very difficult to establish, on the basis of old copies, the reading of these lost slabs, which are now beyond our control. Other material was as far as possible verified during three longer sojourns in Italy in 1968-1970.

With only a few exceptions, all these inscriptions are epitaphs, and usually they consist of the mere name of the deceased. This, of course, limits the scope of the study: the special character of the epitaphs does not make them reliable material for a study of the language shift. Furthermore, onomastics naturally occupy a central position in both the epigraphic and the linguistic part of the research. In the historical part, however, the whole

¹ W. DEECKE, *Die etruskischen Bilinguen*, Etr. Forschungen und Studien V, Stuttgart 1883; G. BUONAMICI, *Epigrafia Etrusca*, Firenze 1932, 135 ff.; U. COLI, 'Formula onomastica romana nelle bilingui etrusco-latine', *SE*, 19 (1946-1947), 277-283; H. RIX, 'Die Personennamen auf den etruskisch-lateinischen Bilinguen', *Beitr. z. Namenf.*, 7 (1956), 147-172.

² Prof. M. CRISTOFANI kindly placed at my disposal the manuscript of the fasciculus CIE II : I : 4, containing the inscriptions of Caere. The inscriptions of CIE are referred to by mere number, when that can be done unambiguously, and those of CIL are preceded by the number of the volume, e.g. XI 2500, I² 2765.

epigraphic material must be taken into account, irrespective of the possible presence of interference phenomena.

The historical significance of the language shift cannot be studied, if we do not know its date; and this date must be separately determined in each town on the basis of the latest Etruscan and the earliest Latin inscriptions. But the problems involved in the historical study are much more numerous. The most general question concerns the attitude of Rome towards the non-Roman languages of Italy; as mentioned above, Etruria offers the best material in this respect. When we study the late history of the Etruscans themselves, the language can in a way be considered the most reliable indication of the maintenance of the Etruscan culture. Its disappearance throws light on the disappearance or fusion of the people, together with the differences between the parts of the territory.

No thorough research into the Latinization of Etruria has been made earlier, although the importance of such a study has been emphasized frequently. The publishers have often wrestled with the problems of the Etrusco-Latin inscriptions. Buonamici has tried to gather the different types of the material and has presented them in *Epigrafia Etrusca*, 186-196. Several of the studies by E. Lattes discuss the linguistic and onomastic phenomena of these inscriptions, even if they are, in many respects, out-of-date. Besides, some research into bilingualism in Italy has, in a more general way, touched upon the linguistic side, the latest being by H. Homeyer¹. As the historical side of the question is discussed separately in this introduction (1.3), there is no need to mention the literature on the subject of the Romanization of Etruria.

1.2 THE LANGUAGE SHIFT AND MODERN LINGUISTICS

The general phenomena of language shifts have only recently attracted the attention of modern linguists. Thus, despite the obvious importance of a language shift as a mirror of a historical process, and despite the increasing interest shown by modern linguists in bilingualism, research regarding the substitution of one language by another has not yet advanced beyond the initial stages. On the purely linguistic side, the same laws as in bilingualism and in interference cases² are generally applicable in a language shift. But

¹ 'Some Observations on Bilingualism and Language Shift in Italy from the Sixth to the Third Century B.C.', *Word*, 13 (1957), 415-440.

² The research of U. WEINREICH, *Languages in Contact*¹, The Hague 1966, is of a basic nature; see above all pp. 7-70.

whereas the student of bilingualism operates with a synchronic, usually spoken material, the material offered for the study of language shifts is diachronic, scattered in written documents¹. The final result can usually be subject to analysis – the studies of the language and nomenclature of the North-American immigrants represent a case in point. Also, the different phases of bilingualism during the development of the language shift can be described, but the entire process usually remains unstudied. It was formerly held that the language shift of a territory could be effectuated solely by way of a colonization of the area in question², and even today, modern linguists are still asking whether interference ever goes so far as to result in a language shift³; this would mean that the language shift of a person or a territory should always be conscious.

Even if modern linguistics do not afford a basis for a study of the language shift in Italy, they at least help us to understand the limited possibilities of the Etrusco-Latin material. "First, language shifts should be analyzed in terms of the functions of the language in the contact situation, since a mother-tongue group may switch to a new language in certain functions but not in others."⁴ Our material provides us with knowledge about Etruria's language in one function only, in the employment of the language in the epitaphs!⁵ Of the different domains subject to the process of interference – the vocabulary, the phonology, the morphology, the word-formation, the syntax – we know nothing at all about the vocabulary and the syntax, only the onomastic suffixes of the word-formation, some nominative and genitive forms and the feminine formation with regard to the morphology. Again, studying the sounds, we can make use of merely written material⁶. True, we know the proper names quite well – one could even propose for this study the title "The Romanization of Etruscan Nomenclature". These limitations, however, do not imply that the language shifts in antiquity ought not be studied, but they show that the possible results cannot be as detailed or reliable as in studies based on modern material.

Certain laws of transmutation are effective when a language adopts a strange nomenclature. Thus, the results regarding modern languages seem

¹ For this problem, see C. DE SIMONE, *Die griechischen Entlehnungen im Etruschen II*, Wiesbaden 1970, 1–2.

² See J. WACKERNAGEL, 'Sprachtausch und Sprachmischung', *Nachr. Gesellschaft Wiss. Göttingen, Geschäftliche Mitteil.* (1904), 92.

³ WEINREICH, 68.

⁴ WEINREICH, 107.

⁵ See also HOMEYER, 415.

⁶ For this question, see R. D. KING, *Historical Linguistics and Generative Grammar*, New Jersey 1969, 208–209.

to be valid for antiquity also. R. Herzog defined the different types of transmutation processes as early as 1897¹, concentrating the study on one special case, the translation of names in antiquity. The important paper by D. Gerhardt on Russian loan names² sheds additional light on the same phenomenon³.

The historical side of the question, the factors that cause the extinction of a language, has, in general, attracted more attention. There is a general division between the linguistic and the extra-linguistic factors. In our case, the only linguistic factor of any great value is the similarity or difference between the native language and the language of the conquerors. It has been assumed that the more the languages differ, the more difficult is the interference and the slower the shift, but on the other hand, the purer is the result after the shift⁴.

I would also like to divide the extra-linguistic factors into two groups, the first being connected with the policy of the central power, in our case of Rome, whereas the second would reflect the ability of the subject people to resist the language shift. The language policy proper, the tendency to change the language of a conquered area, is here omitted: the following chapter (1.3) will discuss the rare sources of our knowledge of the Roman language policy. Many other circumstances, however, are influential in the same direction. They are perhaps sometimes even consciously used by the conquerors to effect a language shift. One important factor is, of course, the nature of the occupation. In antiquity, we know of several cases where the conquest of a town or a country has meant the almost total destruction or selling into slavery of its inhabitants. In other instances, the backbone of the indigenous population may be broken if a ruling class, proud of its traditions, is suppressed. Quite unintentionally, this may speed up the language shift. If the subjected land has not been laid waste, the rapidity of the process depends greatly on the degree of autonomy conceded to the territory. If the magistrates are indigenous, the necessity of learning the new language is not so great, to mention one of many possibilities.

¹ R. HERZOG, 'Namenübersetzungen und Verwandtes', *Philologus*, NF 10 (1897) 33-70.

² 'Zur Technik des neuzeitliche Namentausches', *Beitr. z. Namenf.*, 7 (1956), 123-146; part of the same material is used by BAZZARELLI, 'Sui nomi personali russi di origine latina', *Studi in onore di V. Pisani* I, (1969) 97-109.

³ See also WEINREICH, 53. and the numbers 131, 267, 284 in his bibliography.

⁴ For Etruscan and Latin, see V. PISANI, 'Zur Sprachengeschichte des alten Italiens', *Rh. Mus.*, 97 (1954), 63-64, G. DEVOTO, *Storia della lingua di Roma*, Bologna 1940, 187, 199, D. GEISSENDÖRFER, *Der Ursprung der Gorgia Toscana*, Neustadt 1964, 12-13.

In the Roman Empire, in addition to these circumstances, colonization, trade, the Roman army, communications, and also the official character of the Latin language, as we shall see, must be taken into consideration.

With regard to the other group of factors, those independent of the conquerors, geographical conditions should be mentioned first. There are, however, no hard and fast rules demonstrating how physical surroundings may affect linguistic development. Each case must be discussed on its own merits: in the following chapter the situation in Italy and Etruria will be discussed in closer detail.

Many modern parallels show that the expansion of bilingualism has different forms in different social contexts. But the question is not always unambiguous. On the one hand, the ruling class often has better opportunities of adopting a foreign idiom¹ and also better reasons for doing so; on the other, traditionalism, the opposition to the habits of the conquerors, is much stronger among the aristocracy. However, the social classes and their differing attitudes to the Romans do not seem to explain the differences in the Latinization of larger territories-as far as one can judge from the inscriptions, which only with difficulty can be attributed to determined social strata.

The cultural level of the subject people is generally considered to be of the greatest importance for the ability to resist the language shift. The Greek language, which was able to resist Latin throughout the Imperial Period, not only in the east, but also in Italy, is a case in point. Evidently culture as such does not suffice to preserve the native language, but the higher cultural level is often accompanied by a certain self-esteem, by nationalism. Modern linguists have put forward the term "language loyalty" to describe the corresponding attitude towards the idiom. Nationalism and language loyalty are indeed correlated, but it seems probable that the age of European nationalism makes it fully evident for the first time that language is both a political and cultural factor of some consequence², even if there must have existed some kind of nationalism and language loyalty in antiquity³.

However, modern linguistics warn us against overemphasizing language loyalty in counteracting language shift. "Many languages with low 'prestige' have been able to hold their own against threatening shifts for long periods. . . . Many 'obsolescent' languages have received new leases of life through a rejuvenated language loyalty among the speakers and have made

¹ For examples in the Roman world, see HOMEYER, 435-437.

² WEINREICH, 99-100.

³ See below pp. 12-13.

the prediction of the death of languages a hazardous business¹". Furthermore, many modern examples show that the standardized languages, which one would have expected to exert a greater influence on, or entirely displace, other idioms, do not always have that impact. The unstandardized vernaculars, current in every-day speech, sometimes seem to be more easily adopted².

In modern times, the language shift in Ireland may be nearest to us; for the processes involved, see e.g. M. Wall, 'The Decline of the Irish Language'³. But although the general linguistic factors may be the same, the historical background and other extra-linguistic factors vary in nearly every case.

1.3 THE LATINIZATION OF ITALY AND THE ROMAN LANGUAGE POLICY

Inasmuch as the process of the Latinization of Etruria should be studied in relation to the Roman policy of conquest and unification, the parallel processes in other conquered parts of Italy form the background of this study, regardless of the fact that we cannot assume the Roman attitudes to the subject peoples to have remained unchanged throughout the period preceding the unification of the peninsula.

However, the sources offered in other parts of Italy are not always even as propitious as in Etruria. The material illustrating the spreading of the Latin language over the peninsula is mainly epigraphic. Thus, we can to some extent follow the disappearance of the inscriptions written in the native language and the appearance of the oldest Latin inscriptions predicting the victory of the language of the conquerors. But the number of inscriptions belonging to the transition period is nowhere as great as in Etruria. We could expect the literary sources to illustrate questions connected with this, and indeed, we have some indications of the use of interpreters in the intercourse between the Romans and other peoples⁴; and further, some accounts prove the continuation of the use of native languages. But the most surprising fact, which renders the problem very difficult indeed, is that we have hardly any narrative sources of Rome's language policy in republican

¹ WEINREICH, 108.

² WEINREICH, 107.

³ In *A View of the Irish Language*, edited by B. Ó Cuiv, Dublin 1969, 81-90.

⁴ Collected by W. SNELLMAN, *De interpretibus Romanorum deque linguae Latinae cum aliis nationibus commercio* II, Lipsiae 1914.

times, no information about tendencies to compel the inhabitants of the conquered areas to change their language into Latin. Thus, we can perhaps describe the process of Latinization, but have great difficulties in explaining the factors influencing the language shift.

In addition to the literary sources and the epigraphic material, some less important ways of obtaining knowledge about Italy's Latinization may be mentioned. Many of the Roman republican poets, authors and other eminent persons come from formerly non-Latin territories¹, and the fact that they write in pure Latin may imply the progress of the Latin language in their native districts, even if their knowledge of Latin can, of course, be obtained by other means. The schools, which play an important part in many modern language shifts, had hardly any greater significance at this time in Italy².

The modern dialects of Italy, like the Romance languages in general, are considered as preserving relics of the pre-Latin substrates. The correctness of this supposition has been much debated³, but even if accepted, it would not help us in dating the language shifts. On the other hand, the modern dialects as opposed to other kinds of material would illustrate the spoken language. One peculiarity of the modern Tuscan dialect, the so-called *gorgia toscana*, a development of stops into spirants, is often considered to be of Etruscan origin. The significance of this very uncertain theory for our knowledge of the continuation of the Etruscan language and the date of its extinction is very small. Also as a source of the linguistic process in Latinization, this phenomenon cannot be compared with the epigraphic material. Thus, it seems reasonable to refer here to the earlier research on the subject⁴. The fact that the Tuscan dialect is nearer Latin than other modern dialects of Italy is sometimes considered to be due to the great difference between Etruscan and Latin making the interference phenomena rare (see

¹ For examples, see A. BUDINSZKY, *Die Ausbreitung der lateinischen Sprache über Italien und die Provinzen des römischen Reiches*, Berlin 1881, 22.

² The situation is different in the Imperial Epoch, see H. BENGTSON, *Grundriss der römischen Geschichte mit Quellenkunde* I, Handb. Alt. wiss., III: 5:1, München 1967, 296.

³ See V. VÄÄNÄNEN, 'Unità del latino, realtà o illusione?', *Ann. Ist. Orient. Napoli*, Sez. Ling., 5 (1963), 63-70; E. MEILLET, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine*³, Paris 1933, 232-238.

⁴ See, above all, the dissertation of GEISSENDÖRFFER, with bibliographical notes, pp. 6-7, and ROHLFS, *IF*, 68 (1963), 295-308; P. MINGAZZINI, 'Sul fenomeno dell'aspirazione in alcune parole latine ed etrusche', *SE*, 24 (1955-1956), 349; C. BATTISTI, 'Aspirazione etrusca e gorgia toscana', *SE*, 4 (1930), 249-254; E. PULGRAM, *The Tongues of Italy*, Cambridge 1958, 340; MERLO, *SE*, 1 (1927), 307; SKUTSCH, *RE* VI, 780.

above p. 5). The flower names and corresponding supposed Etruscan relics in the language of modern Tuscany do not interest us in this study.

The process of the Latinization of Italy has been outlined by many scholars¹; it is sufficient here to make some general observations. The unification of Italy under Roman power took place in three general phases: military subjection, the incorporating of the country in the Roman administration, including colonization, and the process of the assimilation of the local population. The time between the conquest and the final assimilation naturally varies, but in many cases the whole process took several centuries. The language shift is by no means a sign of the final assimilation. On the one hand, the special characteristics of the local culture can usually be seen for some time e.g. in the archaeological material, although the written documents are in Latin, on the other, at Pompeii, for instance, the last Oscan graffiti belong to a period when all inhabitants certainly considered themselves Romans, not Samnites.

The languages of the peoples in the neighbourhood of Rome, the Sabines, the Aequi, the Hernici, are only very sparsely documented, and similarly, with one remarkable exception, the inscription of Velletri, that of the Volsci. This is doubtless due to the early extinction of the languages as a consequence of the geographical conditions and the Roman subjugation². But the Samnites, the Paeligni and other Sabellic peoples continued for some centuries after the Roman conquest to use their native languages³. Thus, we have coins with Oscan inscriptions from the time of the Social War, and above all, the inscriptions of Pompeii offer important material for an investigation of the disappearance of Oscan. Although most of the Oscan inscriptions are relatively early, there are some graffiti written just before the destruction of the city. The Bantian table, already written in Latin characters, also belongs to a late period. Thus, Oscan seems to have been the most tenacious of the indigenous languages of Italy (with the exception of Greek, of course). The Umbrian material is scarcer; the most reliable dating of the *Tabulae Iguvinae* is based on the hypothesis of the Roman influence in Umbria, and consequently, this dating cannot be used here as evidence for the continuation

¹ BUDINSZKY, 18-58; C. D. BUCK, 'The General Linguistic Conditions in Ancient Italy and Greece', *CJ.* 1 (1905-06), 99-104; DEVOTO, *Storia*, 189-211; 'La romanizzazione dell'Italia mediana', *Scritti minori*, 292; M. LEJEUNE, 'Observations sur les inscriptions vénète-latines', *Studies J. Whatmough*, 149-150; J. SOFER, 'Reichsprache und Volkssprache im römischen Imperium', *Wien. St.*, 65 (1950-51), 138-152.

² G. DEVOTO, *Gli antichi italici*³, Firenze 1967, 254-255.

³ For the early influence of Latin upon Oscan, see M. PORZIO-GERNIA, 'Aspetti dell'influsso latino sul lessico e sulla sintassi osca', *Arch. Glott. Ital.*, 55 (1970), 95 ff.

of the use of Umbrian. In any case, the native Umbrian alphabet seems to have been changed into Latin sometime in the second century B.C., and the last tables may be dated to the first half of the first century B.C.¹

In southern Italy, Messapian also seems to have survived till the end of the Republic². But the most persistent language was doubtless Greek, pockets of which have been preserved up to the present time. The position of Greek in Italy has been strengthened on the one hand by the relations with the mother country, on the other by the Roman appreciation of Greek.

When we turn to the north, Faliscan, closely related to Latin as it is, seems to have vanished during the second century B.C. The Latinization of Etruria is generally considered to have begun after the Social War and been completed at the beginning of the Imperial Epoch. Celtic and Ligurian, as far as we can conclude from the scanty material, have put up but little resistance to Latin. They seem to have vanished quite soon after the Roman conquest, perhaps in the second century B.C. The isolated mountain tribes were probably less susceptible to Roman influence. The Venetians offer a large number of inscriptions, which show a language shift through bilingualism somewhat parallel to the development in Etruria³. The Latin influence is discernible for the first time in the middle of the second century B.C.

It is self-evident that the progress of Latinization depended on geographical conditions. The nearer Rome a people was living, the greater was the pressure towards language shift. But the question of the influence of social mobility and communications on the language shift is more complicated. As the mountains and districts difficult to cross form obstacles to armies, they also hinder cultural influences and the spreading of a language. On the other hand, the roads with their halting places have certainly served as wedges for the Latin language⁴. Trade has had an important role in the process of Latinization. This can be seen also in the fact that the coastal towns soon developed into multilingual centres⁵. All this emphasizes the

¹ G. DEVOTO, *Le tavole di Gubbio*, Firenze 1967, 5.

² O. PARLANGÉLI, *Studi Messapici*, Milano 1960, 12; C. DE SIMONE, 'Nuove osservazioni sulle iscrizioni messapiche', *SE*, 30 (1962), 236.

³ See LEJEUNE, 'Observations', 149-163, 'Structure de l'anthroponymie venète d'après les inscriptions d'Este', *Word*, 11 (1955), 24-44, 'Les urnes cinéraires inscrites d'Este', *REL*, 31 (1953), 117-176; J. UNTERMANN, *Die venetischen Personennamen*, Wiesbaden 1961, 45-60.

⁴ DEVOTO, 'Romanizzazione', 297; A. GARCIA Y BELLIDO, 'La latinización de Hispania', *Arch. Esp. Arqu.*, 40 (1967), 23; E. DE FELICE, 'La romanizzazione dell'estremo sud d'Italia', *Atti e Mem. Accad. Toscana 'La Colombaria'*, 26 (1961-62), 278-280.

⁵ HOMEYER, 424-426; see also L. HAHN, 'Zum Sprachenkampf im römischen Reich bis auf die Zeit Justinianus', *Philologus*, Suppl. X (1907), 688-691.

difference between the important centres and the rural districts, small towns, far from the main roads and traffic routes, where there has not been such a need or such possibilities to learn Latin. It is true that the Roman colonization did not concern only the towns, but the whole *ager Romanus*¹, but on the other hand, the Roman occupation caused a movement of old native families from towns to the countryside, where they believed that they would be able to preserve their old traditions. Unfortunately, the sparse epigraphic material allows us in only some cases to examine the linguistic conditions of these *villae rusticae*².

Roman colonization certainly provided one of the main routes towards Latinization³. The Roman settlements in the conquered territories served first as language-islands with an ever-growing circle of native inhabitants, who were in contact with the colonists and so became bilingual. Because the colonies were often also important administrative and trading centres, their influence may soon have surpassed the limit of the established communities. However, bilingualism was just an intermediate stage on the way to a language shift under the strong unifying power of Rome in Italy⁴. How great the Latinizing influence of the colonies was depended on many things: the number of the colonists, the juridical position of the colony, and so on.

Independent of colonization, the native peoples of Italy personally came into contact with Latin in the Roman army. This concerned not only the *municipia* and other communities with Roman citizenship, but also the *socii*. One could argue that, firstly, the allies formed their own military bodies and could use their native languages in the service, and that, secondly, the military service of the Italic peoples was irregular and could not change the language of whole families. In any case, military service has undoubtedly been an important factor in effecting the divulgation of Latin⁵.

These ways in which Latin spread do not as such tell us anything about the language policy of the Romans: was the Latinization of Italy a conscious part of Roman policy? Almost the only source referring to a clearly defined decision regarding the official employment of language, Livy 40, 42, 13, concerns the petition of Cumae. According to Livy, this town petitioned in 180 B. C. to make Latin the official language of the *municipium*, and this

¹ The significance of this individual colonization is emphasized by DEVOTO, 'Romanizzazione', 290.

² See below, p. 218.

³ See E. T. SALMON, 'Roman expansion and Roman colonization in Italy', *Phoenix*, 9 (1955), 75; DEVOTO, 'Romanizzazione', 290-291; HOMEYER, 429-430; HAHN, 680-682; DE FELICE, *art. cit.*, 273-274.

⁴ HOMEYER, 429-431; DEVOTO, *Storia*, 184-186; BUDINSZKY, 10 ff.

⁵ HOMEYER, 432-433.

right was conceded to it by the Roman Senate: *Cumanis eo anno petentibus permissum, ut publice Latine loquerentur*. The Cumans were *cives sine suffragio*, and the common interpretation of the passage is that the *municipia sine suffragio* had to use their native language until the use of Latin was allowed by the Roman Senate¹. This is one of the main arguments for the hypothesis that the Roman Republic did not try to latinize the subject peoples at all². The passage is, however, not a sufficient basis for such an assumption. One could not even exclude the possibility that Livy is colouring a decree by which the Roman Senate forced the Cumans to use Latin.

There is another, usually omitted, passage presenting an opposite version of the Roman language policy, Val. Max. 2,2,2:

Magistratus vero prisca quantopere suam populique Romani maiestatem retinentes se gesserint hinc cognosci potest, quod inter cetera obtinendae gravitatis indicia illud quoque magna cum perseverantia custodiebant, ne Graecis umquam nisi Latine responsa darent. Quin etiam linguae volubilitate, qua plurimum valent, excussa per interpretem loqui cogeant non in urbe tantum nostra, sed etiam in Graecia et Asia, quo scilicet Latinae vocis honos per omnes gentes venerabilior diffunderetur.

Here one finds expressed some kind of nationalism by the Romans, and for the first time, the language shift is considered a medium of nationalism³.

When we consider conditions in the Roman world, we must doubtless leave aside our modern idea of language as a symbol of national independence, or of language as evidence of the final subjection of a people. The attitude towards language in antiquity differs from the modern: we find that the authors hardly ever show any interest in foreign languages⁴, and language seems to have been above all a medium of communication without any nationalistic significance. This has been the basic view for the general picture of the Latinization process. It has been thought that had Rome had any conscious language policy, the Roman historians would doubtless have mentioned something about it, but the above-mentioned case of Cumae testifies to the contrary. Thus, the Latinization of Italy is due to other factors: "Rom 'erobert' nicht, sondern die Stämme Italiens fügten sich von selbst der Ueber-

¹ Th. MOMMSEN, *Römischer Staatsrecht* III, Leipzig 1888, 588; DEVOTO, 'Romanizzazione', 291; *Ant. it.*, 272; T. FRANK, *CAH*, VII, 659, and L. CECI, 'Elia Lattes e la etruscologia', *RendLinc*, VI: III (1927), 82, consider that half-citizenship, used primarily for peoples differing in language, is just a middle stage, during which the peoples were learning Latin.

² PULGRAM, *Tongues*, 265.

³ For Italic nationalism, see J. WHATMOUGH, *The Foundations of Roman Italy*, London 1927, 405-408.

⁴ SOFER, 139-140.

legenheit des römischen Wesens¹". Most of the subject peoples wanted to learn Latin, because they had something to gain by it. The rapid Latinization in some districts is a consequence of the lack of internal resisting power. Or less categorically: "political measures were never adopted with a view to Latinizing a conquered people, but they did pave the way to this end²".

This picture, however, seems to be a very simplified one. When one remembers the account of Valerius Maximus about the old Roman magistrates, when we consider, for instance, the purism of Cato the Elder, and, in general, the nature of the Roman conquest and the praise of Roman virtue, one can hardly insist that there is no testimony either of Roman nationalism or of language loyalty. As far as I can see, the theory which would best explain the relation between the process of Latin and Rome's attitude towards non-Roman languages is that one already presented by F. G. Mohl³. He considered that until the Social War Rome was afraid of the unified power of Italic peoples and had every reason to advance separatism, including that of language. But then, when all Italic peoples had become Roman citizens, Rome could not hope for better than a rapid Romanization and Latinization of Italy. I shall return to this theory in the conclusion of this study (4).

In any case, it is true that the literary sources of Roman language policy are extremely rare. The collected material concerning the Latinization of Italy could shed some light on the question, even if the difficulties, especially those due to the scarcity of the material, are great. In this study, however, we can discuss the problem in a limited area, Etruria, where the material is relatively rich and the historical and cultural conditions fairly well known. Thus, one of the aims of this study in the historical field is to throw some light on the Roman language policy.

1.4 THE LITERARY SOURCES OF THE EXTINCTION OF THE ETRUSCAN LANGUAGE

The lack of interest of the Romans in foreign languages has already been mentioned. Consequently, we must deduce the view of the Roman authors about the Latinization of Etruria from quite sporadic and secondary remarks.

¹ J. GÖHLER, *Rom und Italien*, Bresl. hist. Forsch. 13, Breslau 1939, 23.

² HOMER, 433; more or less the same view can be found in BENGTON, 71, MEILLET, *Esquisse*, 231; K. VOSSLER, 'Sprache und Nation', *Mitt. Akad. wissenschaft. Erf. und Pflege Deutschums*, 11 (1936), 357-358; DEVOTO, 'Romanizzazione', 291; GARCIA Y BELLIDO, 8-9; MOMMSEN, *R. Staatsr.* III, 588-589, in the nomenclature, HERZOG, 69.

³ *Introduction à la chronologie du latin vulgaire*, Paris 1889, 99-101, 137-139.

Most often the Etruscan language is mentioned in glossaries, some of them being quite late, but it is almost impossible to know whether the author mentioning the Etruscan equivalent of a Latin or Greek word considered Etruscan a living language. We shall return to these glossae after the examination of some other passages.

The lines of Lucretius, 6,381-382:

Non Tyrrhena retro volventem carmina frustra
indicia occultae divum perquirere mentis,

seem to be a hint that there were Etruscan books of divination to be read in his time, also that these books had been translated into Latin (cf. Isid. 8, 9, 35). Budinszky and Piffig consider that *retro volventem* means the Etruscan writing from right to left¹, but the words may better be interpreted as "studied again and again"².

At approximately the same time Varro (l.l. 5,55) tells us about a certain Volnius *qui tragoedias Tuscas scripsit*. It has been thought that Volnius cannot have lived much before Varro's time³, even if the author does not mention his dates. It is, of course, possible that the passage of Varro is founded on an earlier source.

Some remarks concerning the Etruscan language from the end of the first century B.C. suggest that the language was still spoken. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (AR 1, 30, 1) mentions as a difference between the Etruscans and the Lydians: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἑκαὶ τοῖς ἑλλήνων εἰσὶν οὐδ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὡς φωνῇ μὲν οὐκέτι χρῶνται παραπλησίᾳ. Livy (5, 33, 11) recounting the power of the Etruscans, continues:

Alpinis quoque ea (scil. Etrusca) gentibus haud dubie origo est, maxime Raetis, quos loca ipsa efferarunt ne quid ex antiquo praeter sonum linguae nec eum incorruptum retinerent.

The third account is by Strabo (5, 2, 9) about the Faliscans: ἔνιοι δ' οὐ Τυρρηγνούς φασὶ τοὺς Φαλέρσιους, ἀλλὰ Φαλίσκους, ἰδίῳν ἔθνος· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς Φαλίσκους πάλιν ἰδιόγλωσσον.

Although the value of those passages as evidence for the continuation of the Etruscan language at the beginning of the Imperial Age is generally accepted⁴, we must again bear in mind the possibility that these accounts might be founded on earlier sources. Strabo himself says: ἔνιοι φασί. Livy's statement

¹ BUDINSZKY, 52; A. J. PFIFFIG, *Die etruskische Sprache*, Graz 1969, 22.

² See the Lucretius-commentary of C. BAILEY III, 1947, 1612.

³ BUDINSZKY, 52; BUCK, 102.

⁴ BUDINSZKY, 52; BUCK, 102.

is found also in Pliny the Elder (*N.H.* 3, 133), and they may have had a common source¹.

Suetonius' story (*Aug.* 97, 2) about an omen refers to the death of Augustus: the name *Caesar* in an inscription lost its first letter:

Sub idem tempus ictu fulminis ex inscriptione statuae eius prima nominis littera effluxit. Responsum est centum solos dies posthac victurum, quem numerum C littera notaret, futurumque ut inter deos referretur, quod AESAR, id est reliqua pars e Caesaris nomine, Etrusca lingua deus vocaretur.

The Etruscologic interest of the Emperor Claudius is of great significance for our problem. We know that he wrote in Greek a large historical work called *Tyrrhenika* about the Etruscans (Suet. *Claud.* 42). In a fragment of his oration found on an inscription at Lyon (*CIL* XIII 1668 = *ILS* 212, l. 18), he mentions that he has used Etruscan historians as his sources. Thus, it is probable that Claudius could read, perhaps also speak Etruscan; Seneca (*Apocol.* 5, 2) could mean just that at the same time as he mocks Claudius' speech defect²:

Quaesisse se, cuius nationis esset: respondisse nescioquid perturbato sono et voce confusa. Non intellegere se linguam eius: nec Graecum esse nec Romanum, nec ullius gentis notae.

But it is a far cry from these accounts to an Etruscan grammar by Claudius, which Bloch assumes to have existed³. The assumption of his philological interest on the basis of Seneca *Apocol.* 5, 4:

Claudius gaudet esse illic (scil. in caelo) philologos homines,
is dangerous, when we read the continuation:

sperat futurum aliquem Historiis suis locum.

One century later, Aulus Gellius (*N.A.* 11, 7, 4) tells us a story about a man who used very unusual words. He continues:

post deinde, quasi nescio quid Tusce aut Gallice dixisset, universi riserunt.

Can we see here a proof that Etruscan was still spoken in Gellius' time? This opinion is accepted by some scholars⁴, but as far as I can see, the

¹ See R. M. OGILVIE, *A Commentary on Livy*, Oxford 1965, 706.

² J. HEURGON, 'La vocation étruscologique de l'empereur Claude', *C. Rend. Acad. Iscr.* (1953), 92-97; PULGRAM, *Tongues*, 208.

³ R. BLOCH, *Le mystère étrusque*, Paris 1956, 19, without any notes.

⁴ BUDINSZKY, 52; BUCK, 102; SNELLMAN, 7; S. MAZZARINO, 'Sociologia del mondo etrusco e problemi della tarda etruschità', *Historia*, 6 (1957), 98-99; A. BOETHIUS, 'Etruskernas sexhundra år i Italien', in *San Giovenale*, Malmö 1960, 107.

sentence must rather be understood as a proverb. Much later still, Ammianus (23, 5, 10) tells us about Etruscan *haruspices* in 363 A.D. reading their books, maybe still written in Etruscan¹. But like nearly all the above-mentioned passages, this does not say anything about the language spoken in Etruria at this time. The Etruscan language may have continued to exist in the books of *haruspices* some centuries after the death of the last native Etruscan speaker.

The glossae², about sixty in number, could theoretically lend support to the dating of the extinction of the Etruscan language: one could suppose that if the glossarian mentioning an Etruscan word uses a present tense (*dicitur*, κλῆϊται), he considers the Etruscan language to be still spoken, and vice versa. But it is a fact that the glossarians nearly always use the present, for instance *Liber Glossarum*, Hesychius and Isidorus; all of these are so late that they have certainly not found Etruscan a spoken language. The few past tenses that occur³ can be explained by the context. Of course, it is worth asking how the glossarians acquired their knowledge, but in any case, it seems certain that they hardly consulted the man in the street in an Etruscan city about their problem.

Thus, the literary sources offer no material comparable with the inscriptions for a study of the Latinization of Etruria. However, the paucity of the evidence does not necessarily prove the early extinction of the language; it may as well reflect how little concerned with foreign languages the Roman authors were.

2. THE LANGUAGE SHIFT AS MIRRORED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

Our first problem in the linguistic part of this study is concerned with what the time limits of the language shift in Etruria involve. The extreme possibility would be to consider the language shift as initiated by the first linguistic loan from Latin into Etruscan, and concluded by the disappearance of the last Etruscan feature from the Latin spoken in Etruria. But this conception is obviously wrong. The Etruscan language has received Italic elements and among them Latin loans over a very long period, to such an extent that

¹ SNELLMAN, 7; SKUTSCH, *RE* VI, 780. An example preserved of the Etruscan religious books, the Mummy of Zagreb, may belong to the second or the first century B.C.

² Most easily found in *Testimonia Linguae Etruscae*, nos. 801–858.

³ LIVY 7, 2, 4 = *TLE* 837 a, VAL. MAX. 2, 4, 4 = *TLE* 837 b.

even the most eminent linguists sometimes use Italic etymologies when interpreting individual Etruscan words.

The often repeated, but never proved theory that the Etruscans invading Etruria, subjugated a native Italic population and formed only a rather small ruling class, permitting in part the native inhabitants to preserve their old language, would imply the existence of a very old Italic stratum in the Etruscan language. The Sabellic invasion of Latium in the seventh century B.C., which should have affected southern Etruria, is to some extent hypothetical, too. In the story of the migrations of peoples and tribes which affected Central Italy, the Celtic invasions of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. were certainly historically very significant as one of the main reasons for the decline of Etruscan power; the linguistic influence of the Celts, however, is more difficult to trace. Etruscan rule in Campania and in Latium implied contact with Italic peoples, even though the linguistic traces of this interaction between conqueror and conquered are equally hard to define. In any case, it is likely that some areas of Etruria proper were bilingual: the rich epigraphic material of Perugia shows so much Umbrian influence that the population of the town can be assumed to have comprised an Umbrian element. Hence, only the most recent stratum had been caused by the Roman conquest of Etruria¹.

When we consider that Latin, on the other hand, also received early loans from Etruscan, especially in the fields of nomenclature and vocabulary, it becomes even more obvious that we have to make a differentiation between loans and language shift. If we use the term Latinization instead of the Language Shift, it is a historical consequence of the Roman subjection of Etruria, and thus, its beginning could not be earlier than the beginning of the Roman conquest. Before this period, there existed Latin loans in Etruscan, as there were Greek loans, but the number of these loans did not predict a language shift or the extinction of the Etruscan language. At the other end of the process, the question concerning the time limit seems somewhat easier. We have to follow the Etruscan remnants in the Latin spoken in Etruria to their very end, in so far as they have not been adopted by Latin as constant parts of the language.

The material afforded by the inscriptions makes the theoretical question of the limits of the language shift more simple. In most towns of Etruria, we have on the one hand Etruscan inscriptions, on the other Latin ones. In the language of the Etruscan texts previous research has discerned only sparse phenomena which could be put down to the influence of Latin. It is

¹ See also DEVOTO, *Ant. It.*, 92.

also usually true that the Latin inscriptions are relatively free from Etruscan interference. But especially in two towns, at Clusium and Perusia, there is a great number of texts written in Latin characters, but which include many Etruscan linguistic and onomastic features.

In the first chapter of this part, we will discuss the influence of Latin and other Italic dialects upon the late Etruscan language. As mentioned above, the phenomena are rare, and their study is very difficult. It is also impossible to define for sure at which period and from where the phenomena came. Consequently, it is also difficult to estimate whether the phenomena belong to the language shift proper or not. This chapter will rather give a picture of the starting point of the process discussed in the following chapters.

The division between the Etruscan and the Latin inscriptions has been made on the basis of the type of alphabet used in the texts, i.e. all the inscriptions written in Etruscan characters from right to left are discussed in the first chapter. The choice of the alphabet as the decisive factor is made on the grounds that it offers the most accurate division between the Etruscan and the Latin inscriptions. There seems to be only one obvious Latin text written also in Etruscan characters in addition to the Latin inscription (2647)¹. Especially at Clusium, however, the difference between the Etruscan and the Latin inscriptions is not clear. This can already be seen in the spelling: one can find on the one hand inscriptions written in clearly Latin characters, but sinistrorsum, e.g. *Aule Cnaeve Cainal* (931), on the other hand, inscriptions in Etruscan characters dextrorsum, e.g. *tania.xlesia.scarpes*. (3691). Furthermore, the Etruscan letter *θ* appears in inscriptions otherwise Latin in their spelling, e.g. *Larθi* (991). These phenomena are discussed in the study by Mrs. Michelsen; in this study, the characters are considered more decisive than the direction of the spelling.

But it is more important to note that the inscriptions classified here under Latin texts represent different phases of the Latinization process, beginning with linguistically and onomastically wholly Etruscan texts, e.g. *Tania Calinai* (1931). In such cases, we cannot properly talk of Etruscan influence in Latin inscriptions. But the fact that the Clusine inscriptions written in Latin characters begin with such texts close to Etruscan makes it possible to follow the whole process of the language shift in these inscriptions called Latin here. The term does not in these cases as much reflect

¹ I have considered it unnecessary to mention the provenance of the Clusine and Perusine inscriptions, where the number of *CIE* makes the origin clear: the numbers 475-3306 come from Clusium, 3307-4612 from Perusia.

the language as give efficacious grounds for the discussion. The Etruscan phenomena from the Latin inscriptions representing different phases of the process will thus be discussed together in the grammatically arranged part of this study. The different stages of Etruscanity or Latinity of the inscriptions will be first presented in the conclusion of this part (2. 5).

On the basis of the inscriptions, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the language spoken in Etruria. The question of the correspondence of the written and the spoken language in Etruria will be discussed below (p. 219). It is all the time necessary to bear in mind that we are studying the written language such as it appears in the epitaphs¹.

2.1 THE LINGUISTIC PART

2.1.1 THE INFLUENCE OF THE ITALIC IDIOMS UPON THE LATE ETRUSCAN LANGUAGE

2.1.1.1 *The Phonology*

There is but little to say about the phonology. On the one hand, the predominance of the proper names in the material must be taken into consideration, because the proper names do not offer wholly reliable material for a phonological study². On the other hand, Etruscan pronunciation is, of course, relatively unknown; the alternations in the spelling can be of a graphic nature or simply spelling errors and do not necessarily reflect a phonological phenomenon³.

A clearly graphic phenomenon in which the Latin influence in the late Etruscan inscriptions can be noticed is the gemination. It has not been usually expressed in spelling in Etruscan, but it can be found in some inscriptions belonging to the latest phase of the Etruscan language: *-ss-* in

¹ A few words may be said here about the terminology used in this work. I have tried to compromise between the traditional terms of classical linguistics and those used by modern linguists, but this has, of course, been very difficult. All our material is written, but even so, I have found it clearer to speak about sounds than about graphemes, diphthongs than digraphs, and so on.

² See below, pp. 117-118.

³ Cf. KING, 208-209.

nos. 100 Vt., 214 Sa., 972,¹ *-ll-* in nos. 705, 1007, 1008, 4766 Cl., *-rr-* in nos. 1469, 4164, and *-nn-* in 100 Vt.², 1330, 3882³, 1729.⁴

Late Etruscan inscriptions comprise numerous examples of an alternation between *u* and *ɛ*, especially of *ɛ* employed as a vowel. Most of the examples come from Caere, where one can find e.g. *m̄aras* (6101), *ap̄ec̄ua* (5985); the diphthong *au* is generally recorded as *av*, e.g. the praenomen *av̄le*⁵. There are also in Etruscan some cases of *u* for *ɛ*, e.g. *uetinai* (SE 6481 Pe.). As Latin did not possess separate symbols for these sounds, the Etruscan spelling has been considered as reflecting Latin influence⁶.

The study of the phonological shape of the Greek and Italic loan-words in Etruscan, which otherwise forms the basis for the study of Etruscan phonology, can hardly be used in studying Latin influence directly upon Etruscan phonology. When the phonology of a loan-word shows any similarity to Latin, it can be caused by recent borrowing. For example, a very common Etruscan gentilicium and cognomen appears in the forms *raufe*, *rafe* and *rufe*; the name originates in Italic stem **roufos* (Ital. *ou* - Etr. *au*)⁷. In Etruscan *au* is often changed into *a*⁸, which explains the form *rafe*. But has there been another sound law *au* > *ā* (written with *u*) in Etruscan, perhaps due to Latin influence? There are some other names, which could be regarded as evidence for this, namely *lauci* - *luci* from Ital. **loucios*, and *aufle* - *afle* - *ufle* from Ital. *Oufilios*⁹. But one must take into consideration the possibility that the forms with *au* are loans from the time when Italic still had the diphthong *ou*, e.g. *raufe* < **roufos*, whereas the forms with *u* may have been borrowed anew after the monophthongization *ou* > *u* in Italic, e.g. *rufe* < *Rufus*¹⁰.

¹ All with the genitive ending *-sa*, see also M. DURANTE, 'Le sibilanti dell'etrusco', *Studi in onore di V. Pisani* I, Brescia 1969, 299.

² PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 49, would prefer *raplnei* for *rannei*.

³ *anni* probably error for *anani*, H. RIX, *Das etruskische Cognomen*, Wiesbaden 1963, 100. Obs. also *tanna* in the Perusine *cippus* (4538).

⁴ The archaic Etruscan inscriptions comprise several examples of gemination, see PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 49, DE SIMONE II, 188. The Roman influence upon the late cases of this phenomenon is accepted by DEECKE, *Bilinguen*, 64-65, MÜLLER-DEECKE, *Die Etrusker* II, Stuttgart 1877, 332-333, RIX, *Etr.C.*, 259, PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 49.

⁵ For other examples, see MÜLLER-DEECKE II, 384-386, S. P. CORTSEN, *Lyd og skrift i Etruskisk*, København 1908, 184-185, PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 34.

⁶ CORTSEN, *Lyd*, 184; RIX, *Etr.C.*, 223.

⁷ See PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 35.

⁸ See PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 35; RIX, *Etr.C.*, 302.

⁹ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 65-66; HERBIG, 'Falisca', *Glotta*, 2 (1910), 86-87.

¹⁰ It must, however, be noticed that the three forms *raufi*, *rufi* and *rafi* all appear in the same family tomb CIE 3469-3506. Cf. also the alternation in the good Etruscan name *lautni* - *lutni*.

The Etruscan language differs from Latin in that it recognizes an opposition between the aspirated and the unaspirated stops. There is, however, a certain amount of irregularity: the same word may appear both aspirated and unaspirated. This alternation has often been considered arbitrary: the forms with or without aspiration have been unhesitatingly joined together¹. But at present the general view of Etruscan aspiration has become much stricter, and an alternation is considered possible only in the latest Etruscan inscriptions². The lateness of the phenomenon³ would imply the influence of the lack of opposition between aspirated and unaspirated stops in Latin⁴.

In any case, the fact is that in general the Etruscan inscriptions preserve well the most striking differences from the Latin phonology. The letters *b*, *d*, *g*, *o*, which are not existent in Etruscan and the lack of which reflects the lack of opposition between voiced and unvoiced stops and between *o* and *u*, do not appear even in the latest inscriptions. The distinction between *s* and *ś* remains relatively clear⁵. The influence of the Italic languages could naturally make itself felt in other ways, for instance, it could cause the general Etruscan sound laws to be ignored in districts closer to the Latin- and Umbrian-speaking areas. But as long as our knowledge of the differences between the Etruscan dialects remains very sparse, it is dangerous to see in these differences an external influence.

2.1.1.2 *The Morphology*

The morphology offers much richer material for a study of the Italic loans in Etruscan. The nominative and genitive endings, the feminine formation and the name suffixes are of special interest here. But it must be said at once that the morphology of personal names seems to differ at many points from that of other Etruscan nouns.

The nominative singular of masculine gentilicia almost regularly has the ending *-s* in southern Etruria, often at Perugia and Arretium, too, e.g. *ane* at Clusium, but *anes* (5493) at Tarquinii. The origin of the ending has been

¹ See, for instance, CORTSEN, *Lyd*, 24, 103, M. PALLOTTINO, *Elementi della lingua etrusca*, Firenze 1936, 22-23, L. HEILMANN, 'Alternanza consonantica mediterranea e "Lautverschiebung Etrusca"', *AGI*, 37 (1952), 53.

² See especially DE SIMONE II, 166-203, and cf. also CRISTOFANI, *SE*, 34, 329, *SE*, 35, 612, RIX, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 220, 81-82.

³ For examples, see PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 38-41, CORTSEN, *Lyd*, 24 ff., 90 ff.

⁴ So already CORTSEN, *Lyd*, 66; *Glotta*, 23, 175.

⁵ A lack of consistency can be noticed especially at Perugia, where the Italic influence was strong, DURANTE, 304-305.

disputed for a long time. The form can be a patronymic genitive, which should have parallels in the cognomina. But if it really is a nominative, the ending could be of Italic origin¹. In any case, it would be so early a borrowing that it is of no special interest for our study.

The same also concerns the possible Indo-European origin of the genitive endings *-s* and *-al*, which has now been mostly rejected. One special case is the genitive in *-ias* of the feminine gentilicia in *-ia*, e.g. *calias* (2745). The element *-ia* itself is certainly of Italic origin, and Fiesel would derive the whole ending *-ias* from Italic², even if she also admits the possibility of an Etruscan *-s*-genitive. It is most unlikely that the ending *-s*, which disappeared early from the Latin and became rhotacized in Umbrian, should have been adopted in Etruscan.

The Etruscan language does not seem to have had any special feminine formation originally. The feminine endings of nouns, names of goddesses or female praenomina do not differ from the masculine ones. This may have been the original situation also with regard to the gentilicia, the same forms having been used both by men and women³. But this practice was soon changed, and the new name part, the cognomen, also had separate masculine and feminine forms. The feminine formation of gentilicia and cognomina is mostly "ungenuine", the element *-i* is added to the masculine form, e.g. *ancaru - ancariu*. This formative *-i* was also supposed to be of Indo-European origin⁴, but this very difficult question does not affect our study. The other common feminine ending *-ia*, is, on the contrary, of the greatest importance.

The feminine ending *-ia* appears in almost all North-Etruscan types of gentilicia and cognomina. The masculine forms in *-u* at Clusium correspond to the feminine cognomen in *-unia* (p.⁵ 165-166), gentilicia in *-ui* are at Clusium twice as common as those in *-unia* (p. 171), the latter type being rare at Perugia, too (p. 175). The genuine feminine formation m. *-e*-f. *-ia* occurs in cognomina both at Clusium and at Perugia (pp. 208-209); at Clusium it also appears with gentilicia (p. 223), but only seldom at Perugia and in other towns (pp. 224-226). The only examples of a formation m. *-a*-f. *-ania* are from Clusine cognomina (p. 242). M. *-i*-f. *-ia* appears in one

¹ For the problem, see PFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 76-78, RIX, *Etr.C.*, 57-58, and Kratylus, 8 (1963), 138-139, with bibliography.

² E. FIESEL, *Das grammatische Geschlecht im Etruskischen*, Göttingen 1922, 99-100, 118.

³ FIESEL, *GG*, 70.

⁴ See FIESEL, *GG*, 119.

⁵ The references are to RIX, *Etr.C.*

cognomen at Clusium (p. 255), but is common in gentilicia (p. 256), as it is at Perugia (pp. 261-262). The feminine in *-nia* corresponding to a masculine in *-ni* is rare in both Clusine and Perusine gentilicia (pp. 290-291).

The appearance of the ending gives clear evidence of its origin. At Perugia there is an alternation between the feminine forms *cai* - *caia* corresponding to m. *cai*, *vipi* - *vipia* to m. *vipi*, and so on: most of the stems connected with these alternating formatives are of Italic origin. It is probable that the original Etruscan feminine form was *cai*, but the Italic form *Gaia* led to the variant *caia*¹. The extension of the ending *-ia* can be observed in the so-called praenomen-gentilicia of Italic origin also at Clusium, where the primary feminine formative in these names was clearly *-i* and the forms in *-ia* seem to belong to the first century B.C.². The regular ending *-nia* corresponding to the masculine *-ni* appears at Clusium mainly in names of Italic origin³. The great majority of the cognomina and gentilicia with the feminine formation m. *-e* - f. *-ia*, e.g. *plaute-plautia*, are direct loans from Italic languages⁴. These examples do not imply that the ending *-ia* was not widespread outside the group of Italic names in Etruscan. But it is a secondary ending, later than *-i*, and very likely due to the interference of Latin⁵.

The Italic influence is in a way even stronger in some scattered feminine forms in *-a* at Perugia: cogn. *ucilana* (3540), gent. *cusperiana* (3360), *lecusta* (4379). All these names seem to be of Italic origin⁶, and appear to have preserved their Italic formation in Etruscan at Perugia, where the Umbrian influence is considerable⁷.

In southern Etruria, the feminine ending *-ia* is very rare. Volsinii offers one certain case, *numesia celes* (5191), in a late inscription⁸. The Italic gentilicium *vipia* appears at Tarquinii (5568). Three examples come from Caere: *apeucia* (5985), *ranazuia* (6153) and *pustmia* (6038), the last of which seems to be a direct loan from Latin *Postumia*⁹. The other towns of southern Etruria offer no certain examples¹⁰.

¹ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 176-177.

² RIX, *Etr.C.*, 222-223.

³ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 290-291.

⁴ H. RIX, "Italische" Einflüsse in etruskischen Personennamen', *St.Onom. Monac.*, IV (1961), 625.

⁵ FIESEL, *GG*, 115; RIX, *Etr.C.*, *passim*.

⁶ *lecusta* is possibly of Greek origin, DE SIMONE I, 87.

⁷ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 311-312.

⁸ For other, more uncertain cases, see FIESEL, *GG*, 69.

⁹ CRISTOFANI, *SE*, 34 (1966), 225, would add *matuia* (NSc, 1937, 384-385, n. 16), but this archaic vascular inscription seems to be in the genitive.

¹⁰ For the cases from Vulci, see FIESEL, *GG*, 86.

Before leaving the ending *-ia*, we may mention in passing its appearance, in addition to the occurrence of the ending *-i*, in some ordinary praenomina. Such names are *larθia* – *larθi*, *fastia*, *hastia* – *fasti*, *hasti*, and *velia* – *veli*¹. The former ending is met within northern Etruria, and it seems to occur there later than the ending *-i*². Thus, here again the influence of the Latin feminine formative can be detected.

As we can already observe from the examples mentioned above, there is in Etruscan a large body of onomastic material borrowed from the Italic languages. The normal Italic gentilicium suffix *-ios* has in Etruscan two equivalents, *-ie* and *-i*. The correspondence of *-ios* and *-ie* is parallel to the substitution of the Indo-European *-os* by *-e*³, and the other equivalent *-i* may have originated from *-ie*⁴. The local distribution of these forms is clear: *-ie* is normal in southern Etruria, it is widespread as early as in the archaic inscriptions of Orvieto, and it is later common especially at Tarquinii. On the other hand, the inscriptions at Clusium and at Perugia demonstrate extensive use of the ending *-i*. In both towns, the names with this ending are often of Italic origin. We can, however, talk about morphologic interference only when this Italic element begins to appear in genuine Etruscan names. Southern Etruria seems to be untouched by such influence: the masculine ending *-i* is extremely rare. But in the late inscriptions of northern Etruria the ending becomes prominent. The rise of the ending *-ni* is typical. It is an amalgamation of the regular Etruscan gentilicium ending *-na* and the Italic *-i*-element. In the older Etruscan inscriptions this ending is absent, but it appears as often as *-na* in the late Clusine and Perusine names. One further argument for its Italic origin and lateness is given by the feminine forms of the names ending in the masculine in *-ni*: they have the same feminine ending *-nei*, gen. *-nal*, as the names ending in masculine in *-na*⁵. It is more difficult to find other Italic features in the suffixes of Etruscan

¹ See PRIEFFIG, *Sprache*, 177. Cf. also *θana* – *θania*, *seθra* – *seθria*. The variation *-a* / *-ia* in the feminine ending also appears relatively early in Greek loan names, see DE SIMONE II, 118.

² FIESEL, *GG*, 45.

³ See G. HERBIG, 'Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft und Etruskologie', *IF*, 26 (1910), 376.

⁴ See also J. KAIMIO, 'The Nominative Singular in *-i* of Latin Gentilicia', *Arctos*, N.S., 6 (1970), 33–34.

⁵ I.e., the Latin influence is apparent only in masculine forms, whereas the feminine has remained unchanged, RIX, 'Ital.', 624. The Italic origin of the ending *-ni* is already accepted by W. SCHULZE, *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen*, Berlin 1904, 264–265, 517; see also HERBIG, 'Indog.', 367–370, E. PULGRAM, 'The Origin of the Latin Nomen Gentilicium', *HSPH*, 58–59 (1948), 182, RIX, *Etr.C.*, 196–197.

names. The *-l-*element that can be compared with the Latin diminutive suffix *-(i)lius*, has evidently gained ground both in southern and northern Etruria¹.

2.1.1.3 *The Vocabulary*

The different strata of Italic elements in Etruscan render the study of lexical loans rather difficult. The possibilities of distinguishing the loan-words rooted in Etruscan after the Roman conquest from the earlier Indo-European loans, often of Greek or Umbrian origin, are few². When we study the late Latin loans in other native dialects of Italy, we notice that the loans usually belong to certain semasiologic groups, for instance administration³. But whereas the late Oscan and Umbrian titles of magistrates are mostly borrowed from Latin, only one of the well-known Etruscan titles, *macstrev* (TLE 195, Ta.), seems to be connected with Latin *magister*. The word *maru* is perhaps of Umbrian origin. In general, the lexical loans seem to indicate that geographical proximity, especially with the Umbrians, has meant more than political dependency.

2.1.1.4 *The Nomenclature*

The onomastic influences between Etruscan and Latin are well known and well studied, but mostly in one direction only. Schulze's great theory about the Etruscan origin of Latin nomenclature has on many points not yet been invalidated, although many scholars have emphasized the Italic elements in Etruscan onomastics.

Many of the archaic Etruscan praenomina, particularly those attested in southern Etruria, are evidently of Italic origin. From Caere and Orvieto alone the following names may be mentioned: *kaisie*, *kalatur*, *kavie*, *licine*, *tite*, *uvie*, *venel*, *vehie*, *mamarce* and *θefarie*. Later the number of Etruscan praenomina was restricted and certain names became, just as in Rome, citizen praenomina⁴, although, alternatively, Italic names could still appear at this

¹ See CRISTOFANI, *SE*, 34 (1966), 225, PALLOTTINO, *SE*, 31 (1963), 196, PFFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 167.

² See PFFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 173-175, and for the Greek loans especially DE SIMONE I-II, A. ERNOUT, 'Les éléments étrusques du vocabulaire latin', *Philologica* I, Paris 1946, 25-26, *Aspects du vocabulaire latin*, Paris 1956, 61-67; for the Umbrian loans in Etruscan, OLZSCHA, *Atti IV Conv. St. Etr.* (1960), 485-501, F. ALTHEIM, *Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache*, Frankfurt a.M. 1951, 206.

³ See CAMPOREALE, *Atti Ac. Toscana*, 21 (1956), 39 ff., PORZIO GERNIA, 97-103.

⁴ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 89, 350; PFFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 176.

juncture. The Roman citizen praenomina emerge, although scattered at first, in the latest phase of the Etruscan inscriptions, evidently after Roman citizenship had been granted to the Etruscans. Thus, at Caere *marce*, often abbreviated *m.*, is one of the most common praenomina. The abbreviation *ca.* or *c.* for *cae* appears occasionally, *p(upli)* twice in 5999; *ti.* (5908) corresponds to Latin *Tiberius* or *Titus*. Otherwise *cae* is attested some twenty-five times at Clusium¹, where, too, *l(a)uci* for *Lucius* has been employed. Except at Caere, *marce* appears in some southern cities only, *cneve* at Vulci (5275) and at Perugia (4376), where *pup(li)* is found in a bilingual (3763), and *θefri* (3757, 4045), *θepri* (4419) is also known².

Many of these praenomina and other individual names of Italic origin appear in Etruria often as gentilicia also: *cae*, *tite*, *tipi*, *veti* and *petru* with their variants were the most common names in Etruria, and the list could be extended by some ten names³. This has been explained by H. Rix, who has proved conclusively that the owners of these names belong to a lower social class without full citizenship, and that these gentilicia are old individual names of unfree persons, which became hereditary after manumission⁴. The inscriptions that certainly belong to freedmen, *lautni*, show that foreign names have been usual in this social group in Etruria, as also in Rome; in addition to the Greek names, many seem to be of Latin origin⁵.

The Etruscan and the Latin gentilicia have much in common. W. Schulze has, in fact, demonstrated that a great number of the Roman gentilicia seem to be of Etruscan origin. Nevertheless, his tendency almost to exclude the possibility of Latin loans in Etruscan has been criticized from the very beginning, and the distortion of his view, caused by his neglect of historical facts, has become even more apparent in modern studies, which have taken up anew the question of onomastic loans. True, the origin of Etruscan names occurring in Latin is also in many cases impossible to determine. New methods have, however, revealed a considerable Italic element in the Etruscan gentilicia. When etymological and semasiological studies have not been sufficient to clarify the origin of a certain name, the morphology has at times

¹ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 52.

² For these names, their origin and appearance, see also G. DEVOTO, 'Rapporti onomastici etrusco-italici', *SE*, 3 (1929), 269-279, BUONAMICI, *EE*, 258-272, W. DEECKE, *Die etruskischen Praenomina*, *Etr. Forsch.* III, Stuttgart 1878, must now be considered out-of-date.

³ See RIX, *Etr.C.*, 338-339.

⁴ See RIX, *Etr.C.*, 342 ff.

⁵ See RIX, *Etr.C.*, 364-365. Some Greek names may have been adopted by Etruscan through Latin, see DE SIMONE, II, 143.

assisted in a decisive way – despite the fact that the picture of the development may have been obscured by the occurrence of morphologic interference.

The praenomen-gentilicia mentioned above form the most conspicuous group of Italic names in Etruscan. It should be noticed that Etruscan gentilicia have often been formed from these and other Italic individual names by an Etruscan formative, e.g. *petru* – *petruni*, *pumpu* – *pumpuni*, *marce* – *marcna*. In some other cases, Italic gentilicia formed from individual names are directly borrowed by Etruscan, e.g. *latini* and *herini*, the morphology of which is exceptional in Etruscan¹. The last Etruscan inscriptions sometimes show new gentilicia, which are clearly transcriptions of Latin names, e.g. in three bilinguals we have the names *fapi* – *Fabius* (1290), *qisi* – *Phisius* (1288), *casi* – *Cassius* (378, Ar.). This applies to many other names with the ending *-i*, especially at Perusia.

Many Etruscan names used as gentilicia are originally cognomina, and frequently of Latin origin. Names with the ending *-e*, such as *r(a)ufe*² – *Rufus*, *pl(a)ute* – *Plautus*, *crespe* – *Crispus*³, constitute one such large group. Some of the cognomina ending in *-a* have a good Italic etymology: *alfa*, *panza*, *sceea*⁴; of the names ending in *-u* only *fulu* and *catu* belong to the Italic group⁵. Furthermore, the endings *-ane*, *-ine* indicate an Italic origin; these are formations of ethnika which originally may have been employed equally well in gentilicia as in cognomina⁶.

The Latin and Etruscan name forms resemble one another in many respects. Both peoples introduced at an early stage the *duo nomina*-system with the praenomen and a hereditary gentilicium, subsequently supplemented by the filiation and, later still, by the cognomen. These two additions assumed a different character within the Etruscan and the Roman sphere⁷. Next, the Etruscans introduced two new name parts, metronymikon and gamonymikon, whereas the Roman women ceased to use the praenomen. The indication of *tribus* was also for some time a regular part of the Roman name form⁸.

¹ RIX, 'Ital.', 625–626; *Etr.C.*, 288–289.

² The parentheses are used in this study in a double function; on the one hand, they indicate alternation attested in the forms of a word, e.g. here both *raufe* and *rafe* occur; on the other hand, they indicate abbreviated letters in a single inscription.

³ See RIX, 'Ital.', 627; *Etr.C.*, 227–228.

⁴ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 310.

⁵ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 249.

⁶ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 191.

⁷ See below, pp. 72, 94.

⁸ In a way, the use of citizen praenomina and certain gentilicium formations also belongs to the name forms, see PFEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 191, but these phenomena have been discussed above.

These are, however, only the general outlines of the development. The use of the new name parts of the Etruscan name form was nowhere a set standard¹, although this may to a certain extent be due to the fact that very long name forms were avoided on small gravestones. Latin influence can sometimes also be seen in a complete Etruscan name form in the order of the name parts. In Etruscan, contrary to the Latin practice, the cognomen usually stands immediately after the gentilicium before the filiation, e.g. *ar. cais tušnu. ls. calerial* (3781), and the diverging cases, about one quarter of the whole material, may be of a somewhat later date and could have been influenced by the Latin practice². In the name forms recording women, the lack of the praenomen, a phenomenon found almost exclusively in northern Etruria, may also reflect the influence of the Roman name form³. In southern Etruria, the name forms are much simpler, the cognomen is very rare, and the indirect name parts, except for the patronymikon, not as regular as in the north. The explanation cannot be correlated to the period of the inscriptions, because Etruscan epigraphy seems to continue in many southern towns into the first century B.C. Different historical conditions, however, may be behind this difference of customs. Striking examples of Roman influence are offered by the late *cippus* inscriptions of Caere, where, with only one exception (5904), the metronymikon and the gamonymikon are absent, the few cognomina, e.g. *ruvus* (6060), *ruf(e)* (6095) are clearly of Roman origin, the praenomen abbreviations are usual and the patronymikon is mostly indicated by an abbreviation of the type *a.c.* = *aulēs clan*, corresponding to the Latin *A(uli) f(ilius)*.

The development of the name forms of Etruscan unfree persons is very interesting. The two extreme types consist of the mere individual name with the genitive of the gentilicium of the master and the word *lautni*, e.g. *licantre : tetinaš : lautni* (1529) at the one end, and the normal name form of a full citizen including the praenomen and gentilicium, but instead of the patronymikon, an indication of the master, e.g. *vel. sapu. au. l.* (2713) at the other. There are several intermediate forms between these two extremes. The latter name form corresponds to that of a Roman freedman, the former is similar to the one originally used for a Roman slave. This development suggests two conclusions: first, the latter name form must have come into existence under Roman influence, secondly, the two differing name forms must also reflect different legal positions of unfree persons in Etruscan

¹ See F. SLOTTY, 'Zur Frage des Mutterrechts bei den Etruskern', *Archiv Orientalni*, 18, 4 (1950), 262-285.

² RIX, *Etr.C.*, 44-46.

³ FIESEL, *GG*, 41; RIX, *Etr.C.*, 49.

society. Rix concludes that the conferring of Roman citizenship must have been a prerequisite for acquiring the status of a Roman *libertus*¹. This may have happened in northern Etruria in 90 B.C. It would give us one chronologically fixed point when assessing how and when Latin influence reached the Etruscan inscriptions. This dating is supported by another phenomenon in the name forms of Etruscan unfree persons. In a certain type, the old individual name has been used as cognomen, evidently under Roman influence. As this practice was introduced in Rome as late as about 100 B.C., the Etruscan texts cannot be earlier than that².

But the other possibilities for dating the appearance of the interference phenomena are rare. We have found that the Latinization proper can have begun only after the Roman conquest of Etruria. Many of the phenomena discussed above seem to appear at the beginning of the later Etruscan tradition, i.e. at the beginning of the third century B.C. This time limit would fit well into the general historical background. This is the time succeeding the Celtic invasion and after the Roman advance into Etruscan territory, when the Etruscans succeeded in preserving their autonomy, but lost their power³. But there are also several cases of interference which belong clearly to the very last Etruscan inscriptions, found together with Latin epitaphs in the late tombs.

2.1.2 THE PHONOLOGY OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD

The possibilities for a phonological study on the basis of the material offered by the epitaphs are limited by several circumstances. In theory, there was before the language shift the Etruscan phonemic system in Etruria, naturally always subject to phonemic changes characteristic of the Etruscan language. The point of arrival was the Latin phonemic system, developing in accordance with the Latin sound laws. Our task would be to describe the process between these two phases and the different interference phenomena occurring during it.

Our material, however, consists of mere written documents. The phonemic systems are discernible only behind the graphemic systems, certain scribal practices, these being probably not similar in the Etruscan and the Latin languages. As the Latin graphemic system can be studied on the basis of immense material, consisting not only of inscriptions, but also of notes of grammarians, this is much better known than the Etruscan one, and, by

¹ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 365-369; PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 193.

² See DE SIMONE II, 256; PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 193.

³ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 179, 297, 'Ital.', 625.

virtue of this, the Latin phonemic system can also be outlined; this has for the present not been possible concerning the Etruscan language.

Furthermore, the special character of the material consisting of mere proper names must be taken into consideration. As mentioned above, names always demand a certain degree of caution in a phonological study, partly because their traditional resistance to phonemic – and also graphemic – changes, partly because of the necessity of continually forming new names, which are frequently effectuated by means of some small change in existing stems. But on the other hand, the personal names can be regarded in a language shift situation as kinds of loan words. As the same families continued writing epitaphs in Latin after the shift, the Etruscan names had to be transposed into the Latin phonemic and graphemic systems.

Consequently, we can base our study on two kinds of phenomena, on the one hand, alternations occurring in the same name or stem inside the Etruscan or the Latin inscriptions¹, on the other, on the transposition of Etruscan names in Latin. The former cases also include in addition to the proper interference phenomena changes appearing in one language only, e.g. under the influence of Latin sound laws. These are not very interesting with regard to the purpose of our study, but they must be discussed in this context, partly because of their value in the dating of the inscriptions. A certain number of the alternations must be considered purely orthographic, sometimes they may turn out to be spelling errors. The epitaphs at Clusium inscribed both on the cinerary urns and on the tiles supply appropriate instances of the difficulties in the spelling of names during the transition period; often there are variations in the spelling of the same name form². In the latter cases, comparison of the Etruscan and Latin forms of one and the same name is rendered difficult by the fact that the Etruscan names have by no means always been exactly transcribed in Latin. The bilinguals of Etruria clearly show that the names have rather been adapted to the Roman onomastic system than to Latin phonology. A common Latin name which in some way resembles the Etruscan original has frequently been chosen instead of the exact phonetic equivalent³.

In theory, the development of the phonology during the language shift should shed some new light on Etruscan phonology. But the main purpose is to describe the process of Latinization, to gather the material offered by the inscriptions. A further investigation of Etruscan phonology may make use of this body of material.

¹ The former group is discussed above pp. 107–109.

² Cf., for instance, the inscriptions nos. 4774 and 4775, 708 and 709.

³ See below, pp. 176–182.

2.1.2.1 *The Vowels*

The peculiarities found in the vocalism of the inscriptions belonging to the transition period in Etruria are discussed in this chapter in an alphabetic order, in which the original vowel, i.e. usually the vowel of the Etruscan form of a name, is decisive.

a - i: The alternation of *a* and *i* in the name *Cezartle* (708), *Cezarle* (709) - *Caezirtli* (1077) seems to be due to an anaptyctic vowel. The Etruscan form is usually syncopated *ceztle* (gen. f. -*lial*). The former vocalism may reflect the Italic origin (cf. Latin *Caesar*) of the name¹.

a - e: *Hileria* (I² 2765, Ca.), for Latin *Hilaria*, reflects the Latin development of *a* into *e* in an open middle syllable, usually not completed in this name of Greek origin. Heurgon assumes in this form Etruscan influence², hardly correctly.

a - u: The discrepancy between Etr. *rafi* and Lat. *Ru(fius)* in the bilingual no. 3500 is explained by the different development of the diphthong *ou* in Etruscan and Latin; the name stem, which is of Italic origin, will be discussed below (p. 39, cf. also p. 29).

e - a: The spellings *Valisa* (856) - Etr. *veliza*, *Traponias* (1841) - Etr. *trepunia*, probably show the phonetic development of Etruscan itself. One could find an equivalent in e.g. Etr. *vati* (744) in addition to *veti*³.

e - i: The alternation of *e* and *i* is very common. Etruscan seems to have pronounced an open *i* in the Italic name *Licinius*. This would explain the discrepancy between Etr. *lecne* and Lat. *Licini* in the bilingual no. 272, Sa.⁴ Etr. *crespe* is considered an equivalent of Lat. *Crispus*, and *Crespini* (896)

¹ S. P. CORTSEN, *Die etruskischen Standes- und Beamtentitel*, København 1925, 9; E. LATTES, 'Etruskisch-lateinische Wörter und Wortformen der lat. Inschriften', *ALL.*, 13 (1904), 187, disagreeing with SCHULZE, 136.

² J. HEURGON, 'C. Mamilius Limetanus à Caere', *Latomus*, 19 (1962), 223.

³ See also G. DEVOTO, 'I nomi propri in -(e)na e il sistema delle vocali in etrusco', *RIL.*, 59 (1926), 607. In *Traponias*, a middle stage *trp-* is possible; cf. DE SIMONE II, 13-15.

⁴ See RIX, 'Personenn.', 165. DE SIMONE II, 16-17. The inscription comes from a family tomb, where all the other members have the Etr. form *lecne* of the name. Cf. the Etr. praenomen *licine* (*TLE* 769, *SE* 31, 167; both from the seventh century B.C.). In *SE* 37, 312, Ta. CAVAGNARO-VANONI reads *Leciniu(s) Eros*; but judging from the photographs, I would prefer either *L. Liciniu(s)* or *L. Eginu(s)*. A male name form without praenomen is very improbable in the oldest Latin inscriptions of Tarquinii; also in *SE* 37, 310, one must read []*Caesenn(ius)*.

would consequently correspond to the normal Lat. *Crispinus*, but preserving the Etruscan vocalism¹. This assumption is, however, open to doubt because of the difficulty of explaining the correspondence of Lat. *Crisp-* to Etr. *cresp-*. The origin of the alternation *i-e* in the Caeretan stem *Lept-ina* (6045, 6039, 6108, 6122) – *Lipt-ena* (5900, 6041, 6053, 6071) remains inexplicable. There is no reason to doubt the Etruscan origin of the name, although it is found in one Etruscan inscription only (*SE* 17, 529–530, Cl.), and this, too, is suspect².

The other cases of the alternation *e-i*, *Misia* (3764) for *Mesia* (4190), Etr. *mesi*, and *Vitra* (1549–1551) – Etr. *vetral* (924) seem to have been caused by the influence of Latin phonology, where the development *e > i*, regular in some positions only, is frequently attested in epigraphic material³ and in the inscriptions of Etruria also: *Six*. (3748, XI 2980, Tu.), *Midicus* (3748)⁴. The name *Spedo* (711–713), if correctly connected with Etr. *spitu*, a name common at Tarquinii, would offer an example of a change in the opposite direction.

Finally, there are innumerable cases, where the endings *-ina*, *-ena*, *-inna*, *-innius*, *-enna*, *-ennius* vary even in the same name. It may suffice to mention here the varieties *H(a)erina* (1580, 1584, 1585) – *Herena* (1586) – *H(a)erinna* (1581–1583) – *Herennia* (1587)⁵ occurring in the same family tomb⁶. The normal forms of the suffix are *-ina*, *-enna*, *-inius*, *-ennius*. Thus, the variation is in accordance with the Latin sound law regarding the change of *e* into *i* in an open middle syllable, but not in a closed, e.g. *efficere* – *effectus*⁷. The fact that in certain cases the colour of the vowel does not seem to depend

¹ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 230.

² The Caeretan form *Midia* (I² 2765) represents according to HEURGON, 'Mamiilius', 223, an Etruscan vocalism; for the variation *i-e* in Etruscan, see also PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 29.

³ M. LEUMANN, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, Hdb. Alt. wiss. II : 2 : 1, München 1926, 58; V. VÄÄNÄNEN, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Berlin 1966, 19–20.

⁴ This inscription, as far as I can see, may well be false.

⁵ HERENNIA, not HERNNIA, autopsy 22.4.1968.

⁶ A reconstruction of the genealogy of the family gives the following result: *Vel* (1580) is father to *Sextus* (1581), contemporaneous with *Lucius* (1586), whose sons are *Lucius* (1584) and *Gaius* (1585), both of them contemporaneous with the brothers *Quintus* (1582) and *Aulus* (1583).

⁷ G. HERBIG, 'Bargina', Aufs. E. KUHN, München 1916, 171; 'Etruskisches Latein', *IF*, 37 (1917), 173–174; CECI, 118.

on the gemination¹ may be explained by the fact that the gemination is unmarked, or may reflect an Etruscan alternation².

e - ae: The change of *e* into *ae*, effectuated in the course of the Latinization and attested in names such as *Vaeliza* (1147), *Vael.* (1731) – Etr. *veliza*, *Vaedn.* (4769, Cl.) – Etr. *vetni*, must be regarded as a proof of the early monophthongization of *ae* in the Latin spoken in Etruria. The change may be connected with the Etruscan development *ai > ei (> e)*³. Many of the examples, however, can be found in names borrowed from Italic languages by Etruscan. Etr. *ceztile* is transcribed *Cezartle* (708), *Cezarle* (709), but also *Cuezirtli* (1077) as in Latin *Caesar*⁴. *Cnaeus* (926, 928) and *Cnevia* (927, 935) appear side by side in the tomb of the Etruscan family *cneve* (from Ital. **gnaivos*); to these names should be added the forms *Cneve* (XI 7199 a, b, Cl., probably also 1058⁵), and the female praenomen *Gnea* (4403). In these cases, the diphthong restored by the Latinization goes back to the original Italic form. But this explanation cannot be valid in all cases. The Etruscan gentilicium *herina* originates in the Oscan praenomen *Herius*, *heirens*. On this account, however, the forms *Haerin(n)a* (1580, 1582–1584) beside *Herina* (1581 *et al.*) remain inexplicable. *Paetronius* (NSc, 1925, 225, Ar.) is an interesting way of spelling *Petronius*. The Latin form *Praesente* (808), *Praesentius* (3329, 4108, SE 2, 597, Cl.), deriving its origin from the Etruscan *prente*⁶, has certainly been influenced by a false etymology of *praesens*.

Other examples of the influence of the Latin sound laws concerning the vowel *e* are easy to find. The development *e > o* before velar *l* can be seen in the name of the Perusine gens *Volumnia*⁷, Etr. *velimna*; the bilingual no. 3763 has both forms. We know on the one hand the name

¹ E.g. *Vibinnia* (682), *Vibinnial* (2732–2733) to Etr. *vipini*; *Vesinnia* (1823), *Veisinnius* (2089), but *Hepenius* (SE, 27, 279 Asciano), *Thormena* (4269). The case *Murrenius* (952, 1153) is surprising in view of the fact that the corresponding Etr. name is *murina*.

² DEVOTO, 'Nomi', 603–606.

³ See PIFFIG, *Sprache*, 35, G. GIACOMELLI, 'Iscrizioni tardo-etrusche e fonologia latina', *AGI*, 55 (1970), 88–90.

⁴ See above p. 119.

⁵ The copy by LANZI: *Vetlseini Cainal*, makes *Vet Cneve Cainal* more probable than *Vet Senti Cainal*, suggested by PAULI, E. LATTES, *Correzioni, giunte, postille al CIE*, Firenze 1904, 78, and BUONAMICI, *EE*, 187.

⁶ There is in Etruscan a variant *preisnti*, appearing in a late inscription (666), found together with several forms *presnte*.

⁷ The family appears in Rome as early as the fifth century B.C., and this partly explains the phonetic change in the Latin form of the name, RIX, 'Personenn.', 164–165.



Volc(h)acius (1440, 1471, 4361, SE 8, 355, Pe.) from Etr. *vel̥xa*, on the other *Velthuria* (3514), *Veltia* (4184) without the change. The form *Menolaus* (4109, 6265, Ca.) is an interesting example of this development, but it is not exceptional in Latin. In other Greek names *e* has been changed into *i*: *Artimidorus* (6137, Ca.), *Artemidorus* (3609, with *e* added afterwards), and *Heurisis* (XI 1884, Ar.). All these forms are common in contemporaneous Latin inscriptions. The word *fecet* (XI 1808, Sa.) has preserved the old Latin vocalism.

i: The changes with regard to the vowel *i* offer only a few peculiarities, and the cases may be more of a graphic than of a phonological character. The spellings *Neicepor* (XI 3485, Ta.), *Serveilius*, *veixit* (XI 2945, Vc.), to name a few instances of the use of *ei*, are common in Latin epigraphy¹. *Atinea* (3498), occurring in addition to Etr. *atinia* (3499) shows the change of *i* into *e* before a vowel, known both in Etruscan and in Latin². The form *Acelius* (XI 3394, Ta.) corresponding to the common *Acilius* may be caused by same phenomenon as was the suffix *-enius*, discussed above (p. 120).

o – *u*: The Latin words *annoro* (789), *[Tarqu]itōm* (XI 3370, Ta.) belong to the period before the change of *o* of the final syllable into *u*.

u – *o*: Etruscan had no special sign for the vowel *o*, which appears only in the oldest abecedaries. In all Etruscan inscriptions, the sign *u* has fulfilled the needs of both *u* and *o*. The lack of the sign must be explained by the fact that there was no opposition between *o* and *u* in Etruscan phonology; but it is evident that the phonetic value of the Etruscan *u* has not in later periods been purely that of the Latin *u*, but perhaps something between *o* and *u*. This is the reason for the well-known inconsistency of the Latin transcription of Etruscan names³.

The inscriptions illustrate this in numerous instances. The common Etruscan name suffix *-u* does not normally preserve this vowel in the Latin transcription, but is more frequently represented by Latin *-o*. Instances including both gentilicia and cognomina are easy to find: *Aulio* (899), *Caitho* (4278, 4279), *Caspo* (20, 62, Vt.), *Cenco* (1604), *Gargossa* (1955), *Hannossa*

¹ See VÄÄNÄNEN, *Latin*, 22.

² See PFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 30, DE SIMONE II, 30, LEUMANN, 57–58. For no. 561, where I would prefer *Arntneal* for *Arntheal*, see p. 165 no. 4.

³ PFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 28–29; M. HAMMARSTRÖM, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des etr., lat. und griech. Alphabets*, Ann. Ac. Sc. Fennicae 49:2, Helsingfors 1920, 13; M. LEJEUNE, 'Sur la notation des voyelles vélaires dans les alphabets d'origine étrusque', *REL*, 40 (1962), 150. This applies to the Faliscan as well, see G. GIACOMELLI, *La lingua falisca*, Firenze 1963, 119.

(1295), *Hollonis* (1017), *Lenso* (3721), *Pedros* (2563–2564, 4291), *Sabo* (4840), *Spaspo* (3004), *Spedo* (715), *Tocro* (818), *Tosnos* (1606), *Veratro* (1571). The instances of *-u* are few: *Thocerual* (714), *Alchu* (1433), *Trepu* (4445, an abbreviated form), *Anual* (1155), *Pumpua* (3747), and *T(h)anusa* (1573, 1586)¹. The relation of the two vowels used remains the same with regard to the extended suffix *-onius/-unius*. The only certain examples of the latter form are *Scatunii* (2020) and *[- -]unia* (789)². The list of the transcriptions with *o* would be of considerable length; a few examples may be sufficient here: *Aconius* is common³, *Avonius* (3340), *Leonia* (3743), *Namonias* (1331), *[Th]aniconia* (834)⁴, *Tlaboni* (22, 154, Vt.), *Veratronia* (1572), *Vesconia* (1410, 1436), *Vetronia* (1148). A bilingual inscription (*TLE* 462, Cl.) records Etr. *trepu*, but Lat. *Trebonius*.

The same phenomenon, but in a different context, is illustrated by the Etruscan genitive *velus* transcribed as *Velos* (858, 2278). The alternation *u - o* in the stem is not infrequent. *Pumpua* (3747) occurs once, but *Pomponius* is very common. *Sucia* (3451) corresponds to *Socconius* (3928–3929). *Orcui* (6283, Ca.), *Orculnia* (6187, Ca.) represent a stem which in Augustan Rome has the form *Urgulania*⁵. *Tolonio* (*NSc* 1948, 454 ff., Veii) may belong to the same gens as the king *Lars Tolumnius*⁶. At Perugia we have both *Thormena* (4269) and *[Th]urmn[-]* (I² 2773). *Aros* (3498)⁷ corresponds to the Latin *Arruns*⁸.

The transcriptions with *u* are in general comparatively rare. Highly important is the form *Ruma* of *Roma* on a milestone from the second

¹ The fragmentary name *Ce[...]ula* (18, Vt., for *Caspu La.*?), may also belong to these.

² *L. Atuni* (58, Vt.) is uncertain: the inscription itself is lost, and the copy may render an Etruscan inscription as well as a Latin one.

³ Cf. *Acutius* (XI 7122, Cl.).

⁴ See E. VETTER, 'Die etr. Personennamen *leθe*, *leθi*, *leθia*, und die Namen unfreier oder halbfreier Personen bei den Etruskern', *ÖfJh*, 37, 1948 Beibl., 76, Rix, *Etr.C.*, 361.

⁵ M. TORELLI, 'Senatori etruschi della tarda repubblica e dell'impero', *Dial.Arch.*, 3 (1969), 329 n. 164.

⁶ The regressive assimilation suggested by A. ERNOUT, 'Deux inscriptions de Véies', *RPh*, 75 (1949), 276, makes the problem too complicated. On the other hand, there is no good reason to deny the connexion and see in *Tolonio* a Faliscan name, as S. WEINSTOCK, 'Weihinschriften aus Veii', *Glotta*, 33 (1954), 306–307, and L. BANTI, *Il mondo degli etruschi*, Roma 1969, 89, do.

⁷ First written *Arus*, A. J. PFIFFIG, 'Verschreibung und Verbesserung in etruskischen Inschriften', *SE*, 32 (1964), 187, and my autopsy 5.7.1970.

⁸ Note *Arus* in the Tarquinian *elogium* XI 3371; see also HERBIG, 'Falisca', 96; J. HEURGON, 'Tarquinius Priscus et l'organisation de l'ordre des haruspices sous l'empereur Claude', *Latomus*, 19 (1962), 411–412.

century B.C. found in the neighbourhood of Vulci¹. The epitaphs record *Purni* (2647), *Purnei* (1455), *Harnustia* (3751), *Ludniae* (XI 2045, Pe.), *Cuqrnia* (6133, Ca.), *Velthurius* (3514), *Numsinei* (1591, 1592, perhaps also 1146), *Sudernia* (873, 874), *Brutis* (3722), *Um*[- -] (3029), and the striking *Naepurs* (956), corresponding to Lat. *Naepor*. On the other hand, we have a long list of cases with *o* corresponding to original Etruscan *u*: *Cominia* (2044, XI 7146, Cl.), *Comlniai* (724), *Corsdle* (2058), *Corstli* (2059), *Folnius* (428, Ar.)², *Hollonia* (3058), *Hollonis* (1017), *Modia* (695), *Noborsinia* (3864), *Obelsianus* (4192), *Oglinia* (2075), *Odie* (1538), *Otanis* (3035)³, *Pergomsna* (935, 936), *Roscia* (3330), *Sertorius* (1527, 2802), *Sortes*, *Sors* (I² 2637-2640, Pe.), *Scornia* (SE 37, 309, Ta.), *Thocerual* (714), *Thoceronia* (715), *Tocro* (818), *Tosnos* (1606), *Tosnonia* (1573, Ined. Mus. Ar.). When Etruscan borrowed Greek names, *o* was naturally replaced by *u*. This vocalism can still be seen in *Arsinua* (4191), *Philematiu* (4773-4774, Cl.), in addition to several instances of *Philematio*. One case of an opposite spelling, *Philomena* (716) instead of *Philumena*, is known.

The examples mentioned above easily create the impression that the Etr. *u* was nearer to the Latin *o* than to *u*. It should, however, be noted that the vocalism is often due to Latin analogies. To name one instance, the suffixes *-o* and *-onius* are common in Latin, whereas *-u* and *-unius* are infrequent. Consequently, the latter were subject to changes and made to conform to the former.

u - i: The forms of the word *haruspex* are not without interest. Several varieties are known from Etruria. The bilingual of Pisaurum (TLE 697) is the only one to represent the Latin vocalism *haruspex*. In Etruria we find the word written with *i*: *harispex* (786, 1967, 2012, 4769, 4770, Cl., XI 1850, Ar., XI 3390, Ta., XI 7137, Cl.), or *arispex* (XI 3382, Ta.), and also with *e*: *arrespex* (2539). The origin of the word has been much discussed⁴; but if the stem was originally Etruscan, the Latin *haruspex* may have a later vocalism differing from the original form.

The change of *u* into *i* before a labial is again a strictly Latin feature⁵. A clear majority of the inscriptions have the older spelling, e.g. *Minuma* (3066),

¹ See A. DEGRASSI, *Scritti vari di antichità* III, 128, 204-205.

² In a bilingual by the side of Etr. *fulni*, in spite of the Latin sound law *uln* > *uln*; cf. also *Patolcia* (I² 2765, Ca.).

³ Cf. M. Utanius Etruscus (VI 36595), NOLL, SE, 9, 308-309, PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 29.

⁴ For the suggested etymologies, see ERNOUT-MEILLET¹, 289-290, WALDE-HOFMANN, I³, 635-636.

⁵ Datable to the first half of the first century B.C., F. SOMMER, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*, Heidelberg 1914, 205; LEUMANN, 85.

obtuma (XI 3483, Ta.). Thus, *Postim(us)* of the Caeretan *cippus* no. 6256 is an important argument against referring these *cippi* to too early a period.¹

y: The vowel y was originally missing both in Etruscan and in Latin, where it appears later, but it predominates in Greek loan words. The unusual character of the sign has caused different transcriptions. It may be rendered by i as in *Dionisius* (I² 2637, Pe.)², *Olinpia* (1986)³, but more frequently by u: *Eutucus* (SE 33, 488, Ta.), *Buria* (6247, 6308, Ca.), *Surisca* (6239, Ca.), and *Suro* (6022, Ca.)⁴.

2.1.2.2 The Diphthongs

ai: The diphthong ai, which may be discussed first in this chapter, developed in a different way in Etruscan and in Latin. In Etruscan it became ei (and further ē). The feminine ending of many gentilicia offers abundant examples showing how -nai is in the course of time superseded by -nei⁵. The change, however, seems to have been limited to northern Etruria. At Tarquinii -nai and -nei appear side by side, whereas at Caere -nai is the only version known. The change is not so frequent in stems⁶, and it does not affect some evidently late diphthongs. Accordingly, the feminine form of the gentilicium *cae* is usually *cainei*, not *ceinei*. In the second century B.C., Latin begins to monophthongize the diphthong ai. At that time the spelling *ae* was introduced and has remained the normal one to this day. From the first century A.D. it was, however, pronounced ē⁷.

The majority of the cases in which one can examine the transcription of Etr. ai in Latin consists of the root *cae* and its derivations. The inscriptions belonging to our material regularly retain the diphthong ai: *Cai* (2869), *Caini* (933), *Cainia* (1671), *Cainal* (2207, XI 2182, 7199 b, Cl.), *Cainai* (2860), *Cainae* (1151), *Cainius* (XI 7180 a, c, Cl.). There are yet other instances of ai: *Munainal* (2693), *Anainai* (1688), *Anainia* (724), *Caitho* (4278, 4279), and in names of probably Latin origin *Caicili* (6141, Ca.), *Caili* (XI 2966, Tu.), *Aimus* (717), *Ailiae* (XI 2732, Vs.), *Aili* (XI 7322, Vs.)⁸. In the course of time, however, the spelling *ae*, e.g. *Baebius* (2539), becomes common.

¹ Observe also *monimentum* (I² 2032, Pe.).

² The editors: *Dionisius*, but there is an s above the line (autopsy 5.7.1970).

³ Cf. *Proby* (XI 2083, Pe.) for *Probi*.

⁴ Both u and i appear in the transcription of Gr. υ in Etruscan, too, DE SIMONE II, 18-19.

⁵ Cf. also DE SIMONE II, 21-24.

⁶ See PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 34-35.

⁷ See LEUMANN, 75-76.

⁸ At Volsinii the reading *Aeli* has also been found (SE 35, 544).

The Latin genitive ending of the first declension appears sometimes in the form *ai*: *Cainai* (2860), *Comlniai* (724)¹, *Caetenniai* (XI 2301, Cl.), and *Plinthai* (4774)². An intermediary way of rendering the diphthong by *aei* appears once in the genitive ending: *Larthiaei Metliaei* (1138); in the stem one may observe the spelling *Laeis* (6024, Ca.). The early monophthongization of Latin *ae* in Etruria³ can be seen in many genitive and dative forms of feminine names: *Detrone* (XI 2726), *Volcasie Sabine* (XI 2806), *Fortune* (XI 7273), *Norbane Rufille* (XI 7349), all from Volsinii, and *Chie* (3066), *Navie* (1730) from Clusium.

ei: The diphthong *ei*, either original or deriving from an earlier *ai* in Etruscan, was monophthongized in Latin into *i* during the second century B.C. Instances of a parallel development can be seen in Etruscan, where the diphthong *ei* frequently became *i* in words borrowed from Greek⁴. Thus, the vocalism of *Herclite* (1487, 1488, in the former with Etr. *ferclite*), and, possibly, of *Anticlia* (2021), would be due to a development within the Etruscan language itself.

The Etruscan feminine ending *-(n)ei* has mostly retained its vocalism when appearing in our inscriptions: *Vibinei* (2219), *Sethrnei* (2732, 2733), *Numsinei* (1591), *Anei* (1592)⁵. In this particular ending, the diphthong *ei* is rendered as *ai* in the names *Calinai* (1931), *Anainai* (1688) and *Arisnai* (953), with *aei* in *Russinaei* (2701), *Laucinaei* (1147)⁶, and, possibly, in *Siunaei* (788)⁷, finally, with *ae* in *[-?]etsnae* (736). The diphthong *ei* belonging to the stem is retained in *Seicia* (4445)⁸, *Veisinmius* (2089)⁹, *Cei*[-

¹ These two metronymika are probably meant to reflect as nearly as possible the Etr. forms *cainai* and *cumlniai*, and this may have caused the use of the forms in *-ai* instead of those in *-ae*.

² But *Plinthae* in another inscription (4773) belonging to the same person. The inscription no. 821 does not seem to illustrate the same phenomenon; the correct reading seems to be, not *Fausai*, but *Fausan(ata)*, as suggested by LATTES, *Correzioni*, 70 (autopsy 1.7.1970).

³ See above p. 121.

⁴ DEVOTO, 'Tendenze fonetiche etrusche attraverso gli imprestiti dal greco', *SE*, 1 (1927), 276, DE SIMONE II, 46.

⁵ In addition, the form *antainei* is recorded in an inscription written dextrorsum, but otherwise in Etruscan characters (1564).

⁶ VETTER by RIX, *Etr.C.*, 116, gives the reading *Laucinei*, probably erroneously; PAULI and others read *Lautinaei*.

⁷ This reading seems to be better than *Siunae f.*, autopsy 1.7.1970.

⁸ If not *Selcia*; RIX, *Etr.C.*, 126.

⁹ Cf. *Vesinius* (4844, Cl.), and the several varieties with *-i*, SCHULZE, 255-256. In no. 457, Co., *Aule Seius* or *A. Veiseius* are more probable than the *Atei Seius* of the editors.

(2591) and *-jeicia* in the semi-Etruscan inscription no. 1565¹. The transcription *aei* is represented by *Saeinal* (1777) and *Naeipurs* (956). The Etruscan *ei* transcribed as *ae* in Latin is known in numerous cases: *Caecina*, common at Volaterrae², *Caesius* (713, 890, 1438, 1578), *Caesinia* (3373), *Paethinia* (4669, Co.) may suffice in this context. This manner of transcription may indicate that the phonemes presented in Etruscan by the digraph *ei*, in Latin by *ae*, have been very similar, probably near the monophthong *ê*. This would explain the transcriptions in both directions (both Lat. *caecus* – Etr. *ceice* and Etr. *ceicna* – Lat. *Caecina*)³. There seems to be no example of Etr. *ei* changed into Lat. *i*, as one would expect when bearing in mind the Latin phonology.

ui: The diphthong *ui* is unknown in Latin, but has been attested in Etruscan, where it is also used both for Latin and for Greek *oi*⁴. The Latin manner of rendering this diphthong *ui* shows an alternation parallel to the one presented above in the context of *ei*: the Etruscan *ui* is retained in *Nuiscinia* (4403), changed into *oe* in *Voesius* (2234), *Proenius* (790, 791) and *Coelius* (1298, 1729). *Bruitia* (3723), when compared with *Brutis* (3722), should probably be regarded as a copying error for *Bruitia*⁵.

au: The diphthong *au*, in Latin spelling often alternating with *o*, causes some difficulties in Etruscan. Firstly, it could also originate in *ou*, as is suggested by e.g. *raufe* < Ital. **roufos*. Secondly, it has been subject to a monophthongizing tendency forcing its sound value towards both *a* and *u*⁶. Thus, the forms corresponding to the Latin *Rufus* vary a great deal in Etruscan⁷. We have signs of this alternation in our inscriptions, for example in *Raufius* (561, 563), which occurs in addition to the common *Rufius*. *Otanis* (3035) presents the monophthong version corresponding to Etr. *utanisa* (2503), though the form *utauni*⁸ is more common in Etruscan. *Cladia* (1648)

¹ One instance of *Veidi* is known (1606), but it has not been added to the material because the reading seems to be doubtful; I would, myself, prefer *Vetdi* (autopsy 22.4.1968, cf. below p. 134).

² If *Geganus* (XI 2979, Tu., SE 4, 397, Ta.) can be connected with this, it would offer one example of *ei* > *e*.

³ See GIACOMELLI, 'Iscrizioni', 90.

⁴ DEVOTO, 'Tendenze', 275.

⁵ Cf. Etr. *prutesa* (2138). For the alternation *ui* – *u* in Etruscan, see LATTES, 'Etr.-lat.', 182.

⁶ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 65–66; PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 35; HERBIG, 'Falisca', 86–87; LATTES, 'Etr.-lat.', 122.

⁷ See above, p. 108.

⁸ Possibly derived from Lat. *Octavus*; DE SIMONE II, 191.

corresponds to Etr. *clate*, which must probably be connected with *clute*¹, cf. Latin *Cladius*—*Claudius*.

eu: The Latin *eu* became at an early stage *ou*, *û*. The Etruscan diphthong is retained in *Reusti* (2693), but is changed into *eo* and evidently divided into two syllables in *Leonia* (3743), a transcription of the common Perusian gentilicium *leuna*.

Some cases of the monophthongization under Etruscan influence have already been mentioned, although in general such tendencies have been stronger in Latin than in Etruscan. In addition to *Herclite* and *Otanis* mentioned above, one may note *Clepatra* (1433, 1435) for *Cleopatra*, corresponding to Etr. *clepatra*². If *sleparis* is an Etruscan phonetic variant of this name³, Lat. *Slebaris* (4252) would offer another example of the same phenomenon. All the examples of a diphthongization effectuated in the process of Latinization relate the alternation *e*—*ae*. They are all quoted above on page 121.

2.1.2.3 Syncope and Anaptyxis

One of the most remarkable features of late Etruscan phonology is the strong syncope, concerned above all with a short vowel in medial syllables. The reason for this phenomenon is evidently the change of the nature of the Etruscan accent: there has been a strong expiratoric initial accent in Etruscan from about the beginning of the fifth century B.C.⁴. But the accent does not explain all the problems of the syncope. First, there are several words with a syncopated first syllable. Second, how did the Etruscans pronounce the clusters of some five consonants? A common answer has been presented to both those questions: the syncope is in most cases only graphic, a kind of syllabic writing⁵. This theory has recently been given a new, thorough formulation by Pfißfig⁶, who considers that this "pseudo-syncope" is due to two phenomena: the syllable-bearing function of the consonants

¹ Or with *clante*; RIX, *Etr.C.*, 266–267.

² See CORTSEN, *Titel*, 19, DE SIMONE II, 29.

³ Accepted by PALLOTTINO, *Elementi*, 107; LATTES, *Correzioni*, 86; with justified caution by RIX, *Etr.C.*, 365, wholly rejected by CORTSEN, *Titel*, 48.

⁴ See DE SIMONE II, 91–92, PFIßFIG, *Sprache*, 53–55.

⁵ The same answer is suggested in the corresponding cases from Praeneste, see F. RITSCHL, 'Vokalunterdrückung in der Schrift', *Opusc. Phil.* IV, Lipsiae 1878, 481, HAMMARSTRÖM, 18–20, A. ERNOUT, 'Le parler de Préneste d'après les inscriptions', *Mém. Soc. Ling.* 13 (1905–06), 307–314, E. CAMPANILE, 'Elementi dialettali nella fonetica e nella morfologia del latino', *Studi e saggi lingu.*, 1 (1961), 15.

⁶ PFIßFIG, *Sprache*, 53–65 with rich bibliographic notes.

l, *m*, *n*, *r*, e.g. *lrt* (TLE 658), and the representation of a syllable including a consonant + *e* (*a*) by the mere consonant, when the syllable is identical with the name of the consonant in the alphabet, e.g. *p(e)trsa* (1093). Pfiffig's "Faustregel" is: "Wirklicher Synkope, d.h. völliger Vokalschwund liegt im etr. Material nur dann vor, wenn der konkrete Einzelfall sich nicht aus *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, (bzw. mit Vokal vorher) oder aus dem Ersatz des silbischen Buchstabennamens durch den Buchstaben selbst erklären lässt".

But de Simone, in his study published at the same time as that of Pfiffig, proves in a convincing manner that there is no reason to doubt the phonemic nature of the Etruscan syncope¹. It is evident that Pfiffig has clearly exaggerated the significance of the syllabic writing. The change of the accent has really meant first the loss of the opposition between the phonemic values of the short vowels, then their disappearance in medial syllables. The syllable-bearing consonants have, of course, an important share in this change, but this does not mean that the phenomenon could be called "pseudo-syncope".

The same type of accent developed in Latin, too, possibly influenced by Etruscan², and the syncope appears even there to some extent. But the general picture is quite different. Latin resists by assimilation and by simplification consonant clusters difficult to pronounce, and the number of syncopated words has always been limited. The difference of the phonologies has certainly been experienced as a difficulty when the Etruscan names were latinized, and this can also be noticed in the inscriptions of Etruria.

Cases of the syncopated first syllable have been found in Latin inscriptions mainly from Praeneste and Etruria. In the inscriptions belonging to our material, we may note the pure Latin words *flia* (XI 3483, Ta.), *Crere* (NSc 1948, 454 ff., Veii); further, *Ptroni* (789³, 3453), *Plmnius* (5965, Ca.)⁴, *Trpas* (818), standing either for *Tr(e)pas* or for *Tr(e)p(oni)as*, and *Smo* (NSc 1963, 68, San Giuliano) for *S(e)mo(nius?)*. The name *Vlesius* (3691, 3693), corresponding to Etr. *vlesi*, has retained the initial cluster, although it is alien to Latin. *Velesius* (4326) may represent a more complete form. *Stlae[ial]* (1772), if the reading of Deecke is right, also comprises a consonant cluster unknown to Latin.

The other syncopated forms, i.e. names including consonant clusters difficult to pronounce, are extremely common in the inscriptions of the transition period, and show the gradual process of Latinization. There may

¹ DE SIMONE II, 50 ff.

² According to F. SKUTSCH, 'Der lateinische Accent', *Glotta*, 4 (1913), 188-190.

³ The inscription is mutilated, and it is not certain that the *e* is missing.

⁴ For *Polemonius?*; M. CRISTOFANI, *La Tomba delle iscrizioni a Cerveteri*, Firenze 1965, 19.

be clusters of four consonants: *Corstli* (2059), *Corsdle* (2058), and *Arntneal* (561)¹. Clusters of three consonants are quite common: *Comlniai* (724), *Titlnei* (2931), *Sethrnei* (2732, 2733), *Pergomsna* (935, 936), *Arsniae* (3622)², *Velxna*, *Velxna* (2108), *Velxna* (2107, 2109), *Cuqrnia* (6133, Ca.), *Nantnalia* (1144), *Tarcna* (common at Caere), *Marcn.* (2419), *Vescnia* (1409), *Pescnia* (90, Vt.), *Hampnhea* (4107), *Etsnae* (736), [-]urmn[-] (I² 2773, Pe.), *Cartlia* (848), *Cezartle* (708), *Caesirtli* (1077), *Estlacial* (2303), *Septlus* (3931), *Caspria* (4291), *Tarntia* (1861), *Arnthal* (832), and *Nanstius* (1139, 1140)³. The names borrowed from Greek by Etruscan were also often syncopated. Our inscriptions record *Herclite* (1487, 1488)⁴, and *Archlau[s]* (6140)⁵. All these consonant clusters have at least one nasal or liquid, *n* and *l* being the most common ones. These consonants must have been syllable-bearing, making pronunciation possible, and they must frequently have had the same function in Etruscan, too⁶.

The influence of the Etruscan syncope is in a way most evident in some Latin words and names: *femna* (XI 3470, Ta.), *titlus* (SE 2, 613, Sa.), *patr* (1145), *Feliclea* (XI 3423, Ta., Inv. no. 35 Mus. Vt.), *debtur* (I² 2032, Pe.), *Mamlius* in addition to *Mamilius* (I² 2765, Ca.), and *Luclius* (XI 3453, Ta.)⁷. Among the Etruscan names including a cluster of two consonants, one can mention here: *Semtunia* (789), *Ramta* (2209), *Percacnius* (4286), *Secn.* (Ined. Mus. Vt.), *Icnus* (1289, 1290), *Vetnei* (2182), *lautni* (2209), *lautnida* (2563, 2564), *Sadnal* (873, 874), *Ludniae* (XI 2045, Pe.), *Vaedn[ia]* (4769, Cl.), *Tlabnia* (4326), *Camnius* (1602), *Remnia* (4186), *Volumnius* (common), *Mernei* (1068), *Sudernia* (873, 874), *Perna* (1338), *Purni* (2647), *Purnei* (1455), *Varna* (3746), *Pederni* (1138), *Tarna* (6142, 6296, Ca., 5293, Vc.), *Verna* (6300, Ca.), *Titilniae* (953), *Aulnius* (3345, 3346), *Folnius* (428, Ar.), *Orculnia* (6187, Ca.), *Crasnisa* (2219), *Prasna* (2592), *Arisnai* (953), *Cetisnasa* (729), *Tosnos* (1606), *Tosnonia* (1573)⁸, Ined. Mus. Ar.), *Methiae* (1138), *Srablio* (1297), *Tocro* (818), *Sethre* (708, 709), *Vitra* (1549-1551), *Sotric.* (6123, Ca.)⁹, *Rufrius* (2974 ?), *Vafria* (4843), *Tamsini* (6294, Ca.), *Numsinei*

¹ More probable than *Arntneal*, as read by PAULI, see below, p. 77 no. 4.

² From *artni* (3623).

³ Obs also -vnt- in *Raun(tia?)* (1688), in addition to *Rave[nt]ia* (3058, 3160?).

⁴ See DE SIMONE II, 33.

⁵ Cf. LATTES, 'Etr.-lat.', 124.

⁶ See PALLOTTINO, *Elementi*, 21, 24-25.

⁷ Cf. E. CROSS, *Syncope and Kindred Phenomena in Latin Inscriptions*, New York 1930, 61, 70, 88.

⁸ Not *Toceronia*, autopsy 1.7.1970.

⁹ From Greek Σωτηριχος. *Tolmacu* (1694) can represent Gr. Σωτηριχος, or Πωτηριχος, PAULI ad tit.

(1146, 1591, 1592), *Vensius* (1437, 1438, XI 7122, Cl.), *Thansius* (1148), *Scansa* (1577, 1772 ?), *Umrana* (1617), *Ceztes* (710), and *Asfa* (I² 2768, Pe.). Some of the consonant clusters appearing in these instances are common in Latin, too, e.g. *rn*, *ln* and *ns*. Examples of these clusters are quoted here, because the forms of these names were later developed by scattering the consonant clusters, e.g. *Perna* – *Perennius*, *Orculnia* – *Urgulania*. This was mostly done by means of normalizing the suffixes.

The tendency towards a simplification of uncomfortable consonant clusters was characteristic of the Latin language¹. The most usual manner has been assimilation, but in clusters of three or more consonants one of them has often become silent and disappeared². The anaptyxis was never very common in Latin³. The general laws of Latin phonology cannot, however, be expected to be applicable to the onomastic material of Etruria in the process of Latinization. The important thing for an Etruscan choosing a Roman name was not to find a conversion of his Etruscan name into Latin in accordance with the Latin sound laws, but, generally speaking, to find a good Latin name, which, if possible, should resemble his former Etruscan name. The last mentioned condition could not always be realized. In the bilinguals, for instance, we have a person called *velcśna*, who has changed his name into *Vedius* (2106), another previously called *cupsna*, now *Coelius* (1729)⁴. But when one wished to retain the Etruscan name stem, one preferred to facilitate the pronunciation of the Etruscan consonant clusters by separating them by means of anaptyctic vowels⁵. This, at least, preserved the typical consonantism of the name. It is self-evident that the syllable-bearing consonants made the anaptyxis much easier. The choice of the new vowel was made under conditions which remain obscure to modern research. Some general factors probably influencing the colour of the anaptyctic vowel may be mentioned here. In certain instances the original, syncopated Etruscan vowel has been restored; this would imply the graphic nature of the syncope in the names in question. Secondly, the normalizing tendency of Latin, the force of the analogy of Latin names, must again be taken into consideration. For instance,

¹ See H. RIX, 'Die lateinische Synkope als historisches und phonologisches Problem', *Kratylos*, 11 (1966), 163.

² The phenomenon is also seen in Etruscan, see SKUTSCH, 'Accent', 192.

³ See LEUMANN, 144, SKUTSCH, 'Accent', 192.

⁴ See RIX, 'Personenn.', 166, and below, p. 92.

⁵ See GIACOMELLI, 'Iscrizioni', 88, A. DE GROOT, *Anaptyxis im Lateinischen*, Göttingen 1921, 20. This phenomenon is not unknown in Etruscan, cf. e.g. the striking example of Trequanda (NSc 1915, 264), where the same tomb includes the variants *petrs*, *petrus* and *peturs*.

the normal anaptyctic vowel before an onomastic suffix with the element *-n-* was *i*, in accordance with the influence of the Latin *-inius*-ending, e.g. *tamsni* – *Tamsinius* (6295, Ca.). When there is a parallel suffix *-u* in Etruscan, the name could also be constructed in accordance with the Latin suffix *-onius*, e.g. *carcna* (*carcu*) – *Gargonius* (5898, Ca.).

Only some examples of the main groups are quoted below out of an immense body of material showing the anaptyxis. The anaptyxis before a stop is rare. Neither *Panatia* (4291) – *pantna* nor *Perrica* (3337) – *perkna* can be used as evidence, the connexion with the Etruscan forms being uncertain. The cognomen *Sepedo*¹, if not a spelling error for *Spedo*, may be a variant of the mother's gentilicium *Septumia* in no. 711. The vowel *u* before *m* in the Perusine *velimna* – *Volumnius* (e.g. 3763) could be due to anaptyxis. We have anaptyxis before *n* e.g. in *Praesentius* corresponding to Etr. *prešnte*, probably influenced by the Latin stem *praesent-*². The praenomen *Ar(r)uns* from Etr. *arnθ* and the corresponding gentilicium *Ar(r)untius*, common in Etruria, are relatively early borrowings by Latin. The main types of the anaptyxis before an Etruscan *-n-* suffix, *-inius* with its variant *-ennius*, and *-onius*, have already been mentioned. Before *l* the Latin *-ilius* prevails. Thus, the Caeretan gens *Magilia* derives its name from the Etruscan *maclae*. In addition to this type, there are examples with *-elius*: *Caveli* (4252) – Etr. *caule*, *cavili*, and *Satel(l)ius* (674, 4773–4776) – Etr. *satlnal*³. The first pair of variants of the cases where the anaptyxis is effectuated before *r* may be *Cezartle* (708, under the influence of Lat. *Caesar*) – *Caesirthi* (1077) from Etr. *cezrtle*. The normal anaptyctic vowel in this position is *e*. Accordingly, we have *Seterna* (6134, Ca.) – *seθrna*, *Pederni* (1138) from the syncopated Etr. *petrni*, in addition to *Petronius* – *petru(ni)*. In Etruscan, *u* is common in this position. Thus, we have *Aburius* (5987, 6017, Ca.) originating in *apries*, and *Noborsinia* (3864) with *o* before *r* derived from *nufzrna*.

2.1.2.4 The Consonants

2.1.2.4.1 Voiced and unvoiced Stops

The most notable difference between Etruscan and Latin consonantism was that Etruscan had no opposition between the voiced and the unvoiced stops⁴. Accordingly, all marks of the voiced stops are missing in the

¹ Not *Spedo* (autopsy 1.7.1970).

² See above, p. 33.

³ Cf. also *discipu[linae]* (XI 3370, Ta.), see HEURGON, 'Tarquinius', 411.

⁴ For the stops in Italic languages, see R. S. CONWAY, 'The Value of the Mediae (b, d, g) in Old Latin and Italic', *Am. Journal of Philology*, 11 (1890), 302 ff.

inscriptions. As always, the natural question is, how truly does the spelling reflect the pronunciation. Adopting the Greek alphabet, the Etruscans rejected the letters β , δ , and started using γ for the unvoiced guttural, most probably on the basis of Etruscan phonology. There existed an opposition with regard to the aspiration of the stops, but no opposition concerning the voicing¹. But what was the situation like just before the Etruscan language disappeared? The only way to find an answer to the question is offered by the Latin transcription of Etruscan names².

The gutturals create greater difficulties than the other stops. When the Romans had adopted their alphabet from the Etruscans, they continued to use the mark *C* for the unvoiced guttural. It took a long time for the Latin language to supply the alphabet with the mark of the voiced guttural, and moreover, the distinctive sign of *G* as opposed to *C* was very unremarkable. Consequently, the letters *C* and *G* were often confused in the early inscriptions where Latin was used. There are also difficulties for an epigraphist: at times, it may be quite impossible to decide which of the two letters the lapicida intended to cut into the stone. In any case, it is evident that the Etruscans of the transition period must have had great difficulties in differentiating between the two consonants³.

The Latin word *gnatus* already offers one instance of the vacillating use of the gutturals. The word is repeatedly written as *cnatus* (1295, 3451, 4775, Cl., SE 2, 601, Pe.). In inscription no. 2108 the same praenomen is twice written *Larce*, once *Large*⁴. Otherwise, *Larce* and gent. *Larcus* represent the normal spelling. The gentilicium *Gellius* has the normal Latin consonantism in nos. 802, 1645, 1646, 1984 and 4778 (Cl.). But on the tile recording the last-mentioned person (4777), his name is written *Cellio*⁵. In another inscription (929), similarly, we have *Celias*. *Calinai* (1931), *Caliesa* (MALinc 30, 324, Cl.), *Calli* (857), *Calla* (NSc 1921, 334, Populonia)⁶ are closer to the Etruscan form *cale* than the frequently appearing *Gallus*. In the same way, the normal *Vergilius* occasionally alternates with *Vercilius* (4786, XI 7227, 7228, Cl.).

¹ See DE SIMONE II, 3, 166 ff.

² See also HAMMARSTRÖM, 8-9.

³ For the parallel cases in Faliscan, see XI 3078, and GIACOMELLI, LF, 264, 288.

⁴ The editors have not noticed the first line. The whole inscription should be read: *Larce / Larce Velxna / Large Velxna* (autopsy 13.5.1968).

⁵ PAULI: *Gellio*.

⁶ In the same inscription *Dioceni* occurs. In SE 33, 491, Ta., I would read *Gallia* L.f. *Celido* v.a. LXX (autopsy 30.6.1970) instead of *Callia* []f. *Celido* v.a. LXIX, as suggested by TORELLI.

The two Latin praenomina *Gaius* and *Gnaeus*, the abbreviations *C.* and *Cn.* of which show the old lack of distinction between *c* and *g* in Latin, both appear as gentilicia in Etruria. The semi-latinized forms always have unvoiced consonants: *Cnaeve* (925, 931, 932), *Cneve* (XI 7199 a, b, Cl.), *Cnevia* (927), *Cnaeus* (926, 928); *Cae* (739, 1829), *Cai* (930) and *Caia* (4259). The praenomen *Gnea* (4403) and the abbreviation *G.* (1729)¹ can be compared with these². In contrast to *Gavius* (1471, 1859, 1861), *Cavius* is recorded three times (740, 1857, 4785, Cl.), and, similarly, derivations of this name alternatively employ either *c* or *g*, for instance, on the one hand *Gavilius*, common at Caere, on the other *Caveli* (4252) and *Cauidius* (Inv.no. 55 Mus. Vt.).

There are numerous cases of the use of media corresponding to Etr. *c*. The following may be mentioned: *Gabinus* (4286), *Gargonius* (5898, Ca.), *Gargossa* (1955), *Granius* (common)³, *Grebo* (6118, 6189, 6190, Ca.), *Cerga* (4511), *Egnatius* (6255, Ca.), *Oglinia* (2075), *Pergomsna* (935, 936), *Sartage(s)* (1596, 1597), *Sartagus* (1598), and *Magilius* (common at Caere)⁴. Further, the unusual spelling *Egloge* (Inv. no. 21 Mus. Vt.) may be recorded. Reverse cases can also be found, such as cogn. *Lonc.* (1527) for *Longus*, *Chilarcuri* (I² 2032, Pe.), cogn. *Nic.* (I² 2639, Pe.) in addition to *Nigidius* (I² 2640)⁵ and *Niger* in the same tomb, further, *Macius* (I² 2765, Ca., 2419) in addition to Lat. *Magius* and the Caeretan gens *Magilia*⁶.

The alternation between voiced and unvoiced dentals is discernible only in some groups. The Etruscan gentilicium *veti* of Italic origin usually has the normal Latin form *Vettius*, but one has to note the exceptions *Vedi* (2106) *Vedia* (856), *Vetdi* (1606)⁷, and *Vaed[nia]* (4769, Cl.), the latter being a transcription of *vetni*. *Petronius* is very common, other forms of the name are *Pedro* (4291), *Pedros* (2563, 2564), and *Pederni* (1138). We may also note *Corstli* (2059), but *Corsdle* (2058), *Otius* (6284, Ca.), but *Odie* (1538)⁸, and

¹ Autopsy 13.5.1968, cf. A. ZIMMERMANN, 'Ungewöhnliche Abkürzungen der lateinischen Praenomina', *Philologus*, N.F., 17 (1904), 631.

² The cognomen *Caius* (1437) seems to read *Canus*; PFIFFIG, 'Verschr.', 204, my autopsy 1.7.1970.

³ In no. 4785, Cl., PAULI reads *Crani*, but I suggest on the basis of the autopsy (13.5.1968), *Grani* in accordance with LOMMATZSCH, I² 2636.

⁴ In I² 2641, I suggest the reading *Cestius* instead of *Gestius* (autopsy 5.7.1970).

⁵ Not *Nicidius* (autopsy 5.7.1970).

⁶ See HEURGON, 'Mamilius', 223.

⁷ See above p. 127.

⁸ In no. 1626, I would prefer *Udesia* for *Voesia*, but see also PFIFFIG, 'Verschr.', 187.

Tidi (819) for *Titius*¹. In the inscription with the last-mentioned form the Etruscan praenomen *θana* is transcribed *Dana*². The correspondence between the Etruscan aspirated and the Latin voiced dental is discernible in other examples, too³, such as *Lardia* (1068) for *larθia*, and *lautnida* (2563, 2564) for *lautniθa*, *Ted.* (1435) for *teθas*⁴. More uncertain is the correspondence of *Docio* (2508) with *θucu*, and *Dasius* (3928) with *θasi*.

Other cases with a voiced dental corresponding to the Etruscan unvoiced one are, for instance, *Scandio* (2717), *Scandilius* (1472, 1578) – Lat. *Scantius*, *Modia* (695) – Etr. *mutia*, *Ludnia* (XI 2045, Pe.) – Etr. *lutni*, *Spedo* (711–715) – Etr. *spitu*, *Maduia* (6126, Ca.) – *matuia* (NSc 1937, 385, Ca.), *Sudernia Sadnal* (873, 874) – *sutrina*, *satna*, both appearing also aspirated, and *Clandius* (4188) – *clanti*.

The labials behave in much the same way. *trepu* and *vipi* are both common Etruscan praenomen-gentilicia of Italic origin, and they are normally transcribed with the Italic voiced consonants. Thus, in the bilingual inscriptions *Treboni* corresponds to *trepu* (TLE 462, Cl.), and *Trebi* to Etr. *trepī* (2965). On the other hand, *Trepu* (4445), *Traponias* (1841) and *Trpas* (818) are still subject to Etruscan influence. *Vibinei* and *Vipine* both appear in the same inscription (2219)⁵. In addition, we have one instance of *Vipinia* (1590), but otherwise, the name is always written with *b*, also in the Etruscan genitive forms *Vibinnal* (2732, 2733), *Vibinal* (2182) and *Vibies* (2209). *Papia* (1152) should be linked with *Babius* (2540), and *Hepenius* of the tomb of Asciano (SE 27, 279) should correspond to *Hebennius*. In contrast to *Barnaesus* (986), we have one case of *Parnaes* (987)⁶. *Paco* (NSc 1948, 454 ff., Veii) may be a form

¹ Cf. *Tidius* (XI 5901–5903, Iguvium). *Tecumen* (XI 1865, Ar.) may be compared with the stem *Decum-*, see SCHULZE, 272, 355. *Herclite* (1487, 1488) corresponds to Greek Ἡρῴκλητος more probably than to Ἡρῴκλητος; DE SIMONE I, 70, II, 227. The different transcriptions of Greek Διφύλος: *Tifilia* (1584), *Tibile* (2935), also show the use of the unvoiced stop.

² One cannot read with BUFFA NRIE 1176 *Rana Tiri*, because *r* in *Urinatīal* in the same inscription is normal.

³ See GIACOMELLI, 'Iscrizioni', 91–93, E. LATTES, *Iscrizioni paleolatine dei fittili e dei bronzi di provenienza etrusca*. Milano 1892, 9, DE SIMONE II, 181–182, LATTES, 'Etr.-lat.', 120, BATTISTI, 251, M. PALLOTTINO, 'Nuovi contributi alla soluzione del problema etrusco (dalle ultime note manoscritte di A. TROMBETTI)', SE, 4 (1930), 198, K. OLZSCHA, *Glotta*, 48 (1970), 293–294. In addition to the phonetic explanation, one could take into consideration the resemblance of the Etr. sign O = θ with Lat. D, as opposed to T, i.e. a special case of graphic interference.

⁴ LATTES, 'Etr.-lat.', 373; BATTISTI, 251; PALLOTTINO, 'Nuovi', 198.

⁵ According to CORTSEN, *Lyd.*, 128, the inscription is false, but his contention is not supported by sufficient evidence.

⁶ This reading, suggested already by HELBIG, seems to be the correct one (autopsy 13.5.1968).

of the name *Bacchus*¹. The Greek name Διφύλος, Etr. *tiqile*, is transcribed both *Thiphiliae* (1585), *Tifilia* (1584) and *Tibile* (2935).

In numerous cases, we are acquainted with the Latin form with a labial media (*b*), and have to deduce the Etruscan equivalent with labial tenuis (*p*). *Paba*, *Pabaea* (XI 2777, Vs.), *Pabassa* (833), *Pabate* (6285, Ca.) all come from the Etruscan stem *papa* (*papaθna*). The cognomen *tlapuni* of *gens Caecinia* is written *Tlaboni* (22, 154, Vt.), and the same stem is to be found in *Tlabnia* (4326). At Caere we have *Aburius* (5987, 6017) corresponding to Etr. *apries*, and *Grebo* (6118, 6189, 6190) equating *crepu*. Further, similar pairs of names are *Obelsianus* (4192) – *upelsi*, *Sabo* (4840, Cl.) – *šapu*, *Slebaris* (4252) – *sleparis*, and *Bucinae* (I² 2642, Pc.) – *pucna*. The names *Fabi* – Etr. *fapi* (1290) and *Laberius* – Etr. *haprni* (TLE 930, Ar.) in bilingual inscriptions have clearly been formed under the analogical influence of well-known Latin names. *Bur(r)ia* (4410, 6247, 6308, Ca.) for Πυρρῖα, in the same way as *Burrus* for *Pyrrhos*, is not exceptional in early Latin epigraphy; Etruscan intermediation from Greek to Latin, which would explain the initial consonant, is not impossible². The Tarquinian form *obtuma* (XI 3483; cf. *opstetrix* XI 3391) presents a kind of hypercorrection.

The lists of the transcriptions of the Etruscan stops indicate that both Latin voiced and unvoiced stops have been used. This has already been noted by several scholars earlier, and it has led to the hypothesis that the phonetic value of the Etruscan stops should have been somewhere between mediae and tenues³. There must be some truth in this hypothesis, but many other circumstances, which seem to have influenced the choice of media in Latin transcriptions, must be taken into consideration. The simplest case is when the Etruscan name is of Latin or Italic origin, or so close to a Latin name including a voiced stop that the Etruscan spelling, if maintained in Latin, would have seemed odd (cf. cases such as *fapi* – *Fabius*, *vipi* – *Vibius*). Such names may have induced the inhabitants of Etruria learning Latin to believe that voiced stops were typical Latin equivalents of the Etruscan tenues. This great difference between Etruscan and Latin phonology has naturally caused hypercorrection, as the erroneously spelled Latin and Greek words, such as *obtuma*, demonstrate. The development of the stops,

¹ See WEINSTOCK, 308–309.

² For other explanations, see CONWAY, 310, SOMMER, 197.

³ CORTSEN, *Lyd*, 18, 72–73; PALLOTTINO, *Elementi*, 22; L. HEHMANN, 'Alternanza consonantica mediterranea e "Lautverschiebung Etrusca"', *AGI*, 37 (1952), 54–55; PFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 36–38; E. LATTES, 'Vibenna, Vivenna', *ALL*, 10 (1898), 135. Cf. also GIACOMELLI, 'Iscrizioni', 92–93; DE SIMONE II, 167, 196.

especially in consonant clusters, can often also be explained with reference to the Latin sound laws or phonotactic rules, e.g. *Egnatius* for *ecnate*, the cluster *cn* being unknown to Latin¹.

2.1.2.4.2 Aspiration

The aspirated stops were originally unknown in the Latin language; the first epigraphic evidence of them in a datable Latin context is from 146 B.C., and they became common in Greek loan words in the first century B.C., appearing in some Latin words also². Not only Greek, but also Etruscan differs from Latin in this respect³.

As could be expected, this phonological difference between Etruscan and Latin has caused alternation in the inscriptions of the transition period⁴. The aspirated dentals form the majority of the examples, and the largest group is composed of the praenomina of Etruscan origin⁵. The name *arnθ* is not very common in our inscriptions, and in most cases it appears abbreviated as *Ar.* The aspiration appears in two inscriptions (1565, 1604), but is lost in *Artal* (1653)⁶. Forms corresponding to Etr. *larθ*, feminine *larθi*, are much more numerous, even if the masculine name is here again usually found in an abbreviated form. In contrast to *Larthal* (2543) and *Larθ* (2700), which still show the aspiration, we know *Lartis* (1141, a Latin genitive of the nominative *Lars*), and, probably, *Lart.* (739, 1141⁷, 1688, 4291)⁸, a name which can also be abbreviated. The feminine praenomen has retained the exact Etruscan spelling with *θ* in two inscriptions (808, 991). Other forms number thirty in all, fifteen times with aspiration, fifteen without. Except for two Caeretan unaspirated forms, all these cases come from Clusium and Perusia. The form *Lardia* (1068) has been discussed above (p. 135).

There are many peculiarities connected with the Etruscan female praenomen *θana*, but only the aspiration concerns us here⁹. The aspiration has

¹ See LEUMANN, 154.

² SOMMER, 130; LEUMANN, 199; MINGAZZINI, 343-344.

³ See above, p. 109.

⁴ Cf. also HEILMANN, 54.

⁵ The statistics by MINGAZZINI, 346, are not up-to-date.

⁶ In no. 561 I would prefer the metronymikon *Arntneal* for *Arntneal*, see below p. 165.

⁷ Uncertain, BORMANN XI 7166 prefers *Vel.*

⁸ In no. 1145 the praenomen of the deceased is not *Lart* (PAULI, BORMANN XI 7164), but *Ar.*, see p. 175 no. 2.

⁹ See also GEISSENDÖRFER, 16.

been recorded seventeen times, most commonly in the forms *Thania* and *Thannia*. Twelve cases without aspiration are known¹. Some other names are connected with this stem: *Thanusa* (1573), but *Tanusa* in nos. 1579, 1586, *Thanusi* (1141?), *Thansius* (1148), but *Tanusius* (XI 1802, Sa., SE 5,544, Saturnia). Special cases are constituted by *Tahnia* (724) with a dislocated aspirate, and *Dana* (819), discussed above. The Etruscan female praenomen *ramtha* appears only once in our inscriptions in the form *Ramta* (2209). A male (708 and 709) bears the praenomen *Sethre*, but in no. 5236, Vs., the same stem is written *Setra*. *Sethrnei* (2732, 2733) and *Seterna* (6134, Ca.) are forms of the corresponding gentilicium. The praenomen *velthur* does not appear in our material, but the gentilicium *Velthuriae* (3514) should be noted.

Among the many other names vacillating between aspirated and unaspirated forms, the names *Thoceronia* (715), *Thocernal* (714), but *Tocro* (818), may first be mentioned². The Etruscan equivalent is *thuceru*. At Caere we have both *Tori* (6299) and *Thori* (XI 7602). *Turiales* (2974) represents a Clusine version of the same name, the stem of which is to be found also in *Thormena* (4269), a transcription of Etr. *thurmina*. *Stenia* (1050) is the unaspirated version in contrast to the form *Sthenius* (e.g. XI 2451). Another case is *Caitho* (4278, 4279) in contrast to the common form *Caetennius*. Further, there are instances of the Etruscan aspiration retained in Latin, for example in *Cauthia* (3742), *Paethinia* (4669, Co.), and *Methonia* (Ined. Mus. Ar.)³.

The aspirated labials and gutturals do not offer as rich a body of material as the dentals, and most cases appear in names of Greek origin. *q* is not very common in Etruscan. It has been transcribed only once, in *Hampnhea* (4107) from Etr. *hamqna*, with a strange metathesis. In a bilingual inscription (1288) *qisi* and *Phisius*, the latter form appearing in no. 3063, also, both correspond to the Italic *Fisius*⁴.

A common gentilicium both in the Etruscan and in the Latin inscriptions in Etruria, *ancari*, appears unaspirated some 35 times in Etruscan, but only twice in the form *anzaru*. In Latin inscriptions it is found aspirated seven times as *Ancharius*, whereas unaspirated forms appear only in *Ancarius* (1694, XI 7137, Cl., XI 3405, Ta.), and in *Ancarialisa* (1580), in the latter case with an Etruscan ending. In literary Latin and in other inscriptions the name is normally aspirated. The origin of the aspiration cannot therefore be Etruscan. It seems to originate in Latin itself, and may be due to some kind of

¹ Obs. *Tania* and *Thania* (873, 874), both referring to the same person.

² In no. 1573, one should read *Tosnomia*, not *Tocronia*.

³ Note also *lautniha* (808 a), *lautnita* (808 b).

⁴ Rix, 'Personenn.', 160, *Etr.C.*, 259.

spelling convention¹. Etr. *azuni* is known from three aspirated and six unaspirated transcriptions at Perugia. Most of the cases are from the same tomb. *Volchacius* (1440) and *Volcaci* (4310, SE 8, 355, Pe.) correspond to Etruscan *vel̥xa*. *Alchu* (1433) is possibly connected with Etr. *alzusnal* (1978, 2897). In the form *Tarcna* in a Caeretan family tomb the aspiration of the Etruscan original is missing.

The transcription of the Greek names is less interesting from the point of view of this study. At the very most, it could give chronological support, compared with the appearance of aspiration in other Latin inscriptions which include an exact dating. A few examples may suffice in this context. We may note of dentals *Anthus* (1730) appearing in addition to *Antusa* (XI 2937, Vc.), and the hyper-aspiration of *Thiphiliae* (1585)². The different compounds of $\varphi\theta$ — are normally in an aspirated form³; at Caere, however, we find *Pilemo* (6025), *Pilipio* (6034), *Pileros* (6047). One may observe also *Nicepor* (64, Vt.) in addition to Etr. *nicipur* (2489)⁴. Also the guttural appears at Caere usually unaspirated, we have only *Chilo* (6289) with the aspirate. The Latin cognomen *Gracchus* appears in the form *Gracus* on an unpublished tile in the Museo Archeologico in Florence (inv.no. 440).

Some other peculiarities with regard to the aspirates may be noted. *Arhs* (2540) standing for *haruspex*⁵ may be an example of a graphic dislocation of *h*, connected with *Tahnia* and *Hampnhea* discussed above. *Arispex* (XI 3382, Ta.) is a case of lost initial aspiration, as is also *Ele(nia)* (XI 3403, Ta.)⁶, whereas *Hachilleus* (XI 2939 a, Vc.) represents an opposite case. *Hilharia* (6136, Ca.) is an uncertain reading⁷. In *Anhaenis* (506) the aspirate would be a mark of the hiatus, but the reading is very uncertain.

The study of aspiration tells us not only about the peculiar developments during the language shift caused by the differences in the phonological systems, but also about the date of the Latin inscriptions. The few cases where the Etruscan letter θ has been used in semi-Latin inscriptions are, of course, those which most closely follow the Etruscan tradition. But what is the chronological order of the other aspirated and unaspirated forms? This may depend on the region: at Caere, Latinization obviously took place at such

¹ See MINGAZZINI, 347–349, GEISENDÖRFER, 18.

² See p. 135.

³ Note in addition to the published inscriptions, *P. Gavius Sex. l. Pamphilus* on an unpublished tile in the Museo Archeologico in Florence (autopsy 1.7.1970).

⁴ DE SIMONE I, 96.

⁵ See PAULI *ad tit.*, LATTES, 'Etr.-lat.', 124.

⁶ Perhaps to these can be added *Eromacae* (1291) — $\text{H}\rho\sigma\alpha\chi\chi\eta$?

⁷ The present writer has had access only to a copy of this Caeretan inscription, and suggests *Hilharia*, whereas CRISTOFANI on the same basis prefers *Hillaria*.

an early date that the convention of marking aspirated stops had not yet got a hold in the Latin language. Consequently, aspirated stops are rare in the Latin *cippi* of Caere, the lack of aspiration being a proof of an early date. But in northern Etruria aspirated stops may occur beginning with the earliest Latin inscriptions, and they could in fact be regarded as a continuation of the Etruscan aspirates¹. Whether the aspiration was retained in a name of Etruscan origin or not depended, then, on the conventions governing the Latin language. This has also caused much alternation. In any case, it is important to note that this is a graphemic question, not phonemically distinctive.

2.1.2.4.3 Gemination

Latin gemination is essentially a characteristic of the short forms of personal names. This type of consonant extension is common to many Indo-European languages². The Latin inscriptions, however, did not mark the gemination before the second century B.C. As for Etruscan, we cannot judge how frequent consonant gemination has been. It has been marked, in addition to some archaic texts, in a few comparatively late inscriptions only, obviously under Latin influence³. Thus, once more we have to deal with a Latin phenomenon, reflecting rather a change in the spelling than in the pronunciation.

Gemination is often unmarked in purely Latin words in our inscriptions, as in the forms *anorum* (I² 2634, Ferentis)⁴, *ano*, *anos* and *anis* appearing some ten times at Tarquinii and in *CII* 2276, Horta. Some other examples may be mentioned: *dulcissimo* (XI 2083, Pe.), *ocisus comilitione* (SE 27, 279, Asciano)⁵. At Caere we have *Polio* (6091, 6302), *Buria* (6247, 6308), *Serane* (6245), *Apoloni* (I² 2764), and the same form appears in *Nsc* 1963, 68 (San Giuliano). It is certain that many of these inscriptions belong to a period when the Latin regularly marked the geminates. Thus, this manner of spelling may reflect Etruscan influence. On the other hand, one may note the odd gemination in the form *arrespex* (2539).

Certain groups of names show how irregularly the gemination was marked in the script. The form *Annius* is very common; e.g. in the bilingual

¹ GEISSENDÖRFER, 16.

² SOMMER, 202; LEUMANN, 142-143; the most complete collection of examples is given by SCHULZE, 422-464.

³ See above, pp. 107-108.

⁴ *anoro* (789) is to be read *annoro*, and this word is preceded by a gamonymikon *P(e)troni*, not *P(e)tronia* (autopsy 2.7.1970).

⁵ Augustan coins were found in the urn bearing this inscription.

no. 1729 we have Etr. *anne* and Lat. *Annius*. But on the other hand, many Latin forms with a single *n* occur, such as *Anius* (1731), *Anie* (1331), *Anei* (1592), *Ania* (896, XI 2943, Vc.?), *Anual* (1155), *Anainta* (724) and *Anainai* (1688). In the same way, Etr. *arri* appears in addition to Lat. *Arrius* in the bilingual no. 1469. The only ungeminated forms of this stem, *Aris* (1777) and *Arisalisa* (2931) are both Etruscan in their morphology. The name of the daughter of *Arisalisa* is recorded in the form *Arria* (953)¹. The different forms of the stem *Caini-* are normally written with one *n*; an exception is *Cainnia* (1671). *Messia* (2544) occurs once, but the same name with a single *s* twice: *Mesia* (4190), *Misia* (3764). The geminated *Vettius* is the normal form, but note also *Veti* (3343), *Vetia* (3342), and *Vetinal* (1068). *Lussius* (3941) has several equivalents with one *s* (3338, 3339, 4387, 4388, 6135, Ca., SE 33, 491-492 no. 41, Ta.?). *Casia* (2563, 2564), *Casius* (3545) are exceptions as compared with the normal *Cassius*, *Gelius* (1984) and *Celius* (929) in comparison with *Gellius*, *Galia* (988)², *Calinai* (1931) and *Caliesa* (MALinc 30, 324, Cl.) with reference to *Gallus*, and similarly *Satelius* (4776, Cl.) as related to *Satellius* (but note also *Sattellia* 4775). The *cippi* of Caere show little consistency in their spelling in this respect: *Fani* (6261) - *Fannia* (6262), *Atia* (6225) - *Attius* (6246, 6247), *Teti* (6194)³ - *Tetti* (6191), and further, *Arunti* (6022, 6044) for *Arruntius*, *Cosuti* (6100) for *Cossutius*, and *Telutia* (6297) for *Tellutia*. At Tarquinii we have for instance *Hirius* (SE 36, 209) for *Hirrius*.

This alternation of single and double consonants is extremely common with regard to the gentilicium suffixes *-n(n)a*, *-n(n)ius*, the variants of which continue throughout the history of the Latin language; for instance, *Haerina* (1580, 1584, 1585) appears together with *H(a)erinna* (1581-1583) and *Herena* (1586) in addition to the usual *Herennius*. In the same way as *Vibinnal* (2732, 2733) and *Vibinnia* (682) alternate with *Vipinal* (XI 7227, Cl.), *Vibinal* (2182), *Vibinei*, *Vipine* (2219) and *Vipinia* (1590), we have *Pacinal* (930), *Pacini* (XI 7276, Vs.) in addition to *Pacinnal* (928) and *Pacinnei* (929), and *Laucinal* (1600) in addition to *Laucinna* (4836, Cl.)⁴.

Some special cases of gemination, with particular regard to the correspondence between Etruscan and Latin spelling, may also be mentioned.

¹ See below, p. 181.

² In this inscription the age must be read LXXII instead of LXX (autopsy 30.6.1970).

³ If not *Gavia*, to which family the tomb belongs.

⁴ Cf. *Teties* (561).

⁵ Further, the same alternating of single and double consonants seems to appear in the names of the father *A. Brutis* Vel. f. (3722) and the daughter *Brutia* A. f. (3723).

Hollonis (1017), *Hollonia* (3058) should be connected with Etr. *Ouluni* (3057, the brother of *Hollonia* in no. 3058) and *hulu*, *Vessia* (4188, 4189) with *vesi*, *Russinaei* (2701) with *rusina* (cf. Lat. *Rusinius*), *Murrenia* (952, 1153) with *murina*, *Seppia* (787) with *sepia*, and *Hannossa* (1295) with *hanusa*. In all these cases, the gemination has been effectuated after the first, usually accented syllable. The last name may, however, show the extended pronunciation of the Etruscan genitive ending *-sa*; this is supported also by the forms *Pabassa* (832) and *Gargossa* (1955)¹. *Velizza* (676) in addition to *veliza* may show an extended pronunciation of the ending *-za*.

The fact that the marking of the geminates has not been easy for the Etruscans learning Latin, is proved by many peculiar manners of spelling: *Casscelius* (3743) diverging from the form *Cascellius* (3742), *Bepssanius* (Inv.no. 25 Mus. Vt.), *Balls[-* (776) and *Luccilia* (1579) are not normal in Latin.

The alternating of the single and double consonants could best be used in dating the inscriptions by comparing them with other Latin republican texts. When doing so it should, however, be remembered that the phenomenon of Etruscan interference tended to retard the normal development, visible in other Latin inscriptions of the same period. Consequently, the general chronological criteria of the Latin epigraphy cannot as such be applied to the inscriptions of Etruria. The lack of gemination does not date the inscriptions of Clusium and Perugia to the second century B.C. The ungeminated forms are usually discernible in inscriptions, the language of which retained many Etruscan features. Thus, ungeminated consonants constitute a continuation of Etruscan spelling. The cases of Caere and Tarquinii, where the interference of the Etruscan language is less evident than at Clusium and Perugia, may, however, really reflect the general development of Latin epigraphy.

2.1.2.4.4 Other Peculiarities in the Consonants

In this section, certain particular phenomena, which in the semi-Latin or Latin inscriptions of Etruria seem to reflect Etruscan phonology, will be discussed. The first peculiarity, the alternation between *f* and *h*, is characteristic of Etruscan phonology². It may be noted in two bilingual inscriptions, the one (3763) recording Etr. *cahatial*, Lat. *Cafatia*, the other (1487)

¹ For the question, see the recent study of DURANTE, 299–300. *Salassa* (2013) does not belong to these, but rather to the Latin cognomen tradition, see I. KAJANTO, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 196.

² See PFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 43–44.

giving Etr. *ferclite*, Lat. *Herclite*. Other instances of this change are more uncertain. *Faltini* (6258–6260, Ca.) may correspond to Etr. *haltuni*, *Fan(n)ius* (6261, 6262, Ca.) to Etr. *hanu*, and *Hatile* (6270, Ca.) to Etr. *fatial*. The inscriptions *A. Caitho C. f. Faber* (4278) and *A. Caitho Ab.* (4279) have induced Lattes to believe that *Ab.* would be an Etruscan abbreviated form of *Faber* / *hapre*¹. A more probable solution is, however, that the latter inscription (now lost) has had the text *A. Caitho A.f.* The deceased would have been the son of the person mentioned in the former inscription (4278).

Some examples of the alternation *t(h)* – *h* can be presented²: *Hollo-ni[a]* (3058) is the sister of *huhumi*, recorded in no. 3057. Possibly the aspirated stop, unknown to Latin, has caused the change of the initial consonant. *Tercenna* (5413, Ta.) is from the same tomb as *hercnai* (5412); they could, conceivably, represent two different phonological stages of the same name. *Harnustia* (3751), a name otherwise without direct equivalent in Etruscan or in Latin, could possibly be connected with Etr. *θarnies* (TLE 407).

The transcription of the Greek name Διφύλος, which in Etruscan is usually given as *tiqile*, but in Latinized inscriptions is recorded as *Tifilia* (1584) or *Tibile* (2935)³, represents the change of *phif* into *b*, in this particular case caused by the general difference between the Etruscan and the Latin system of stops. The form *Noborsinia* (3864), corresponding to Etr. *nufzrna*, presents a case of *f* rendered with *b*⁴. It is uncertain whether *Fafric.* (XI 2977, Tu.) is due to the same change; this could be supported by Etr. *θefri* corresponding to Lat. *Tiberius*.

The change of *b* into *v* is a purely Latin phenomenon, known from the early Empire⁵. Some early examples from Etruria may be mentioned: *Vivinnæ* (XI 7218, Cl.), *Bicceius* and *Vicceius* occurring in the same inscription (XI 1808, Sa.), and *Betuus* (XI 1941, SE 36, 234, Pe.), which may originate in the Etruscan name *vetu*.

The weak pronunciation of nasals both in Etruscan⁶ and in Latin has often caused their disappearance in writing. Such cases are not rare in our inscriptions. So *azari* and *anzari* occur in the same inscription (4832, Cl.),

¹ LATTES, *Correzioni*, 181, 'Etr.-lat.', 119, 'Ab und Caitho', *ALL*, 12 (1902), 578.

² See PALLOTTINO, *Elementi*, 21–22, CORTSEN, *Lyd*, 77–81.

³ The connexion is rejected by CORTSEN, *Titel*, 26, but see RIX, *Etr.C.* 348, VETTER, *lethe*, 68 ff., DE SIMONE I, 119, PFIFFIG, 'Die Namen chemals unfreier Personen bei den Römern und in Etrurien', *BzN*, 11 (1960), 257.

⁴ See PFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 41–42.

⁵ LEUMANN, 130; VÄÄNÄNEN, *Latin*, 50–52; LATTES, *ALL* 10, 135–136, believes that the change was effectuated earlier in Etruria than elsewhere.

⁶ See CORTSEN, *Lyd*, 157–163, PFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 50–51, HAMMARSTRÖM, *Comm.* A. Heikel, 1926, 89 ff.

the former written dextrorsum. *Artal* (1653) stays for *Arntal*, *Aros* (3498, 4326) and *Arus* (XI 3370, Ta.) correspond to *Arruns*. In a bilingual inscription (890) *Caesius* is the Latin equivalent of Etr. *canzna*¹. Further instances of the disappearance of a nasal are the Latin names *Sequda* (1587), *Cresces* (XI 1808, Sa.) and *Numatina* (XI 1362, Luna, if really for *Numantina*). Whether *Considius* (2044) is a reverse Latin spelling corresponding to Etr. *cuside*, remains uncertain. The form *Tolonio*, appearing twice in NSc 1948, 454 ff., instead of *Tolumnius*, Etr. *tulumne*, must have been created by assimilation².

The Etruscan *z*³ is perhaps the most interesting of the sibilants for the purpose of our study. Although the letter was long unknown to Latin⁴, it appears comparatively frequently in our material: *Veliza* (985, 1153, 2636), *Vaeliza* (1147)⁵, *Cezartle* (708), *Cezarle* (709), *Caезirtli* (1077), *Ceztes* (710)⁶. More often, however, *z* has been transcribed by Latin *s*⁷, as in *Velisa* (848), *Valisa* (856). *Visanie* (858) corresponds to Etr. *veiza*, and *Cassius* to Etr. *cazi* in the bilingual no. 378, Ar. *Vensius* is the equivalent of Etr. *venzile* in another bilingual (1437). *Noborsinia* (3864) stands for Etr. *nufzna*.

The two remnants of the Etruscan differentiation between *s* and *ś*, *natus* (1578) and *Lussius* (3931) are graphic, not phonological peculiarities. The same applies to the different ways of spelling the cluster *ks*. For instance, we have in the same inscription (2108) both *Velxna* and *Velcxna*, in addition to the form *Velxsna* recorded in nos. 2107, 2109⁸. The Latin spellings *Maxsimi*, *uxsor* (728), *vixxit* (XI 3404) and *vixsit* (XI 3438, 3510, Ta.) are common elsewhere, too.

Finally, the semivowel *u* causes variation, especially in the transcription of Etruscan syncopated forms: *Raventia* (3058) – *racvñu*, *Avilia* (3494) – *aulni*, *Avonia* (3340) – *auni*, and *Caveli* (4252) – *Caulius*, Etr. *caule*. One may also note *Ulsoni* (6304, Ca.) beside *Folsonius*, and *Ulattius* (4659, Ar.) beside *Volattius*.

2.1.2.5 Conclusion

In this part, which deals with the phonology of the inscriptions, different kinds of phenomena have been discussed. With regard to the purpose of

¹ In the bilingual inscription no. 378, Ar., the reading *cazi* should be preferred to *canzi*.

² The assumption has not been accepted by WEINSTOCK, 307.

³ See PFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 48, DE SIMONE II, 165–166.

⁴ See HAMMARSTRÖM, *Comm. A. Heikel*, 1926, 85.

⁵ Note the geminate in *Velizna* (676).

⁶ Perhaps connected with Lat. *Cestius*, LATTES, 'Etr.-lat', 188.

⁷ PFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 48.

⁸ In Etruscan originally *velczna*, thereafter *velcīna* (2106, bilingual).

this study, the most important group comprises the phenomena which are concerned with the differences of Etruscan and Latin phonology. We may mention here the absence of the signs for the vowel *o* and the voiced stops *b*, *d*, *g* in Etruscan, and the original absence of aspirated stops in Latin, where many diphthongs still existing in Etruscan had already been monophthongized before the first century B.C. Furthermore, late Etruscan distinguished three sibilants, whereas the Latin language knew only one. The syncope had in Etruscan caused consonant clusters, the pronunciation of which was impossible for a person speaking Latin.

These differences are reflected in the Etrusco-Latin inscriptions of Etruria by the inconsistency appearing in the spelling of the names. Our main difficulty is the discerning of graphemic changes from phonemic ones, but also the influence of Latin analogies upon the Latinized form of an Etruscan name renders the picture often nebulous, at least when one tries to draw conclusions about the Etruscan phonemic system on the basis of this material.

A second group is characterized by the influence in the Latin inscriptions of changes typical of the Etruscan language, e.g. the change between *h* and *f*. One could say that the Latinization process concerning proper names made good use of such changes in Etruscan; they have obviously facilitated the connexion of Etruscan names with well-known Latin ones, as the name pair *hanu*—*Fannius* seems to show.

In the third group, we have certain phonological changes effectuated in Latin during the last centuries B.C. In these cases, one cannot speak about interference phenomena, but the cases may be noteworthy because of their value in dating inscriptions. In this respect, however, a certain amount of caution is needed, because in some cases, for instance with regard to gemination, the Etruscan influence retarded development, as compared with other parts of Italy, where Latin inscriptions are to be found.

2.1.3 THE MORPHOLOGY IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD

2.1.3.1 *The Masculine Forms and the Name Suffixes*

When discussing the development of the Etruscan masculine nominative forms during the language shift, the disposition must be set out in accordance with the character of the Etruscan material. We cannot separate special nominative endings in Etruscan, except the problematic *-s*, appearing especially in names in southern Etruria. There are, on the one hand, names formed by a certain suffix, e.g. *-na*, on the other hand, names terminating

in *-e*, *-a*, *-u*, *-i*, without any special suffixes or formatives. The Latin language differs from the Etruscan in so far as in Latin almost all gentilicia have the same suffix, *-ius*.

The different terminations in Etruscan also imply a different origin and function of the names. The most important gentilicium suffix in ancient times was *-na*. Another common termination was *-e*, used in northern Etruria especially in cognomina, and frequently corresponding to the Italic *-os*. *-a*, *-u* and *-i* were originally less frequent terminations, and similarly *-ie*, which in most cases originates in the Italic ending *-ios*. Later *-u* and *-i* gained in importance. This applies especially to *-ni*, an amalgamation of Etr. *-na* and Ital. *-ios*, which to a certain extent superseded *-na*¹.

This plurality of the terminations was unknown in the Latin gentilicium system, which had one suffix only, *-ius*. This suffix is an old Indo-European adjective formative denoting "belonging to someone", and it was common to several Italic peoples. The suffix could be preceded, as could the Etruscan suffixes, by other elements, e.g. by the diminutive element *-il(-ius)*, which was typical of numerous Latin gentilicia. These elements offered chances of variation and also made it possible to increase the number of the gentilicia. The ending *-ius* itself, however, was a compulsory characteristic of all gentilicia, and it did not tolerate other additional endings. Thus, when Latin enriched the onomastic material with new names of foreign origin, their suffixes had to be adapted to the Latin system². Now, in the Etruria of the transition period, the point of departure was the plurality of the Etruscan terminations when confronted with the uniformity of the Latin formation of gentilicia. Our task is to study the outcome of this confrontation. The endings of the cognomina, which are attested by a very poor body of material, will be discussed at the same time.

The only suffix which could generally speaking resist the uniforming influence of the Latin *-ius* was the Etruscan *-na*. Names with this ending were still common during the Empire, e.g. persons named *Caecina* are known in the fifth century A.D. The explanation for this resistance can possibly be found in the fact that pre-eminent Romans of Etruscan origin had used such names at an early stage of Roman history, and so had gained for them a place in the gentilicium system. The Etruscan origin of the suffix is clear,

¹ See above p. 24. For the appearance of the Etruscan terminations, see HERBIG, 'Indog.', 360-362, PULGRAM, 'Origin', 181-182, for their Latinization, see also HERBIG, 'Indog.', 371-373.

² SOLMSEN-FRÄNKEL, *Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte*, Heidelberg 1922, 137-138; DEVOTO, 'Nomi', 603; cf. also B. NOGARA, *Il nome personale nella Lombardia durante la dominazione romana*, Milano 1895, 55-57.

but this does not imply that all name stems formed with this suffix should be Etruscan¹.

The suffix *-na* abounds among the gentilicia of Etruria. The most widely spread name seems to have been *Perperna*² (2543, Cl., XI 1812, Sa., XI 1748, Vt., XI 2731, Vs.). In more than one town we also find *Caecina* (common at Volaterrae, I² 2515, Vs.), *Spurinna* (XI 1847, Ar., XI 7301, Vs., NSc, 1948, 263-264, Ta.), *Tarna* (5293, Vc., 6142, 6296, Ca.), and *Volasenna* (XI 1878 Ar., XI 1788 a, Vt.). Local names from Clusium are *Haerina* (with its variants, 1580-1586), *Laucinna* (4836), *Pergomsna* (935, 936), *Perna* (1338), *Prasna* (2592), *Tetina* (1600), *Umrana* (1617) and *Velxna* (2107-2109); from Perugia *Thormena* (4269), and *Varna* (3746); from Volaterrae *Aulinna* (149), *Poena* (XI 1749) and *Vetina* (XI 1773); from Tarquinii *Alina* (XI 3398-3401), *Corona* (XI 3428) and *Tercenna* (XI 3371)³; from Caere the common *Tarcna*, *Seterna* (6132), *Verna* (6300), *Liptena* (6071) and *Leptina* (6039, 6085, 6108); from Florence *Ceuna* (XI 1593), *Saena* (XI 1672), from Nepes *Agisenna* (XI 3223) and from Saturnia *Critina* (XI 2650). The Etruscan genitive *Cetisnasa* (729) from the name *cetisna* may be added to the list.

The Etruscan suffix was by no means always accepted as such when Etruscan gentilicia in *-na* were latinized. In some cases this form represented only a transitory stage. Thus, for the Caeretan family *tarzna*, we first get the conversion to *Tarcna*, but subsequently to *Tarquitius*, a name which looks more genuinely Latin. The choice of the Latin suffix *-itius* is scarcely based on linguistic criteria⁴, even if we know a parallel case from Caere: *Campatius* as a Latinized form of *campanes*. On the other hand, we also know a Caeretan woman called *Tarcia* (6061). Now, if this woman belongs to the Etruscan family *tarzna*, her name would present a typical change of suffix. The most common Etruscan gentilicium suffix *-na* would have been changed into the normal Latin suffix *-ius*, and that would mean that the two suffixes were regarded as being equivalent. There are many instances of such a change: it may be enough to quote, for instance, the Caeretan *Maduia*

¹ See SOLMSEN-FRÄNKEL, 138, G. BONFANTE, 'The Origin of the Latin Name-system', *Mél. Marrouzeau* (1948), 57-58, NOGARA, *Nome*, 56-57, HERBIG, 'Indog.', 374-375, 'Etruskisches Latein', *IF*, 37 (1917), 180, ERNOUT, 'Éléments', 90, DEVOTO, 'Nomi', 603, J. VENDRYES, 'Sur quelques formations des mots latins', *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, 22 (1920-21), 103, and, above all, SCHULZE, 62-107.

² This can be due to the freedmen of this pre-eminent Roman family; the exact Etruscan equivalent of the name is not known. In general, this list also includes names belonging to the Empire, and these may, of course, belong to Roman colonists.

³ *Vennona* (SE 33, 487 no. 31, Ta.) is probably a spelling error for *Vennonnia*, recorded *ibid.*, no. 32.

⁴ As suggested by CRISTIOFANI, *TI*, 66-69.

(6126) found in connexion with the tomb of the family *matuna*, and pairs of names such as *varna* – *Varius* (890, 3023) in bilingual inscriptions.

In addition to the form *Caecina* originating in Etr. *ceicna*, we also have the name *Caecinius*. Here, too, the suffix has been normalized, not by the substitution of the whole element *-na*, but by the addition of the Latin *-ius*. The same development can be seen with regard to the common name *Herennius*, appearing in addition to *Haerina*. These and the Etr. *velimna*, Latinized *Volumnius* (e.g. 3763), may here represent the many examples of this manner of adapting Etruscan names of the suffix *-na* to Latin. It is easy to understand how this adaptation came about. The process was facilitated on the one hand by the Etruscan parallel suffix *-ni*, on the other by the Latin feminine form in *-nia* belonging to the suffix *-na*, e.g. *Caecina* – f. *Caecinia* – m. *Caecinius*¹.

The other terminations of *-a* are not so common either in the Etruscan or in the Latin gentilicia of Etruria. One may suppose that the striking resemblance of this termination with the Latin feminine forms would have caused its rapid disappearance. Some examples of names with this suffix may be quoted: *Asfa* (I² 2768, Pc.), *Lepta* (6122, Ca.)², *Paba* (XI 2777, Vs.)³, *Pauca* (1155), *Scansa* (1577, gen. *Scansas* 1772), *Vitra* (1549, 1550, gen. *Vitras* 1551) and *Volca* (XI 1790, Vt.).

Although this ending is very rare in Latin gentilicia, the Romans had many masculine cognomina ending in *-a*. The question regarding their origin has often been discussed. Frequently they appear to be good Latin formations, even if usually born of vulgar speech⁴. Thus, examining the cognomina with the termination *-a* in the Latin inscriptions of Etruria, one has to take several circumstances into consideration. There are names which without any doubt are Etruscan, such as the cognomen *Selcia* of the gens *Caecinia* (24, Vt.) recorded also in Etruscan inscriptions, and *Asia* (896, XI 7180, a, Cl.)⁵. Secondly, the names may be of Latin origin, as *Barba* (3331), *Popa* (3692), *Fenestella* (675)⁶, and probably also *Cepa* (3469), standing for *Caepa*⁷. Some names are of Greek origin, as *Plintha* (4772–4774, Cl.) and

Bur(r)ia (4410, 6247, 6308, Ca.). In many cases, it is very hard to decide whether a certain name must be considered of Latin or Etruscan origin. *Pansa* (3158, 3615) can be connected with the Etruscan cognomen *panza*, but this again originates in Latin *Pansa*¹. In the same way *Scur(r)a* (4375, 6164, 6193, Ca.) may be a good Latin name, but it could also be connected with Etr. *scurna*. These questions concerning the origin of cognomina ending in *-a* are discussed in detail in the onomastic part of this study (pp. 182-185).

The most common gentilicium termination in the late Etruscan inscriptions is *-e*. The names with this termination could be genuine, but there were also numerous Italic (or Greek) loans, in which the suffix *-os* had been substituted by Etr. *-e*². In the same way, Etr. *-ie* corresponded to the Italic ending *-ios*, even if in many names, especially praenomina, Etr. *-e* has also been used as an equivalent of Ital. *-ios*.

The Latinization process must have used strong pressure against the termination *-e*. In Latin there are no names at all terminating in *-e*, and in the whole noun flexion this termination belongs to the neuter gender. But the Etruscan remnants, names with this termination, are not rare in our inscriptions: *Aule* (989), *Ane* (569), *Bele* (XI 7195 ?)³, *Cae* (1829, 1841), *Caule* (988), *Cn(ayeve)* (925, 931, 932, XI 7199 a, b), *Corsdle* (2058), *Petinate* (2278)⁴, *Tite* (2860), *Venete* (735), all from Clusium, *Amerite* (6242), *Hatite* (6270), *Pabate* (6285) from Caere, and *State* (5593), *Timele* (SE 36, 209) from Tarquinii⁵. The genitive forms *Ceztes* (710) and *Praesentes* (808), and the names of foreign origin *Herclite* (1488), *Cezar(t)le* (708, 709), *Tibile* (2935)⁶ may also be noted. The forms of the stem *Sartag-* not only show the process of Latinization of the termination *-e*, but also the transferring of an Etruscan gentilicium to the cognomen of the family. The first form known to us is *Sartage* (1596). In *Sartagus* (1598) the ending has been latinized, but then, in the third stage of the process, we have a person called *Sertorius Sartages* (2802), with the old gentilicium used as cognomen with

¹ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 249; A. ALFÖLDI, 'Les cognomina des magistrats de la république romaine', *Mél. Piganiol* II (1966), 714.

² For this substitution, see HERBIG, 'Indog.', 375, RIX, *Etr.C.*, 227-231.

³ The reading *Lar Bele*, suggested by BORMANN, is unsatisfactory. I would prefer *L. Arbeliū[s]*, autopsy 13.5.1968.

⁴ The same person is recorded in an Etruscan inscription (2279) as *petinate*.

⁵ Cf. also *Vel Vib(a)e* in a fragment of Naevius by Festus 272 M = 334 L, see K. MEISTER, *Lat.-griech. Eigennamen*, Leipzig - Berlin 1916, 76.

⁶ See DE SIMONE II, 94, 128.

the ending *-es*, suitable for the Latin declension¹. The same ending *-es* appears in the gentilicium *Sortes* (I² 2637, 2638, Pe.), corresponding to Etr. *sūrte*. The transition of this name into the cognomen has brought about a change of form. The stem has been connected with the Latin appellative *sors* and consequently, there is a person called *Nigidius Sors* in this Perusine tomb (I² 2640).

A few Etruscan praenomina retained the ending *-e* in the Latin inscriptions: *Aule* (1571, 2693, 931)², in the genitive *Aules* (1571, 4831, Cl.), *Larce* (appearing three times in 2108), and *Sethre* (708, 709)³. Of cognomina with the termination *-e*, only *Galle* (XI 2979, Tu.) and *Ladile* (1015) seem to be certain. The Caeretan forms *Serane* (6245) and *Pape* (6178, if not an abbreviation) may be due to epitaphs in the vocative⁴. *Pate Sc. l. Burria* (4410) is impossible with regard to the name form, and the reading must be wrong. I would suggest the solution *P. Atius C.l. Burria*⁵.

The names ending in *-ie* are not very common in the Etrusco-Latin inscriptions. Only seven instances are known, namely *Anie* (1331), *Odie* (1538), *Tetie* (2822), *Visanie* (858), all in the nominative, and *Teties* (561), *Vibies* (2209), *Caliesa* (MALinc 30, 324, Cl.) in the genitive.

The normal manner of latinizing these suffixes was naturally the substitution of Etr. *-e* by Lat. *-(i)us*⁶. This development corresponds to the adopting of Italic names by Etruscan, but the process is carried out in the reverse order. The change of the suffix was often facilitated by the fact that the Etruscan name could often be reconnected with the original Italic name, which had once been borrowed by Etruscan. So Etr. *anne* has again acquired the Latin form *Annius*, in which the name originates, in a bilingual inscription (1729). However, one should also note another manner of Latinization well documented in our inscriptions. For instance, we have the name *Cainius* (XI 7180 a, c, Cl.), which can be connected with Etr. *cae*.⁷ The explanation of this extension of the suffix by the element *-n-* may be found in the

¹ See below p. 93 and Rix, *Etr.C.*, 47. The ending *-es* of Latin gentilicia is discussed by F. G. BENSELER, *De nominibus propriis et Latinis in -is pro -ius et Gracilis in -is -v, pro -uō, -uō terminatis*, Lipsiae 1870, 167-168. Note *Parnes* (987), appearing together with *Barnaeus* (986).

² Occurring perhaps also in no. 457 (Co.), see above p. 126.

³ In no. XI 7169, Cl., we may have *Sθre*.

⁴ So DEGRASSI *ILRP* 838; LOMMATZSCH *CIL* I² Ind.

⁵ The copy of BORMANN records *PATIL SC. L. BURRIA*.

⁶ For the names ending in *-us* instead of *-ius*, many of which seem to represent an intermediate phase in the Latinization of *-e*, see below p. 154.

⁷ There is, however, also masculine *caini* in Etruscan.

feminine *cainei* corresponding to masculine *cae*. The feminine forms *Marina* (1144, 1151), in addition to masculine **mare*, *Mari* (1145) are in a way examples of the same development, even if Latin masculine forms with the *-n*-element of this name do not occur.

The Etruscan gentilicium termination *-u*, which originated in appellatives and cognomina¹, has often been rendered directly by Latin *-o*: *Caiŋho* (4278, 4279, in Etruscan only *caiŋi* is attested), *Carso* (CII 2276 Horta), *Caspo* (62, Vt.), probably an original cognomen, as also in *Cenco* (1604), *Grebo* (6118, 6189, 6190, Ca.), *Hollonis* (1017)², *Lenso* (3721), *Pedros* (2563, 2564), *Sabo* (4840, Cl.), *Scandilio* (1578), *Scandio* (2717), *Scribo* (XI 7405, Tu.), *Spedo* (712-715), *Tosnos* (1606), *Veratro* (1571). The genitive *Hollonis* from the Etruscan stem *hulu* gives us to understand how such names were treated in Latin. They were connected with the Latin nasal stems, which also show a nominative in *-o*. This Latin type is common in the nomenclature, but used mostly in cognomina. The semantic value of the words in *-o* used in onomastic functions is close to that of the names ending in *-a*.

In Etruscan, the nasal element was originally unknown to the gentilicia ending in *-u*³. In the late feminine formation, however, the formative *-ni(a)* begins to appear in addition to the original formative *-i*⁴, and this certainly facilitated the Latinization of the Etruscan names with this termination. It was very frequently substituted by the Latin suffix *-onius*⁵. The inscriptions of Etruria offer numerous examples of such a development: both *Petronius*, corresponding to Etr. *petru*, and *Trebonius* as an equivalent of Etr. *trepu* are common. The feminine *Veratronia* (1572) corresponds to masculine *Veratro*, the person called *Thoceronia* in one inscription (715) is recorded as *Thocernal* in another (714).

Examining the cognomina with the termination *-o* in Etruria, several circumstances must again be taken into consideration, partly because the termination is common among the Latin cognomina⁶, partly because many of the names may originate in Greek. Names perpetuating originally Etruscan cognomina seem to be: *Caspo* (appearing as a cognomen in nos. 20, 18 ?

¹ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 184-192, against the conception of SCHULZE, 65, 265, 320.

² Maybe a cognomen, see RIX, *Etr.C.*, 154.

³ HERBIG, 'Indog.', 375; R. LAZZERONI, 'Per la storia dei sostantivi derivati in *-on* nelle lingue classiche', *Studi e Saggi lingu.*, 3 (1963), 42.

⁴ See RIX, *Etr.C.*, 168, 173.

⁵ RIX, 'Personenn.', 165; SCHULZE, 300-302; LAZZERONI, 43; HERBIG, 'Indog.', 371. In Latin itself, the same stems often bear both the ending *-o* and *-onius*; A. ZIMMERMANN, 'Namen auf *-o*, *-onis*', *ALL.*, 13 (1904), 266 ff., 500.

⁶ See also LAZZERONI, 22.

Vt.)¹, *Arruno* (1013)², *Alchu* (1433), *Spaspo* (3004), *Srablio* (1297, 1298), and *Tocro* (818)³.

The gentilicium termination *-i* creates great difficulties for a study of the Etruscan interference in the Latin used in Etruria soon after the language shift. This ending was not only one of the most common endings of the late Etruscan gentilicia, but it also appears very frequently in Latin republican epigraphy, representing a shorter variant of *-ios*. Many hypotheses have been presented about the origin of this Latin form, one of them ascribing its formation to the influence of the Etruscan language⁴, but no single theory seems to solve the problem in a satisfactory way. It is probable that different circumstances have influenced the rise and the generalization of this ending. I have discussed these problems elsewhere with special attention paid to the cases of the Latin nominative in *-i* occurring in Etruria⁵. In this context, the most important question is, how many of the cases should be considered to be direct transcriptions of the Etruscan gentilicium termination *-i*, how many should be explained in the light of the Latin tradition.

The termination *-i* appears in some fifty Latin inscriptions in northern Etruria, but it is attested most frequently in the Latin *cippi* and other inscriptions at Caere, in more than a hundred instances. I have divided these cases into two groups according to the criterion, whether the termination *-i* already appears in the same name in Etruscan or not. When the termination has remained unchanged during the language shift, i.e. when Etruscan already had the termination *-i* in the name, the form may be explained by Etruscan interference. Some straightforward examples of this may suffice here: a cognomen of *gens Caecinia* at Volaterrae had the Etruscan form *tlapuni*⁶, and its Latin equivalent *Tlaboni* has preserved the ending of the Etruscan name. The two Etruscan genitive forms *Crasnisa* (2219) and *Anicisa* (1455) are formed from Etruscan names terminating in *-i*. In two bilinguals, the Etruscan and the Latin names have the same termination *-i*: *fapi* and *Fabi* (1290), *trepī* and *Trebi* (2965). However, both names are of Italic origin, and the terminations, too, should be regarded as Italic rather than Etruscan.

The great majority of the cases are, however, such that either the suffix was changed during Latinization, i.e. the Etruscan equivalent of the name

¹ Cf. RIX, *Etr.C.*, 160.

² This name is hardly to be found also in no. 679, see below, p. 164.

³ For *Sepedo* (711), see above, p. 132.

⁴ DEECKE, *Bilinguen*, 35; E. LATTES, *Intorno ai tipi delle epigrafi latine dell'Etruria*, Milano 1872, 4, *Iscrizioni*, 28; see also HERBIG, 'Faliska', 110.

⁵ *Arctos*, N.S. 6, 23-42, especially 33-37.

⁶ Already with an Italicized ending, see RIX, *Etr.C.*, 126, 317-323.

did not have the termination *-i*, or the name is without any Etruscan equivalent. *Reusti* (2693) comes from Etr. **reuste* (fem. gen. *reustial*), *Larci* (899) corresponds to Etr. *larce*, and *Mari* (1145) to Etr. **mare*. All these endings corresponding to Etruscan *-e* are already subject to Latin influence. The forms *Arri*, occurring in two bilinguals (710, 1469), and *Volumni* in no. 3372 can hardly be due to Etruscan influence, because the Etruscan forms of the names were *arntni* and *velimna*. Especially at Caere, nearly all forms in *-i* must according to this criterion be regarded as belonging to the Latin tradition, because the Etruscan termination *-i* is quite rare in the gentilicia of this city.

The Latinization of the Etruscan termination *-i* has been easily effected by the change of the ending into Latin *-ius*, discernible for instance in the bilingual no. 378, Ar., with Etr. *cazi*, Lat. *Cassius*. The suffix *-ni* has similarly been changed in the bilingual no. 428, Ar., including the Etruscan form *fulni*, to which the Latin *Folnius* corresponds. But like the suffix *-na*, *-ni* has also been understood as an equivalent of the Latin *-ius*, as the bilingual inscription no. 1671: Etr. *alfni*—Lat. *Alfius*, and some other examples show.

In addition to *-i*, Latin knew in republican inscriptions another variant for *-ius*, namely *-is*¹. This ending evidently originates in Oscan and Umbrian dialects, in which it represents a typical phonetic development of *-ios*. Consequently, it is natural that most of the few instances of this ending in Etruria are from Perugia, where the Umbrian linguistic element is well in evidence. We may find there the forms *Adanatis* (3546), *Brutis* (3722), *Rufis* (3498, 3501)², and *Sulpicis* (3514). The ending *-is* was of no importance in Etruscan gentilicia. One of our cases, *Aris* (1777), is, however, Etruscan, in which language the name had the same form³. Also in the individual name *Slebaris* (4252) there is an Etruscan ending.

The old Latin nominative ending *-io*, born from *-ios* by the weakening of the final *-s*, appears very infrequently in Etruria. Only a few examples may be mentioned: *Papirio* (681), *Scandio* (2717)⁴ and *Tolonio* (NSc 1948, 454 ff., Veii).

¹ Two old monographs have been written on this phenomenon, BENSELER, *op. cit.* (1870), and F. RITSCHL, *De declinatione quadam Latina reconditore*, *Opusc. Phil.* IV, Lipsiae 1878, 446–478.

² B. DOER, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Namengebung*, Diss., Berlin 1937, would see here an Etruscan ending, but is probably wrong.

³ In no. 1146 *Nums.* is more probable than *Nimus*

⁴ If not of the type *-io*, *-ionis*.

This discussion may be concluded with a list of the gentilicia ending in *-us* instead of *-ius*. This ending is not so rare in the Latin gentilicium system, especially at the time when the distinction between the gentilicia and the cognomina was no longer sharp. Consequently, many of our cases seem to represent cognomina: *Billienus* (Inv. no. 26 Mus. Vt.), *Passienus* (868), *Satrenus* (XI 3478, Ta.), *Celtus* (XI 1745, Vt.) and *Casticus* (XI 1771, Vt.)¹. But several of the Latin gentilicia ending in *-us* seem to be of foreign origin². In Etruria we have a group of names, in which the Etruscan *-e* has been substituted by Latin *-us*³. The name *Sartage* (1598)—*Sartagus* (1598) has been discussed above (p. 149). *Cnaeus* (926, 928), with a suffix evidently influenced by the Roman praenomen, is found in addition to *Cneve*. In a bilingual inscription (3692) Etr. *scarpe* is rendered in Latin both as *Scarpus* and as *Scarpia*. *Campanus* (XI 2771, Tu.) seems to correspond to the Caeretan gentilicium *campane*⁴. One may also note *Aimus* (717)⁵, *Betuis* (XI 1941, Pe., in the genitive *Betui* SE 36, 234, Pe.), *Traulius* (XI 1750, Vt.) and *Viscus* (3380)⁶.

2.1.3.2 The Feminine Formation

The Latin feminine formation is uniform, whereas Etruscan has several endings, partly depending on the masculine form, partly also appearing side by side in the same name. The older Etruscan feminine formative was *-i*. This is also relatively recent, but still later another ending *-ia* was borrowed from Italic languages. When the same ending *-ia* was used with the Latin gentilicia, one could consider that the Latinization of the feminine forms had already begun before the change of the alphabet, and in many cases there was no need for a further development, if the Etruscan feminine ending had already been *-ia*.

All forms with the ending *-i* in the Etrusco-Latin inscriptions are from Clusium and Perugia. The gentilicia ending in the masculine form in *-na* formed a feminine in *-nei* (developed from an earlier *-nai*): *Laucinaei* (1147)

¹ For *Albus* (SE 33, 492, Ta.) I would prefer *Albut(ius)*, autopsy 30.6.1970.

² According to SOLMSEN-FRÄNKEL, 138, such names are usual even in Umbria and Etruria.

³ See SCHULZE, 292 ff., E. FRÄNKEL, 'Namenswesen', RE XVI, 1654, RIX, 'Personenn.', 162.

⁴ *Marcus* (SE 33, 492, Ta.) must be read rather *Marcius* (autopsy 30.6.1970).

⁵ Not *Aimius*, as PAULI suggests (autopsy 22.4.1968).

⁶ Or *Aviscus*.

corresponds to m. *laucina*, *Sethrnei* (2732, 2733) to m. *seθrna*, cogn. *Russinaei* (2701) to m. *rusina*. The masculine forms corresponding to *Mernei* (1068) and ?-] *Etsnae* (736) are not known, but these feminines probably also belong to this group of names¹. The same suffix *-nei* has been used in the feminine formation of names in *-ni*. *Anainai* (1688) to m. *anaini*, *Vetnei* (2182) to *vetni*, *Tithnei* (2931) to *tithni*, and *Purnei* (1455) to m. *purni* are examples from Latin inscriptions. *Anei* (1592) is according to the Etruscan flexion the normal feminine form of m. *ane*. Furthermore, the suffix *-nei* forms the feminine in some other name groups. *Numsinei* (1591) corresponds to m. *numsi*, *Pacinnei* (929) to m. *paci*, and *Vibinei* (2219)² to *vipi*. *Calinai* (1931) could be connected with m. *cale*, but as the regular feminine form of this name in Etruscan in *calia*³, *Calinai* may rather stand for *Cali(s)nai*, corresponding to a masculine *calisna* or *calisni*. *Arisnai* (953) is the feminine form of *ariy*⁴.

At Perugia, the masculine names in *-ni* formed a feminine similar to the masculine form. In the Latin inscriptions we have *Aulni* (3346) representing this formation. The same formation appears at Clusium in some Etruscan names only. One of them is attested in the Latin *Herini* (*MAInc* 30, 324).

The names ending in *-e* have often a feminine in *-i*: *Corstli* (2059) – m. *Corstle*, *Caeszirtli* (1077) – *cezrtle*, *Tidi* (819) – m. *tite*, *Vetdi* (1606)⁵ – *rete*, *Ruti* (2700?) – **rute*⁶. *Aemili* (3329) may be an error for *Aemilia* rather than an Etruscan form. The same can be said about *Marci nati* (680)⁷.

The feminine forms in *-ia* interest us only when this ending is used in the Etruscan form of the name, too, but even then it is dangerous to talk about Etruscan interference, because the Latin form does not differ from the Etruscan one. The list presented shows how difficult it often is to decide whether the form is closer to Etruscan or to Latin. The ending *-ia*, firstly, belongs to the feminine forms of the names in *-e*: *Galia* (988) – *cale*, f. *calia*, *Marcia* (506) – *marce*, f. *marcia*, *Cnevia* (927) – *cneve*, f. *cnevia*, *Modia* (695) –

¹ I would add to these *Siunaei* (718), corresponding to Etr. *seunci*, confirmed by autopsy 1.7.1970; the editors would read *Siunae f.*

² *Vipine*, occurring in the duplicate text of this inscription, is without the value of evidence.

³ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 197.

⁴ Note also *Marina* (1144, 1151) from a masculine **mare*; RIX, *Etr.C.*, 214.

⁵ In the absence of the praenomen and with the genitive *Tosnos* the name form seems to belong rather to a woman than to a man.

⁶ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 212.

⁷ Due to the other words in the text ending in *-i*. *Marci* cannot be either the Etr. genitive (E. LATTES, *Le iscrizioni latine col metronimico di provenienza etrusca*, Atti Acc. Napoli 18 : 1 : 3, 19-21) or the ablative (LATTES, *Correzioni*, 66).

mute, f. *mutia*, *Raufia* (561, 563), in Etruscan *raufia* corresponding to m. *raufe* is used mainly in cognomina, *Ania* (896, an inscription written sinistrorsum) – *anie*, f. *ania*, *Seppia* (787) – *sepie*, f. *sepia*, *Cauthia* (3742, as the metronymikon) – f. gen. *cauthial*¹. In a second group, the masculine forms of the names have the ending *-i*: *Vibia* (3453) – *vīpi*, f. *vīpia* (or *vīpinei*), *Vetia* (3342), *Vedia* (856) – *veti*, f. *veti* (at Clusium) or *vetia* (at Perusia), *Ancharia* (3452) – *ancari*, f. *ancuria*. *Vipinia* (1590) is rather a latinized form from *vīpinei* (m. *vīpi*) than connected with m. *vīpini*. Three obvious examples of the formation m. *-u* – f. *-unia* are offered by *Veratronia* (1572) in addition to m. *Veratro* (1571, in Etruscan m. *veratru* – f. *veratrūnia*), *Vesc(onia)* (1409, 1410, 1436) – Etr. m. *vescu*, f. *vescunia*, and *Tosnonia* (1573, Ined. Mus. Ar.) – m. *Tosnos* (1606), *tušnu*². *Sven[ia]* (4767, Cl.) may be a direct transcription of Etr. *svenia* corresponding to a masculine *svea*.

Certain feminine forms in the Etrusco-Latin inscriptions seem to be amalgamations of the Etruscan *-nei* and the Latin *-a*³. *Marina* (1144, 1151, *Marin*. 1150) is derived from Etr. *marinei* and corresponds to the masculine **mare*, *Mari* (1145). The genitive forms *Cainai* (2860) and *Cainae* (1151) are connected with Etruscan *cainei*, gen. *cainal*. Other feminines with the ending *-na* are *Varna* (3746) from Etr. *varnei*, *Axina* (1586), *Vicinnae* (XI 7218, Cl.), and probably *Detrone* (XI 2726, Vs., in the dative). The forms could have been affected by the Etruscan genitive in *-nal*: three of the instances are in the genitive, and the transition from e.g. *cainal* to *Cainai* in the Etruscan metronymikon has been easy.

The feminine forms of gentilicia, which in the masculine have preserved the Etruscan ending, are usually more rapidly adapted to the Latin language. The feminine formation of the type *Caecina* – f. *Caecinia* is represented by many examples, and *Volca* – *Volcia* (XI 1790, Vt.)⁴ shows a parallel development. A different formation may be found in the names of another married couple *Paba* and *Pabaea* (XI 2777, Vs.)⁵, possibly also in *Peducaea* (XI 1883, Ar.).

Finally, the forms of the Etruscan feminine praenomina are of some interest. The Etruscan language had already known parallel forms *larθi* – *larθia*, *hasti* – *hastia*, *θana* – *θania*, the latter being influenced by Latin⁶.

¹ Note also the Etruscan genitives, e.g. *Caulias* (739) to m. *caule*.

² For the form *tušni* (NRIE 265, Sa.), see RIX, *Etr.C.*, 154. This form does not, however, exclude a form *tušnunia*.

³ W. CORSEN, *Ueber die Sprache der Etrusker* I, Leipzig 1874, 54.

⁴ See LATTES, 'Etr.-lat.', 516.

⁵ See also G. GIACOMELLI, 'Formazioni onomastiche in *-aio* nelle lingue della Italia antica', *SE*, 30 (1962), 362.

⁶ See above, p. 112.

The original Etruscan endings form a minority in the Etrusco-Latin inscriptions. We have *Larθi* (808, 991), *Larθi* (987, 2059, 3058, 3346, *MALinc* 30, 324, Cl.), *Larti* (6133, Ca.), in addition to nineteen forms in *-ia*¹, *Hasti* (2258), in addition to eight instances of *Hastia*, and *Thana* (4445), *Thanna* (956, 2882), *Tana* (1152, 2182), in addition to twenty four instances of the ending *-ia*.

2.1.3.3 *The Genitive Forms*

The number of Etruscan feminine formations in the Etrusco-Latin inscriptions increases a good deal, when we include the genitive forms used in metronymika. In addition to the metronymikon, the genitive forms can be studied in the gamonymika, patronymika and indications of the master, i.e. only in indirect² name parts. Of these name parts only the patronymikon and the name of the master appear also in the Roman name form, the metronymikon and the gamonymikon being typically Etruscan. Therefore the pressure to change the Etruscan genitive forms, e.g. in metronymika, cannot have been great when considering the absence of analogies in the Latin epigraphy.

In masculine praenomina, appearing in the genitive in the patronymikon, the abbreviations diminish the number of examples. The ending *-al* appears in *Arθal* (1565), *Artal* (1653), *Arnthl* (832, 1617), *Larthl* (2543) and *Larisal* (2860). The Latin forms *Aruntis* (988) and *Lartis* (1141, *NSc* 1948, 264 = *SE* 36, 467, *elog. Tarqu.*) may be compared with these. *Aules* (1571, 4832, Cl.) and *Velos* (858, 2278) have the other Etruscan genitive ending. The Latin form *Vel[i]s* in *SE* 6, 482 (Pe.) is more probable than *Vel[o]s*, because the space is too small for *o* or *u*.

Most examples of masculine gentilicia in the Etruscan genitive occur in gamonymika. *Vitras* (1551) is the only case of a direct name part in the Etruscan genitive. The ending *-s* in gamonymika is common: *Paperis* (834), *Tosnos* (1606), *Scan[s]a[s]* (1772), *Naeipurs* (956), and possibly *Sentis* in no. 1059. With *lautni*-names we have the indication of masters *Pedros* (2563, 2564), *Praesentes* (808), *Vibies* (2209) and *Otanis* (3035). The Etruscan language used the extended ending *-sa* in gamonymika, and its remnants in our inscriptions are *Purnei Anicisa* (1455), *Lar. Vibinei Crasnisa* (2219), *Annia C.f. Cetisnasa* (729) and *Larθi Herini Caliesa* (*MALinc* 30, 324, Cl.). In *Titlnei Arisalisa* (2931) the gamonymikon has a double suffix. *Gargossa* (1955)

¹ *Lartha* (885), *Lartu* (1150), if read correct by BORMANN XI, 2186, add., are exceptional.

² As to the terms *indirect* and *direct* name parts, see RIX, *Etr.C.*, 15.

probably indicates the master. *Ceztes* (710) and *Hannossa* (1295) seem to be cognomina in the genitive.

The feminine genitives appear almost exclusively in metronymika. The two main endings appear with the general difference that *-(a)l* is added to nominatives ending in *-i*, whereas *-s* is joined to nominatives in *-ia*¹, i.e. to forms influenced by the Italic feminine formation. The nominative in *-nei* forms a genitive in *-nal*: *Cainal* (931, 932, 1058, 2207, XI 7199, Cl.), *Fraunal* (832), *Laucinal* (1600), *Munainal* (2693), *Pacin(n)al* (928, 930), *Sadnal* (873, 874), *Saeinal* (1777), *Vetinal* (1068), *Vipinal* (XI 7227, Cl.), *Vibinal* (2182), *Vibinnal* (2732, 2733). The ending *-ial* appears in the forms *Larcial* (XI 7195, Cl.), *Estlacial* (2303), *Urinatial* (819), *Titial* (1841), *Stlac[ial:]* (1772), exceptionally as *-eal* in *Arntneal* (561, see below p. 164). The ending *-ual* is attested in *Anual* (1155)², *Thocerual* (714)³. In all these cases one also has to note the Etruscan feminine formation. However, the form *Cencal* (XI 7199 a, Cl.) does not fit into the Etruscan flexion. The Etruscan name *cencu* has in the feminine the form *cencui*, in the genitive *cencual*⁴. The genitive of Etr. *cencna* would in the feminine be *cencnal*. Neither fits into the form recorded at Clusium, which, therefore, is probably an engraver's error. Two feminine genitives with a double suffix are known: *Ancarialisa* (1580) and *Nantnalisal* (1140).

The ending *-s* belongs mainly to the nominatives in *-ia*: *Caulias* (739), *Celias* (929), *Cnevias* (935), *Minias* (1829), *Namonias* (1331), *Pontias* (1077), *Traponias* (1841), abbreviated *Trpas* (818) and *Velias* (2058). Also the ending of the form *Clepatras* (1433) is clearly Etruscan. But the relatively common feminine genitives in *-aes*, e.g. *Arriaes* (1775), are already Latin, derived from *-ae* under Oscan and Greek analogies⁵.

2.1.4 THE ETRUSCAN APPELLATIVES

Very few Etruscan appellatives can be found in inscriptions, which in general comprise merely the name of the deceased. Some appellations indicating kinship may be mentioned: *clan* (714) in a metronymikon expressed with

¹ See PFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 81–82.

² Corresponding to m. *aniu*, see RIX, *Etr.C.*, 168.

³ Etr. *θuceru* formed a feminine *θuceria*, in the genitive *θucerial*, RIX, *Etr.C.*, 168. In no. 3747 I would prefer *Pumpua* (*natus*) for *Piumpua(l)*, cf. *Cauthia* (*natus*) (3742) = Etr. *cauthial*.

⁴ See RIX, *Etr.C.*, 167.

⁵ LEUMANN, 270.

an Etruscan genitive; the word has later been replaced in metronymika by the Latin *natus*. The Etruscan appellation for unfree persons appears four times: *lautni* (2209, probably abbreviated from *lautnita*), *lautnida* (2563, 2564) and *lautnita* (808, in a text written sinistrorsum)¹. The common epithet of the Etruscan epitaphs at Vulci, *hels*, appears in one Latin inscription (SE 31, 208)². The correctness of the reading *Mi Selenia* (1129), according to Schulze a name preceded by an Etruscan pronomen³, must be suspect, as must also the last letter in *Larthac* (885), which could represent the Etruscan copulative suffix =c. In the mutilated inscription (I² 2511) of Ferentis, the Etruscan dating has probably included the name of the month *Chosfer*, the equivalent of the Latin *October*⁴.

2.2 THE ONOMASTIC PART

2.2.1 THE NAME FORMS

The general outlines of the development of both Etruscan and Latin name forms have already been mentioned in this study (see p. 115). But while the Latin influence on the Etruscan nomenclature, discussed in the above-mentioned passage, could be seen only in some particular phenomena, the real change from one onomastic system to the other can first be followed in the Latin inscriptions in Etruria. Consequently, a more detailed presentation of the differences between the two systems seems justified here.

The Italic name form in general differs from the normal Indo-European name form especially with regard to the hereditary gentilicium. It is in this respect similar to the Etruscan name form. The problem concerning the origin of the gentilicium is of little consequence to our study⁵. More important is that both the Romans and the Etruscans were using the *duo nomina*-system

¹ The reading *lautni* (1146), suggested by PAULI and accepted by CORTSEN, *Titel*, 13, and LATTES, 'Etr.-lat.', 125, is certainly wrong. The line should be read *Ar.f.*

² The onomastic significance of this word proposed by FALCONI AMORELLI, *SE*, 31, 208, seems improbable.

³ SCHULZE, 227, recently accepted by DE SIMONE II, 236. This pronomen is not found elsewhere in the late Etruscan urns.

⁴ See A. DEGRASSI, 'Il sepolcro dei Salvii a Ferento e le sue iscrizioni', *Rend. Pont. Acc. Rom. Arch.*, 34 (1961-62), 72.

⁵ The Etruscan origin of the Latin system is suggested by PULGRAM, 'Origin', 186-187; B. NOGARA, *Gli etruschi e la loro civiltà*, Milano 1933, 378-379; MAZZARINO, 118; HOMER, 423. See, however, also MEISTER, 82-83, SOLMSSEN-FRÄNKEL, 138-143, FRÄNKEL, 1656-1659, BONFANTE, 46-58, J. REICHMUTH, *Die lat. Gentilicia und ihre Beziehungen zu den röm. Individualnamen*, Diss. Zürich 1956, 85-88.

at an early stage of their history. This, of course, made the Latinization of the Etruscan nomenclature easier than the parallel process was in many other territories¹. Neither people, however, considered this system as satisfying the needs of their societies in the long run. The gentilicium had originally been patronymic, but when it had lost this function, a new manner of indicating father was needed. Latin started using the word *filius* defined by the genitive case of the praenomen of the father. The Etruscans, like most of the Italic peoples, used the mere father's praenomen in the genitive². Thus, there emerged the first difference between the Etruscan and the Latin name form.

The metronymikon, formed by the gentilicium of the mother in the genitive, is a later addition to the Etruscan name form³. The women began to use the gamonymikon, the husband's gentilicium in the genitive. The last innovation was the introduction of the cognomen, which Rix has shown to have been originally an individual name. Thus, during the time preceding the Latinization, the complete name form of an Etruscan man comprised five, that of a woman six name parts⁴. Complete name forms, however, occur only rarely, and then mainly in northern Etruria⁵. The percentage of the appearance of the patronymikon in northern Etruria seems to be approximately 40%⁶. The corresponding figures for the metronymikon are 45% with men, 23% with women⁷, for the gamonymikon 45%⁸, and for the cognomen 16%⁹.

Of all these name parts Latin used in addition to the patronymikon only the cognomen, which belonged to the Roman male name form from the

¹ Cf. for instance the corresponding developments in Lombardia, NOGARA, *Nome*, 94-98, in Venetia, LEJEUNE, 'Structure', 24, 34, 'Urnes', 137 ff., in Hispania, GARCIA y BELLIDO, 22-23, in Dalmatia, G. ALFÖLDY, 'Die Namengebung der Urbervölkerung in Dalmatien', *BzN*, 15 (1964), 55 ff., and see HERZOG, 58 ff., I. KAJANTO, 'A Note on the Problem of the Substratum', *BzN*, N.F. 2 (1967), 3-4.

² As to the differing practice at Caere developed under Latin influence, see above, p. 116.

³ As to the circumstances of its rise, see SLOTTY, 285. E. LATTES, 'Di un grave e frequente errore intorno alla donna ed alla famiglia etrusca', *Atene e Roma*, 13 (1910), 9-10.

⁴ DE SIMONE II, 206-208, presents the different types of name forms. It is unclear why he does not know a single woman with the patronymikon.

⁵ The complete name form of men can be found 51 times, that of women only twice (1421, 1422), RIX, *Etr.C.*, 28 ff.

⁶ RIX, 'Personenn.', 154.

⁷ In southern Etruria only about 10 and 7 per cent.

⁸ SLOTTY, 278-279.

⁹ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 40-41; PFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 184; in southern Etruria only some twenty cases.

beginning of the first century B.C. and was introduced as part of the female name form somewhat later. This name was originally individual also in Latin, although often used to differentiate the branches of a *gens*. During the Empire a second gentilicium became common¹. As far as the picture given by the inscriptions is reliable, the feminine praenomen fell into disuse somewhere in the third century B.C., and women were some centuries without any individual name until the appearance of the cognomen². The gamonymikon appears occasionally, but does not properly belong to the Latin name form³. The denoting of *tribus* was a Latin addition to the name form, but it was used only for a short time and not even then regularly⁴.

Thus, the main differences between the Etruscan and the Latin name forms at the time of the Latinization of Etruria⁵ were: the female praenomen in Etruscan, not used in Latin; the different formation of the patronymikon; the Etruscan metronymikon and gamonymikon, unknown in Latin. Some differences may also be seen in the order of the names. In Etruscan the patronymikon originally followed the cognomen, and inversion of the praenomen and the gentilicium was common especially in southern Etruria. There was a great difference also in the name form of unfree persons. All these details will be discussed in this chapter⁶. But first, one must notice that personal names were under official control certainly among the Romans, probably also among the Etruscans. The name was an indication of citizenship, and the choice of names and the correctness of the name form was controlled by censors⁷.

2.2.1.1 *The Female Praenomen*

Over seventy women bear an old Etruscan praenomen in their Latin epitaphs in Etruria. Three of the instances belong to metronymika: *Larthiaei Metliaei*

¹ I. KAJANTO, 'Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Chartage', *AIRF* II: 1, Helsinki 1963, 4.

² DOER, 221; H. THYLANDER, *Etude sur l'épigraphie latine*, Skr. Svenska Inst. i Rom 8^e V, Lund 1952, 74.

³ NOGARA, *Nome*, 16, considers the gamonymikon normal for married women, but, in fact, this name part appears in some inscription groups only.

⁴ See R. CAGNAT, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*¹, Paris 1914, TH. MOMMSEN, *Die röm. Eigennamen*, Röm. Forsch. I, Berlin 1864, 47.

⁵ See also PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 191.

⁶ The name forms of the Latin inscriptions in Etruria are also discussed by LATTES, 'Intorno', 3-16.

⁷ *Lex Iulia municipalis*, II, 142 ff., see P. BRUNN, 'Lex Iulia municipalis och Etruriens romanisering', Soc. Sc. Fenn.; Årsbok 48 B N:o 1, Helsingfors 1970, 9-10.

f. (1138), *Thania Selia nata* (1573) and *matr(e) Tanusa Axina* (1586). The geographical distribution of the examples of the female praenomen corresponds approximately to the distribution of other Etruscan survivals in the Latin inscriptions: 49 cases are from Clusium, 17 from Perusia, three from Caere¹ and one each from Tuscania, Volaterrae and Volsinii. When studying the name forms which include a female praenomen, one has to point out that the most usual one consists of two name parts only, the praenomen and the gentilicium, e.g. *Tania Pescnia* (90, Vt.), in 22 cases: 90 (Vt.), 563, 848, 856, 1147, 1152, 1153, 1472, 1572, 1590, 1951, 1931, 2059, 2636, 3346, 3506, 3746, 4387, 6126, 6133, 6187 (Ca.), XI 7228 (Cl.). In fifteen cases this name form has been extended by means of the metronymikon, e.g. *Dana Tidi Urinatia* (819): 724, 819, 874, 1068, 1077, 1144, 1151, 1579, 1592, 2182, 2303, 2732, 2733, Ined. Mus. Ar.², in thirteen cases with patronymikon, e.g. *Larthia Cnevia A.f.* (927): 927, 959, 985, 988, 1150, 1859, 3751, 4107, 4216, 4259, XI 2726 (Vs.), XI 2977 (Tu.), Ined. Mus. Pe.³, and in nine cases with the gamonymikon: 789⁴, 1017, 2219, 3329, 3345, 3373, 3744, *MAline* 30, 324 (Cl.). The more complete name forms are rare: *Larti Raufia Teties Arntneal* (561) has both the gamonymikon and metronymikon, nos. 873 and 4190 both the patronymikon and metronymikon, no. 4291, in addition to these, the cognomen, too⁵.

Some conclusions can be drawn from these name forms with the female praenomen. Firstly, the patronymikon is comparatively rare, appearing altogether 16 times and being thus even rarer than the metronymikon (20 instances). The cognomen can be seen with certainty in only one name form (4291). This surprising fact must be explained with reference to the individual character of the praenomen. In general, the name forms seem to follow closely the Etruscan onomastic tradition in the use of the indirect name parts.

The several names of *libertae* using an old Etruscan praenomen as the individual name are not included in these figures. One question remains open: how many of the name forms mentioned above did indeed belong to unfree persons, even if the name of the master was not indicated? In some

¹ In addition to 6126, 6133, 6187, DE SIMONE II, 256, no. 152, suggests in no. 6136 the reading [T(h)]ania L.L. *Hilaria*, but such a name form would be unparalleled.

² *Larthia Methomia Tosnomia nata*, oss. fict., probably from Clusium; autopsy 3.7.1970.

³ *Larthia Pomponia Ar.*, inv. no. 245; autopsy 24.4.1968.

⁴ The whole inscription: *Tanusa* [...] *tunia P(e)troni amoro* [...] *ILX* v.a., autopsy 2.7.1970.

⁵ The name forms of nos. 718 (possibly praenomen and gentilicium *Tania Siu-naci*), 846, 1056, 3029 and 4445 remain unclear.

instances, e.g. in the name *Gavia Larthi Parnaes* (987) this is probable. Furthermore, one has also to consider the rarity of the patronymikon in the whole group to be an argument in favour of the assumption that a certain number of the women bearing the praenomen, mentioned above, are of unfree extraction¹.

At the time preceding the Latinization, the praenomen was still the individual name of Etruscan women in spite of the introduction of the cognomen, whereas the Roman women had begun to acquire a new individual name in the cognomen. Thus, the most natural beginning of the Latinization of the name forms comprising an Etruscan female praenomen was the transition of the praenomen into cognomen². There are examples of this development, although they are not very numerous: *[-]cia L. f. Thannia* (2, Faesulae)³, *Satellia C. f. Velizza* (676), *Arria Tannia* (734)⁴, *Sentia A. f. Thannia* (800), *Spurinnia A. f. Thannia* (XI 3489, Ta.), probably also *Murrenia Veliza* (1153)⁵.

About ten examples of a Latin female praenomen⁶ in the early inscriptions of Etruria are known, namely *Secunda*⁷ (1436, 5499, Ta., 6092, Ca.), *Tertia* (3494), *Posila* (XI 3477, Ta., XI 2942, Vc.), *Gnea* (4483), *Salvia* (XI 7578, Ta.), *Rufa* (6143, Ca.). It is difficult to decide whether these cases should be regarded as proof of Etruscan influence or not. One might think that Etruscan onomastic practice still influenced these name forms, although the names themselves already existed in pure Latin⁸. Considering the appearance of female praenomina in the inscriptions of the same period in other parts of Italy⁹, it seems more probable that they belonged to the Latin tradition. The origin of the female praenomina, on the whole, will be discussed in conjunction with the male praenomina in section 2.2.2.1.

¹ Cf. I. KAJANTO, 'The Significance of Non-Latin Cognomina', *Latomus*, 27 (1968), 528-529.

² POGGI, 41; BUONAMICI, 192; cf. FRÄNKEL, 1661, KAJANTO, *LC*, 39-43.

³ BUONAMICI, *SE*, 8, 363, seeing in *Thannia* a gentilicium, is certainly wrong.

⁴ CORSEN I, 55, and LATTES, *Correzioni*, 67, see a praenomen in *Tannia*.

⁵ LATTES, *Correzioni*, 84, reads the lines in the reverse order: *Veliza Murrenia*, as in no. 676 he would prefer *Velizza* | *Cf. Satellia*, *Correzioni*, 64-65. In no. 1153 the inversion of praenomen and gentilicium is also possible, if BORMANN's reading (XI 2187 add.) of a third line *C. f.* can be trusted. Outside Etruria proper, observe *Trabennia L. f. Tannia* (XI 6608, Marradi), *Petroniai A. f. Tanniai* (VI 28730 = V 2518).

⁶ Cf. G. D. CHASE, *The Origin of Roman Praenomina*, HSPh, VIII, 1897, 163.

⁷ Note the Etruscan praenomen *secunta* (3073), see RIX, *Etr.C.*, 48.

⁸ Cf. ALFÖLDY, *art. cit.*, 74, who confronted with a similar problem in the territory of the Liburns considers the interference plausible.

⁹ See the lists of examples by CHASE, 159 ff., DOER, 202 ff.

2.2.1.2 *The Patronymikon*

The usual Etruscan way of indicating the name of the father, the praenomen in the genitive without any appellatives, has been retained in a number of inscriptions: *Arnthal* (832), [*Arnth*]al (1617)¹, *Arthal* (1565), *Artal* (1653), *Larthal* (2543)², *Aules* (1571, 4832, Cl., in an inscription rather Etruscan than Latin), and *Velos* (858, 2278). The same type must be presented in the abbreviated forms *Ar.* (846, 3615, 2592, Ined. Mus. Pe.)³, *La.* (2109), *Lart.* (1688, 4291), *Vel.* (1580), *L.* (1829)⁴, maybe also in the mutilated inscriptions nos. 1056, 18 (Vt., *La.?*) and 937 (*Ar.?*)⁵. Of the nineteen examples mentioned, fifteen are from Clusium, three from Perugia, one possible case from Volaterrae. Five examples refer to female names (846, 937, 1056, 1565, 1688). Probably seven metronymika and two cognomina have been added to these name forms.

The first stage of the Latinization process can be seen in *Vel Tite Larisal f. Cainai natus* (2860), where the Etruscan genitive form appears with Latin *f(ilius)*. Soon, the morphem, too, has been changed: *Aruntis f.* (988), *Lartis f.* (1141), *Vel[is] f.* (SE 6, 482, Pe.). The typical Latin abbreviation of the type *A.f.*, may still be avoided, as one can see in *La. fili.* (3271), *La. fil.* (1150), *Q. [fi]lius* (1731), *Luci f.* (4259). Some patronymika are formed by the cognomen: *Asiae f.* (XI 7180 a, Cl.)⁶; in no. 679 [*Arru*]nonis [*fil*]ius with the cognomen *Arruno* is possible, but I would prefer to interpret this inscription as *A. Papirius* / [*L.f.*] *Dionis[ius] Alfia natus* / [*xiv.*] an. XLIII⁷. In *C. Vibius C.f. L.f. Rufus* (759), the second filiation may be explained by a spelling error for *L.n.* The name form *L. Paperius L. Arsi Obelsianus*

¹ In the Etruscan part of this bilingual inscription only *rn* has been preserved; thus, a metronymikon *Arnthal?* is equally possible.

² Autopsy 13.5.1968; the editors, with the exception of GAMERRINI App. 415, read *Lartha*.

³ Possibly also in no. 3469: *Ar. Rufius Ar. A[tili]a natus Cepa*, see G. BELLEGGI, *L'ipogeo della famiglia etrusca "Rufia"*, Perugia 1911, 29.

⁴ *L.* (4192) and *Sex.* (XI 3408, Ta.) hardly belong to these, any more than *C.* in the lost inscription no. 4289, but are either due to lack of space or to inaccurate reading. *SEXT* (3356), read by VERMIGLIOLI, must stand for *SEX F.*

⁵ The editors: *Varia Armasti*, but this does not make any sense; possibly *Varia Ar. Masti* (sc. *uxor*).

⁶ See RIX, *Etr.C.*, 239.

⁷ The copy preserved has: *A. PAPIRIUS/...NONIS/...IUS ALFIA NATUS/...AN XLIII*; the text on the urn of the same person records the filiation *L.f.n.* but no cognomen (678).

(4192) has not been satisfactorily analysed; the explanations of both Lattes¹ and Doer² remain uncertain.

2.2.1.3 *The Metronymikon*

Lattes monograph on the best known characteristic of the Etrusco-Latin inscriptions, the use of the metronymikon, contains many errors and is out-of-date, for one thing because the total number of the cases has since increased by some fifty. However, the general arrangement of the material by Lattes is still useful³. The first, and also the oldest type, can be considered purely Etruscan, consisting of the gentilicium of the mother in the Etruscan genitive, e.g. *A. Cnaeze Cainal* (932). There are 33 certain examples of this type: 561⁴, 739, 818, 819, 832, 873, 874, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 935, 1058, 1068, 1077, 1144, 1331, 1433, 1580, 1600, 1777, 1829, 2058, 2182, 2207, 2303, 2693, 2732, 2733, XI 7195⁵, XI 7199 a, b, XI 7227⁶ (Cl.). It is important to notice that all these cases are from Clusium. One Perusine example has usually been referred to the same group, namely *Pumpua(l)* (3747), but the completion is open to doubt⁷. Eleven of the name forms belong to women, and only one of these (929) is without praenomen. There are eight patronymika, four of the Etruscan, four of the Latin type, and only one cognomen. Thus, the name forms show that this type of metronymikon appears in inscriptions whose general character is Etruscan rather than Latin. A somewhat different form of the same type can be seen in *Thocerual clan* (714), recording

¹ An abbreviated metronymikon *Arsi(nia)*, LATTES, *MN*, 24, 'Etr.-lat.', 514; the same idea is already expressed by PAULI, *Arsi(mae)*.

² *L. Arsius* either the master or *pater naturalis*, DOER, 169.

³ LATTES, *MN*, 2-3, later repeated with some changes by LATTES himself, 'Errore', 2-3, and by DOER, 167; L. GASPERINI, 'Urna cineraria etrusco-romana con indicazione del metronimico', *Epigraphica*, 12 (1960), 181-182.

⁴ Read by PAULI as *Larti Raufia Teties Arntneal*. The fact that gen. *arntθial* from praen. *arntθ* is known only at Perugia, and the position of the name part after the gamonymikon, make the occurrence of the patronymikon improbable. Thus, I would prefer the metronymikon *Arntneal*.

⁵ Uncertain. I could see only *Larcia* (13.5.1968).

⁶ Further uncertain cases are the abbreviated *March(al?)* (2419) and the mutilated *Stlac[ial]* (1772).

⁷ CORTSEN, *Titel*, 44, reads *Acon... C(aia) l(autniba) Pumpua(l)*, whereas VETTER, *lethe*, 87-88, sees in *Pumpua* an individual name, and this is accepted by RIX, *Etr.C.*, 353. But as far as I can see, *Pumpua* is a partly Latinized metronymikon in the ablative, usual at Perugia.

an Etruscan appellative, and in *Anual gna(tus)* (1155), the reading of which is not quite certain¹.

The second type is a direct morphologic transposition of the first one into Latin, indicating the gentilicium of the mother with the Latin genitive. There is, however, only one certain example of this type, *Vel Spedo Caesia* (713). In *L. Annius Anthus Navie* (1730) the last word has also been read *naupe(gus)*². In *Titia C.I. Fausa* (821) the last letter is uncertain, and I would prefer the reading *Fausa n(ata)*³. Finally, *Cafatiae* / *L. Adanatis* (3546), sometimes interpreted as *L. Adanati(u)s Cafatiae*⁴, could also refer to an unfree person with an Etruscan name⁵.

The use of the mere Latin ablative in the metronymikon is more common, especially at Perugia. There are five certain (3742, 3764, 3864, 4189, 4326) and two uncertain⁶ cases of the type *C. Cascellius Cauthia* (3742) at Perugia, one certain (3058) and five doubtful⁷ instances respectively at Clusium. The same type has twice been enlarged with the word *matre*: *L. Heren[a] Capito matr(e) Tanusa Axina* (1586)⁸ and *A. Prasn(a) Ar. Rav. matre* (2592). As far as I can see, there is no reason to separate these two names as a group of their own from the names mentioned above⁹.

The normal addition to the Latin case forms used in the metronymikon was *(g)natus*¹⁰. This word appears with the genitive twenty times. A relatively large number of the examples, nine (3451, 3514, 3622, 3657, 4361, 4372, I² 2768, XI 2045, SE 2, 601), come from Perugia. Clusium offers eleven

¹ See LATTES, *Correzioni*, 84, 'Etr.-lat.', 123. The reading *Manial natu* in no. 1593, still proposed by DOER, 167, and PULGRAM, 'Origin', 184, must be rejected.

² BORMANN XI 2135; LATTES, *Correzioni*, 97; DE SIMONE II, 256 n. 152; but such a profession is not very probable at Clusium.

³ LATTES, *Correzioni*, 70, MN, 24, 'Errore', 4, and my autopsy 1.7.1970.

⁴ LATTES, *Correzioni*, 156; DEECKE, *Bilinguen*, 20; OTTO, *TLL* I, 568.

⁵ Cf. *A. Nanstius Hastiae* (1139), of unfree origin.

⁶ SE 2, 602: *[-]Ennius [- - -]Strabonia [-]*; for no. 3747, see p. 77, note 7. In no. 4410 *Burria* is a cognomen of Greek origin in spite of the contrary opinions of LATTES, *Correzioni*, 186, see p. 136.

⁷ Nos. 736, 896, 1148, furthermore, *Sex. Herin[na] Vel. f. [- - -]via* (1581); autopsy 1.7.1970; cf. BORMANN XI 2226; *[-]Praesen[te - - -] / f. Sentia Phi[-]* (2601) hardly belongs to these: this inscription on a *lapis tiburtinus* is probably an epitaph of a married couple, I would interpret: *[.] Praesen[tius.] / [Pra]esentia Phi[- - -]*. LATTES, MN, 17; GAMURRINI *App.*, 28, see in *Cosconia C.f. Paethimia* (4669, Co.) a metronymikon, but cf. *Paetina* appearing as cognomen in NSc 1920, 277 (Amelia).

⁸ Not *mat[re]*, autopsy 22.4.1968.

⁹ For GASPERINI, 178, the persons are *spuri*.

¹⁰ The difference between *gnatus* and *natus* is not sufficiently clear-cut to offer a criterion for the dating, although DOER, 168, and GASPERINI, 180, hold the opposite opinion.

instances (791, 953, 1291, 1583, 1585, 1593¹, 1602, 2717, 2860, XI 7180 c, XI 7218)². Only three of the name forms belong to women. The cognomen appears three times (953, 3622, 4361), the Latin patronymikon can be found in twelve name forms. *Hostiliae gnatus* (4372) is noteworthy because of the lack of all direct name parts.

The most usual type of the metronymikon consists of the Latin ablative and the word *natus*, e.g. *A. Papirius A.f. Satellia natus* (674). At Clusium this is the normal expression in addition to the use of the Etruscan genitive. The town offers 56 cases out of a total of 73³. The inscriptions of Perugia include 15 cases (3337, 3340, 3469¹, 3501, 3545, 3743, 3763, 4183, 4188, 4190, 4291, 4331, 4428, I² 2641), one (XI 1362) comes from Luna and one (*Epigr.* 22, 173) from Viterbo. The great majority of the persons are men (64, but only 9 women). Otherwise, the name forms are good Latin, including 56 patronymika and 22 cognomina.

A speciality of Clusium is the use of *filius* in the metronymikon. The word appears five or six times with the genitive (724, 1151, 1138, 3066, 4843)⁵, e.g. *Cainae filia* (1151), and once with the ablative: *Oglinia f.* (2075). It is self-evident that no other filiation can be used together with such a metronymikon, and it is probable that the names belong to *spuri*⁶. It is a little surprising that five of the seven persons are women.

In addition to these cases, there are some metronymika, the type of which cannot be established because the texts are mutilated or the names abbreviated (688, 1688, 1592, 1647, 2234, 3734, 4269)⁷. In some cases the whole metronymikon is suspect. In *Lu. Scansa Vet.* (1577) and *C. Annus Q. [f]ilius Vael.* (1731), the last name part can also represent a cognomen, and in *Thana Seicia Trepu.* (4445), a gamonymikon is also possible.

¹ I would prefer *Naxiae* for *Maniac*, autopsy 1.7.1970.

² PAULI's uncertain emendation *Annae nat.* from *Anihaenis* of the copy preserved in no. 506 may be added to these.

³ 674, 678, 679, 682, 695, 711, 715, 735, 786, 787, 802, 820, 821, 890, 952, 1048, 1050, 1063, 1293, 1295, 1297, 1298, 1315, 1411, 1412, 1469, 1471, 1538, 1573, 1578, 1579, 1582, 1584, 1594, 1626, 1645, 1646, 1648, 1671, 1694, 1729, 1823, 2044, 2089, 2544, 2614, 3023, 4767, 4769, 4775, XI 7137, 7146, *TLE* 462, *Ined.* Mus. Ar.

⁴ Read *Ar. Rufiu[s] Ar. A[ili]a natus Cepa* by BELLUCCI, 29.

⁵ No. 718 is uncertain, see p. 154. *Asiae f.* (XI 7180 a) is a patronymikon, RIX, *Etr.C.*, 239.

⁶ GASPERINI, 182; cf. the same type with unfree persons, below pp. 171–172.

⁷ In *A. Sortes D.f. / Fas. Ceat.* (I² 2638, Pe.), where PAOLETTI, *NSc* (1926), 175, and VETTER, *Glotta*, 15 (1927), 221, see a metronymikon, the lines hardly belong together. The obscure second line is on a coffin some 7 cm. longer than the lid with the first line.

When we count all the examples together, we get 151 certain and 13 uncertain appearances of the metronymikon, with 131 male and 33 female names. There are 127 cases from Clusium, 35 from Perusia, one from Viterbo and one from Luna, maybe also one from Cortona. Only in exceptional cases is the metronymikon formed by more than one name part (which is usually the gentilicium, with unfree mothers often the individual name). The praenomen appears with the gentilicium twice (1573, 1586)¹, and the gentilicium and cognomen form the metronymikon five times (1583, 1841, 4767, 4769, Cl., XI 1362, Luna)².

2.2.1.4 *The Gamonymikon*

The same phases of Latinization as in the metronymikon can be seen in the gamonymikon. The first type is the Etruscan formation with a *-s(a)-* genitive, e.g. *Purnei Anicisa* (1455). It is, in the same way as the corresponding type of the metronymikon, typical of Clusium, where all ten cases come from: 561, 729, 834, 956, 1455, 1606³, 1772, 2219, 2931, *MAline* 30, 324. Two of the women mentioned in these epitaphs seem to be of unfree extraction, *Thanna Naeipurs* (956)⁴, and [*Th*]anicona [*S*]entia Paperis (834)⁵. Eight of the women bear a praenomen, only one (729) has the patronymikon.

The Perusine equivalent is a gamonymikon formed merely by the Latin genitive, e.g. *Ursia A.f. Quarta Aconi* (3733). This type is represented there by 13 examples: 3329, 3330, 3343, 3345, 3373, 3452, 3453, 3693, 3733, 3744, 4186, 4187 and XI 2026. Five cases come from Clusium: 789⁶, 1017, 1074, 2582 and 2621, one from Arretium (4632) and six from southern Etruria: Tarquinii presents two (XI 3374 b, 3484), Tuscania, Volsinii and Caere one each (XI 2982, 7276 and *CIE* 6099⁷). *Achonia J. l. Philematio Corneli Lachetis* (XI 2026) is the only *liberta* bearing a name form of this type. Five of the 23 women bear a cognomen.

Most of the Latin examples of the gamonymikon outside Etruria are from Praeneste, where the genitive of the gentilicium was often attributed

¹ The type is very rare in Etruscan, see SLOTTY, 267-273; RIX, *Etr.C.*, 67.

² Cf. RIX, *Etr.C.*, 68.

³ See above, p. 155 no. 5.

⁴ CORTSEN, *Titel*, 12, suggests that *Naeipurs* would be a master; this is hardly right.

⁵ As to the reading, see lastly RIX, *Etr.C.*, 364.

⁶ See above, p. 162 no. 4.

⁷ *Anto(nia) Blaesi*; DE SIMONE II, 244, would see here an epitaph of a freedman (*Anto* = *Anthus*).

to the appellative *uxor*. A parallel formation is also known in Etruscan in the use of the word *puia*. In the Latin inscriptions in Etruria *uxor* is used in seven name forms, five of which are from Clusium (728¹, 2020, 4773, 4774, 4785), one from Perugia (3494) and one from Tuscania (XI 2966). Three of the persons are *libertae*. Only one Latin praenomen appears with these women (3494). The name form *Cavia O.f. L. Grania uxor* (4785) is especially worth noticing. The possibility of a spelling error cannot be excluded, but the form *Grania* is usually understood to reflect the adjectival nature of the gentilicium².

Some uncertain cases of the gamonymikon should be added. In *Varia Ar. Masti?* (937) the interpretation remains uncertain (see above p. 76). In no. 1059: *Vilinia Sentis?* the reading is doubtful, and in nos. 1688 and 4445 the abbreviations cause difficulties. In *Larthia Otanis* (3035), the genitive gentilicium most likely represents the name of the master. The last name part of *Gavia Larthi Parnaes* (987) seems to be a cognomen³. The total figure of the gamonymika in our inscriptions is thus 39 certain and 6 doubtful cases. In addition to cases comprising the mere gentilicium, the gamonymikon is formed by praenomen and gentilicium in no. 4785 (Cl.), by praenomen, gentilicium and cognomen in nos. 4773, 4774 (Cl.), XI 3484 (Ta.), by gentilicium and cognomen in nos. 4632 (Ar.), XI 2026 (Pe.) and by cognomen only in nos. 1017, 3345, possibly also in nos. 3494 and 2931⁴.

2.2.1.5 The Name Forms of Unfree Persons

The Latinizing process, which affected the name forms of the freeborn people of Etruria only after the change of the Etruscan alphabet into Latin in the inscriptions, had to a certain extent been carried out with regard to the name form of freedmen in the Etruscan inscriptions. The gradual change of the name forms is probably connected with a social development concerning the position of the lowest social class in Etruria. The original method of naming an Etruscan *lautni* was approximately the same as the one used

¹ The whole inscription must be read *Annia N.f. Maximi uxor* (autopsy 1.7.1970).

² PAULI *ad tit.*; MEISTER, 83; SOLMSEN-FRÄNKEL, 142; FRÄNKEL, NW, 1657; REICHMUTH, 89-90; the explanation by LATTES, 'Etr.-lat.', 186, 503, and LOMMATZSCH I² 2636 is not satisfactory.

³ DE SIMONE II, 263, sees in *Parnaes*, if I have understood correctly, the individual name of a second person.

⁴ In *Arisalisa* (953) I would rather see a gentilicium, against RIX, *Etr.C.*, 100.

for Roman *servi*¹: the individual name was followed by the gentilicium of the master in the genitive and the word *lautni*. At the other end of the development, there is a name form which resembles the Roman name form for *liberti*². Several intermediate stages can be distinguished between these types³.

The chronology of the development cannot be sharply defined. Although the last phase, i.e. the name form of a Roman *libertus*, already appears in the Etruscan inscriptions, the Etruscan type is, on the other hand, found in the Latinized epigraphy of Etruria. The names *Casia Pedros lautnida* (2563, 2564), *Larθi lautnita Praesentes* (808, with Latin characters, but *sinistrorsum*), *Larθi Ti(tes) la(utni)θa*? (991), and *Ramta Vibies L. lautni* (2209)⁴, in which the praenomen of the master is also mentioned, are clearly Latin transcriptions of Etruscan name forms. *Clepatra Ted.* (1435), whose tile (1434) has the Etruscan inscription *clepatra teθas lt.* must be of the same type, as possibly also *Larthia Otanis* (3035)⁵. *Slebaris Caveli* (4252) and *Arsinua Ampudi* (4191)⁶ present an individual name in the Etruscan form, but with a Latin genitive of the gentilicium of the master. *Philippio Caeli* (1822), *Semo Ninusi*? (1625), *Aulio Larci* (899)⁷, *Eris Senti l.* (1309), *Flora Cestiae nutrix* (3749), and the surprising *Elegans lib. Hercenniaes* (XI 3432, Ta.), are all of the same type, even if they are nearer to Latin usage. Further, one may note *Thania Naeviae l.* (3752) and *Cafatiae l. Adanatis* (3546)⁸. In *Hasti P.l.* (2258) the praenomen is used instead of the gentilicium of the master, doubtless under Latin influence, in the same way as the cognomen is used in *Lartia Firmi l.* (3341). *Flora Gargossa* (1955) is probably also formed out of the cognomen, but in this case with the Etruscan genitive. Finally, the strange form *L. Volumni l. Iaso* (3374, 3375) stays very close to the Latin name form, but must be regarded as Etruscan with the gentilicium of the master in the genitive. In general, this type of name form for unfree

¹ See DE SIMONE, II, 244.

² For the Roman development, see A. OXÉ, 'Zur alteren Nomenklatur der römischen Sklaven', *Rh.Mus.*, 59 (1904), 108-117, 140, NOGARA, *Nome*, 21-23, VITUCCI, *Diz.Epigr.*, VI, 909 ff.

³ See above, pp. 28-29, and RIX, *Etr.C.*, 356-364; VETTER, *leθe*, 74 ff.

⁴ See RIX, *Etr.C.*, 363, CORTSEN, *Titel*, 27, against VETTER, *leθe*, 109.

⁵ If not praenomen and gamonymikon, see NOLL, *SE* 9, 308, VETTER, *Glotta*, 28 (1939), 124.

⁶ VETTER, *leθe*, 102.

⁷ VETTER, *leθe*, 99.

⁸ See above p. 166. The interpretation *Titia Isidor[i]* (3384) by DE SIMONE II, 244, is improbable, and even if it were correct, *Isidori* would be the name of the husband, recorded in no. 3383, not that of the master.

persons may also include names of slaves, when the word *libertus* is not expressed¹.

Three more intermediary stages can be mentioned on the way towards the Latin name form of unfree persons. A Latin female name form is enlarged by an individual name preceding the gentilicium in *Hastia Alfia L.l.* (3745) and in *Salassa Grania L.l.* (2013). It is difficult to analyse the text of no. 2700; Pauli's reading *Ruti Thana Larθ. li.*, which made Vetter refer the name form to this group², is quite uncertain (autopsy 13.5.1968), though it does make the best sense of the name form. A second type can be seen in *Sethre Cezar(t)le Lx.l.* (708, 709) and in *Ar. Tibile P.l.* (2935). The name form itself could be Latin³, but the old slave name is in these names used as a gentilicium. A parallel use can be seen also in *Herclite* (1487, 1488)⁴. Thirdly, there is a group of freedmen, who have added an Etruscan name part to their Latin names. *La. Aconius L.l. Ur(sia) gn(atu)s* (3734) may be an example of the metronymikon, other cases being nos. 821, 3747 and 4775 (Cl.), *Cocceia L.l. Scatunii uxor* (2020) provides an example of the use of gamonymikon, also attested in nos. 4773, 4774 (Cl.) and XI 2026 (Pe.).

In Etruscan, as in Latin, there are names without any indication of the master, which, however, seem to have belonged to persons of unfree extraction. The omission of the gentilicium is one indication of this. In *Lartia* (1149) and *Lartha* (885) the mere individual name has been used, and the persons were probably unfree⁵. The name of the husband has been mentioned in addition to the individual name in *Thanna Naeipurs* (956). *Prima Hastia?* (2257, now lost) has perhaps included the individual name and a metronymikon, which can also be seen in *Philumena Minuma Chie f.* (3066)⁶ with two individual names (or two daughters buried together?). Sometimes the metronymikon formed by the individual name indicates an unfree mother: *C. Senti Alchu Clepatras* (1433, son of the woman mentioned in

¹ Cf. RIX, *Etr.C.*, 366-367. For *L. Papius L. Arsi Obelsianus* (4192), see above, pp. 164-165.

² VETTER, *leθe*, 84.

³ According to CORTSEN, *Titel*, 9, the name form in nos. 708-709 would be of an Etruscan type. PFIFFIG, 'Namen', 257, sees in no. 2995 a freedman of the *gens Tiphilia*, who has become prosperous, but the suggestion is hardly correct.

⁴ See VETTER, *leθe*, 68-72, PFIFFIG, 'Namen', 258.

⁵ In *Mi Selenia* (1129) DE SIMONE I, 110, II, 236, sees an individual name derived from Greek Σεληνία. This is, however, extremely uncertain. I would prefer a gentilicium in the Latin form. For *mi*, see above p. 159.

⁶ There seems, however, to be some text before the word *Philumena* (autopsy 13.5.1968).

1434–1435), *C. Herclite Ha(stias)* (1487, 1488), *A. Nanstius Hastiae* (1139)¹, *Ar. Corsdile Velius* (2058), and *Titia Thannae f.* (2882)². But the individual name itself can also point to the unfree origin, as can be noticed in [*Th*]unicona [*S*]entia Paperis (834) and in *Philomena Satria* (716).

It is evident that the typical Latin name form of *liberti* has early been used alongside these Etruscan types. It appears in two bilinguals, *Leucle. qisis. lautni* / *L. Phisius L.l. Eucl[es]* (1288), which offers a good example of the Latinization of the name form³, and *L. Scarpus Scarpiæ l. Popa larnθ. scarpe. lautni* (3692)⁴, and in addition, in many other inscriptions close to the Etruscan epigraphy: *L. Lussius A.l. Septlus* (3931), *Gavia P.l. Tarntia* (1861), *L. Volumni La.l. Theopilus* (3371), *D. Sortes L.l. Dionisius* (1² 2637, Pe.), and so on. It is also used exclusively in the Latin *cippi* of Caere.

2.2.1.6 The Order of the Name Parts

The main difference between the Etruscan and the Latin order of the name parts regards the location of the cognomen. The Romans put it at the end of the name form, whereas the Etruscans placed it immediately after the gentilicium. However, a good deal of uncertainty under Roman influence can also be seen in the Etruscan usage⁵. The cognomen is not very common in our inscriptions, and there are only a few exceptions from the Latin order: [*La*]rtia Pedro Caspria Lart. Panatia gnata (4291)⁶, *Sex. Granus Capito Sex.f.* (2010). Parallel cases can also be seen in the three names of freedmen: *Gavia Primigenea C. Gavi l.* (1860), *Q. Caecilio Primo Q.l.* (Ined., inv.no. 30 Mus. Vt.), and [*Ca*]uenius Rufus A.l. (XI 3413, Ta.).

In Etruscan, the cognomen usually preceded the metronymikon⁷, and this is also the normal order in the Latinized inscriptions. But in four cases, the order of these name parts is reversed, e.g. in *L. Pomponius L.f. Arsniaegnatus Plautus* (3622)⁸. This order is not unknown in Etruscan, but in our

¹ See VETTER, *leθe*, 108.

² Note also *C. Odie C.f. Lartia gnatus* (1538), where *Lartia* could also be gentilicium, and the bilingual *aθ: trepi: θanasa* / *Ar. Trebi Histro* (2965), where the Etruscan part indicates an unfree mother, RIX, *Etr.C.*, 25.

³ As to the interpretation, see RIX, *Etr.C.*, 366–367.

⁴ With the gentilicium of the mistress, according to older Latin usage; see also DE SIMONE II, 255.

⁵ See RIX, *Etr.C.*, 44–45.

⁶ *Lart(ia)*, belonging to the metronymikon, is also possible instead of the patronymikon *Lart(is)*.

⁷ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 44.

⁸ In the same way nos. 787, 1295, 1297. See also DOER, 166.

names it may further emphasize the position of the metronymikon, whereas in the normal order this "extraordinary" name part is simply added to the end of the normal Latin name form.

Examples of the Etruscan inversion¹ of praenomen and gentilicium, common especially in southern Etruria, are rare and uncertain in our inscriptions. *Mesia Arun(tia) L.f. Tetia gnata* in the bilingual no. 4190², and *Mur-renia Veliza C.f.* (1153)³ are the most obvious examples. *Gavia Larthi Parnaes* (987) and *Ramta Vibies L. lautni* (2209)⁴ could also be presented in this connection.

2.2.2 THE LATINIZATION OF SEPARATE NAMES

2.2.2.1 The Praenomina

The Etruscan praenomen as well as the Roman one had lost much of its individual character. It had become an important mark of citizenship, and the number of praenomina among which the citizens could choose had been severely restricted. With the Romans, only eleven names were commonly used⁵, with the Etruscans the number was even smaller, e.g. at Clusium four, at Perugia five. Both peoples had some other praenomina as well, but the use of them was limited to certain prominent families⁶. Of the common Etruscan names only one, *aule* = *Aulus*, was also usual in Roman nomenclature. In addition, some Roman praenomina occur in late Etruscan inscriptions: *cae*, *luci*, *pupli*, *cvinte*, *gefri* and *tite*⁷.

Now, when an Etruscan acquired Roman citizenship, he was forced to assume a Roman praenomen. On what grounds did he make his choice? The problem has been studied on the basis of the Etrusco-Latin bilinguals, or rather, the problem of these bilinguals has evoked this question. In the 25 real bilinguals, 31 praenomina altogether are recorded both in the Etruscan and the Latin part. In only twelve cases are the Etruscan and the Latin praenomina the same⁸. This has been the point of departure for the

¹ Rix, *Etr.C.*, 87.

² Rix, 'Personenn.', 156.

³ The reading of BORMANN XI 2187 add., see above, p. 163.

⁴ See above, p. 82. *Prima Hastia* is presented as one example by LATTES, *Correzioni*, 114, but see above, p. 171.

⁵ See MOMMSEN, *RE*, 15 H., FRÄNKEL, 1660.

⁶ Rix, *Etr.C.*, 25, 349-350.

⁷ See above, p. 26; these names cannot be considered common to both peoples, as COLI, 279-280, suggests; see Rix, *Etr.C.*, 350.

⁸ Rix, 'Personnen.', 155.

general hypothesis, defended especially by Buonamici, that the two parts of each inscription concern different burials in the same urn or in the same tomb. Nowadays, however, it is generally accepted that both parts concern one and the same person and that the difference between the Etruscan and the Roman praenomen reflects the influence of Roman citizenship on the Latin name form¹.

In six of the twelve bilinguals, in which the same praenomen appears both in the Etruscan and the Latin part, the praenomen is *aule* = *Aulus*, the only citizen-praenomen used both by the Etruscans and by the Romans. In four cases, the Latin praenomen *Gaius*, *Quintus* or *Publius* is used in the Etruscan name form also, and twice the Etruscan name *arnθ*, *arnθia* has found its way into the Latin name form. Of the exclusively Etruscan praenomina, e.g. *vel* has in six cases been changed into Latin *Gaius*, once into *Quintus*, *arnθ* has been changed four times into *Gaius*, once into *Manius*, and so on. The most surprising change is in the inscription TLE 930 (Ar.), where a person called *aule* in Etruscan has changed his name into Lat. *Gnaeus*, whereas his father bearing the same name *aule* has retained it in the Latin filiation².

It is probable that when the names of the new citizens were inscribed in the census list, the authorities saw to it that everyone bore a good Roman name, including one of the eleven Roman citizen-praenomina³. But although every Etruscan thus got a Roman praenomen, the Etruscan names did not suddenly disappear from the inscriptions. Firstly, an Etruscan praenomen could obviously be preserved in the patronymikon of a Roman citizen in a case where his father had never been a Roman citizen. Secondly, no one could prevent the Etruscans from using their original names, even if they had a Roman name, too, and from having them included in their epitaphs. Consequently, Etruscan praenomina occurring in the epitaphs have no value as evidence of the citizenship of their owners.

The use of Etruscan praenomina unknown in Latin is very usual in the Latin inscriptions in Etruria. Of the male praenomina, *Arnth* occurs 32, *Vel* 25 and *Larth*⁴ 23 times in our inscriptions. The abbreviations and the

¹ COLI, 279; RIX, 'Personenn.', 171-172; VETTER, *Glotta*, 17 (1929), 300.

² In addition to the bilinguals, one should note *Secunda Titia T(iti) f(ilia) Vesconia* (1436), daughter of a *tite vescu*. Is the Latin praenomen *Titus* of the father formed from his gentilicium?

³ Cf. *Lex Iulia municipalis*, CIL I² 599; II. 142-149, V. GARDTHAUSEN, 'Namen und Zensus der Römer', *Rh.Mus.*, 72 (1917-18), 354, BRUNN, 9-10.

⁴ It is probable that the abbreviation *L.* only seldom (maybe in no. 1829, see PFEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 252, 260) represents this name. The cases of *L.* are not included here.

variants springing from the Latinization are included in these figures. Among the rare praenomina, *Laris* (*Lr.*) is found in nos. 708, 709, 2591 and 2860, and could sometimes be behind the abbreviation *La.*, here accounted for as *Larth*¹. *Sethre* occurs three times at Clusium (708, 709 and possibly XI 7169 a), *Larce* once in no. 2108. In nine inscriptions the father has the same Etruscan praenomen as the son: *Arnth* in nos. 832, 1145², 1146³, 1155, 3469⁴, 6300 (Ca.), *Larth* in 1141 and 2109, *Vel* in 858 and 1580.

Clusium and Perugia offer the great majority of these examples of Etruscan praenomina in Latin inscriptions. Of the material 64 examples are from Clusium⁵, 17 from Perugia⁶, five from Caere (6017, 6141, 6259 and twice in 6300), one from Tarquinii (XI 7567)⁷ and one from Volsinii (XI 2726)⁸.

In these figures, the praenomen *Aulus* is not included. It is, however, in some cases evident that this name should be regarded as an Etruscan rather than a Latin praenomen. The Etruscan forms with the ending *-e*, e.g. *Aule Veratro Aules* (1571, in addition to nos. 931, 2693 and 4831, Cl.) must be interpreted so. On the other hand, it is worth noting that the Etruscan abbreviation *Au.* is completely missing from our inscriptions, which record only the Latin *A.* In any case, the special position of *Aulus* as the only citizen-praenomen common to both Etruscan and Latin is proved by its relatively frequent appearance in Etruria. If we count the praenomina in all Latin republican inscriptions, *Aulus* is the sixth most common praenomen after *Lucius*, *Gaius*, *Marcus*, *Quintus* and *Publius*. *Lucius* and *Gaius*

¹ Cf. PEIFFER, *Sprache*, 180.

² To be read *Ar. Mari Ar.f. patr.* (autopsy 13.5.1968).

³ I prefer, in accordance with BORMANN XI 7168, *Ar.f.* for *lautni* (autopsy 13.5.1968).

⁴ See BELLUCCI, 29.

⁵ Nos. 708, 709, 713, 715, 735, 739, 832, 858, 873, 925, 930, 935, 936, 988, 989, 1058, 1138, 1141, 1146, 1150, 1155, 1338, 1565, 1145, 1577, 1580, 1581, 1598, 1604, 1617, 1653, 1688, 1777, 1841, 2058, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2278, 2543, 2591, 2592, 2700, 2860, 2935, 2965, 4832, 4836, 4837, XI 7169 a and 7195, many of which record two instances of such praenomina. In no. 1604 the suggestion A T[L]E[SNA] for A T[H] by BORMANN XI 2224 and RIX, *Etr.C.*, 155, is impossible (autopsy 13.5.1968).

⁶ Nos 3372, 3469, 3615, 3721, 3722, 3734, 3751, 4188, 4216, 4291, 3498, 4326, SE 6, 482 and Inv. no. 245 Mus. Pe.

⁷ Note also *Vel. Max.* (TLE 899) on a gemma found at Tarquinii. The names in *elogia Tarquiniensia* cannot be regarded as contemporaneous documents. It is, in itself, interesting that these texts preserve the old praenomina which have often been rejected by the Etruscans in the epitaphs because of Roman citizenship. J. HEURGON, 'L'elogium d'un magistrat étrusque découvert à Tarquinia', *MéL*, 63 (1951), 126-127.

⁸ Obs. also *Vel Tib(a)e* in the Naevius-fragment by Festus 272 M = 334 L.

occur in more than five times as many cases as *Aulus*¹. The relations seem, however, to change in the early inscriptions of Etruria. For instance, in the Latin *cippi* of Caere *Aulus* appears more often than *Quintus* and *Publius*, altogether 31 times, the corresponding figure for *Lucius* being 102 and that for *Gaius* 56.

The appearance of female praenomina has already been discussed in connexion with the name forms (2.2.1.1). Almost all names are Etruscan, Latin praenomina appear only about ten times and they are mentioned above on p. 163. Three Etruscan names predominate, *Thania* and its variants appearing 29 times, *Larthe(a)* also 29 times, and *Hasti(a)* 13 times. The rarer names are, with the exception of *Arun(tia)* (4190, Pe.), all from Clusium: *Thanusa* (1573, 1579, 1586, 789²), *Velia* (563, 846, 2058 ?)³, *Veliza* (848, 856, 985, 1147, 2636, 1153 ?), and *Ramta* (2209).

The progress of Latinization could be followed by means of comparing the praenomen of a person with that of his father appearing in the patronymikon⁴. This study cannot, however, be based on a very rich body of material, because the patronymikon does not appear regularly in the inscriptions. In nineteen name forms both praenomina are Etruscan (*Aulus* is here considered Latin). The father with an Etruscan name has given the son a Latin citizen-praenomen in ten cases, e.g. *L. Venete Vel.f. Arria n(atu)s* (735, further, 1338, 1581, 2278, 3372, 4188, 4837, Cl., 2592, 3722 and 4836, Cl.). In the last three instances mentioned, the praenomen of the son is *Aulus*. There are no cases of an Etruscan name for the son and a Latin one for the father. One may, however, notice the *liberti* *Ar. Tibile P.l.* (2935) and *La. Aconius L.l. Ur. cn.* (3734), and two sons of *Aulus*: *Ar. Cai A. Pacinal* (930) and *Vel Aule A.f.* (989).

2.2.2.2 The Gentilicium Tradition

The gentilicia in ancient Italy and their origin have since Schulze's day often been discussed, but always very cautiously. The Etruscomanic theses of Schulze are generally considered exaggerated, but we are still waiting for a new fundamental study of the immense material available. The complexity of the origins of gentilicia in Italy does not make the study of the gentilicium tradition in Latinized Etruria any easier; in particular, it is very difficult

¹ See CHASE, 135.

² See above, p. 162 no. 4.

³ Not possible in no. 3345, because unknown as praenomen at Perugia.

⁴ MEISTER, 77.

to distinguish sharply between an Etruscan name and a Latin one. In this study, however, we can concentrate on examining the ways in which the language shift in Etruria changed the family names. The most important question is: what happened to the Etruscan gentilicium when the family acquired Roman citizenship and changed the language into Latin. A secondary question is, what can be said about the ethnic origin of a person on the basis of his gentilicium appearing in a Latin inscription. Clearly, this problem can be discussed only when we know the laws of transmutation.

The continuity of the gentilicium tradition can be followed if both the Etruscan and the Latin form of a gentilicium of a family is known. In studying the Latinization of the gentilicia in Etruria, one cannot choose the material on the ground of external similarity; we need different and more valid criteria for ascertaining the correspondence of the names. For instance, it is clear that *Pergomsna* (935) carries on the Etruscan name *percumsna* (1507, 1508). But if we want to know the different transmutations brought about by Latinization, the choice of the material on the basis of the similarity of two forms creates a vicious circle.

This does not mean that the name *Pergomsna* did not belong to the family called in Etruscan *percumsna*, but the main arguments in the choice of material for a study of the Latinization process have to be found elsewhere. The bilinguals offer a special case, in which both the Etruscan and the Latin gentilicium of the same person are recorded. This material of over twenty names has been thoroughly studied by Rix¹. Further, the family tombs used both before and after the language shift can be used in this study. Sometimes the same cognomen also indicates that two persons are members of the same family and the forms of the gentilicia belong together, e.g. *tutnei spaspunia* (3068) and *Tutilius Spaspo* (3004).

When studying the influence of Latinization upon the gentilicium tradition we must again take into consideration Roman citizenship and bear in mind the censors marking down the names of the new citizens on the census lists, which were subsequently sent to Rome. It is probable that for a long time the censors had some influence upon the formation of Roman gentilicia, and it is also probable that they supervised the choice of names by new Roman citizens². Thus, different as the language and the nomenclature of

¹ RIX, 'Personenn.', 160 ff.

² See GARDTHAUSEN, 364-365, BRUNN, 8-9. This picture is, of course, imperfect; the writer is aware of the inconsistency and the defective nature of the Roman census in the first century B.C., pointed out by Prof. BRUNN in the conclusion of these studies.

the subject people was from Latin, the gentilicia had to be given a form suitable to the Latin onomastic system¹.

In the bilingual inscriptions of Etruria, in which the Etruscan and the Latin gentilicium obviously refer to the same person, the stems often differ greatly. These inscriptions, however, show that the transmutation of the gentile names was carried out according to different methods. The principal categories have been defined by Rix and Coli²; they seem to form a general pattern independent of time and place³. This division is also followed in this study.

In the first group, the Latin name has been obtained by the direct phonological transposition of the Etruscan gentilicium, allowing for the differences between Etruscan and Latin phonology. Many examples can be mentioned from the bilinguals: *fulni* – *Folnius* (428, Ar.), *q̄isi* – *Phisius* (1288), *fapi* – *Fabius* (1290), *cahatial* – *Cafatia*⁴ (3763), *mesi* – *Mesia* (4190), *sentī* – *Sentia* (1060), *cazi* – *Cassius* (378, Ar.), *titi* ? – *Titius* (829), *trepī* – *Trebius* (2965). In some of these cases the Latin form may be original and has influenced the ending of the Etruscan name (*q̄isi*, *fapi*, *titi*). The material from the family tombs augments the list: *ceicna* – *Caecina*, both forms abundantly attested by the Volaterran family, *tarna* – *Tarna* (5293, Vc.), *veratru* – *Veratro* (1571), *curuna* – *Corona* (5503, Ta.), and *hepni* – *Hepenius* (SE 27, 279, Asciano). In most of these names – in contrast with those appearing in the bilinguals – Latinization is not yet complete. *Hepenius* probably later obtained the form *Hebennius*; in *Caecina*, *Tarna*, *Veratro* and *Corona* the Etruscan suffix is still used. The form *Caecina* has been preserved for a long time, but the other names were doubtless developed further by a suffix substitution. The adaptation to the Latin phonological shape, as can be seen e.g. in *ceicna* – *Caecina*, is natural in this type as in all the other ones.

When the Etruscan ending of a name was unsuitable to Latin, as it mostly was, it had to be changed into the Latin *-ius*⁵. This expedient characterizes the second group. Again both the bilinguals and the family tombs offer

¹ In many regions the new citizens changed their native names into that of the Roman magistrate or other person who had granted the citizenship, NOGARA, *Nome*, 54. In Etruria we have no traces of such a procedure.

² RIX, 'Personenn.', 169–171; COLI, 281–282; PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 192.

³ See above, pp. 192–193.

⁴ In this and some other cases the simple transcription is possible exclusively in the feminine form, the Etruscan ending of which is close to the Latin one.

⁵ The development of the Etruscan suffixes has been discussed separately in section 2.1.3.1.

abundant material: *lecne* – *Licinius* (272, Sa.), *cainei* – *Cainnia* (1671)¹, *anne* – *Annus* (1729), *scarpe* – *Scarpus* (3629), *velimna* – *Volumnius* (3763), *cafate* – *Cafatius* (TLE 697, Pisaurum); *cae* – *Cai* (4258), *Caia* (4259), *tite svea* (2929) – *Titia Sven[ia]* (4767, Cl.), *tite vescu* (usual) – *Titia Vesc(onia)* (1409, 1410, 1436). In the family tomb containing the inscriptions nos. 925–937 the Latinization has remained half-finished: *Cnaeve* (931, 932, 925; cf. also *Cneve* XI 7199 a, b, Cl.) – *Cnevia* (927) – *Cnaeus* (926)². The final Latin form in *-ius* is also missing in the name *Sartage* (1596) – *Sartagus* (1598), but this family has probably rejected the old gentilicium and chosen the Roman name *Sertorius* (see below p. 93). The development of the *lautni*-name *tigile* into a Latin gentilicium is typical: *Tibile* still appears in no. 2935, but subsequently we have *Tifilia* (1584) and *Thiphilia* (1585).

The third type of Latinization, the change of a larger suffixal element, has also been discussed in the chapter on the name suffixes. Four examples of this type come from bilinguals: *alfni* – *Alfius* (1671), *varnei* – *Varia* (3023), with the change of the most typical Etruscan suffix into its Latin equivalent, *trepu* – *Trebonius* (TLE 462, Cl.), and *venzile* – *Vensius* (1437). The family tombs offer two instances parallel with *trepu* – *Trebonius*, namely *pumpu* – *Pomponius* (3422), and *Thocerual* (714) – *Thoceronia* (715). The great Caeretan tomb of the family *tarzna* shows an interesting development. The first members commemorated by a Latin epitaph used the direct transcription *Tarcna* (5965, 5972), but subsequently the more completely Latinized form *Tarquinius* (5966) has been chosen³. *Maduia* (6126) probably belongs to the tomb of the family *matuna*; *velzei* and *Volcaci* (SE 8, 355) come from the same Perusine tomb. The names *tutnei* (3068) and *Tutilius* (3004), both connected with the same cognomen *spaspu* – *Spaspo*, must belong to the same family, just as the persons called *aθ. cresse. asius* (897) and *C. Crespini Asias Ania* (896) are members of the same *gens*.

The difference between the forms of the Etruscan and the Latin name grows even wider, when one studies the nomenclature in the bilinguals no. 890 with Etr. *canzna*, Lat. *Caesius*, and nos. 1468 and 1469 with Etr. *arntni*, Lat. *Arrius*. A phonological explanation, the weakness of the pronunciation

¹ See RIX, 'Personenn.', 163.

² In this very important family tomb we have two brothers, *A. Cnaeus A.f. Pacinnal* (928) and *Ar.Cai A. Pacinal* (930). Maybe they do not have the same father, but when one takes into account the names *Aule Cnaeve Cainal* (931) and *A. Cnaeve Cainal* (932), it seems possible that the person mentioned in no. 930 has taken the gentilicium of the grand-mother *Cai*, because the Etruscan *cneve* could not be easily Romanized.

³ Note also the name *Tarcia* at Caere (6061).

of the nasals, could be suggested, but the true reason can be found in the fact that the Etruscan consonant clusters were too difficult for a Latin-speaking person to pronounce. They have been simplified, and the methods have not always been the most direct ones: *Caesius*, a common name in Latin, has, for instance, been chosen instead of *Cansius*. *Arrius* has been chosen instead of *Arruntius* by the families called in Etruscan *arntni*, possibly as a shorter name. Some further examples can be found in other family tombs: *Arsniae* (3622) – *artni* (3623), *Nantnalisa* (1144)¹ – *Nanstius* (1139–1140) and *Scansa* (1577) – *Scandilio* (1578)².

All these unetymological changes concern only the simplifying of difficult Etruscan consonant clusters in the name stem. Such clusters, however, seem to have sometimes caused the change of the whole name stem. In these cases, too, the change is not quite arbitrary, but usually a name beginning with the same letter or letters, or a name in some other way similar to the original, has been chosen. The bilinguals with the names *cupsnei* – *Coelia* (1729) and *velcsna* – *Vedi* (2106) must be explained in this way. However, such changes do not only appear when the Etruscan form made the simplifying necessary. In the Perusine tomb of the family *surna*, a Latin member is called *Sulpicius* (3514)³. When the latest burials of *Tomba delle Iscrizioni* of Vulci (SE 31, 1963, 185–195) belong to persons called *Sempronius*, it probably means that one branch of the family, earlier called *zimarū*, chose this common Latin name⁴. The reason an *unata* had to change his name into *Otacilius*, as the bilingual no. 3023 proves that he did, remains unknown.

One interesting bilingual inscription is still to be discussed. In no. 1416 the Latin name *Scribonius* corresponds to the Etruscan *zicu*, and the scholars all agree that the Latin name is a semantic translation of the Etruscan one⁵. A similar explanation is suggested for some other names, too. The name *Caesius* (890) mentioned above is sometimes interpreted as a translation from the Etr. *canzna*⁶. *Iuventii Thalnae*, a family of some importance in

¹ LATTES, 'Etr.-lat.', 513, proposes *Nan(s)tnalisa*.

² Cf. also *zetnei* (4185) – *Sentia* (4187), if the texts indeed are parts of the same bilingual inscription.

³ RIX, 'Personenn.', 172.

⁴ OLZSCH, *Glotta*, 68 (1970), 275–276. The bilingual TLE 930 (Ar.) with Etr. *haprni*, Lat. *Laberius*, may offer one more example, even if the change can have a phonological basis, see PFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 45.

⁵ DEECKE, *Bilinguen*, 107–108; COLI, 282; VETTER, *Glotta*, 28 (1939), 164; RIX, 'Personenn.', 168–169; PFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 192.

⁶ VETTER, *Glotta*, 28 (1939), 164; COLI, 282, who also cites in this connexion the bilingual no. 1048 with Etr. *šinu*, Lat. *Sentius*. Here, however, the Etruscan gentilicium is missing, and *šinu* is the cognomen, see SCHULZE, 318, RIX, *Etr.C.*, 99.

Rome, seem to have translated their original gentilicium and subsequently to have used the old form as cognomen¹. The same gentilicium *Iventius* also appears in Etruria (3647), but this time in the tomb of the Etruscan family *tins*, and the choice of this new name may be based on the connection between Etr. *tin* and Lat. *Iuppiter*². In the Perusine tomb published in *NSc* 1926, 171-172, the gentilicium *Sortes* appears in connexion with three members of the family, one of them bearing the abbreviated cognomen *Nic(er?)*. His son (I² 2640) has chosen a new Latin gentilicium *Nigidius*, and bears the old family name as cognomen in the form *Sors*. Now, the Etruscan name *surtēs* seems to be of Umbrian origin, where the word had the significance "black", and it may have been translated into Latin and then transferred into the cognomen³.

This is one example of the procedure, which may add to the confusion in the study of the gentilicium tradition. If the Etruscan name did not seem suitable to the Roman nomenclature, it could be transferred into the cognomen. Thus, the name *Sartage*, probably continuing an Etruscan name **sartace*, appears with the Etruscan ending in the inscription no. 1596. Subsequently, the ending has been latinized to *Sartagus* (1598), but later on, the name has been transferred into the cognomen and a new Latin gentilicium has been employed, as the name *Sex. Sertorius L.f. Sartages* (2802) proves⁴. In *Rutilia C.f. Russinaei* (2701) the cognomen⁵ may represent the old Etruscan gentilicium, and the new Latin name has possibly been chosen on the basis of the meaning of the Etruscan stem in Latin. A parallel case may be seen in *Arria C.f. Arisnai Titilniae nata* (953). This is the only certain appearance of Etr. *aris* as a cognomen; the gentilicium *aris* appears six times in Etruscan. The mother of the person mentioned above is *Titlnei Arisalisa* (2931). In this name form the gamonymikon is more likely formed by a gentilicium than by a cognomen⁶. Thus, the young *Arisnai* has chosen the Latin gentilicium *Arria* and used the Etruscan one as her cognomen. Somewhat parallel examples seem to be also *Vettia Vaedn[ia]* (4769), whose former

¹ VETTER, *Glotta*, 28 (1939), 164; COLI, 282.

² COLI, 282; RIX, 'Personenn.', 172; PEIFFIG, *Sprache*, 183.

³ VETTER, *Glotta*, 15, 226-227; RIX, 'Personenn.', 172, *Etr.C.*, 190, who suggests a connexion also between the cognomina *cicu* (1641, 1644) and *Crassus* (1645, 1646). Cf. also the cognomen *Canus* (if not *Caius*) by the son of an *al/nei* in the bilingual no. 1437, see PEIFFIG, 'Verschreibung', 204, BUFFA, *NRIE* 1177.

⁴ RIX, *Etr.C.*, 47; earlier explanations by SCHULZE, 287; DOER, 163-164.

⁵ According to LATTES, *Correzioni*, 66, 'Etr.-lat.', 516, a metronymikon, but see *SE* 2 (1928), 585-586, and, for the form, above p. 155.

⁶ In another way RIX, *Etr.C.*, 267.



Etruscan gentilicium may have been *vetni*¹, and *L. Annius L.f. Anna* (XI 2769, Vs.).

The other problem of this chapter, namely whether the ethnic origin of a person can be established by his gentilicium, referred to in the Latin inscriptions, has, as far as I can see, already been answered. The original Etruscan name has too often been changed into a Latin gentilicium without any linguistic connexion with the original form. To search for Roman colonists among the persons in our inscriptions is almost impossible: a clearly Roman name is not a sufficient criterion. The old Etruscan names attested in Roman inscriptions of a town are, in any case, of a certain interest, and some attention will be paid to this aspect in the following part of this study, where the Latinization of the most important towns will be discussed separately.

2.2.2.3 *The Cognomina*

The cognomina are nowadays the best known part of the Etruscan onomastics. Rix has in his monograph on the subject gathered and analysed the material and demonstrated the local and chronological limitations and also the general nature of the Etruscan use of the cognomen. Generally speaking, the Etruscan usage, as regards the cognomen, runs parallel with that of the Latin cognomen during republican times. With both peoples the cognomen was originally individual, but later developed and was also used to indicate different branches of *gentes*. The rise of the cognomen and its general application has occurred among both peoples at approximately the same time. However, no historical connexion between the Latin and the Etruscan cognomen can be seen².

The distinction between the Latin and the Etruscan cognomina can usually be made in our inscriptions without difficulties. The development of the Latinization process has not been as apparent in the cognomina as in other name parts. On one hand, the number of the names used was not limited in Latin or in Etruscan as was that of the praenomina, whose character as a sign of citizenship is also unknown to the cognomen. On the other hand, the cognomen did not have such a special formative as the gentilicium had in Latin. In fact, names foreign in origin were used at all times in Roman history³.

¹ Rix, *Etr.C.*, 68.

² Rix, *Etr.C.*, 379-383.

³ See KAJANTO, 'Significance', 525-534.

The Etruscan cognomen was used almost exclusively in northern Etruria, and most of the survivals of Etruscan names in Latin inscriptions also come from there. The names usually retained the Etruscan termination, and this may serve as the basic division of the material in this discussion. Two names have the termination *-e*, *Ladile* (1015) and *Cestēs* (710, with a genitival ending?)¹. Both names are etymologically somewhat obscure. There is a name *laθli* (2405) in Etruscan, which, however, seems to be a graphic variant of *larθli*. Other scholars consider *Ladile* a diminutive form of *Latinus*, the gentilicium of the same person, possibly obtained from Etr. *laθi*². *Cestēs* has no Etruscan equivalent at all³. In addition, we have the feminine form of the Etruscan cognomen *caspri* in *Caspria* (4291).

The ending *-a* is usual not only in the Etruscan, but also in the Latin cognomina. Names that are certainly Etruscan are *Selcia* (24, Vt.), appearing in the *gens Caecinia*, also in Etruscan inscriptions, and *Asias* in the patronymikon of no. 896. The Perusine names *Aberra* (4476) and *Cerga* (4511) are unknown elsewhere as well in Etruscan as in Latin⁴.

Most of the original Etruscan names have the ending *-o*, corresponding to Etr. *-u*. *Caspo* (20, Vt.) from Etr. *caspu* is a cognomen of the *gens Caecinia*. *Spaspo* (3004) appears with a *Tutilius*, attached to *tutnei spaspu(nia)* (3068). *Vesconia* (1436) corresponds to Etr. *vescunia*. To this group belong also: *Cenco* (1604) – *cencu* (1273), *Tocro* (818) – *θuceru*, *Tosnos* (1606) – *tušnu*, *Hannossa* (1295) – *hanu*, *Sulo* (XI 7404, Cl.) – *sulunia*, perhaps also *Hollonis* (1017)⁵. In *Srablio* (1297, 1298) from Etr. *sraplu(nia)* (2716) *-u* is replaced by *-io*, a suffix more characteristic of Latin. *Docio* (2508) beside Etr. *θucu* could be explained in the same way, but the name is explained to be rather of Celtic than of Etruscan origin⁶. Some names with less important Etruscan terminations have been preserved, the most certain of which is *Tlaboni* (22, 154, Vt.), a third cognomen of the *gens Caecinia*, appearing in Etruscan in the form *tlapuni*.

¹ No patronymikon = *Sexti*, as LATTES, 'Intorno', 6-7, assumes.

² GIACOMELLI, 'Iscrizioni', 93; SCHULZE, 176, but not accepted by RIX, *Etr.C.*, 330. The former connexion is mentioned by LATTES, *Correzioni*, 77, 'Etr.-lat.', 306; VETTER, *lebe*, 63-64.

³ Latin *Cestius* is nearest, cf. LATTES, 'Etr.-lat.', 188. Hardly to be referred to Etr. *ceztile*, as PAULI *ad tit.* suggests. Cf. also *Parnas* (987) in addition to *Barnacus* (986).

⁴ Cf. above, pp. 148-149.

⁵ The name can also be a gentilicium, even if it is more common in Etruscan as a cognomen, RIX, *Etr.C.*, 154.

⁶ SCHULZE, 308, *TLL* III On., 201, l. 40.

The Etruscan female praenomina *Thania* and *Veliza* transferred into cognomina (2, Faesulae, 734, 800, XI 3489, Ta., 676, 1153, ? 5236, Vs.) must be added to the list of Etruscan individual cognomina. Further, an Etruscan origin can be suggested for some cognomina already appearing with a Latin suffix, for instance *Septlus* (3931) from Etr. *septle*. The cognomen *Obelsianus* (4192) is derived from the Etruscan gentilicium *upelsi* by means of a Latin formative.

In Etruscan, an original gentilicium, as Rix has definitely shown, appears as cognomen only when added to a so-called praenomen-gentilicium. In this position, it indicates the unfree origin of the family. Some examples prove the survival of this practice in the Latin inscriptions: *Titia Vesc(o)nia* (1409, 1410, 1436), *Titia Sven[ia]* (4767, Cl.), and *Tital Traponias* (1841). The rule that an Etruscan second gentilicium can be found only after a praenomen-gentilicium is not without exceptions, and the Latin inscriptions of Perugia also offer some examples: *Q. Aufidi C.f. Tro. Bucinae* (I² 2642)¹ and *Gabinus Percacnius* (4286). In several other names of women, the distinction between a second gentilicium and a metronymikon is difficult: *Gavia Tarntia* (1861), *Cosconia Paethinia* (4669, Co.)², ?-]Etsnae *Arria* (796).

The number of Latin and Italic cognomina appearing in Etruscan is considerable³, and the same names are common in the Latin inscriptions of Etruria. It is difficult to say whether the Etruscan forms have had some influence upon their appearance in Latin texts or not. A complete list of the cases known cannot be given here; it is enough to mention some of the most typical names: *Pansa*, *Gallus*, *Rufus*, *Faber*, *Plautus*⁴, *Hilarus*⁵.

The other cognomina of Latin origin in Etruria can be dismissed in a few words. Some names seem to be particularly favoured without any good explanation, but the same observation can be made in all parts of the Roman Empire⁶. Certain names alluding to the people and the land must be noted. Both *Etruscus* and *Tusculus* are very common, appearing altogether some fifteen times, and such names as *Veiento* (4767, 4768, Cl.) belong to the same group.

The individual names of unfree persons, normally appearing as cognomina of freedmen, deserve a discussion of their own. The Greek names were extremely common both with the Etruscans and with the Romans. In our inscriptions the names of Greek origin, which seem to have come

¹ If not connected to Latin *bucina* = 'horn'.

² See above, p. 166 no. 7.

³ RIX, 'Italische', 627-628, *Etr.C.*, 227-228.

⁴ E.g. *Pomponius Plautus* (3622) belongs to the Etruscan gens *pumpu plute*.

⁵ In no. 823 one has to read *Hilarus*, not with PAULI *Hiluru* (autopsy 22 + 1968).

⁶ Cf. KAJANTO, 'Note', 5.

via Etruscan, are of great interest: *Antigonae* (4361, as a metronymikon), *Arsinua* (4191), *Clepatra* (1433, 1435), *Eucl[es]* (1288, in a bilingual)¹, *Herclite* (1487, 1488), *Tibile* (2935) and the gentilicium *Tiflia* (1584), *Thiphiliae* (1585) derived from it². *Eromacae* (1291) seems to be a derivation from Greek Ἐρομαχίη³. The female praenomina, e.g. *Lartia Firmi l.* (3341) are the most common of the individual names of Etruscan origin: *Lart(h)i(a)* appears in nos. 808, 991, 3035, 3341 and 1149, *Hasti(a)* in nos. 1139, 1488, 2258, *Thania* in no. 3752, *Thanna* in nos. 956, 2882, and finally [*Th*]aniconā in 834. Of the other names only *Slebaris* (4252) is certainly Etruscan. *Salassa* (2013) and *Baro* (152, Vt.) may be connected with Italic languages. The Etruscan unfree persons often bore Italic names; *neper*, appearing partly latinized in *Naeipurs* (956), is a direct Etruscan transcription of Lat. *Naepor*. *Casia* (2563, 2564)⁴, *Flora* (1955), *Popa* (3692) and *Fausa* (821) are already Latin in form.

2.3 THE PROGRESS OF THE LATIN ELEMENTS IN ETRURIA

This part of the study is concerned with the different interference phenomena, which belong to the period between the purely Etruscan and purely Latin inscriptions. The aim of this summary is to examine the order in which the different Latin elements, palaeographic, phonological, morphological and onomastic, made themselves felt in the inscriptions in Etruria, and to try to reconstruct a scheme of the language shift on the basis of the epigraphic material. A scheme of this kind could also throw some light on the relative chronology of the inscriptions. But again, one has to remember that our material makes this possible in two cities only, Clusium and Perugia. In general, we could imagine that the order in which the Latin elements in different domains of the language begin to appear was not very different in other towns, if we had similar epigraphic material from these towns (the cases in which arguments against this can be put forward are discussed in part 3); but now, nearly all conclusions must be based on the rich material from Clusium and Perugia.

¹ See RIX, *Etr.C.*, 366, DE SIMONE II, 248–249.

² DE SIMONE I, 96, II, 98 *et passim*, considers also *Nicepor* (64, Vt.) a possible case, Etr. *nicipur* being an intermediate form, but the name in the Volaterran inscriptions seems to be closer to the Latin tradition.

³ SCHULZE, 366, and LATTES, *MN.*, 18, see in it an Etruscan formation in *-ca*. For *Tolmaca* (1694), see, p. 130 no. 9.

⁴ See CORTSEN, *Titel*, 33, RIX, *Etr.C.*, 365.

Two earlier attempts to paint a general picture of the development are known; the second of these, that of Buonamici, is in many respects dependent on the first one presented by Poggi¹, but it is more accurate. Poggi discerns four stages in the Latinization of Etruria. The first is characterized by the spelling of Etruscan texts in Latin characters; some of these inscriptions also preserve Etruscan letters unknown in Latin. In Poggi's second group the Roman element already comes to the fore: the phonetic shape of the inscriptions becomes Latin. In the third phase, the Latinization of the nomenclature gets started. Etruscan name parts, even if unknown in Latin, may be retained, but in Latin morphological shape. The last phase implies a complete fusion with the Latin name form, the disappearance of Etruscan praenomina, metronymika and gamonymika. The main addition by Buonamici is the division of every stage into three or five subordinate groups, reflecting especially the different changes within each group.

This division can be criticized only because of its too great schematism; a considerable number of the inscriptions could not be referred to any of these groups. Nearly all traces of the Etruscan language in our inscriptions may appear singly in an otherwise completely Latin inscription. It is impossible to classify the inscriptions according to the decreasing degrees of Etruscanity, to arrange them in an order where the former would always be "more Etruscan" than the latter. Therefore, we have to study the occurrence of the different Etruscan remnants in the Latin inscriptions² in order to ascertain how often they appear alone, how often together with other Etruscan characteristics, and which features usually belong together. Theoretically, the degree of the "Etruscanity" of one inscription could thus be measured by the number of the Etruscan (or Latin) characteristics, and the maintenance of certain Etruscan features could be studied on the basis of the number of other Etruscan features appearing in the same inscriptions.

The palaeography, i.e. the study of the Etruscan letter forms appearing in Latin inscriptions and of the relation between the change of the direction of the writing and of the letter forms, is not within the scope of this study. One remark concerning this point must be made, however, although it perhaps applies more to Clusium and Perugia than to other towns of Etruria. In the development from the Etruscan language to Latin, the change of the alphabet manifests itself at the very beginning³. The Latin influence upon

¹ BUONAMICI, 186-193; POGGI, 38-43. See also DOER, 152 ff., MOMMSEN *CIL* I, 254, CORSEN I, 31.

² For the definition of the Latin and Etruscan inscriptions, see above p. 106.

³ This development is normal in the Latinization of the other parts of the Roman Empire, too, see LEJEUNE, 'Urnes', 120, 'Adaptation', 104, 'Observations', 149.

Etr. phonology	Masc. nom. endings	Fem. formation	Etr. genitive	Gent. suffix -a	Other gent. suff.	Etr. fem. praenomina	Etr. masc. praenom.	Metronymikon	Ganonymikon	Etr. patronymikon	Etr. name form of <i>liberti</i> altogether	Per cent of the total number	Inscriptions without other Etr. features	Per cent of the total number	Total number
Etr. phonology	8	4	13	1	0	8	6	16	6	1	8 = 71	5	8	20	40
Masc. nom. end.	—	1	17	3	1	2	14	14	2	4	5 = 71	178	8	20	40
Fem. formation	4	—	11	0	1	14	2	10	6	1	3 = 53	230	1	4	23
Etr. genitive	13	11	—	7	2	13	20	32	10	11	6 = 142	218	2	3	65
Gent. suff. -a	1	3	7	—	0	1	14	12	1	6	0 = 45	64	43	61	70
Other gent. suff.	0	1	2	0	—	0	5	6	1	1	2 = 19	95	15	75	20
Etr. f. praen.	8	2	13	1	0	—	10	22	10	3	9 = 92	123	20	27	75
Etr. m. praen.	6	14	20	14	5	10	—	27	1	17	3 = 119	170	2	17	70
Metronymikon	16	10	32	12	6	22	27	—	2	7	1 = 149	93	81	51	160
Ganonymikon	6	6	10	1	1	10	1	2	—	1	1 = 40	90	24	53	45
Etr. patron.	1	1	11	6	1	3	17	7	1	—	0 = 52	289	—	—	18
Etr. name form of <i>lib.</i>	8	5	6	0	2	9	3	1	1	0	— = 38	141	7	26	27

the Etruscan language can, of course, already be discerned many centuries earlier, but this influence is in a way parallel to that of Etruscan or Greek upon Latin, and it does not mean the beginning of Latinization. This picture would hardly be changed, even if the Latin elements in the Etruscan inscriptions proper had been better studied than they are.

The statistics on p. 187 aim at illustrating the occurrence of the different Etruscan features in the inscriptions written in Latin characters in Etruria. It gives for each feature the figures indicating how often every other feature appears together with it, how often it appears alone in an otherwise Latin text, and the approximate total figure for the inscriptions in which the feature in question can be found. The phonological features are all treated in one group; but even so, it is very difficult to distinguish the phonological influence of Etruscan: the alternation of *o* and *u*, for example, is discernible in many names in Latin, too, and the form with *u* does not necessarily represent Etruscan vocalism. Thus, the definition has been to a certain extent arbitrary, and it is based on the phonological shape of the whole inscription, not so much on that of a special name. The total number of the inscriptions with Etruscan phonology is also omitted.

The statistics can be interpreted, for instance, so that the inscriptions with metronymika include on an average 0,93 other Etruscan features in addition to it, and 51 % of the inscriptions are completely Latin, if we except the metronymikon. If we compare the appearance of the features discussed here, the first one to have been Latinized seems to be the patronymikon: the Etruscan filiation never appears alone, and the other Etruscisms appearing together with it are numerous. The reason is evident: the Etruscan patronymikon presumes an Etruscan genitive, and, even when the name is abbreviated, it is formed from an Etruscan praenomen. The Etruscan genitive, used in addition to the patronymikon in metronymika and gamonymika, disappears long before these onomastic remnants, approximately during the same phase as the Etruscan feminine formation.

The Latinization of the phonology remains to some extent unclear in the table; the disappearance of the Etruscan phenomena seems to have happened relatively somewhat later than that of the two above-mentioned striking morphological Etruscisms. The diverging nominative terminations, of which *-e* is the most usual, also belong to the clearly foreign elements: they appear on an average together with 1,8 other Etruscisms and disappear relatively soon. The same also concerns the praenomina of Etruscan origin. The female praenomina seem to have been preserved longer than the masculine ones. This is in a way surprising, since they must have been resented by the Romans both because of their origin and because of the fact that the name part was unknown to the Romans. Could it be possible that the census had

caused the earlier disappearance of masculine names: the men had to change the praenomen, whereas the women could simply leave their forenames unmentioned in the census-list. The Etruscan name forms of unfree persons can also be considered as one of the early lost Etruscisms.

A second clearly distinguishable group of Etruscan survivals continues to appear in inscriptions whose general character is much more Latin, and these features can even more often be found single in otherwise Latin texts. In a way this whole group, including the differing gentilicium suffixes and two indirect name parts, belongs to the nomenclature. The gentilicium suffix *-a* and the metronymika afford much richer material than the other gentilicium suffixes (of which *-o* is the most important) and the gamonymikon; thus, the figures are not quite comparable. We should notice that the suffix *-na* also has a firm position in the Roman gentilicia during the Empire. Also the gamonymikon was sometimes used in good Roman inscriptions. The long maintenance of the metronymikon, which is exceptional elsewhere in Roman epigraphy, must be regarded as a sign of the conservatism of the last Etruscans, the metronymikon being a typical element of the Etruscan name form¹.

It is evident that the Etrusco-Latin bilingual inscriptions belong to the last phase of the Latinization process²; this, of course, concerns only the bilinguals proper, whereas the Etruscan inscriptions with a duplicate in more or less Latin characters (738, 808, 1617, 4832, Cl., in a way also 1487 and 2647) are much older. The Latin parts of the bilinguals are almost free of Etruscan influence with the exception of metronymika, which appear ten times³. Apart from these cases we have only the praenomina *Ar.* (2965) and *Arun(tia)* (4190), otherwise, the texts are written in pure Latin⁴. One must also observe the appearance of a Latin cognomen in seven or eight bilinguals and the denoting of a Roman tribus in 428 (*Ar.*), 1469, *TLE* 930 (*Ar.*). The view of the lateness of the Etrusco-Latin bilingual inscriptions is supported by some archaeological and artistic criteria⁵.

¹ One can compare this table with the order presented by BUONAMICI, 186-193.

² Cf. CORSEN 1, 31-32, CECI, 81, RIX, 'Personenn.', 150-151.

³ Nos. 890, 1048, 1469, 1487, 1671, 1729, 3023, 3762, 4190, *TLE* 462.

⁴ In no. 1487 *Herclit* must be understood as *Herclit(e)*, cfr. 1488, but the inscription does not clearly belong to the bilinguals proper.

⁵ The archaeological material found together with *TLE* 930 (*Ar.*) dates from about 40 B.C., PALLOTTINO, *SE*, 23 (1954), 399. The urn of P. *Volumnius* (3763) seems to belong to about 10 B.C., THIMME *SE*, 23 (1954), 132. *TLE* 692 (Pisaurum) is perhaps from the last quarter of the first century B.C., LEJEUNE, *REL*, 40 (1962), 161; RIX, 'Personenn.', 150.

3. LOCAL DIFFERENCES IN THE PROCESS OF LATINIZATION

3.1 THE DATING OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

In judging the historical implications of the language shift, its date must naturally be established as exactly as possible¹. However, the difficulties in dating the inscriptions are well-known. There is no reason to discuss here the different causes for these difficulties; the positive evidence for the dates of the Etrusco-Latin inscriptions is much more important. The various criteria concerning the dating can in general be divided into two groups: those based on the object bearing the inscription and on its place of discovery, and those based on the text itself.

In our material, which for the greatest part consists of epitaphs, the monuments or objects on which the texts have been inscribed can be divided into three main groups: the urns, which at the time in question were used especially in northern Etruria, together with the cinerary *ollae*, the grave *cippi*, typical of the southern-most cities, and the tiles covering the opening of *loculi*, in use exclusively at Clusium. The sarcophagi with inscriptions belonging to our material and the parietal inscriptions are few. All these groups of monuments as such belong to a late period of Etruscan history, but this offers us a very rough date, since they all extend over several centuries. The group introduced latest is probably that of the Clusine tiles. Thimme has observed that the Latin inscriptions compared with the Etruscan ones are relatively much more common on the tiles than on the urns, and this may show that the use of the tiles began quite late². But otherwise, the tiles do not give any clue with regard to the dating, because the form, the material and the possible ornaments have far too few distinctive features for the forming of a chronological typology. The same applies to the *cippi*; no artistic criteria can be used, and the different forms³ do not always seem to reflect separate chronological stages. At Caere, there is a difference between the Etruscan and Latin *cippi* with regard to the place of the inscription⁴.

¹ Many scholars have on the grounds of different criteria proposed an evidently too early date for the Etrusco-Latin inscriptions: CORSEN I, 30-32, 51-52; MEISTER, 77, and DOER, 152-153, all consider that they belong to the time after the Second Punic War.

² THIMME, *SE*, 23 (1954), 134.

³ For the Tarquinian *cippi*, see BORMANN, *CIL* XI: 1, p. 511, for the Caeretan ones, see CRISTOFANI, *CIE* II: I: 4, pp. 401-402.

⁴ The Etruscan text can regularly be found on the base, only five times on the shaft, where with only one exception the Latin texts are inscribed.

and the most common kind of rock, used in preparing the *cippi*¹, but these features are not very valuable dating criteria.

The urns offer different criteria for the dating. In some districts, the material used for the urn is of some importance, the use of marble being comparatively late, but on the other hand, only few marble urns belong to our group of inscriptions. At Clusium, the alabaster urns seem to fall into disuse during the second half of the second century, whereas at the same time the urns of terracotta and the *ollae* become common as cinerary vessels². The dating of the urns according to criteria defined by means of a study of their artistic execution is on its firmest ground at Clusium and Volaterrae. Thimme divides the Clusine urns into five stylistic phases, covering approximately the time between 200 and 50 B.C. All the urns with an Etrusco-Latin or Latin inscription are placed in the fifth group, including straight urns without reliefs, which would belong to the time after 100 B.C.³ It is difficult to judge how far Thimme's dating has been influenced by his view that the Latinization process is a consequence of the Social War, i.e. that the Latin inscriptions *must* be later than 90 B.C. In that case the use of his dates for the language shift would imply a vicious circle. The main criteria for Thimme's dating are, however, artistic, and his chronological results are generally accepted. In addition to the monuments of Clusium, Thimme discusses the urns of one Perusine tomb. The Volaterran alabaster urns are the subject of a separate study by Mrs. Nielsen (5), who shows in a convincing manner that the production of the Volaterran urns continues up to the first decades of the Christian era and that the Etruscan inscriptions occur in very late urns.

One may begin the discussion of the archaeological dating proper with those cases in which datable material has been found in connexion with the inscription. The most felicitous case is when there is a coin placed in the urn; this practice was not very unusual, but we have knowledge of the coins in a few cases only, of which the finds of Asciano are the most significant. The use of other funeral requisites for the dating of a separate inscription is possible only when it is certain that they belong together, for instance when the deceased has been buried alone. Such cases are rare: some isolated

¹ The relation between *macco* and *nenfro* in the Etruscan *cippi* is 51 : 9, in the Latin ones 49 : 79.

² THIMME, *SE*, 25 (1957), 138-139.

³ THIMME, *SE*, 25 (1957), 113, 139, accepted by RIX, 'Personnenn.', 150-151, *IF*, 72 (1962), 316, A. J. PEIFFIG, *Die Ausbreitung des römischen Städtewesens in Etrurien*, Firenze 1966, 11, *Sprache*, 7.

graves in southern necropoles and the bilingual urn of Arretium (*TLE* 930) can be mentioned here. More often a tomb belongs to a married couple, for example, the individuals being probably buried relatively soon after one another.

The material found in the great chamber tombs with many burials covering several generations can offer only different *termini* for the time during which the tomb was used. The time of construction of the tomb can usually be better defined on the grounds of its architectural form, its position in the necropole and its artistic decoration than on the grounds of the date of production of the oldest objects found in the tomb. On the other hand, the latest objects offer a *terminus post quem* for the last burials of the tomb. When the tomb has been used over several centuries, these *termini* do not help us in dating separate inscriptions without a close study of the inner chronology of the tomb. In such a study, the position of the urns in the tomb may lend some support, but usually the study must be based on one hand on the genealogy of the family formed on the basis of the names appearing in the inscriptions, on the other on the artistic development of the urns.

The great majority of the inscriptions is found, however, on monuments which were discovered in unknown circumstances several centuries ago, and which do not offer any artistic criteria for dating. The number of lost inscriptions, preserved only in copies, is considerable. The only thing we have is the text itself. The ideal case would be, of course, for the text to include an exact date, but in all our material only two sarcophagi, at Ferentium, offer a consular dating.

Apart from that, there are three possibilities for dating left, namely the palaeography of the inscriptions, the language used in the text, and the nomenclature. No epigraphist would consider the dating on the basis of the letter forms reliable, but they are often forced to use this method. In our inscription group, however, the difficulties of the palaeographic dating are almost insurmountable. Firstly, the chronology of the letter forms in both late Etruscan and Latin late republican inscriptions is practically unexamined – as a result of the difficulties of such a study. Secondly, in this group, the Latin influence on the Etruscan inscriptions and the Etruscan influence on the Latin ones make the use of the criteria which are reliable elsewhere impossible. Such archaic Latin letter forms as *l*, *s* appear in Etruria some centuries later than in Rome. This question is the subject of a more accurate study by Mrs. Michelsen (4).

Both in the Latin language and in the Roman nomenclature, a certain development took place before the uniformity of the Augustan age. In those times the influence of certain sound laws was brought to completion, many morphological variants disappeared, a new name part, the cognomen, was

introduced¹. At the same time, the name form of unfree persons was subject to changes². All these phenomena can be made use of in dating inscriptions. But none of these changes was sudden, without there being early and late exceptions in the change, and their date cannot be exactly defined. Thus, the date of one separate inscription can hardly be fixed on the basis of for instance a diphthong *-ai-* or the lack of the cognomen. The situation becomes better, when we have a group of inscriptions which belong as closely as possible together, for instance are found on similar monuments. The appearance of the cognomen or certain phonological phenomena, for example, can be studied in such groups by means of statistics, and this may offer a firmer basis for dating, provided that the chronological differences inside the group are small. The aim is not the dating of the separate inscriptions, but that of the whole group.

The relationship of persons belonging to the same family tomb may offer a ground for the relative dating of the inscriptions. In an ideal case the tomb offers such rich material that it enables us to form the genealogy of the whole family, i.e. the place of nearly all burials in the family tree can be established. Usually we can say no more than that certain persons are father and son, brothers or a married couple. Further, the determining of the relationship between an Etruscan and a Latin member of the same family is often difficult, because Romanization implied a change of praenomen, sometimes also that of gentilicium. And even if one knows the relationship between two or more persons, one cannot be sure that the father has died earlier than the son, that the brothers have died at approximately the same time, and so on.

3.2 THE LANGUAGE SHIFT IN THE MOST IMPORTANT TOWNS

3.2.1 CAERE

Caere was the first city in Etruria to obtain Roman citizenship; because of its good relations with Rome it has been considered an exception in the history of the Romanization of Etruria. This view is partly based on the epigraphic findings of Mengarelli, the excavator of the Caeretan necropolis of Banditaccia. Mengarelli noted that the inscribed grave *cippi*, now 300 in number, most of which were found by Mengarelli, show both Etruscan and Latin

¹ As to the dating, see MOMMSEN, *RE*, 58-59, A. E. GORDON, 'On the first Appearance of the Cognomen in Latin Inscriptions of Freedmen', *Univ. California, Publ. Cl. Arch.*, 1 (1935), No. 4, 153-154, THYLANDER, 102-108.

² As to the dating, see VITUCCI, *Diz. Ep.* VI, 910-911, 915, THYLANDER, 101-102.

texts. As inscriptions in both languages were found side by side in front of the tombs built in the fourth century B.C. or later, Mengarelli thought that the Latin *cippi* must be contemporaneous with the Etruscan ones. The difference in the language is not according to him chronological, but social: the Italic population once subjugated by the Etruscans had preserved their old language, and now acquiring a better social position, they learned to write, and began to inscribe their names on the *cippi*¹. Although the hypothesis of an Italic population at the Etruscan Caere has often been contradicted, the dating of the oldest Latin inscriptions to the fourth century B.C. and the view of the very early Latinization of Caere is generally accepted².

But this dating must be quite erroneous. First of all, there is no archaeological evidence to support it. It has been impossible to attribute the *cippi* to individual tombs. The *cippi* had been removed as far back as antiquity and placed inside the tombs. In most cases we can only refer the *cippi* to certain areas of the necropolis. The archaeological material from Mengarelli's excavations is nowadays too difficult to be found to be of any value in checking his datings. Even if we knew that a Latin *cippus* had been found in front of a fourth century tomb, this does not justify its dating to the century when the tomb was constructed, as the tombs were used over a period of several centuries. This fact also explains the discovery of Etruscan and Latin *cippi* side by side; this may well be taken as an indication that they represent different stages of development³.

The letter forms of the Latin *cippi* are rather those of the second or first century B.C.⁴. The archaic phonological features of Latin are almost entirely absent. No instance of the ending *-os* for *-us* is known, the diphthong *ai* appears in only one inscription (6141), the marking of geminates is usual, and such spellings as *Postimus* (6256) must be relatively late. The picture becomes still clearer in the nomenclature. About 30 per cent of the freeborn

¹ R. MENGARELLI, 'Caere prima e dopo la sua annessione a Roma', *Atti II^o Congr. naz. st. rom.*, Roma 1931, 420, 'Caere e Roma', *Atti III Congr. naz. st. rom.* I, Bologna 1934, 110-115, 'Nuove esplorazioni nella necropoli di Caere', *NSc*, 1915, 364, 'La necropoli di Caere', *SE*, 11 (1937), 92-93.

² E.g. DEGRASSI, *ILLRP* II, 211; PEIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 11-12, *Sprache* 6; GEISENDÖRFER, 13.

³ For a recent find of a Latin *cippus*, see *SE*, 35, 532.

⁴ The archaic Latin letter forms are exceptional and probably due to Etruscan interference (see p. 104); one should note < = C in 6017, 6141, < = S in 5901, 6024, 6041. Criteria of the lateness of the letter include e.g. the serifs, visible in approximately every second Latin *cippus*, the triangular points, appearing in almost 30 inscriptions.

men and 20 per cent of the women bear a cognomen¹. Among the *liberti*, the cognomen is regular (80 per cent), and the correspondence between the praenomina of the freedman and his master is lacking in only four cases out of a total of more than forty².

All these phenomena would imply for the Latin *cippi* as a group a date within the second half of the second and the first half of the first century B.C.³. One of the great family tombs, *Tomba delle Iscrizioni*, supports this dating. In his study of the tomb, Cristofani has shown that the Etruscan language was changed into Latin towards the end of the second century B.C.⁴. The Latin *tabella defixionum* (I² 2765) with some Etruscan phonological features, datable to 100 B.C. because of the historical persons mentioned in the text⁵, is an additional argument for this date. Thus, as we shall see, no essential difference in time is discernible with regard to the Latinization of Caere and the other towns of southern Etruria, e.g. Tarquinii.

The general development of the language shift is, however, to some extent exceptional at Caere. This concerns above all the late Etruscan inscriptions, which show a strange resistance to Latin linguistic influence, whereas the nomenclature is nearer to that of the Latin than anywhere in Etruria. Of the phonological peculiarities the resistance to the change *ai* > *ei*, otherwise a common phenomenon in other parts of Etruria, is worthy of note⁶. More important is the lack of the feminine ending *-ia*⁷ and that of the masculine suffix *-(n)i* of the gentilicia: these two phenomena are the most striking examples of the Italic influence upon the late Etruscan language. At Caere, however, they occur in only some isolated cases⁸. On the other hand, the name form of the Etruscan inscriptions is often quite Roman: the male praenomina are abbreviated by the initials and the filiation is generally marked in the same way as in Latin, e.g. *ϵ.c.* = *ϵelus clan*, *a.s.* = *aules sex*. The other indirect name parts, the metronymikon and gamonymikon, are extremely rare. Among the praenomina, such Roman names as *marce*, *cae*, *pupli*, are common. Almost the only difference with regard to the Roman

¹ Further, one may observe the name forms *A. Coponius Titinius* (6161), *L. Equiti C.f. Caccil(ianus) Postim(us)* (6256) and that the men set free by the women always bear the siglum *Ḑ. l.* (6140, 6223, 6251, 6253).

² I have studied the chronology of these *cippi* in my unpublished licentiate dissertation (1969), in Finnish.

³ This date has been proposed already by FIESEL, *GG*, 83.

⁴ CRISTOFANI, *TI*, 62.

⁵ HEURGON, 'Mamilius', 228-229.

⁶ See above, p. 125.

⁷ This conservatism is noticed by FIESEL, *GG*, 84.

⁸ *apreucia* (5985), *ranazuia* (6153), *pustmia* (6038), see above p. 111.

name form is the female praenomen, which appears regularly. An explanation for the contrast between the pure Etruscan language and the Romanized nomenclature can be found, as far as I can see, only with reference to Roman citizenship. At an early stage citizenship did not prompt the language shift, but every citizen had to have a good Roman name.

The change into Latin caused no difficulties onomastically, and the interference phenomena in the Latin *cippi* are rare: three Etruscan female praenomina can be found (6126, 6133, 6187), only one gamonymikon (6099), and not a single metronymikon. The Etruscan male praenomina, unknown to Latin, are five in number (6017, 6141, 6259 and twice in 6300). Of the Etruscan gentilicium suffixes *-na* appears in five names, of which *Tarcna* and *Leptina* with its variants *Lepta* and *Liptena* are found in several inscriptions; *Grebo* (6118, 6189 and 6190) is the Latin transcription of Etr. *crepu(s)* (6120, 6167). Otherwise, the Latin *cippi* belong to the Roman epigraphic tradition.

One of Mengarelli's arguments for his theory that a certain percentage of the Caeretan population was Italic was that the gentilicia of the Latin *cippi* were mostly of Italic origin and did not occur in Etruscan¹. This view cannot be sustained in the light of closer scrutiny. Of the approximately one hundred different names recorded some thirty² have a direct equivalent in the Etruscan inscriptions of Caere. This is a very high percentage, when one takes into consideration the scarcity of the Etruscan inscriptions of Caere. And the total figure of gentilicia unknown to Etruscan is limited to some ten³. The Latin-speaking people buried in the old Etruscan necropoleis were thus descendants of the Etruscan inhabitants of Caere. But in the later inscriptions of the city only few names correspond to the old Etruscan gentilicia: *Camptius*, *Magilius*, *Manlius*, *Aburius* and *Annius*.

3.2.2 'TARQUINII

The material from Tarquinii is in many respects rewarding, thanks to the general nature of the epigraphy of the city and to the efficient excavations during recent years, the results of which are, except for the inscriptions, to

¹ MENGARELLI, 'Caere e Roma', 110, 114.

² *Ateius*, *Attius*, *Cipius*, *Clodius*, *Gargonius*, *Grebo*, *Lucilius*, *Maduius*, *Magilius*, *Manlius*, *Marcus*, *Munius*, *Murrius*, *Pacius*, *Seterna*, *Tamsinius*, *Tarcna*, *Tarcus*, *Tarquitius*, *Tarna*, *Tettius*, *Verna*.

³ Such names seem to be *Aerelius*, *Calvilius*, *Cornelius*, *Equitius*, *Nautilius*, *Otronius*, *Statorius* and *Sulpicius*.

a large extent still unpublished. An essential characteristic of the Etruscan culture of Tarquinii, as well as of most of the other Etruscan cities, too, is that it was not subject to any great changes before the beginning of the Empire¹. The use of the Etruscan chamber tombs continued, and the burial practice remained unchanged. The most important epigraphic groups are the parietal inscriptions of the tombs and the *cippi*, coming into use in the third century B.C.².

The latest tombs with exclusively Etruscan inscriptions, which can be dated with some probability, seem to be the following:

The tomb of *ceisinies* (5525,5526) from the second or first century B.C.³.

Tomba del Cardinale (5376-5378), probably from the middle of the second century⁴.

The tomb of the family *anina* (*TLE* 880-882), which seems to be in use about 100 B.C.⁵.

The tomb no. 5035 with four inscriptions (*SE* 33, 477-480) and with archaeological material from the last three centuries B.C.

The tomb no. 1625 with two inscriptions (*SE* 37, 305,306), used during the last three centuries B.C.

The tomb no. 5512 with three parietal inscriptions (*SE* 36, 205-207) from the second century B.C.

The tomb with the inscriptions 5420-5421 from the second century B.C.⁶.

There is only one tomb with parietal inscriptions in both Etruscan and Latin, *Tomba del Tifone*, built in the second half of the second century B.C.⁷. Besides the builder *arn^o pumpu*, two of his sons are buried there, and, in addition, a female member of the family *hercna* (5412) and two persons with a Latin inscription, one of them called *Tercenna* and probably belonging to the same family⁸. In some tombs Latin *cippi* appear in addition to Etruscan inscriptions: in two connected tombs (*CIE* 5498-5506), belonging to the end

¹ See M. PALLOTTINO, *Tarquinia*, *MALinc*, 36 (1937), 377, 545-546, 559-560.

² PALLOTTINO, *Tarquinia*, 394; DANIELSSON, *CIE* II : I,1, p. 187.

³ The archaeological evidence is not clear, see PALLOTTINO, *Tarquinia*, 525. DANIELSSON in *CIE* would prefer an earlier date for the inscriptions.

⁴ See DANIELSSON, *CIE* II : I,1, p. 219, BANTI, 114.

⁵ PALLOTTINO, *SE*, 32, 111.

⁶ See DANIELSSON, *CIE* II : I,1, p. 247.

⁷ PALLOTTINO, *Tarquinia*, 511; BANTI, an earlier date is proposed by DANIELSSON, *CIE* II : I,1, p. 284.

⁸ The title *flamen anos III* in no. 5413 probably brings us to the end of the Augustan Age, see DANIELSSON *ad tit.*

of the second century B.C.¹, altogether five Latin *cippi* (5499, 5500, 5503–5505) illustrate the change of the language; in one of the tombs the same family *curuna*—*Corona* uses both Etruscan and Latin. A Latin *cippus*, as well as some Etruscan ones, is placed in tombs no. 4851 and no. 4961 (*SE* 33, 486–489). In front of tomb no. 1231, there were two Etruscan and two Latin inscriptions (*SE* 37, 308–310); the tomb included archaeological material from the last three centuries B.C.

Many of the tombs excavated by Fondazione Lerici include only one or two Latin inscriptions. The material of tombs nos. 4794 (*SE* 33, 486–487), 4832 (*SE* 33, 488), 4910 (*SE* 33, 491) and the one published in *SE* 33, 487–488 can be dated to the last two centuries B.C. The material of tomb no. 5048 (*SE* 33, 492) extended into the second half of the first century B.C. Tombs nos. 4865 (*SE* 33, 490–491) and 4938 (*SE* 33, 483) are of an equally late date².

The most important coherent group of inscriptions of the transition period at Tarquinii is formed by the *cippi*, numbering in total some two hundred. The form of the *cippi* remains unchanged up to the time when the stones, inscribed already in Latin, take on a resemblance to the Caeretan type of male *cippus* with a round base and the inscriptions on the *columella*. At the same time, more precious materials, travertine and marble, are being employed³. The use of the Latin language seems to begin, however, with the *cippi* of *nenfro* with the inscription on the rectangular base. The name forms of the *cippi* of this kind may lend some support as to the dating. There are only six instances of the use of the cognomen with freeborn people out of a total of 40 names⁴, whereas all fourteen freedmen have the cognomen. The case of the freedmen suggests that lack of space had not influenced the name forms; one can also notice that cognomina normally occur on the *cippi* of marble belonging to a later period. Thus, the group of the *nenfro cippi* seems to belong to a period when freedmen used cognomina regularly, whereas freeborn people were just beginning to employ surnames. This suggests republican times, approximately the period of the Caeretan *cippi*; I would venture to say: the beginning of the first century B.C.

¹ PALLOTTINO, *Tarquinia*, 525; DANIELSSON, *CIE* II : 1,1, p. 289.

² Most of these tombs also belong to burial ground utilized in a late period, as the Arretine vases and some coins (e.g. one of the year 2 B.C. in tomb no. 4793) show. The material of the tombs has been studied by our team when possible.

³ In general outlines, see BORMANN, *CIL* XI : 1, p. 511.

⁴ Men XI 3444, 3505, *SE* 36, 209 (hardly a freedman, although without filiation), *SE* 33, 488, women XI 3406, *SE* 33, 491.

The *putera a vernice nera* I² 453: *Volcani pocolom*, found at Tarquinii, cannot be dated exactly. Thus, we can say that the approximate time of the language shift seems to be, as far as one can judge from the evidence of the inscriptions, 100 B.C. Nevertheless, there may be later Etruscan and earlier Latin inscriptions, because the language shift was the result of a long process¹.

The language shift at Tarquinii, as throughout southern Etruria, seems, judging from the inscriptions, to have been effectuated without any great number of interference phenomena². The change of the direction of writing and the alphabet implied also a change of language, including phonology, morphology and nomenclature. Most of the phonological peculiarities in the Latin inscriptions are due to variants in the Latin itself; Etruscan influence can best be seen in some syncopated forms (see p. 130). Two names ending in *-e* (XI 7679, *SE* 36, 209) have preserved the Etruscan morphological shape. The gentilicium suffix *-na* appears comparatively frequently in the Latin inscriptions³.

As opposed to the practice found at Caere, the Etruscan name forms at Tarquinii resist the Latin influence to the very end; but it is surprising how small the Etruscan onomastic influence was on the Latin inscriptions. The three female praenomina known (*Posila* XI 3477, *Secunda* XI 7572, *Salvia* XI 7578) are all Latin. The patronymikon in *Sex. Atilius Sex.* (XI 3408) is rather due to lack of space than to Etruscan influence; and the two gamonymika (XI 3374 b and 3484 b) can be explained by the fact that the husbands and their wives have been buried side by side. The Etruscan praenomen *Ar.* appears once (XI 7567), and *Thannia* is used as a cognomen in XI 3489.

Finally, we should consider to what extent there is a correspondence between the Etruscan and the Latin gentilicia at Tarquinii suggestive of a continuation of the Etruscan *gentes* beyond the language shift. The oldest group of Latin inscriptions, appearing on the *cippi* of *nenfro*, comprises 37 different gentilicia. In eleven cases the old Etruscan names of the city are preserved⁴, whereas thirteen are connected with the Etruscan names of Tarquinii by a suffixal or phonological change. It is noteworthy that no purely Latin name, i.e. name without any Etruscan equivalent throughout

¹ RIX, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 217, 78, dates the Latinization of Tarquinii to the first century B.C.

² The general view is that the bilingual of Pisaurum (*TLE* 697) belongs to a Tarquinian person, see e.g. RIX, 'Personenn.', 150, 'Ein lokal begrenzter Lautwandel im Etruskischen', *Sprache*, 8 (1962), 31, but cf. also LEJEUNE, *REL.*, 40 (1962), 161.

³ Some of them may belong to the Imperial Age, e.g. XI 3398-3401.

⁴ *Annius, Atinius, Atilius, Caesennius, Hirius, Graecinius, Gavius, Atilius, Pinus, Rutilius, Volusius.*

Etruria, occurs¹. When all Latin gentilicia are taken into consideration, the picture is somewhat different: of 117 gentilicia 25 have a direct² and 28 a less obvious equivalent in the Etruscan inscriptions of Tarquinii. A great number of the remaining 66 names are clearly Latin, but such names as *Fabius*, *Tullius* and *Iulius* appear only in the inscriptions of a later period.

In general, we can say that the nomenclature of Tarquinii gives the impression of a pacific Romanization with the Etruscan families continuing their life in the Roman city. There are no evident traces in the nomenclature of the foundation of a colony by *lex Sempronia*³ at the time of the Gracchi. A clear expression of the sentiment concerning the Etruscan origin of the city is the *elogia Tarquiniensia* of the first century A.D. praising the Etruscan heroes of Tarquinii.

3.2.3 TUSCANIA

The only other important centre in the territory of Tarquinii is Tuscania⁴, where the excavations of the last few years have brought many inscriptions to light. Archaeologically, Tuscania greatly resembles Tarquinii; the use of the Etruscan chamber tombs continues uninterrupted into the first century B.C.⁵. The last of these tombs have Latin epitaphs. Some of the dated tombs with inscriptions may be mentioned: the tomb published in *SE*, 33, 496-497, with three Etruscan inscriptions representing two generations included archaeological material from the third to the first century B.C. There are, furthermore, two Etruscan urns (*SE* 35, 525), which can be dated to the second century B.C., and finally the tomb *SE* 33, 497, with one Etruscan and two Latin *cippi*, providing material from the last two centuries B.C.

The same type of *cippus* has been used both at Tarquinii and at Tuscania. The name forms of the freeborn people on the oldest Latin *cippi* of Tuscania have a cognomen in four cases out of 27 (XI 2979, 2987, 7399 and 7407); the only freedman (*SE* 36, 248) bears a cognomen. Thus, although the material is scarce, there is no reason to doubt that the development should not have been similar to that of the mother city.

¹ There are obvious connexions with Caere. *Aelius*, *Flavius*, *Salonius* and *Sergius* are names, which, although appearing in Etruscan, should rather be considered to be of Latin origin.

² In addition to those mentioned on p. 199.

³ As *Lib. colon.* 219 L. states.

⁴ See BANTI, 144-145.

⁵ SCHERLING, *RE* VII A, 1455.

This deduction is supported by certain characteristics of the language shift at Tuscania. The shift is remarkably "pure", i.e. there are few traces of interference phenomena either in the Etruscan or in the Latin language of the inscriptions. In the Latin inscriptions, there is one Etruscan feminine praenomen (XI 2977), some gamonymika (XI 2960, 2982) and the gentilicium suffixes *Scribo* (XI 7405), *Corno* (XI 7400) and *Campanus* (XI 2971).

Tuscania differs from Tarquinii in one particular respect: among the gentilicia of the city there are very few names common to both the Etruscan and the Latin inscriptions; the only instances seem to be: *caes* – *Gavius*, *atnas* – *Atinius*, *heiri* – *Ilirius*, *petrni* – *Petronius*, *ancei* – *Anicius* and *Corno* – *curunas*. The scarcity of the Etruscan names known may be one explanation of this fact, but it is difficult to judge whether this could account for the exceptional character of Tuscanian onomastics, or whether the difference between the Etruscan and Latin family names of Tuscania could be a proof of the extinction of Etruscan families by the Romanization process.¹

3.2.4 THE TERRITORY OF VOLSINII

The Volsinian epigraphy is not very propitious for our study: in spite of the rich material afforded by both Etruscan and Latin inscriptions in the territory, there is no single inscription group covering the whole period of the language shift. Most of the Etruscan inscriptions belong to the archaic period. The French excavations, however, have brought to light later material. Careful stratification has in many instances secured the chronology. For certain groups of material, e.g. for well defined categories of ceramics, the backbone of an absolute chronology has been established.

As far as one can see, there are almost no inscriptions from the first century B.C. Some Latin inscriptions can probably be referred to the end of the republic (I² 2663, 2515), but almost all epitaphs bear marks of the Empire. The exact significance of this gap in the epigraphic tradition is very hard to assess. Explanatory hypotheses may cover anything from the surmise that there were no epitaphs written during the period in question to the supposition that the inscriptions have been lost. It may be added that the problem is by no means limited to Volsinii.

The excavation reports do not date the late Etruscan *cippi*, the number of which has increased considerably in recent years. On the other hand,

¹ The territory of Tarquinii contains one more important inscription, a Latin dedication from San Giuliano, dating from the third or second century B.C., VILLA D'AMELIO, NSc, 1963, 68-69.

the ceramics found at Volsinii are the most thoroughly examined in the whole of Etruria. Consequently, certain inscribed vases can be dated with a high degree of certainty. The fragment *SE* 35, 522, can be dated to the time between the end of the second century and the third quarter of the first century B.C. The Etrusco-Campanian *patera* inscribed with two Etruscan letters after burning is from 100–70 B.C.¹ Furthermore, there are four amphora stamps *SE* 35, 520 and *SE* 36, 198, from the second half of the second century or from the first half of the first, and two vase stamps *SE* 35, 521 and *SE* 36, 198, from the end of the second century B.C. All these texts are Etruscan. As evidence for the language shift, this material should be used with a certain amount of caution. One reason for this is that a vase need not have been inscribed in the place where it was found; consequently, the vases excavated at Volsinii may testify to the linguistic conditions of their place of production. Secondly, as long as the material of the other cities consists of sepulchral inscriptions, the vase inscriptions of Volsinii are not quite comparable with them; we cannot know whether the language used in vase stamps has been changed at the same time as that of the epitaphs.

None of the oldest Latin inscriptions offers any criteria for dating. There is a most interesting *lamina ahenea* (XI 2726) recording Etruscan praenomina and found in an urn together with rich jewellery². Unfortunately, this archaeological material can no longer be identified. The only Latin *cippus* from the excavations of recent years (*SE* 35, 544) seems, on palaeographic grounds, to be comparatively young. The two oval *cippi* of black *serpentino* with Latin inscriptions (XI 2736 and 2757³) and the *cippus* XI 2776: *A. Olsadi A.f. Pom. Firmo*, do not offer any criteria suggesting the time of execution of the epitaphs.

In these circumstances, the linguistic development at Volsinii during the transition period remains obscure. With regard to the late Etruscan inscriptions, however, it is interesting to note that the Latin and Italic praenomina, lacking in most Etruscan cities, are comparatively common⁴. Otherwise, no Latin influence upon the onomastics or the language can be observed. In the Latin inscriptions the name *Tania Detrona Vel.f.* (XI 2726), some names with the suffix *-na* or *-a* (XI 2731, 2777, 7301 and I² 2515) and one gamonymikon (XI 7276) prove the influence of the earlier language of

¹ Goudineau, *SE*, 36, (1968), 197, *Mel*, Suppl. 6 (1968), 98–99.

² See Bormann *CIL* XI *ad tit.*

³ Bizarri has published this *cippus* anew in *SE* 30, 117, and has observed one letter of a probable cognomen.

⁴ *tite* (5155), *cae* (*SE* 21, 393–394), *c.* (5159), *f. caea* (5163), *luce* (5192), *ripe* (5164, 5166), *petru* (5177).

the city. A peculiarity of the Volsinian epigraphy, the general lack of the male praenomen in the first century A.D., is not an interference phenomenon.

The Etruscan gentilia of Volsinii have been studied by M. Cristofani with special regard to the connexions of the names with other Etruscan cities and with consideration also of the survival of the Etruscan name stems into Roman times¹. The correspondence between the Etruscan and the Roman onomastic traditions cannot be striking in view of the fact that the Latin texts of the transition period are very scanty. Nevertheless, one can connect without hesitation such names as *vīpinies* – *Vibennius*, *celes* – *Caelius*, *cecna* – *Caecinius*, *Caecina*, *cusinas* – *Cosinius*, *pacnies* – *Pacinius*, *varies* – *Varius*, *nuni* – *Nonius* and *marcnei* – *Marcus*.

Orvieto is the most important centre of the Volsinian territory from the point of view of epigraphy, but because its Etruscan inscriptions belong to a far too early period², they are of no consequence in this context. The few Latin inscriptions of Orvieto do not offer anything exceptional³. Visentium can show only one Latin inscription of the Late Republic (I² 1993). Ferentium, on the other hand, offers a very important tomb, that of *gens Salevia*, the inscriptions of which record the only consular datings in our material. The consulship, which can be referred to the year 69 B.C., is mentioned in the inscription I² 2511, which has to be considered the oldest in the group. The tomb is clearly Etruscan, although the Latin language has been used in the inscriptions⁴. The ancestors of the emperor Otho mentioned in these epitaphs also follow the Etruscan tradition with regard to the date in the inscription I² 2511 including the Etruscan name for the month of October⁵.

3.2.5 VULCI

The Latin inscriptions of Vulci are very few in number⁶, but important because they cover the whole period of the language shift. Among the tombs of the late period at Vulci found to contain exclusively Etruscan texts, *Tomba François* is, of course, the most important, notwithstanding the fact that

¹ SE 34, 346–350.

² See DANIELSSON, *CIE* II: I,1, p. 6. He is, however, influenced by the opinion that the Etruscan Volsinii must be identified with Orvieto.

³ With the exception of the above-mentioned inscription XI 2726, found near Orvieto.

⁴ DEGRASSI, 64.

⁵ DEGRASSI, 72. As to the historical value of the tomb, see DEGRASSI, 73–76.

⁶ Cf. the fact that Strabo does not mention the city further, see BANTI, 118.

opinions differ with regard to its date. The burials probably continued well into the second century B.C., possibly to its very end¹. According to Garucci, a Latin vase inscription (I² 435 = XI 6705,3) was found in the tomb²; Mommsen and Lommatzsch have recorded it among the inscriptions preceding the Second Punic War, perhaps with reason, but clearly it does not prove anything about the language spoken at Vulci.

Tomba delle Iscrizioni comprised archaeological material from the fourth century B.C. to the first century A.D.³. Unfortunately there do not seem to be grounds for dating any of the individual inscriptions with greater exactness than the group as such⁴. There are 17 Etruscan and probably six Latin persons mentioned in the inscriptions. Three of the Latin inscriptions are so mutilated that no conclusions as to the connexion between the burials and the families identified in the tomb are possible. Three members of the *gens Sempronia* occur in the other texts. Two of them are either brothers or father and son, the third, a woman bearing the praenomen *Gaia*, is the wife of one of them. The date cannot be established with certainty, but with some probability the Latin inscriptions belong to the first half of the first century B.C.

M. Tarna M.f. (5293) on the coffin of a sarcophagus, the lid of which has the inscription *tarnal ramflas* (5292), has the gentilicium of another great Vulcian family tomb. The person mentioned in the inscription 5294: *tarnas marce velus*, may well have been his father. But there is no archaeological evidence with regard to the date of the tomb.

The most important Latin *cippus* inscription is *SE* 31, 208: *L. Obili L.f. hels.*, found in the Etruscan tomb of the family *tute*. Its value for our purpose consists in the Etruscan word found in a Latin setting. Unfortunately it cannot be dated. The position in the necropole of the *cippi* XI 2930–2934 and 2942 suggests that the inscriptions should be dated to the period 100–75 B.C.⁵. Certain archaic features of the texts support this dating⁶, but the evidence is not conclusive. We may, in any case, assume that the language shift at Vulci was carried out in the first half of the first

¹ So MESSERSCHMIDT - GERKAN, *Nekropolen von Vulci*, Jahrb. Deutsch. Arch. Inst., Erg.h. XII, Berlin 1930, 91; see also BANTI, 130, DANIELSSON, *CIE* II: I, 2, p. 150, J. HEURGON, *La vie quotidienne chez les étrusques*, Paris 1961, 308.

² See DANIELSSON, *CIE* II: I, 2, p. 150.

³ BARTOCCINI, *Atti VII congr.int.arch.cl.* II, 1961, 278–279; FALCONI-AMORELLI, *SE* 31, 185.

⁴ PALLOTTINO, *SE* 31, 198.

⁵ MESSERSCHMIDT - GERKAN, 20, 89.

⁶ The feminine praenomen *Posilla* and the phonology *Poblicia* in XI 2942.

century B.C. The Latin milestone from 144 or 119 B.C. of the Via Aurelia¹ does not reflect the language spoken in the town.

The inscriptions contain few instances of interference: the word *hels* (SE 31, 208) and the ending of *Tarna* (5293) seem to be the only cases. The scarcity of the material also makes a comparison of Etruscan and Latin gentilicium stems very little worthwhile: in addition to *Tarna-tarnas*, only *Graecinius-creici* and possibly *Anius* (? XI 2943) – *anina* may be mentioned.

Other centres of the Vulci area have not yielded any material which would serve the purpose of this study. Two Latin inscriptions (I² 1994, 1995) of Cosa, founded as a Roman colony in 273 B.C., seem to be late republican. They shed no light on the relation between Etruscan and Latin².

3.2.6 OTHER TOWNS OF SOUTHERN ETRURIA

The Roman conquest of Veii in 396 did not completely destroy the life of the city; there is evidence that the site was not wholly abandoned. Many of the Etruscan *latifundia* of the Veii territory survived the fall of the city³. The epigraphic material suggests that the Etruscan language disappeared from Veii soon after the Roman victory. First of all, five altars of the third century B.C. carry dedications to Roman gods in Latin (I² 2628–2632). Secondly, three other dedicatory inscriptions in Latin of the same century have been found on ceramic vases (NSc 1946, 457 ff.). Their value is enhanced by the fact that the dedicator *L. Tolonio* is probably a member of the same famous family as the well-known king of Veii⁴; this family is known also from Etruscan inscriptions (NSc 1930, 327–328, 341–343). Thus, Veii seems to be an Etruscan city where the language shift can be dated to an earlier time than to the end of the second century B.C. – and probably the only one.

At Viterbo, which possibly belonged to the Volsinii territory⁵, many Etruscan inscriptions of the late period have been preserved, but the exact

¹ See A. DEGRASSI, *Scritti vari di antichità* III, 128, 205; cf. above, p. 36.

² The inscriptions show that there was an Etruscan settlement in the district, but the excavations on the acropolis of Cosa have not brought to light any material from the pre-Roman period, cf. BROWN, *MAARome*, XX, 102–103.

³ KAHANE—MURRAY THREIPLAND—WARD-PERKINS, *The ager Veientanus*, BSR, 36 (1968), 145–146, BANTI, 90–91.

⁴ See, however, also above, p. 35, note 6.

⁵ However, it is not impossible that Acquapendente should have belonged to the Clusine territory.

dates of the texts cannot be established. One important Latin inscription, *Epigr.* 22, 173: *A. Herennius L.f. Vibia gnatus*, found near Acquapendente, provides one of the few metronymika in southern Etruria. Gasperini suggested the date as 150-80 B.C. on onomastic grounds¹. The latter figure seems to be nearer to the truth.

3.2.7 CLUSIUM

This town providing us with the richest material is in some respects, especially with regard to the chronology, more difficult to study than the other centres of Etruria. Very few of the more than three thousand inscriptions of the Clusine territory have come to light in scientific excavations. Consequently, archaeological criteria cannot be adduced for dating the epitaphs. Efforts have been made to establish the relative chronology of the cinerary urns by means of a study of their art and execution. The usefulness of the results is, however, limited from our point of view: on the one hand, it has not been possible to refer a very high number of urns to the classified groups; on the other, even the urns with Etrusco-Latin inscriptions, simple and without decoration as they usually are, belong to those which must be omitted from these groups. In addition, the long duration of the language shift and the large number of different interference phenomena makes the use of certain linguistic criteria in dating difficult. It took a long time before the Latin language used in the texts became pure: for instance, the use of cognomina in the oldest Latin texts depends more on the Etruscan than the Roman usage, and we cannot therefore draw conclusions as to the date of the inscriptions on the grounds of the appearance of cognomina.

The use of two typically Etruscan monuments covers the entire language shift: the urns, including the *ollae*, and the tiles used in sealing the *loculi* of graves. These groups doubtless belong to the last three centuries B.C., but a more exact date for the tombs can only rarely be established. The tombs with the inscriptions numbering 572-616 and 1211-1227 belong, on the evidence of the Roman coins found in them, to the second century B.C.², and this applies to the tombs 1299-1304, 643-647 as well³. The *Tomba della Pellegrina* must still have been in use during the second half of the second century⁴. All these tombs contain exclusively Etruscan inscriptions.

¹ GASPERINI, 184.

² R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Cusium*, *Mon. Ant.*, 30 (1925), 305-306, 414.

³ BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 265, 411.

⁴ LEVI, *NSc* 1931, 505.

One of the peculiarities of Clusine epigraphy is that tombs with inscriptions in both Etruscan and Latin are rare, whereas in other towns the earliest Latin epitaphs have been found among the last burials of large Etruscan family tombs. At Clusium, we have on the one hand Etruscan, on the other Latin tombs, both types comprising rich epigraphic material. Thus it is very likely that most of the tombs have been used for a short time only. Considering that many gentilicia are frequently found in the same tomb, this could suggest that single tombs were employed as burial places common to several families. The tombs secured for single "aristocratic" families seem to be rare. Similar "mass" tombs are known from other Etruscan towns, too, but almost without exception they are devoid of inscriptions, unepigraphic. It is probable that the art of writing and the practice of writing epitaphs was at Clusium more diffused among the lower social classes than in other Etruscan towns. Thus, the Clusine tombs seem to point to a social development which, according to observations made in other Etruscan necropoleis, should be of a comparatively late date. This would also explain the fact that almost every second Etruscan inscription comes from Clusium.

Best known among the bilingual tombs of the Clusine area is that of Macciano with 16 Latin and two Etruscan epitaphs (*CIE* 4767-4784). The Etruscan and the Latin gentilicia have no connexions, and the different Latin gentilicia, at least six in number, clearly show that the tomb was a mass grave. Two of the Latin *loculi* contained rich archaeological material from the turn of the second and the first century B.C.; thus, the Latin inscriptions could be referred to the time of Sulla¹. Some other tombs are more important from the linguistic point of view, but impossible to date. The tomb with the inscriptions 955-960 records the epitaph of a freedman in Etruscan, that of his wife in Latin and four other inscriptions in Latin. Eight Etruscan and five Latin epitaphs, which do not suggest any tie of kindred between the Etruscan and the Latin persons, were found in the same tomb (1005-1017). In the tomb with the inscriptions nos. 1075-1082, the only Etruscan texts (1075-1076)² seem to mention the daughter of the person mentioned in a Latin text (1078). The relationship between the deceased of the Etruscan and the Latin burials seems to be clear in the tombs with the epitaphs 1329-1331, 1433-1434 and 1557-1558. It is also possible that the Etruscan name *cicu* corresponds to the Latin (*Gallius*) *Crassus* in the tomb with the inscrip-

¹ GAMURRINI *NSc* 1900, 8-10; GIACOMELLI, 'Iscrizioni' 87, dates the tomb to the second century B.C.

² According to GIACOMELLI, 'Iscrizioni', 87, the type represented by the ossuary no. 1076 does not appear any more in the first century B.C.

tions 1641–1646¹. The Latin language used in these tombs has been influenced by the Etruscan, but one must also note the Latin features of the Etruscan inscriptions, such as the geminates in *callia* (1007, 1008) and *annie* (1330), and the praenomen *luci* (1641, 1643).

Owing to the absence of valid external criteria, the dating of the language shift must be partly based on the inscriptions themselves. The first thing that must be noted is that certain Etruscan inscriptions of freedmen reveal a name form with the old individual name as cognomen. This certainly shows Roman influence, but as this practice was introduced in Rome about 100 B.C., the Etruscan inscriptions must be later than that². Some onomastic features in the Latin inscriptions on Etruscan monuments, i.e. on urns and tiles, are of value in the dating. Both male and female name forms of the freeborn without the cognomen are slightly more common than those with cognomen. The freedmen occur only rarely without cognomen. Again, this resembles the Roman practice of the first half of the first century B.C., but the influence of the Etruscan use of the cognomen, which has never been as regular as it was later in Latin, must be taken into consideration. The *tribus* and the magistratures of the Roman city recorded in the texts suggest that the language shift was a sequel to the events of the year 90 B.C., though the process of change probably continued into the early Empire³. The historical evidence showing that Sulla⁴ perhaps founded a military colony at Clusium supports this dating⁵.

How was the language shift effectuated at Clusium? The linguistic and onomastic parts of this study have been almost entirely devoted to an analysis of the different interference phenomena of Clusium. The shift seems to have been a continuous development without abrupt changes, beginning with the change of the alphabet, continuing with linguistic Latinization and concluding with onomastic Romanization. As mentioned above, two towns, Clusium and Perugia, offer about ninety per cent of the inscriptions written in Latin characters, but including Etruscan features. But there is an important difference in the development of the epitaphs of these two towns. The Etruscan interference in the Latin inscriptions of Perugia, as in other towns of Etruria,

¹ See RUX, *Etr.C.*, 190. The tomb is dated by GAMURRINI (in *CIE ad tit.*) to the seventh century A.U.C. but the dating criteria remain obscure.

² See DE SIMONE II, 256, PFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 193.

³ See PFIFFIG, *Sprache*, 191.

⁴ Cf. the honorary inscription to Sulla I² 723 from Clusium. Other republican honorary inscriptions have been dedicated to Cn. Pompeius (about 71 B.C.) and to Cn. Cornelius Lentulus (consul in 56 B.C.).

⁵ BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 507.

is onomastic: survival of the feminine praenomen, the metronymikon, the gamonymikon, the Etruscan name form of freedmen, Etruscan suffixes, and so on. The real linguistic interference appearing in the phonology and the morphology occurs almost exclusively at Clusium.

The language shift obviously required a longer time at Clusium. There are many examples showing that the progress of Latinization covered two or three generations¹. However, the progress has probably not always followed a straight course. In addition to the example of the inscriptions nos. 1075-1079, where the epitaphs of the grandmother and mother are written in Latin, while that of the daughter is in Etruscan², we know some persons, whose names are mentioned both on the tile and on the urn, but rendered in different languages (e.g. 1434, 1435), furthermore, there are married couples or brothers, one of whom is recorded in Latin, the other in Etruscan (e.g. 3057, 3058, 2620, 2621).

This study of the Clusine inscriptions has not been confined to the city proper; it has taken the entire Clusine territory into account. There is good reason to examine the local differences within the area in question. Pauli has divided the *ager Clusinus* into four parts. Unfortunately no more than 40 per cent of the inscriptions can be located either in the city itself or in any of these parts of the territory. The provenance of the majority of the epitaphs is unknown. The inscriptions found outside the city have probably belonged both to smaller urban centres and to *latifundia*³, but as far as one can see, they have all been where the language is concerned highly dependent on the city. The same linguistic and onomastic phenomena, probably to be dated to the same time, are known in all parts of the *ager Clusinus*.

Comparing the Etruscan and Latin gentilicia in order to find common name stems, Clusium should be considered a town *sui generis*. Firstly, the Etruscan onomastic material of Clusium is much larger than that of any other Etruscan town. Consequently, it is much easier to find in the Clusine material name stems common to both Etruscan and Latin inscriptions than in cities whose Etruscan nomenclature is known to us in a very fragmentary condition. Secondly, the abundance of material suggests that one should more accurately than elsewhere take into consideration the rich connexions between the whole area of Roman and Etruscan onomastics, stressed especially by Schulze. It is not always certain that a Latin name common in

¹ E.g. nos. 1580-1587, see above, p. 120 no. 6.

² Cf. also no. 1060, probably an "Etruscan" daughter of the person mentioned in the Latin inscription no. 1059.

³ See BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 377.

Rome and appearing also in the Etruscan inscriptions of Clusium proves the Etruscan origin of the family to the exclusion of the possibility of Roman colonists having brought the name to Etruria.

Furthermore, the inscriptions written in Latin characters, but linguistically under Etruscan influence, create certain difficulties in this comparison: should they be considered Etruscan or Latin? It seems clear that a person, whose epitaph has Etruscan features, would be of Etruscan origin. If he has a Latin name without equivalent in Etruscan, it has probably been changed with the purpose of acquiring Roman citizenship. Apart from the bilinguals¹, one can observe names of a clearly Roman character in the Etrusco-Latin inscriptions, for instance *Mamilius* (820), *Appuleius* (1019), *Luccilius* (1579), *Pisentius* (1593, 1594), *Caelius* (1822) and *Cocceius* (2020).

In order to acquire knowledge concerning the population of the Roman Clusium, one must obviously study the Roman monuments and compare the names occurring on them with the original Etruscan names of the city. Of the 68 gentilicia of the Empire, 43 have a direct Etruscan equivalent at Clusium², and very few names have no connexion at all with the Etruscan material: *Baebius*, *Aelius*, *Consilius*, *Crasinius*, *Fontei*, *Granius*, *Passienius*, *Valerius* and *Aurelius*.

3.2.8 PERUSIA

The exact provenance of the Perusine inscriptions is, generally speaking, known to us. This enables us to reconstruct the tomb complexes and to gain some interesting insight with regard to the composition of the Etruscan families during the period of Romanization. Once more the dating creates difficulties. When there was extant archaeological material at the time of discovery, the excavators of past centuries did not pay sufficient attention to this part of their findings³. Almost all the texts of our material have been inscribed on cinerary urns.

Great family tombs covering the entire period of the language shift are common at Perugia. The tomb of *gens Rufia* (3469–3506) could be considered

¹ See above, pp. 179–180.

² *Pomponius*, *Vettius*, *Gavius*, *Sentius*, *Ogulnius*, *Vesius*, *Octavius*, *Tiberius*, *Alfius*, *Titius*, *Venidius*, *Volusius*, *Annius*, *Aemilius*, *Arrius*, *Trebonius*, *Catinus*, *Tuttilius*, *Turius*, *Coelius*, *Fannius*, *Gellius*, *Marcus*, *Seius*, *Murrenius*, *Paccius*, *Papirius*, *Perna*, *Plotius*, *Pontius*, *Remmius*, *Sabinius*, *Sabo*, *Saenius*, *Sertorius*, *Silius*, *Sthenius*, *Tarquinius*, *Vettienus*, *Vibius*, *Ursius*, *Considius* and *Acilius*.

³ For instance, there was a coin in each of the urns nos. 3607–3610, but they all vanished immediately after the discovery.

the most important of them. It was found intact in 1887. The funeral objects include very little pottery and are of little use for dating purposes. Five of the 39 inscriptions were Latin, one was bilingual. Bellucci has studied the tomb and concluded that it was in use from the first half of the third century to the middle of the first century B.C.¹ His efforts to reconstruct the genealogy of the *gens*² seem to be acceptable despite certain mistakes³. The Latin inscriptions would belong to the fifth and sixth generations.

The tomb of the *Volumnii* is in many respects more notable, but poorer in material that would serve the purpose of the present study. In addition to the Etruscan texts, there is only one bilingual inscription (3763) on the urns and one parietal text in Latin (3764), which seems to have no connexion with the family. The marble urn of *P. Volumnius Violens* with the bilingual inscription can be referred to the end of the first century B.C. on the ground of style and execution⁴. Some onomastic peculiarities are worthy of note with regard to the inscription. Such an exceptional feature is the use of the Latin praenomen *Publius* in the Etruscan inscription⁵. Exceptional, too, is the cognomen *Violens*, which otherwise occurs only in connexion with the consul of 307 B.C. (*L. Volumnius Flamma Violens*) and the Perusine *quattuorvir* and *duumvir*⁶ *P. Volumnius P.f. Violens* (XI 1944), who may have been a close relative of the deceased buried in the marble urn.

The tomb of the *gens Praesentia* contained the inscriptions nos. 3327-3330. The texts record a person named *presnte* and his mother in Etruscan, his wife and a third female in Latin. The very rich funeral objects comprised, for instance, fine gold jewellery probably from the fourth century B.C. and red-figured Italic vases⁷, but the inscriptions must be of a much later date than the archaeological material found in the tomb. In the tomb of the family *pumpu plute* (3617-3631), the two members of the family mentioned

¹ BELLUCCI, 17.

² BELLUCCI, 16.

³ For instance, the persons mentioned in the inscriptions nos. 3478 and 3493 cannot be children of the same parents and are probably placed erroneously in the genealogy.

⁴ The date c. 10 B.C. is proposed by v. GERKAN and THIMME, *SE*, 23, 132, and accepted by RIX, 'Personenn.', 150; GEISSENDÖRFER, 12. The palaeography supports this date; G. KÖRTE, *Das Volumniergrab bei Perugia*, *Abh.Ges.Wiss.Göttingen, Phil.-hist.*, N.F. XII : 1, Berlin 1909, 31; LOMMATSCH *CIL* I² ad 2037. The date suggested by DOER, 153, is too early.

⁵ See above, p. 114.

⁶ The office of the *duumviri* was possibly introduced after the Perusine War; the year 40 B.C. may thus be the *terminus post* for the inscription.

⁷ See G. VERMIGLIOLI-G. CONESTABILE, *Dei monumenti di Perugia etrusca e romana* IV, Perugia 1870, 503-505.

in the Latin inscriptions (3618 and 3622) can probably be linked with the Etruscan inscriptions: *fastia. artni. pumpos* (3623) seems to be the mother of *L. Pomponius L.f. Arsniae gnatus Plautus* (3622). In the tomb with the inscriptions nos. 3508–3523, a member of the youngest generation of the family *urna* (3514) is the first to have his epitaph rendered in Latin and his name changed into *Sulpicius*. An Etruscan *petruni* is found together with three Latin members of the same *gens* (3450–3453). *C. Iventius C.f.* (3647) was buried in the same tomb as sixteen Etruscan members of the *gens tins*; his name was probably a translation of the old gentilicium. One Latin *Salvius* (3657) was buried together with three Etruscan *salvi* (3654–3656). In the tomb of the *gens vlesi* (3684–3693) there are two Latin inscriptions and one bilingual in addition to the Etruscan texts. In a tomb containing five epitaphs (3719–3723), three inscriptions in Latin and two in Etruscan referring to a married couple all record the name *lensu*. The tomb of the *gens Aconia* is comparatively large, with seven Etruscan and five Latin inscriptions (3724–3735). One only of the epitaphs of the *gens Petronia* (3854–3863) is rendered in Latin, and *Thormena* (4269) stands alone as a Latin gentleman among the Etruscan *thurmna* (4263–4272). Another tomb of the same *gens* (SE 8, 353–355) has an Etruscan text: *la. velzei. thurmnia*, and two Latin relatives of this person: [—] *thurni* [—], and *L. Volcacius L.f. Acer*. In addition to these tombs, in which we can follow the Latinization of the family, there are many other tombs with inscriptions in both Latin and Etruscan, but in most cases the internal relationship of the deceased remains obscure.

Submitting the inscriptions of the Perusine tombs to a linguistic analysis, we should first pay attention to the possibility of dating inscriptions on the ground of the frequency of cognomina, secondly to the general nature of the interference phenomena, and finally to the correspondence between the Etruscan and Latin gentilicia of the city. With regard to the freeborn men mentioned in the Latin inscriptions on Etruscan monuments, the name form with cognomen is somewhat more common than the one without cognomen (22 cases against 21). As to female names, the cases without cognomen are much more frequent than those recording the cognomen (23 cases to 5), but this may partly be due to the fact that the female praenomen and gamonymikon had already made the name excessively long. The name forms of the freedmen are of the regular Latin type: in the approximately fifteen cases, the cognomen is omitted only twice (no. 3745 with the female praenomen *Hastia* and XI 2016). The praenomen of the freedman is regularly the same as that of his master¹. This gives an overall picture of the Roman onomastics of the first century B.C.

¹ One exception is *D. Sortes L. l. Dionisius* (I² 2637).

The Etruscan influence upon the Latin inscriptions of Perugia is almost exclusively confined to the onomastic field: there is only one example of the Etruscan feminine formation (*Aulni* 3346); the only case of the Etruscan genitive, *Scarpes* (3691), occurs in an inscription partly written in Etruscan characters. With regard to the nomenclature, however, both the linguistic and the purely onomastic influence of Etruscan is strong. The different phenomena, the most common of which are the use of the female praenomen, the male praenomina of Etruscan origin, the metronymikon and the gamonymikon, are all studied in the respective sections of the linguistic part.

The family tombs covering the period of Latinization show both direct Latin transcriptions of the old Etruscan gentilicia and changes of the name stem. A comparison between the entire Etruscan and the Latin name material shows that of the roughly 120 different Latin gentilicia known in the city one half has a direct Etruscan equivalent at Perugia¹. About thirty Latin names have a stem completely unknown in Etruscan times. Naturally, many common Roman names of the Empire are among these, suggesting that there was an influx of immigrants into the city. On the other hand, the appearance of such names as *Fabius*, *Cornelius*, *Cassius* and *Aufidius* on the Etruscan monuments, in inscriptions with interference phenomena, points to the possibility of an alternative solution, namely that the Latin names had been adopted with the express purpose of enabling the possessor to obtain Roman citizenship. If this is correct, these Latin names would not testify to the non-Etruscan origin of their owners.

In the history of Perugia, the Perusine War of 40 B.C. must have been a disaster for the city. Although the archaeological study of the necropoleis does not afford any definite evidence of such a tragedy, the literary sources record it. The destruction may well have caused a discontinuance of the Etruscan tradition². The change of the language, however, had been in progress before this war, although it is also likely that some Etrusco-Latin inscriptions (e.g. the bilingual no. 3763) date from the post-war period. But they cannot have been numerous.

¹ *Masurius*, *Annius*, *Vibius*, *Allius*, *Titius*, *Volumnius*, *Rufius*, *Granius*, *Caenius*, *Achomius*, *Cauthius*, *Leonius*, *Alfius*, *Varnus*, *Socconius*, *Lenso*, *Ursius*, *Naevius*, *Petro-nius*, *Noborsinius*, *Scarpus*, *Vlesius*, *Salvius*, *Cassius*, *Pomponius*, *Arsnius*, *Cafatius*, *Fulcinius*, *Vessius*, *Clandius*, *Tetius*, *Mesius*, *Sentius*, *Vettius*, *Velthurius*, *Fannius*, *Aulnius*, *Nomus*, *Hampnheus*, *Praesentius*, *Ancharius*, *Sucius*, *Thormena*, *Caius*, *Ludnius*, *Hosidius*, *Maemas*, *Pombulus*, *Cavelius*, *Atineus*, *Avilius*, *Cotonius*, *Octavius*, *Avonius*, *Metelius*, *Sortes*.

² See e.g. BELLUCCI, 17; PAOLETTI, NSc, 1926, 176.

3.2.9 ARRETIIUM

The contribution of Arretium to our study consists of three Etrusco-Latin bilinguals (*CIE* 378, 428 and *TLE* 930). There are no other inscriptions which seem to belong to the transition period. By good fortune one of the bilinguals (*TLE* 930) can be dated to the year 40 B.C. on the basis of the funeral objects¹. It is evident that this travertine urn is older than the two marble urns inscribed with the other bilinguals. This is also supported by the onomastics of the Latin inscriptions. Thus, there were some people at Arretium who understood Etruscan and knew the old name system perhaps as late as the early Empire. But there is no reason to believe that these inscriptions would reflect the struggle of the two languages. Rather, the texts preserve the last traces of a lost language². In addition to these, Pauli has included some Latin inscriptions with the *CIE*, but with the exception of one gamonymikon (4632) and some exceptional gentilicium suffixes (*Spurinna* XI 1847, *Volasenna* XI 1878), no Etruscan influence can be seen in the Arretine inscriptions. The public inscription I² 2087 mentioning two *duumviri* of the Sullan colony also proves the use of Latin at Arretium.

Arretium offers a large corpus of source material which has not been evaluated from the point of view of the language shift. This is the pottery, produced in great quantities in the city, distinguished from other ceramic products as Arretine ware especially on the grounds of the specific marks stamped into the vases in the course of production (*terra sigillata*). These stamps may be inscribed with letters, monograms, names or abbreviations of names. The value of the stamps as source material is enhanced by the fact that it has been possible to establish the development of the Arretine pottery in great detail, the main groups being the plain and the decorated ware. The birth of plain Arretine ware has recently been dated as the middle of the first century B.C.³.

Now, the inscribed stamps reflect something of the Latinization of Arretium. Even if this industry seems to continue the production of blackglazed ware at Arretium⁴, and has been in the hands of the old Etruscan families of Arretium, the inscribed stamps are regularly in Latin. There is only one

¹ PALLOTTINO, *SE*, 23, 399.

² See above, p. 189.

³ See GOUDINEAU, *op. cit.*, 333.

⁴ See BALLAND, *Mél. Suppl.* 6, 160.

stamp rendered in Etruscan (*CIL*, XI 6700¹⁻²), but we cannot know anything about the vases on which this stamp has been found. One cannot even be sure whether these vases belonged to the pottery which we call Arretine ware. Thus, we have to conclude that at the time of the creation of the plain ware the craftsmen have used Latin in the stamps.

A picture of the peaceful process of Romanization is created by the comparison of the gentilicia occurring in the Etruscan and the Latin inscriptions. The correspondence is good in spite of the scarcity of the Etruscan inscriptions. In addition to the bilinguals, one may mention: *vetni* – *Vettius*, *curpenas* – *Corpennius*, *cavinei* – *Gavius*, *spurinei* – *Spurinna*, *Spurius*, *aulnial* – *Avilius*, *kilnei* – *Cilnius*, *ciarθi* – *Ciartius*, *petrni* – *Petronius*, *velasnal* – *Volasenna*, *Volusenus*, *pumpu* – *Pomponius*, *tites* – *Titius*, and many other name pairs, where the link between the Etruscan and the Latin gentilicium is less obvious.

3.2.10 VOLATERRAE

The most important single item of source material is constituted by the very great number of cinerary urns brought to light in the course of the last few centuries in the necropolises of Volaterrae. Many of the urns are inscribed. An attempt to analyse the typology of the urns and establish their chronology has been made by Mrs. Nielsen, a member of our group. It has been possible to define certain stylistically close groups, which can be summarily dated on the basis of artistic criteria, find circumstances and special features in the execution. It is important to note that all the inscriptions on urns belonging to the so-called "Idealizing group", dated by Mrs. Nielsen to 60–30 B.C.¹, are written in Etruscan. In the later part of the so-called Roman style phase, the Etruscan and the Latin inscriptions appear side by side.

Mrs. Nielsen has established the chronology of the figures reclining on the lids of the urns through the medium of the iconography of the politically dominant Roman ladies (above all Octavia and Livia) with particular regard to the hairdress. Certain urns inscribed in Etruscan (*SE* 9, 306, *CIE* 109) could in this way be referred to a date certainly later than 40 B.C., in one case (109) a date as late as 10–20 A.D. is possible².

The manufacture of these Etruscan urns seems to have continued at Volaterrae up to the beginning of the first century A.D., and this testifies

¹ NIELSEN, 5.2.3.1.2.

² NIELSEN, 5.2.3.2.3 no. 24, and 3.3.

to the continuation of the Etruscan tradition to a later date than can be seen in any other Etruscan centre¹. Also the language shift seems to have occurred at Volaterrae somewhat later than in other towns of northern Etruria, namely in the last quarter of the first century B.C. and the beginning of the first century A.D.². The Latin inscriptions on Etruscan urns are not very numerous, but their language includes no such features which would make their dating to a time after 50 B.C. improbable.

Most of the Latin inscriptions belong to the *gens Caecinia*. We have reports concerning the discovery of two great tombs of this family³ in addition to sporadic urns of members of the family. One of the tombs had exclusively Etruscan inscriptions, the other one included 4 Latin and 14 Etruscan epitaphs⁴. All the Latin members have old Etruscan cognomina traditionally used by the family and preserving their old morphological shape (*Thaboni*, *Selcia* and *Caspo*). The age of the deceased is indicated in the same way as in the Etruscan inscriptions, but, with these exceptions, no Etruscan interference can be seen. The family had an eminent position in Rome, too. Members of the family had good relations with Cicero, and Cicero in his speech for A. Caecina praises the aspiration of the family to become Roman⁵. As interesting as the question would be, it is hard to assess on this basis, how general such an aim was within the Etruscan aristocracy.

Six more urns of the Etruscan type at Volaterrae are inscribed in Latin, the only Etruscan features of the texts being the praenomen *Tania* and the syncopated form *Pescnia* in no. 90. Furthermore, the high frequency of the suffix *-na* in the Latin inscriptions at Volaterrae is worth noting as are also the gentilicium *Folca* (fem. *Folcia*, XI 1790) and four instances of the suffix *-us* employed instead of *-ius* (see p. 154).

Etruscan and Latin gentilicia of Volaterrae frequently correspond to one another, although the exact equivalents are not very numerous: *Caelius* – *cailinal*, *Marcus* – *marci*, *Pupienius* – *pupaini*, *Poena* – *puina*, *Pergonius* – *prcu*, *Pomponius* – *pumpnal*, *Flavius* – *flave*, *Squaetinius* – *sveitnial* and *Volasenna* – *velusnal*. Certain Roman names, e.g. *Aelius*, *Caecilius*, *Aurelius*, *Tullius* and *Antonius* are common in the Volaterran epigraphy.

¹ See NIELSEN, 5.3.4.

² Cf. NIELSEN, 5.3.3.

³ See NIELSEN, 5.2.3.1.2.

⁴ We cannot, however, say that the former would be earlier than the latter. We know a particular case of a mother (*CIE* 35) having been buried in the bilingual tomb, whereas her son (42) seems to be buried in the tomb with exclusively Etruscan texts.

⁵ See HOHTI, 6.

3.2.11 OTHER TOWNS OF NORTHERN ETRURIA

With regard to the other Etruscan centres of northern Etruria, our material is scanty. Three cities, Saena, Cortona and Faesulae, may be mentioned briefly here. The material preserved adds but little to our knowledge of the process of Latinization.

The Etruscan inscriptions of the region of Saena are much more numerous and important than the Latin ones, but very few shed light on the language shift. There is one Etrusco-Latin bilingual (272) from the great Etruscan tomb of the family *leone*, but nothing can be deduced with regard to the chronology of the tomb. The mother mentioned in the Etruscan part of the bilingual does not occur in the other inscriptions of the tomb. The Latin name form included a cognomen.

Both the Etruscan and the Latin inscriptions of Cortona are very few in number¹. The only inscription of interest to us² has been incised on an urn (457). The text reads quite clearly AVHSHIIVS, but its significance is very obscure³. Apart from two other urn inscriptions (4669, 4670) this is the only Latin inscription on an Etruscan monument. Consequently, no date for the language shift can be suggested.

The few Etruscan inscriptions of Faesulae, the northernmost of the cities of Etruria, do not offer anything of particular importance. There is one Latin inscription (*CIE* 2) on an Etruscan urn recording the cognomen *Thannia*. Among the other Latin inscriptions of the Republic, the amphora of the year 121 B.C. (I² 659) is hardly of Faesulan origin. The *tesserae* I² 894 of 76 B.C. and I² 924 of 56 B.C. may better reflect the language spoken in the city, but both were written by slaves, and should therefore not be used as evidence of the language used by the native inhabitants of the city.

The Umbrian town Bettona seems to have belonged to the territory of Perugia; both the archaeological material and the epigraphy of the area are clearly Etruscan⁴. There is one interesting tomb with both Etruscan and

¹ It is uncertain why DE SIMONE I, 119, II, 239, attributed the inscriptions nos. 1584–1585 to Cortona. The tiles with these texts are clearly Clusine.

² The provenance of an archaic Latin text inscribed on a *colum* (I² 580), possibly from the fourth century B.C., may be Cortona. Even if the suggestion were correct, this would not imply that the dedicator of the votive inscription was necessarily a Cortonian. Cf. A. DONATI, *Epigrafia Cortonese*, Cortona 1967, 35.

³ See above p. 126.

⁴ CULTRERA, *NSc*, 1916, 3.

Latin inscriptions; in spite of the coins of the years 280–260 B.C. found in the tomb, it must have been constructed in the second half of the second century B.C., and remained in use until the early Empire¹.

3.2.12 THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE LATINIZATION OF THE CITIES AND OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

The generally accepted view regarding the penetration into Etruria by the Romans asserts that, when the leading Etruscan families were deprived of their social status by the increasing influence of Rome, many of them moved to the country. There they continued their life in *villae rusticae* preserving the Etruscan language and traditions. A considerable number of such *villae rusticae* have been excavated in recent years. Most of them were constructed in the second century B.C.² Consequently, the remote corners of the Etruscan countryside would for a long time have remained untouched by Romanization, already complete in the urban centres.

Is there any epigraphic support for these views? The answer is, unfortunately, in the negative. The reason is the lack of material. As far as can be ascertained, no inscriptions of any significance have been found in connection with the *villae*. There are numerous scattered tomb finds in the Etruscan countryside, but in most cases the origin of the deceased remains unknown. We cannot even discover whether the tomb belongs to a necropolis of some centre in the neighbourhood or to a *villa*, whether to an urban or to a rural family. In general, the language of these inscriptions does not differ from that of the nearby centre (see above, p. 121). There is, however, a remarkable exception, the tombs of the *gens hepni* at Asciano (SE 27, 277–300). Three of the urns inscribed in Etruscan and the only one inscribed in Latin contained Roman coins from about 15 B.C. Accordingly, the burials must be of a later date. These are, in addition to some Volaterran urns, the latest Etruscan inscriptions which can be dated with certainty and they are evidently later than the last Etruscan inscriptions of Clusium, possibly contemporaneous with those of Volaterrae; these two towns are the urban centres nearest to Asciano.

Comparing the date and manner of the language shift of the Etruscan capitals and the less important townships of their territories, we cannot discern any significant differences. For most regions, however, the material

¹ CULTRERA, *NSc*, 1916, 11–27.

² For the question and its bibliography, see E. BERGGREN, *Arctos*, N.S. 6, 31 ff.

is far too incomplete to allow us to draw an exact picture of the process of Latinization. In addition to Clusium, only the cities of southern Etruria and their territories have yielded material sufficiently rich for a study of the linguistic conditions during the transition period.

3.3 CONCLUSION

The preceding analysis has mainly been founded on the material offered by the epitaphs. Now, to what extent can funeral inscriptions be regarded as a mirror of the Latinization of Etruria? Where do the margins of error inherent in the material lie? How far is the material representative of the population subject to the process of the language shift.

As documents of the spoken language the value of the epitaphs cannot be very great. Nowadays, the conclusions reached on the basis of funeral inscriptions would certainly be inaccurate, on the one hand because of the traditional nature of the funeral rites, on the other because of the position of the language as a social signal in many bilingual societies. It is very difficult to judge how influential these factors were in antiquity. The reliability of the ancient inscriptions as a mirror of the language spoken in the territory is largely dependent on the general nature of the text. One could think that incidental texts, for instance the *graffiti*, would in this respect have a greater value than the epitaphs, or with reference to our material, that the inscriptions on the funeral tiles placed inside the Clusine tombs, written probably by uneducated people in a language with many interference phenomena and mistakes, would give a more correct picture of the everyday language than the epitaphs, regular both in form and language, on the Caeretan *cippi*, once exposed to the general public in front of the tombs. But what is more important for the historical evaluation of the results of this study is that, in comparing the different parts of Etruria on the one hand, Etruria and the other parts of Italy on the other, the same type of material forms the basis everywhere. It is a simple fact: we cannot find better material for an analysis of the ancient languages.

A second question concerns the social representativeness of the material used in this study. It is probable that our material is in this respect more significant than the literary sources which mainly talk about the *haruspices* reading their books. But it is also evident that the practice of writing epitaphs was not common among all social classes: many of the tombs offering epigraphic material belong to the most eminent families of the city. In this respect the local differences may be taken into account. But again, one can take comfort in stating that the situation is broadly speaking the same not only

in the linguistic studies concerning other parts of the ancient world, but also in many archaeological, artistic and historical studies, such as have been carried out in the other contributions to this joint study of the Romanization of Etruria.

Many unknown factors have influenced the discovery and preservation of inscriptions. The amount of the material offered by different localities varies a great deal. The conclusions are in many respects founded on the hypothesis that if we should have an equal amount of material from the cities which are now represented by only a few inscriptions, the results would not differ very much from the general picture. Evidently the gaps in the material diminish the reliability of the results obtained, but when all local differences in the nature of the material are taken into consideration, the risk would not be so great.

After these general questions concerning the nature of the sources, we have to follow the outlines of the process of Latinization in Etruria. The Latinization of the different regions of Etruria seems to follow the same pattern with two exceptions, the first being Veii, the second the early Roman colonies in Etruria. In the former case, the Etruscan city and its territory was incorporated into the Roman *tribus* system, and the language shift seems to have taken place very early in the territory. In the latter case, we must assume that the early coastal colonies used Latin from the very beginning, even when they had supplanted Etruscan communities.

Caere, which was – after Veii – the first Etruscan town to become politically dependent on Rome, used Etruscan approximately as long as the other cities of southern Etruria. Moreover, although for geographical reasons southern Etruria must have been more open to Roman influence, it does not seem to have been latinized much earlier than the northern cities.

The language shift can nowhere have been effected in a few years; more probably it took about two generations to complete. Thus, we cannot speak about the date of the language shift, but about the period of the language shift, the transition period. On the other hand, the material also makes the exact dating impossible. But gathering together the results of the preceding analysis, one could conjecture the following times for the change of the language used in the inscriptions in different localities of Etruria:

Caere, at the end of the second century B.C.,
Tarquinii and Tuscania, in the late second and early first century B.C.,
Frentium, at the beginning of the first century B.C.,
Volsinii, in the first half of the first century B.C.,
Vulci, in the first half of the first century B.C.,
Clusium, in the first century B.C.,

Perusia, in the first century B.C.,
 Arretium, in the first century B.C.,
 Volaterrae, in the second half of the first century B.C. and at the beginning of the first century A.D.,
 Asciano, at the end of the first century B.C.

Consequently, and with due regard to the margins of error, our material suggests that the chronological differences in the Latinization of Etruria between the different centres were not greater than one century.

The picture of the Latinization of a city founded on its inscriptions obviously depends on the amount of the material preserved. The richest material from the transition period comes from two cities, Clusium and Perugia, which also offer the majority of the Etruscan inscriptions. It is well worth noticing that the process of Latinization in these cities presents a different aspect from that of the other towns. In other Etruscan cities, one can quite easily say whether an inscription is Etruscan or Latin on the basis of the alphabet used, and the texts in both languages are almost without interference phenomena. At Clusium and at Perugia we have a gradual transition from Etruscan to Latin. Elements of the Etruscan language appear quite regularly in the earliest Latin inscriptions. Does this difference reflect also a difference in the history of the cities during the period of Romanization? This question will be discussed in the following chapter. One aspect of this differentiation has already been mentioned, namely the high number of persons of humble birth recorded in the Clusine and Perusine material. Consequently, a possible explanation of the abundance of late Etruscan inscriptions at Clusium and at Perugia is that lower social classes of these cities had assumed the habit of writing epitaphs, whereas the tombs of the corresponding social strata in other towns were uninscribed¹. This view is also supported by the fact that mention of numerous freedmen occurs in the epitaphs of Clusium and of Perugia, but not in other parts of Etruria. Now, one could assume that the numerous interference phenomena, as also the spelling errors, were due to the lower level of education. It is also possible that the Clusine funeral inscriptions in particular thus reflect more accurately the development of the spoken language. Furthermore, this would much increase the reliability of the date for the language shift arrived at on the basis of the epitaphs.

In our material, the Latinization process can be followed in two different ways: on the one hand, with regard to the change of the language itself,

¹ This idea was presented by MOMMSEN, *CIL* I, p. 255. Cf. also PFIFFIG, 'Verschreibung', 205.

especially with reference to the phonology and the morphology, and on the other with regard to the nomenclature, including both the name forms and the onomastic stems. The language shift begins as early as in the late Etruscan inscriptions. As regards the extent of the Italic influence upon the Etruscan inscriptions, there is a difference between the southern and the northern cities. It is in a way surprising that the southern cities have more effectively resisted the linguistic influence than the North, where the morphological interference is particularly clear. On the other hand, the onomastics have also been under Roman influence to a certain extent in the late period in northern Etruria, but, in general, the difference between the North-Etrurian and the Roman nomenclature is much more distinct than that between the southern cities and Rome. An extreme instance of this can be found in the Etruscan name forms of Caere, where in sharp contrast to other parts of Etruria, it is often formulated in the Roman way.

Once the Latin alphabet had been adopted in Etruria, traces of the Etruscan language can be clearly noticed in the inscriptions of Clusium only. The Etruscan influence is more strongly felt with regard to the nomenclature occurring in the inscriptions of Etruria. Certain Etruscan survivals can be found in the name forms in most cities; at Clusium and at Perugia they constitute a normal feature over about half a century. In addition to the interference phenomena, the use of bilingual inscriptions is a testimony of Etruscan influence. Such texts have been found in many localities in northern Etruria, whereas the bilingual of Pisaurum seems to be the only one to represent the southern tradition. Generally speaking, the bilinguals seem to belong to a comparatively late phase of the language shift.

The practice of borrowing names from other languages has certainly been a common phenomenon, but the study of the origin of the names present difficulties in many respects. Roman praenomina used in Etruscan inscriptions are more frequent in southern than in northern Etruria. In the South some of them seem quite old. The fact that Etruscan praenomina keep recurring in Latin inscriptions is a phenomenon of interference concerning the name form, too, because the Roman praenomina were essential signs of citizenship. The Italic gentilicia occurring in Etruscan originate from such different periods and such different peoples that it has not been possible to undertake a detailed analysis of them in this context.

The Roman gentilicia of Etruscan origin present several intricate problems. In order to shed some light on the fate of the old Etruscan gentilicia after Romanization, both the process of transmutation implied by Latinization and the interrelations of the Etruscan and Latin gentilicia within the territory of each centre have been studied. The study of the transmutation process concerning the names shows that the continuity of

a family from the Etruscan to the Roman period did not always express itself in the Latin form of the gentilicium. When an Etruscan family adopted a Roman gentilicium, the new name did not have to correspond to the old name. The correspondence could at times be limited to the initial letter¹.

This implies, from the methodological point of view, that great caution has to be exercised when we try to establish the interrelations of the Etruscan and Roman *gentes* mentioned in the inscriptions. The absence of equivalents traceable by means of a linguistic study does not exclude the possibility that the Etruscan family had continued its life under a Latin name, not related to the original Etruscan gentilicium. Consequently this also implies that a Roman, non-Etruscan name, is not positive evidence of its owner being a Roman colonist.

In spite of the great difficulties in presenting the number of Etruscan and Roman gentilicia corresponding to each other in the Romanized town in statistical form, I have endeavoured to table certain numbers:

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
Caere	124 (244)	26 (70)	24 (35)	7 (15)	260	46.7 (55.0)
Tarquinius	117 (187)	30 (52)	23 (40)	10 (23)	350	50.7 (52.6)
Tuscania	49 (59)	8 (9)	4 (4)	12 (17)	100	14.7 (7.6)
Volsinii	102 (164)	10 (17)	21 (40)	13 (18)	110	24.6 (30.6)
Vulci	23 (24)	3 (3)	2 (2)	6 (7)	70	—
Clusium	136 (386)	75 (267)	33 (60)	11 (20)	3200	54.6 (64.5)
Perusia	118 (191)	55 (116)	33 (41)	11 (13)	1400	63.7 (86.5)
Arretium	56 (68)	18 (22)	1 (1)	10 (14)	70	44.2 (41.8)
Cortona	10 (14)	2 (2)	3 (5)	1 (1)	50	—
Saena	21 (21)	5 (5)	5 (5)	2 (2)	150	—
Volaterrae	106 (154)	23 (39)	13 (15)	14 (22)	160	37.1 (40.3)

¹ See, above pp. 179-180

The number of Latin gentilicia recorded in Roman, non-Christian inscriptions of each town (a) has first been presented; in parentheses, the total number of the appearances is always indicated. The numbers of the two following columns are calculated by a comparison of these Latin names with the Etruscan gentilicia of the town. The number (b) includes names with a direct Etruscan predecessor, i.e. the cases in which the same stem also occurs in Etruscan gentilicia. The most common suffix substitutions, e.g. *pumpu* – *Pomponius*, do not prevent a name from being included in this group. The second group (c) presents names with a less evident correspondence. As mentioned above, the name of a *gens* was not always latinized by means of a direct transcription, but a Latin name resembling the Etruscan original was often chosen. This also entitles the investigator to take into account cases in which the Latin name does not continue an Etruscan name of the town by means of a linguistic development, but has a resemblance of the type *cetisnei* – *Caetennius*, *apṛnas* – *Afranius*, *Halinius* – *falasial*, with this. The computation is, of course, subjective, but when the same criteria are used in all towns, the margin of error does not seem far too great. The fourth column (d) presents the number of gentilicia, which are obviously Roman – and unknown in Etruscan – such as *Aurelius*, *Tullius*, *Calpurnius*.

The fifth number (e) is approximately that of all Etruscan inscriptions known of the town. It is clear that the rarer the Etruscan inscriptions of the town are, the more difficult it is to find an Etruscan equivalent for a Latin name.

The table must be used with the greatest caution. If we omit the possible inaccuracy of the numbers, we must take into consideration on the one hand the problems in the Latinization of gentilicia, on the other, the great differences in the preserved material between the towns. Any calculation of percentages is thus impossible. If one would prefer to have figures representing the stage of the Etruscanity of the gentilicia of the Romanized towns, one could formulize most closely thus:

$$(100 - \sqrt{e}) \frac{2b + c - d}{a}$$

These figures are presented in the column (f). First of all, we have to note that the onomastic material of Vulci, Cortona and Sacna is obviously too small for any conclusion to be formed. In the towns with the richest Etruscan epigraphic material, Clusium¹ and Perugia, the Latin gentilicia

¹ The names appearing in an Etruscan morphological form in the Etrusco-Latin inscriptions of Clusium are not accounted for among the Latin names in this context.

also seem to be closest to the old Etruscan nomenclature. This is partly due to the fact that the Latin names often appear on Etruscan monuments and consequently, really belong to inhabitants of Etruscan extraction. The situation is in this respect approximately the same at Caere and Tarquinii, which also show a clear correspondence between the Etruscan and the Latin names. Arretium¹ and Volaterrae are the following towns in the order; in both towns, the Latin names mostly occur on monuments of a clearly Roman character. Finally, the figures at Tuscania and Volsinii² are very small, representing a great Latinity of the nomenclature, even if we have to take into account that the Volsinian material comes from a larger area and the correspondence may, therefore, be weaker than elsewhere. But the case of Tuscania is quite surprising, when a large portion of the Latin gentilicia occur on *cippi* belonging to the Etruscan tradition.

Any explanation for this or for other discrepancies cannot be presented in this context. It is, however, evident that in most cases, one of the influencing factors is the occurrence of a certain number of Latin names on Etruscan monuments, close to the Etruscan tradition and belonging to the original Etruscan population of the town.

4. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE LATINIZATION OF ETRURIA

Two differing views have been presented concerning the reasons of the Latinization of Etruria. Some scholars consider that the Etruscans at a certain time realized that the advantages of learning Latin were so great that they voluntarily changed their language and consequently soon forgot their mother tongue. The other theory purports to discover the reasons of the language shift in Roman policy. In general, these differences of opinion are valid for the transformation of the whole of Italy.

The question of Roman attitude towards the non-Latin languages of Italy was discussed in outline in the introduction to this study (1.3). The view that the Etruscans were indifferent as regards their language, if not eager for the language shift, is represented especially by Fell³, though he recognizes the significance of the Sullan colonization, too⁴. Lopes Pegna

¹ The names of the Arretine vase stamps are not included in the numbers.

² The Etruscan inscriptions of Orvieto are not used as material for comparison.

³ R. A. L. FELL, *Etruria and Rome*, Cambridge 1924, 145-147; see also the discussion in *Atti I^o Congr. Intern. Etr.* Firenze 1929, 102.

⁴ FELL, *op. cit.*, 167-169.

holds that the Etruscans and the Romans were collaborators during the last century of the Republic.¹ Doer, too, speaks of the efforts of the Etruscans to become Roman², whereas Gasperini stresses the necessity of the Etruscans to break the linguistic isolation.³ Bianchi Bandinelli maintains that the spirit of the young generation prepared the way for the adoption of Roman culture.⁴

However, the view that the Latinization of Etruria was a consequence of Roman policy is more common; whether conscious or not does not make much difference. Many scholars speak about a traditional retention of the old language, about a class-consciousness of the Etruscan aristocracy.⁵ This respect for tradition was not, according to them, broken by the Roman subjugation of the country, but first by the power politics of the first century B.C. The sufferings during the first Civil War and the colonizations of Sulla, Caesar and Augustus are most generally considered to have been its causes.⁶ We have now to consider whether this study has shed any new light on the problem.

The process of Latinization must be regarded as a part of the total Romanization of Etruria. The results of this study must be compared with those obtained in other fields by our team. As this general conclusion has been deduced by prof. Bruun (7), these questions are discussed here only in so far as they have relevance with regard to the reasons for the language shift.

In the Introduction (1.2.3), Mr. Bruun has stated that the necropoleis and the language in a way best reflect the preservation of the national character of the Etruscans. As far as one can see, the change of the language has taken place in all Etruscan cities earlier than the Romanization of burial customs and funeral objects. In all parts of Etruria, in the north as well as in the south, the old necropoleis have been in use up to the beginning of the Imperial Age; the funeral objects and rites remain Etruscan. As compared with this source material, the few monumental buildings of a Roman nature – probably built by Romans – of the first century B.C. in Etruscan cities

¹ M. LOPES PEGNA, *Storia del popolo etrusco*, Firenze 1959, 390–392, 394–397, 402.

² DOER, 163.

³ GASPERINI, 174.

⁴ BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 506.

⁵ BOETHIUS, *art. cit.*, 102; DEVOTO, *Storia*, 198–199; PALLOTTINO, *SE*, 23 (1954), 402; HEURGON, *Vie*, 26–27; SLOTTY, 285 (with regard to the usage of the metronymikon); see also PIOTROWICZ, *SE*, 3 (1929), 515–517.

⁶ See e.g. GRÖSELING, 79, CECI, 81–82, CORSEN I, 32, H. H. SCULLARD, *The Etruscan Cities and Rome*, New York 1967, 279, Rix, 'Lautwandel', 29, BUDINSZKY, 51.

have no great value as evidence of the continuation of Etruscan every-day life. The deceased buried in the old necropoleis were descendants of the old Etruscan inhabitants of the cities, and they have considered themselves Etruscan. But as far as one can draw conclusions from the epigraphic material, these "last Etruscans" spoke Latin.¹ We know in almost all cities of Latin inscriptions written on Etruscan monuments; but nowhere Etruscan texts inscribed on Roman monuments.

The funeral tradition could hardly continue over the language shift, if the reason for Latinization had been the extinction of the Etruscan population by Sulla. Speaking about the conservative nature of the Etruscans, one should note that this has been stronger concerning the burial customs than with regard to the language. Theoretically, this allows for two different interpretations: either the Etruscans were certainly prepared to change their language, or, then, the language shift was forced through by Roman policy, whilst otherwise, the Etruscans could still continue their old traditions.

If the dates determined in this study for the language shift in Etruria can be approved of, there was a rather long period after the Roman subjugation of Etruria when Latin had very little influence upon the Etruscan language, which was evidently used as well in public as in private circumstances. Certainly, there must always have been Etruscans who knew Latin: merchants, politicians, interpreters, soldiers.² There were Roman colonies in Etruria. But the Latin language was not widely used.

The use of Latin in epitaphs begins in southern Etruria probably at the end of the second century B.C., in the northern cities somewhat later. At this stage, many of the cities had acquired Roman citizenship.³ Now, we had to consider what effect Roman citizenship had upon the language of the inhabitants of the Etruscan cities. The question is a very difficult one. There are several different kinds of Roman communities: *municipia*, *coloniae*, *praefecturae*, *fora*; there are citizens with and without franchise. It is quite clear that more and more people of the communities with Roman citizenship came into contact with Romans and learned Latin. But apparently, if an Etruscan from one of these cities did not want to learn Latin, he did not have to. The official language may have been Latin, but who could force him to participate in public life if he preferred to continue his isolated

¹ As to the question of the relationship between the spoken language and the language of the epitaphs, see p. 219.

² Livy mentions Etruscan bodies in the Roman army, 23, 17, 11, 27, 26, 11; cf. also Sil. Ital. 7, 20-74.

³ See RUOFF, 2. a.

Etruscan life. It is clear that Roman citizenship led towards Latinization, but the language shift was not necessarily effectuated at once by the granting of citizenship. This view can be supported by many parallels as well from antiquity as from modern times.

As far as our material consists mainly of personal names, we have, however, to take into account the influence of the Roman census. The general nature of the municipal census has been discussed by Mr. Bruun in the conclusion to this volume (7.2). It is probable that in most communities of Italy, the names of the citizens were regularly registered, but it is not sure whether the form for the census was regular throughout Italy before the Augustan Age. We have been able to trace in our material a clear influence of the census upon the name forms which appear in our texts. It is interesting to note that the Etruscan name form at Caere already clearly reflects the influence of Roman traditions; even Caere seems to have been the first Roman *municipium* in Etruria. In this respect, Caere, however, stands alone in Etruria. The Etruscan name forms of other cities show no such phenomena which would directly support the theory of their early citizenship. But many special phenomena in the inscriptions of the transition period are explicable only by means of the influence of Roman citizenship and census.

This study has suggested that the language shift was effectuated, generally speaking, throughout Etruria during the first century B.C. Now, many scholars have considered the granting of Roman citizenship to all inhabitants of Italy after the Social War of 90 of decisive importance as regards the process of the Latinization of Etruria.¹ The study of Mrs. Ruoff has, however, demonstrated that a great number of the most important Etruscan cities had citizenship before the Social War, and, on the other hand, it is hard to discern how citizenship as such could effectuate the language shift of the inhabitants of Etruscan cities.

One cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the granting of full citizenship to all peoples of Italy had changed Rome's attitude towards non-Roman languages. I agree, we have no further evidence for this than the general history of the Latinization of Italy. But one could theorize that, before the Social War, the heterogeneity of the peoples of Italy was important for Rome, afraid of the unified power of the *socii*. When this policy had partially failed, the Roman attitude changed after the Social War: the

¹ See PFFIFFIG, *Ausbreitung*, 11, RIX, *IF*, 72 (1962), 316, 'Lautwandel', 29, BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 506.

sooner the peoples were fused into Roman unity, the better. At the time of Caesar and Augustus, this concept of Italian unity is clearly expressed in our sources.¹ But before this, Italy had already been involved in the internal troubles of Rome. For the events of the first century B.C., affecting Etruria, I refer to the study of Mrs. Ruoff (2.b), mentioning here only the main factors: the wars, the punishment of certain Etruscan cities, colonization and emigration may altogether have been fatal for the Etruscan language.

We can see the result of the Roman policy in the fact that the culture of Italy is uniform already in the Augustan Age. The archaeological material discovered is of Roman nature; Latin seems to have been spoken everywhere; there were no Etruscans; no Samnites any longer.

¹ BRUN, 7.8.

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EVA MICHELSEN

4. THE PALAEOGRAPHIC
INTERFERENCE
AS REFLECTED IN THE LATIN INSCRIPTIONS
OF CLUSIUM AND PERUSIA

1. INTRODUCTION

The Romanization of Etruria implied that Latin gained more and more ground mostly in official but gradually also in private life. The aim of this essay is to examine palaeographically how the transition from the use of Etruscan to the use of Latin is reflected in those Latin inscriptions which are known to be from Etruria. For this purpose, however, I shall confine my account to Latin inscriptions exclusively from Clusium and Perugia. The greatest number of known Latin inscriptions comes from these regions and linguistic interference is here most easily observed (cf. Kaimio pp. 206-213).

I am going to examine statistically to what extent Etruscan characters have been used in those Latin inscriptions on which we have palaeographic data. The number of such inscriptions from Clusium and Perugia is so great that it is possible to get a survey of which Etruscan characters were preserved the longest in Latin inscriptions.

By Latin inscriptions in Etruria I understand inscriptions that are written in Latin characters on Etruscan monuments even though these inscriptions have an Etruscan or partly Etruscan name form.

The bilinguals form a separate category. Here we have a unique opportunity of seeing whether it has been possible to keep the two languages, Etruscan and Latin, apart palaeographically. The writing of those letters which occur in both languages, but are written in different ways, is, of course, of particular interest.

Above all it is important to find out whether the Etruscan and the Latin alphabets have been kept apart. In order to illustrate this I have studied in particular how the inscriptions here dealt with have written the letters L, P, S, T, A and E. The reason why I have examined the use of these characters is that the palaeographic interference is most evident in the study of these characters. The sound value is the same in both languages. Besides, the characters for these sounds are basically the same. As a matter of fact the palaeographic difference between the Latin and Etruscan characters is only a consequence of the script having been reversed: Lat. L—Etr. λ , Lat. P—Etr. q , Lat. S—Etr. ζ , Lat. T—Etr. τ , Lat. A—Etr. α , and Lat. E—Etr. β . Certain other letters, the characters of which generally speaking developed along the same lines, have been excluded because the interference phenomenon either does not appear in connexion with them or is quite exceptional. The difference between

Lat. R—Etr. 𐌞, Lat. M—Etr. 𐌛 and Lat. N—Etr. 𐌺 seems to have been so obvious that scarcely any confusion at all occurs.

Apart from the limited number of inscriptions which are preserved from Clusium and Perugia we meet yet another difficulty, that is the question of the dating of the inscriptions. There is no exact date for the Etruscan and Latin epitaphs in Clusium and Perugia. However, they are regarded as dating from the first century A.D. This date is based partly on archaeological research on the dating of objects which have been found in the graves in question etc., partly on philological research (cf. Kaimio pp. 220 f.) and further on art-historical research of sarcophagi and inscribed cinerary urns. Because the majority of the inscriptions dealt with cannot be dated more exactly than to within a period of about fifty years it is extremely hard to say anything definite about a development in respect to the evolution of single characters, especially as individual inscriptions very rarely can be dated in relation to one another. A certain indication of their relative chronology can be found if in a family grave the epitaphs of the single members of the family are examined, but even this does not give full certainty as to the chronology.

Nevertheless it seems to be permissible to regard the Latin inscriptions incised in the Etruscan monuments of Clusium and Perugia as forming a coherent group of monuments. The chronological differences within the group cannot be very great. The internal chronology can, on the whole, be established with recourse to the language of the epitaphs (cf. Kaimio pp. 192 f.) or to the genealogy of the family tombs (Kaimio p. 193). This particular study aims at establishing a similar relative chronology with regard to the different interference phenomena in the palaeographical field. It is to be hoped that this will contribute to a better understanding of the process of Romanization in Etruria.

In what follows I shall examine statistically to what extent there are letters in the Latin inscriptions from Clusium and Perugia that can be regarded as being due to Etruscan influence. During the period of transition between the Etruscan and Latin way of writing, which must have existed for a while, one would certainly expect that everybody that had been used to writing Etruscan was influenced by this language when writing Latin, above all when writing such letters as occurred in both languages, even if written differently, among other things because the script was reversed. Primarily it is the letters L, P, S, T, A and E which are the subject of my study. For each letter we record first the number of inscriptions, in which the corresponding Etruscan character occurs. These cases are subdivided according to whether the character is the only case of Etruscan interference in the inscription in question, or appears in

conjunction with other similar phenomena. In contrast, the characters in the second group are always Latin. This group too, has been subdivided according as to whether or not Etruscan interference in the other characters occurs. The third figure, lacking in interest from our point of view, denotes the number of inscriptions, in which the letter in question is entirely absent.

- 1) Etruscan or Etruscan influenced characters are used when writing L, S, P, T, A and E.
 - a) the Etruscan character occurs alone in an inscription with otherwise Latin characters.
 - b) more than one Etruscan character occurs in the inscription in question.
- 2) Latin characters are used when writing L, S, P, T, A and E.
 - a) only Latin characters occur in the inscription in question.
 - b) even Etruscan characters occur in an inscription with otherwise Latin characters.
- 3) The characters L, S, P, T, A and E do not occur in the inscription in question.

It goes without saying that the bigger the group (1) is for any one letter as compared with the group (2), all the stronger should be regarded the influence of the character of the Etruscan letter in the Latin inscription. This conclusion would be confirmed if the majority of the inscriptions of group (1) would be of the type (1a), thus proving that the Etruscan character in question had survived when the other characters had been Latinized. In contrast, in this case the inscriptions of group (2) ought to be of the type (2a), i.e. completely Latinized texts. Again, with regard to the Etruscan characters which disappeared early, the picture is reversed; they appear but rarely, the group (1) is small and the cases known represent primarily the subsection (b), whereas the group (2) is large, comprising numerous inscriptions of type (b).

2. THE MATERIAL

Palaeographical research should, of course, be based on autopsy, although good quality photographs at times may be of good service. I have tried, personally, to examine as many of the inscriptions of our material as possible, without complete success. A considerable number of the *CIE* inscriptions had disappeared before the publication of the volume, and

the situation had increasingly deteriorated in the course of this century. In addition, I have been forced to concentrate on the collections of the most important museums. I have, however, ventured to use as a check-group *CIE* inscriptions, the facsimile reproductions of which in the *CIE* appeared to be reliable.

According to data in the *CIE* Clusium has 271 Latin inscriptions as well as 22 bilingual inscriptions. Out of these 293 inscriptions 72 have been published entirely without an attempt at reproducing the palaeography of the inscription, and can, of course, therefore not be taken into account in a study of this kind. Out of the remaining inscriptions, I have had the opportunity of testing 122 Latin inscriptions and 11 bilinguals. As a matter of fact the study ought to be restricted to include only these tested inscriptions, but for the sake of comparison I have also taken into consideration the 149 Latin inscriptions and 9 bilinguals of which the *CIE* has given an accurate palaeographic description. The inscriptions which have now been lost, 28 Latin inscriptions and 2 bilinguals, I have left entirely out of account.

Perusia has 124 Latin inscriptions and 4 bilinguals according to data in the *CIE*. 29 out of these have been reproduced without data on the palaeography, and must therefore be disregarded. From the rest I have tested 19 Latin inscriptions and 2 bilinguals, and the study of the remaining ones, 38 Latin inscriptions and 1 bilinguals, is based on those data on the palaeography which are given in the *CIE*. Even here 39 inscriptions which have been lost are left out of account.

The whole stock of inscriptions in the *CIE* comprises 271 Latin and 22 bilingual from Clusium and 124 Latin and 4 bilingual from Perusia. These inscriptions can be grouped into three categories: tested inscriptions, untested inscriptions and lost inscriptions as indicated below:

	CLUSIUM	PERUSIA
I. Inscriptions tested on the spot and/or by photographs	133 (122 + 11)	21 (19 + 2)
II. Untested inscriptions . . .	230 (221 + 9)	68 (67 + 1)
A. reproduced in the <i>CIE</i> with a description of the palaeography . . .	158 (149 + 9)	39 (38 + 1)
B. reproduced in the <i>CIE</i> without a description of the palaeography . . .	72	29
III. Lost inscriptions	30 (28 + 2)	39 (38 + 4)
	293 (271 + 22)	128 (124 + 4)

In the study of the letters L, S, P, T, A and E, I have not taken into account the categories II B and III, on which there are no reliable palaeographic data. Thus the presentation is concentrated on the categories I and II A.

Hence we have the following tables¹:

L

CLUSIUM

I	1 a) 13 b) 14	2 a) 43 b) 24	3) 28
	27	67	28 = 122
II A	1 a) 10 b) 12	2 a) 65 b) 17	3) 45
	22	82	45 = 149
I + II A	1 a) 23 b) 26	2 a) 108 b) 41	3) 73
	49	149	73 = 271

L

PERUSIA

I	1 a) - b) 2	2 a) 8 b) 3	3) 6
	2	11	6 = 19
II A	1 a) 3 b) 1	2 a) 24 b) 4	3) 6
	4	28	6 = 38
I + II A	1 a) 3 b) 3	2 a) 32 b) 7	3) 12
	6	39	12 = 57

¹ The bilinguals are not considered here, as I am to deal with them in a special section.

P

CLUSIUM

I	1 a) 15	2 a) 17	3) 76
	b) 11	b) 3	
	26	20	76 = 122
II A	1 a) 10	2 a) 36	3) 92
	b) 5	b) 6	
	15	42	92 = 149
I + II A	1 a) 25	2 a) 53	3) 168
	b) 16	b) 9	
	41	62	168 = 271

P

PERUSIA

I	1 a) 3	2 a) 1	3) 11
	b) 4	b) —	
	7	1	11 = 19
II A	1 a) 3	2 a) 6	3) 28
	b) —	b) 1	
	3	7	28 = 38
I + II A	1 a) 6	2 a) 7	3) 39
	b) 4	b) 1	
	10	8	39 = 57

S

CLUSIUM

I	1 a) 6	2 a) 43	3) 38
	b) 10	b) 25	
	16	68	38 = 122
II A	1 a) 2	2 a) 72	3) 44
	b) 6	b) 25	
	8	97	44 = 149
I + II A	1 a) 8	2 a) 115	3) 82
	b) 16	b) 50	
	24	165	82 = 271

S

PERUSIA

I	1 a) — b) 2	2 a) 8 b) 6	3) 3
	2	14	3 = 19
II A	1 a) — b) —	2 a) 19 b) 9	3) 10
	—	28	10 = 38
I + II A	1 a) — b) 2	2 a) 27 b) 15	3) 13
	2	42	13 = 57

T

CLUSIUM

I	1 a) 2 b) 6	2 a) 40 b) 30	3) 44
	8	70	44 = 122
II A	1 a) 2 b) 3	2 a) 69 b) 20	3) 55
	5	89	55 = 149
I + II A	1 a) 4 b) 9	2 a) 109 b) 50	3) 99
	13	159	99 = 271

T

PERUSIA

I	1 a) — b) 1	2 a) 7 b) 5	3) 6
	1	12	6 = 19
II A	1 a) 2 b) 1	2 a) 18 b) 4	3) 13
	3	22	13 = 38
I + II A	1 a) 2 b) 2	2 a) 25 b) 9	3) 19
	4	34	19 = 57

A

CLUSIUM

I	1 a) —	2 a) 58	3) 10
	b) 1	b) 53	
	1	111	10 = 122
II A	1 a) —	2 a) 93	3) 12
	b) —	b) 44	
	—	137	12 = 149
I + II A	1 a) —	2 a) 151	3) 22
	b) 1	b) 97	
	1	248	22 = 271

A

PERUSIA

I	1 a) —	2 a) 10	3) 2
	b) 1	b) 6	
	1	16	2 = 19
II A	1 a) —	2 a) 28	3) 1
	b) —	b) 9	
	—	37	1 = 38
I + II A	1 a) —	2 a) 38	3) 3
	b) 1	b) 25	
	1	53	3 = 57

E

CLUSIUM

I	1 a) —	2 a) 37	3) 40
	b) 3	b) 42	
	3	79	40 = 122
II A	1 a) 3	2 a) 71	3) 47
	b) 3	b) 25	
	6	96	47 = 149
I + II A	1 a) 3	2 a) 108	3) 87
	b) 6	b) 67	
	9	175	87 = 271

E

PERUSIA

I	1 a) 1	2 a) 3	3) 10
	b) 1	b) 4	
	2	7	10 = 19
II A	1 a) 2	2 a) 17	3) 14
	b) 1	b) 4	
	3	21	14 = 38
I + II A	1 a) 3	2 a) 20	3) 24
	b) 2	b) 8	
	5	28	24 = 57

Conclusion of the tables:

CLUSIUM

		L	P	S	T	A	E
I 122 inser.	1 a)	13	14	6	2	—	—
	b)	14	11	10	6	1	3
		27	26	16	8	1	3
	2 a)	43	17	43	40	58	37
		24	3	25	30	53	42
		67	20	68	70	111	79
II A 149 inser.	3)	28	76	38	44	10	40
	1 a)	10	10	2	2	—	3
	b)	12	5	6	3	—	3
		22	15	8	5	7	6
	2 a)	65	36	72	69	93	71
		17	6	25	20	44	25
		82	42	97	89	137	96
	3)	45	92	44	55	12	47

Conclusion of the tables:

PERUSIA

I 19 inscr.		L	P	S	T	A	E
	1 a)	—	3	—	—	—	1
	b)	2	4	2	1	1	1
		2	7	2	1	1	2
	2 a)	8	1	8	7	10	3
	b)	3	—	6	5	6	4
		11	1	14	12	16	7
	3)	6	11	3	6	2	10
	II A 38 inscr.						
	1 a)	3	3	—	2	—	2
	b)	1	—	—	1	—	1
		4	3	—	3	—	3
	2 a)	24	6	19	18	28	17
		4	1	9	4	9	4
		28	7	28	22	37	21
	3)	6	28	10	13	1	14

From these tables we can read the following:

The Etruscan character for *L*— λ , and *P*— ρ respectively, occurs both in Clusium and Perugia in the majority of the Latin inscriptions discussed here. This may be due to the fact that the Etruscan writing of these letters differs so much from the Latin writing of the equivalent characters that to begin with the Etruscan characters were, in fact, taken to be unfamiliar to an otherwise Latin text; but gradually one got so used to this writing of *L* and *P* that it was taken as a variant of the Latin way of writing these characters.

In Clusium *L* appears as the only Etruscan character in an otherwise Latin environment in 23 out of 198 inscriptions and together with another Etruscan character in 26 out of 198 inscriptions. In Perugia, again, the Etruscan character for *L* occurs in 6 out of 45 inscriptions, in 3 inscrip-

tions, together with another Etruscan character and in 3 inscriptions as the only Etruscan character in an otherwise Latin inscription.

For *P* the frequency of the use of the Etruscan character is still greater. In Clusium the Etruscan character for *P* appears in 41 out of 103 inscriptions, and in 25 of these inscriptions as the only Etruscan character. In Perugia *P* is written in the Etruscan way in 10 out of 18 inscriptions, in 6 of these inscriptions as the only Etruscan character in an otherwise Latin environment.

The writing of *S* and *T* in Etruscan and Latin differs so little from one another that the Etruscan character for *T*, † , could be regarded as a carelessly written *T*, and the Etruscan character for *S*, ‡ , again, as a variant of the Latin way of writing. Hence these characters could more easily be taken as integrated parts of the Latin alphabet. In Clusium the Etruscan character for *S* appears in 24 out of 165 inscriptions and in Perugia in only 2 out of 44 inscriptions. The Etruscan character for *T*, again, appears in Clusium in 13 out of 159 inscriptions and in Perugia in 4 out of 38 inscriptions.

As to the vowels *A* and *E*: it should be noted that the writing of *A* is fairly alike in Etruscan and Latin (Etr. A —Lat. *A*, A , A). It depended certainly more on the material and the writing-utensils used for the inscription than on a conscious influence of the Etruscan way of writing whether an *A* in a Latin inscription was written with a rounded or a pointed angle. Only in 2 inscriptions¹,—one from Clusium and the other from Perugia—have I found an *A* that can be regarded as influenced by the Etruscan way of writing. The Etruscan character for *E* (E) is also fairly similar to that of Latin. The obvious difference apart from the "reversed" script is that the Etruscan character has a more acute angle between the vertical and the horizontal strokes of the letter. Such a difference also might only depend on the writing material and the writing-utensils, and need not necessarily be considered a consequence of a conscious influence of Etruscan. In Clusium there occurs a character for *E* influenced by Etruscan in 9 out of 184 inscriptions and in Perugia in 5 out of 33 inscriptions.

The bilinguals are of a particular interest for a study of the extent to which the Etruscan way of writing has influenced the Latin palaeography. The bilingual inscriptions give a sharp picture of how the languages were conceived at the time of the making of each inscription, whether it has been possible to keep them apart, also palaeographically, or not.

¹ CIE 822; CIE 3691.

Out of the 22 bilingual inscriptions which we know from Clusium thanks to data in the *CIE*, 2 have been lost. In May 1968 in the museum of Chiusi our work group had the privilege of finding an inscription, *CIE* 1437 (museum no. 4011), which should be missing according to the *CIE*.

Out of these 22 bilingual inscriptions I have tested 10 in the museum of Chiusi and Florence. Besides, for *CIE* 890 a very sharp photograph of the inscription has been available to me.

Below I am going to examine for every bilingual inscription how those letters are written which occur both in the Etruscan and the Latin text. Such a comparison is the best way of finding out whether the two languages have been conceived as palaeographically identical or not.

On comparing the bilinguals I consider primarily those letters which occur both in the Etruscan and the Latin text. In this connection I take it to be of less interest to note how the Etruscan text and the Latin respectively has written a character which occurs in only one text.

CIE 561 displays a mixed composition of Etruscan and Latin letters. Both *T* and $\dagger$ occur; *P* and η as well as *L* and $\downarrow$. On the other hand one finds only the Etruscan character for *S* and only the Latin character for *A*.

CIE 808 is distinct in so far as it presents the same text exactly alike twice, but written in different ways. The first line is written in Etruscan characters of a uniform size, a continuous script without spaces and very carefully written characters. After that the text is repeated, but this time in larger letters, ligatures as well as a mixture of Etruscan and Latin characters. Particularly the second line of each version is worth noting. In each case the text is written from the right to the left, but in the latter text a remarkable mixture of letter types and "reversed" script appears.

CIE 1469 uses in the Etruscan text the same character for *A* as in the Latin one. Usually the Etruscan character for *A* is rounded, but the printed character for *A* used here, as in Latin, may probably be due to influence of the Latin text, which comes first in this inscription. In other respects this inscription distinguishes palaeographically clearly between Etruscan and Latin.

CIE 1729 is not completely preserved, only two out of three parts are preserved. The Latin text is complete apart from two letters in the middle of the inscription, whereas the middle part of the Etruscan text has been lost. A certain interference can be noticed here concerning the palaeography. The Etruscan text, which is written from the right to the left, writes *E* in the same way as Latin does. Besides, in the

Etruscan text there also occurs a printed *A* and not the rounded character for *A* usual in Etruscan. On the other hand the characters for *L* and *N* are kept clearly apart palaeographically.

The other bilingual inscriptions in this category: *CIE* 739, 890, 1416, 1437, 1468 and 2647 keep the two languages, Etruscan and Latin, entirely apart palaeographically. The Etruscan texts are written in purely Etruscan characters and the Latin texts in Latin characters. Apart from these bilinguals which I have had the opportunity of testing myself the *CIE* includes another 8 bilinguals. My data on these inscriptions are based exclusively on the *CIE* and I shall therefore give only a short summary of the palaeography in these inscriptions.

CIE 1487 confuses Etruscan and Latin palaeographically. In the Latin part of the text Etruscan *L* and *E* occur. Moreover, *E* occurs written ||.

CIE 1617 is not completely preserved; it seems, however, to keep the languages apart palaeographically, even though we have no examples of very many common characters.

The other inscriptions in this category, *CIE* 1048, 1060, 1290, 1671, 2106 and 2965, keep the Etruscan and Latin texts entirely apart in respect to the palaeography.

Further there are three bilinguals from Clusium which cannot be taken into account, that is *CIE* 1288 and *CIE* 3023, which have been lost, as well as *CIE* 1418, whose originality has been discussed.

From Perugia we have in the *CIE* data on only 4 bilinguals, 1 of which has been lost. Out of these I have had the opportunity of testing two inscriptions, and for the third my data are based on the *CIE*.

CIE 3500 seems to keep both languages, Etruscan and Latin, definitely apart. Of the Latin text there are only three letters, and on account of this it is difficult to say anything about this text. The other two bilinguals preserved, *CIE* 3692 and *CIE* 3763, show that the Etruscan and Latin texts were palaeographically kept apart also in Perugia.

CIE 4190 has been lost and can therefore not be considered in this connection.

In brief it can be said about the bilinguals in Clusium and Perugia, that for the most part they keep the two languages, Etruscan and Latin, palaeographically apart. In some cases the "reversed" script has caused difficulties, f. ex. *CIE* 808, line 4, and in a few other inscriptions individual letters have been influenced by the characters for the same sound in the other language.

By means of this palaeographic study of the Latin inscriptions in Clusium and Perugia I have made an attempt at illustrating to what extent these inscriptions have been influenced by the Etruscan way of writing.

Concerning the bilinguals we have been able to note, that the two languages, Etruscan and Latin, have been kept apart palaeographically. Thus they have been conceived as languages independent of one another, which have not been confused to a high degree.

On examining the use of the letters *L*, *P*, *S*, *T*, *A* and *E* which have the same sound value in Etruscan and Latin, but which are written differently, we have been able to show that the greater part of the Latin inscriptions have used only Latin characters. The Etruscan characters of *L* and *P* are used in most of those inscriptions which are written with both Etruscan and Latin characters. Even on the part of the other letters, *S*, *T*, *A* and *E*, the inscriptions where these letters are written in Latin characters, include the greatest number of the inscriptions in which these letters appear.

As a result of this we can state that the Latin inscriptions in Clusium and Perugia to a very small extent can be regarded as having been influenced by Etruscan as regards the palaeography. Etruscan characters occur in relatively few Latin inscriptions, and even then mostly alone in an otherwise Latin environment.

MARJATTA NIELSEN

5. THE LID SCULPTURES
OF VOLATERRAN CINERARY URNS

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EDITORIAL NOTES

The measurements of the sculptures are always given in the order: length, width, height, in cms. If the sculpture is broken, the measurement is given in parenthesis. If some of the measurements are missing, there is a dash instead. In recording the size groups (see the diagrams 1-4) the numbers refer to the length, the capital letters to the width and the small letters to the height of the lid sculpture, e.g. 2-B-b.

In notes and catalogues the bibliographical references are normally mentioned in chronological order. The bibliography of a lid sculpture is given in the note on the first occasion it is mentioned. If this is not the case, the note where the bibliography is mentioned is placed first in the index of material (pp. 399-404).

In the catalogue sections the description of each lid sculpture begins with the following information:

No. in the group. The museum, inv. no.

Fig. 00.

Length $\times$ width $\times$ height in cms (size group).	The provenance, if known.
Sex, and the age if mentioned in the inscription.	The bibliographical references to the lid sculpture are mentioned in chronological order. The earliest reference is given first, irrespectively of whether the whole lid or only the inscription is concerned. The later references are to the lid sculpture only.
The attribute held in the right hand.	
The attribute held in the left hand.	
The language of the inscription, <i>CIE</i> no., eventual colouring.	
The relief, if it seems to belong to the lid, BR.-KÖRTE.	

The following collections are referred to by the short titles:

Arezzo	for Museo Archeologico in Arezzo.
Berlin	for Staatliche Museen in Berlin (I am using Rumpf's numberings).
Florence	for Museo Archeologico in Florence.
Leyden	for Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leyden.

- London for British Museum in London (I am using Pryce's numerings).
Mannheim for Städtisches Reiss-Museum in Mannheim.
New York for The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.
Paris for Musée du Louvre in Paris.
Vatican for Museo Gregoriano Etrusco in the Vatican.
Volterra for Museo Guarnacci in Volterra.
Vienna for Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this investigation is to show how the Romanization of Volaterrae can be followed through a study of the development of the lid sculptures of the Etruscan cinerary urns of the city. The cinerary urns of alabaster and tufa are like miniature sarcophagi, and on the lid there is a sculpture representing a human figure reclining on a couch. This is the most characteristic group of monuments in Volaterrae during the late Etruscan period. As long as cinerary urns were made in the Etruscan tradition, and the Etruscan burial customs were practised, the population of Volaterrae cannot have been totally Romanized. By "Romanization" I do not mean the political Romanization of the Etruscans nor the language shift from Etruscan to Latin, but the change from an Etruscan to a Roman culture as it is reflected in the sepulchral monuments. Thus, the end of the production of cinerary urns approximately dates the Romanization of the culture. In the latest production there are, furthermore, traces of Roman influence, both in the artistic conception and in the inscriptions.

The large body of material has never been studied as a whole, and there is no detailed chronology. Therefore, I have first tried to divide all the material roughly into stylistic and chronological phases, so as to be able to define the latest groups. As a result of the grouping, I have arrived at three style phases, of which the latest one represents the central material of my study. I have divided it into two parts. During the earlier part, the Etruscan culture and language were still flourishing, and because the material is extensive, I have only given the main outlines. The later part of the last phase represents a degeneration of the Etruscan tradition and the appearance of the Latin language by the side of the Etruscan inscriptions. I have divided the lid sculptures belonging to the latest production period into three groups, each supposed to represent a workshop, and treated them in greater detail.

I will also deal with some art-historical questions—the portrait problem and the importance of the head—often discussed in connexion with the Volaterran lid sculptures, though they have little significance with regard to the problem of the Romanization process. Many other questions—such

as the origin of the artists and their impulses—have been mostly omitted, because they do not throw light on the main problem of the study.

In collecting material I have tried to obtain the latest groups in as complete a condition as possible, but have taken a few examples of the earlier lid sculptures, too. My material comprises approximately 500 lid sculptures altogether, which is about half of all those available. Most of the Volaterran urns—about 650—are in the Museo Guarnacci in Volterra¹, and about half of them are represented in my material. In Volterra I have also seen the two urns displayed in the yard of the Ospedale Psichiatrico (Piazza San Michele) and the collection of the Palazzo Inghirami (Via dei Marchesi), consisting of 29 urns with lid sculptures. Of the many urns in the Museo Archeologico in Florence those in rooms X and XI on the first floor are included in my material, but only few of those on the ground floor and in the Tomba Inghirami². Of the Florentine private collections only

¹ The Museo Guarnacci was donated to the public by Mario Guarnacci in 1761, and was connected with the public museum, which had been founded in 1732; S. MAFFEI, *Osservazioni letterarie* V, Verona 1739, 316; A. F. GORI, *Difesa dell'alfabeto degli antichi Toscani*, Firenze 1742, pp. CCXXXVII-CCXXXIX; Id., *Museum Etruscum* III, Firenze 1743, 111-112; Id., *Musei Guarnaccii antiqua monumenta Etrusca eruta e Volaterranis hypogaeis nunc primum in lucem edita et illustrata*, Firenze 1744; G. RICCOBALDI DEL BAVA, 'Relazione del Museo, che da Monsig. Mario Guarnacci è stato donato nel passato mese di settembre 1761 al Pubblico della città di Volterra', *Novelle Letterarie* 23 (1762), 88-94, 101-108, 119-122; Id., *Dissertazione istorico-etrusca sopra l'origine, antico stato, lingua, e caratteri della etrusca nazione... di Volterra, con un'appendice al fine sopra i sepolcreti e musei raccolti di essa città*, Firenze 1768, 172-173; M. GUARNACCI, *Origini italiane* I, Lucca 1767, 64; A. F. GIACHI, *Saggio di ricerche sopra lo stato antico e moderno di Volterra dalla sua prima origine fino ai nostri tempi*, Firenze 1786, 197-202; F. INGHIRAMI, *Monumenti etruschi o di etrusco nome* I: 1, Fiesole 1821, 5-12; G. DENNIS, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* II, London 1848, 167-209; L. RUGGERI BUZZAGLIA, *Pubblico Museo e biblioteca Guarnacci in Volterra, ricerche storiche*, Firenze-Volterra 1877; *Toscana (non compresa Firenze), Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano*, Milano 1959, 708-710; R. BLOCH, *The Etruscans*, London 1961, 21-22, 24, 32; E. FIUMI, 'Volterra', *EAA* 7, 1966, 1201-1202; M. SERCHI, *Conoscere Volterra, itinerario storico-artistico*, Firenze-Empoli 1968, 93-112.

During my visit to Volterra in May 1970, the ground floor of the museum was under reparation, and thus the urns displayed there are less fully represented in my material than those on the first floor.

² The Galluzzi collection was acquired from Volterra in 1773 and that of Cinci in 1828, the *Tomba Inghirami* in 1900 and some minor finds later; GIACHI, 203; INGHIRAMI, I: 1, 11; O. GERHARD, 'Scavi etruschi', *BullInst* 1829, 7; DENNIS, II, 94-98; L. A. MILANI, *Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze* I, Firenze 1912,

that of the Palazzo Antinori-Aldobrandini¹ is included in my material. There are several other collections which include Volaterran urns in Italy, but of them only the lid sculptures in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco in the Vatican², one in Arezzo³ and one in Pisa⁴ are included in my material; I have not dealt with those in Cortona⁵ or Verona⁶. I have also included

46-49, 163-168, 224-225; A. MINTO, *Il Regio Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, Roma 1931, 6, 11-13; Id., *Il Museo Archeologico dell'Etruria e l'Istituto di studi etruschi e italici*, Firenze 1950, 33; E. FIUMI, 'Materiali volterrani nel museo archeologico di Firenze. La collezione Cinci', *SE* 25 (1957), 463-487; C. LAVIOSA, *Guida alle stele arcaiche e al materiale Volterrano*, Firenze 1962, 17-20; FIUMI, 'Volterra', 1202; A. DE AGOSTINO, *Il Museo archeologico di Firenze*, Firenze 1968, 99-107, 109 no. 6, 124. For the *Tomba Inghirami*, see p. 319 n. 4. Because the ground floor which contains the Volaterran room and the garden with the *Tomba Inghirami* have been closed, I have not had the opportunity of studying them, but have confined myself to the urns in rooms X and XI on the first floor.

¹ Via dei Serragli, 7-9; A. NEPPI MODONA, 'Sculture etrusche in collezioni private fiorentine. Palazzo già Antinori, ora dei Principi Aldobrandini', *Rivista d'arte* 30 (1955), 261-272; H. DÜTSCHKE, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien* II, Leipzig 1875, 149-167; FIUMI, 'Volterra', 1202.

² *Musei Etrusci quod Gregorius XVI Pont. Max. in aedibus Vaticanis constituit monimenta linearis picturae exemplis expressa et in utilitatem studiosorum antiquitatum et bonarum artium publici iuris facta* I-II, Vaticanis 1842, passim; DENNIS, II, 492-493; W. HELBIG, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* I⁴, völlig neu bearbeitete Aufl. herausg. v. HERMINE SPEIER, Tübingen 1963, nos. 739-742. My notes on the Vatican urns are not complete, because the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco was closed for reparation during my visit to Rome in June 1970.

³ The Museo Archeologico, room II, one of the four Volaterran urns.

⁴ Museo dell'Opera della Primaziale, magazzino; P. LASINIO figlio, *Raccolta di sarcofagi, urne e altri monumenti di scultura del Campo Santo di Pisa*, Pisa 1814, passim; INGHIRAMI, I:1, 12; H. DÜTSCHKE, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien* I, Leipzig 1874, 3-101 (passim); R. LAMBRECHTS, *Essai sur les magistratures des républiques étrusques*, Études de philologie, d'archéologie et d'histoire anciennes publiées par l'Institut historique Belge de Rome, 7, Bruxelles-Rome 1959, 163-164, no. 27, pl. 30. The urns were destroyed in the Second World War.

⁵ Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca; GUARNACCI, *Origini Italiane* I, 64; INGHIRAMI, I:1, 12.

⁶ Museo del Teatro Romano, two female lid sculptures of tufa. For the other Volaterran material, see e.g. Museo Lapidario Maffei, S. MAFFEI, *Museum Veronense*, Verona 1749, p. II; INGHIRAMI, I:1, 10; DÜTSCHKE, *Antike Bildwerke* IV, 157-255; FIUMI, 'Volterra', 1202.

in my material the Volaterran lid sculptures in Berlin¹, Paris², Leyden³, Copenhagen⁴, London⁵ and New York⁶, but only few of those in Vienna⁷

¹ Staatliche Museen, with several urns from the Volaterran territory and probably some from Volaterrae itself. A. RUMPF, *Katalog der etruskischen Skulpturen, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen I*, Berlin 1928, passim.

² Musée du Louvre. The Sermolli collection, founded in 1762-1763, was acquired by Micali in 1827 to the Louvre. F. DE CLARAC, *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne*, I:1, Paris 1841, nos. 789-794; *Planches*, II, Paris 1828-1830, pl. 214 ter; FIUMI, 'Volterra', 1202. Miss M. F. Briguet, who is preparing a work on the Volaterran urns as well as other Etruscan sepulchral art in the Louvre, has kindly given me the inventory numbers of the urns.

³ Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, with the Giorgi collection, founded in 1743, and urns bought in Livorno in 1826-1830. GORI, *Mus. Etr.* III, pp. XXI-XXII; A. GIORGI, *Dissertazione accademica sopra un monumento etrusco ritrovato negli antichi suburbani di Volterra l'anno 1746*, Firenze 1752; L. I. F. JANSSEN, *Musei Lugduno-Batavi, Inscriptiones Etruscae*, Leyden 1840, passim; *Id.*, *De grieksche, romeinsche en etruskische Monumenten van het Museum van Oudheden te Leyden*, Leyden [1848], passim; *Id.*, *De etruskische Grafreliëfs uit het Museum van Oudheden te Leyden*, Leyden 1854, passim; FIUMI, 'Volterra', 1202. I have not seen the collection myself, but Mr. L. B. van der Meer has very kindly provided me with information and photographs of the lid sculptures.

⁴ There are three Volaterran urns with lid sculptures in the National Museum, and some urns with saddle-roofs. *Grækenland, Italien og Romerriget, Nationalmuseets vejledning*, Odense 1968, 92, vetrines 15-18, A, C, D, and fig. p. 94.

In the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek there are two Volaterran lid sculptures, bought in Orvieto. *Bildertafeln des etruskischen Museums (Helbig Museum) der Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, Copenhagen 1928, 142, H. 303 and H. 304; *Den etruskiske samling, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, København 1966, 59.

⁵ The British Museum. F. N. PRYCE, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum*, I: 2, *Cypriote and Etruscan*, London and Beccles 1931, 215-253, D52-D106.

⁶ The Metropolitan Museum of Art. A. A. BERNARDY, 'Collezioni etrusche nei Musei di New York e Boston', *SE* 1 (1927), 471; G. M. A. RICHTER, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, New York 1940, 49, figs. 141-142.

⁷ Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung. The collections of Catajo, acquired from Volterra in 1786 by Tommaso Obizzi, were brought to Vienna in 1896. There were also other Volaterran urns in Vienna earlier. GIACCHI, p. x.; INGHIRAMI, I:1, 10; C. CAVEDONI, *Indicazione dei principali monumenti antichi del Reale Museo Estense del Catajo*, Modena 1842, 5-37; H. DÜTSCHKE, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien V*, Leipzig 1882, 164-178, 256; J. ARNETH, *Beschreibung der zum K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Kabinete gehörigen Statuen, Büsten, Reliefs, Inschriften, Mosaiken*, Wien 1845, 22; E. v. SACKEN - F. KENNER, *Die Sammlungen des K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Kabinetes*, Wien 1866, 44-45; R. NOLL, 'Etruskische Aschenkisten mit der Troillossage in Wien', *SE* 6 (1932), 345-441; *Id.*, 'Etruskische Denkmäler mit Inschriften in Wien', *SE* 9 (1935), 305-309; *Id.*, 'Antikensammlung', *Führer durch die Sammlungen des Kunsthistorischen Museums*³, 1967, 14; FIUMI, 'Volterra', 1202.

and none in Munich¹. The urns in Mannheim were destroyed during the Second World War, but photographs of some lid sculptures have been preserved².

Several urns of the Late Etruscan type have also been found in the Volaterran territory, which includes the valleys of the rivers Cecina, Fine, Era, Elsa and Pesa³. Many of the finds have been mentioned in the literature on the subject, but mostly without illustrations. Only urns from Barberino Val d'Elsa⁴, Montaione, Castelfalfi⁵, Casole d'Elsa, Poggio di San Niccolò⁶, San Gimignano⁷ and the one from Castiglioncello⁸ are included

¹ Glyptothek. INGHIRAMI, 1:1, 10; H. BRUNN, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwig's I. zu München*¹, München 1879, 57-59; A. FURTWÄNGLER, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwig's I. zu München*, München 1900, 60, no. 54; *Id.*, 2. Aufl., München 1910 (WOLTERS), 62-64, nos. 53, 54; P. WOLTERS, *Führer durch die Glyptothek König Ludwig's I. zu München*, München 1928, 55, nos. 175-176.

² There were 14 urns and 13 lid sculptures in Mannheim. For the pictures and other information I express my gratitude to Dr. Erich Gropengiesser and Dr. Claus, Städtisches Reiss-Museum, Archäologische Sammlungen, Mannheim.

³ For the territory, see L. FIUMI, 'La "facies" arcaica del territorio volterrano', *SE* 29 (1961), 253-292; *Id.*, 'Volterra', 1199; *Id.*, 'I confini della diocesi ecclesiastica, del municipio romano e dello stato etrusco di Volterra', *Archivio storico italiano* 126 (1968), 23-60; L. BANTI, *Il mondo degli Etruschi*, Roma 1969, 204-208, 212-213; G. MORI, 'Caratteristiche delle urne e dei sarcophagi etruschi del territorio di Siena', *SE* 36 (1968), 455-457.

⁴ R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Materiali archeologici della Val d'Elsa e dei dintorni di Siena*, Estratto da "La Balzana" 2 (1928), Siena 1931; A. TALOCCHINI, *La scultura etrusca nelle urne di Barberino Val d'Elsa*. Mostra 20 Luglio - 24 Agosto 1968, Firenze; FIUMI, 'Confini', 54-55.

⁵ A. MINTO, 'Montaione. Scoperta di una tomba etrusca a Castelfalfi in località Rignano', *NSe* (1928), 31-33; *SE* 1 (1927), 492; F. MESSERSCHMIDT, 'Neue etruskische und römische Terrakotten', *RM* 45 (1930), 178.

⁶ E. SCAMUCCI, 'Di alcuni recenti trovamenti archeologici interessanti la topografia dell'Etruria, III. Tomba etrusca di Casole d'Elsa', *SE* 14 (1940), 355-357, t. 27: 3-9.

⁷ I have seen the urns displayed in the yard and the one inside the Museo Civico in San Gimignano. Most of them are rough work and probably of local production. Only the tufa urn inside the museum was certainly made in Volterra. G. PELLEGRINI, 'San Gimignano - Tombe etrusche rinvenute nel territorio del Comune', *NSe* (1901), 8-9; BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Val d'Elsa', 37, fig. 33; SCAMUCCI, 354-355, t. 27: 1-2; *SE* 27 (1959), 222-223; *FA* 14 (1962), 169, no. 2573; MORI, 455-456, t. 88, b; FIUMI, 'Volterra', 1199.

⁸ Castiglioncello does not belong to the Volaterran territory, and the urn of *Velia Carinei* is an exception. E. GALLI, 'Castiglioncello. Scoperta di antichità varie, compresa un'ara riferibile al culto di Rogibus', *NSe* (1924), 164-166; E. RIESCH, 'Il R. Museo Archeologico di Castiglioncello', *SE* 16 (1942), 501; FIUMI, 'Confini', 50-53; cf. below p. 318 n. 4.

in my material, as well as some of the urns from Monteriggioni, *La tomba dei Calini Sepuś*¹.

The three necropoleis at Volaterrae, which were also in use during the late Etruscan period, are Badia (Montebradoni), Portone and San Girolamo with Ulimeto, Villa Inghirami and Poggio alle Croci². The majority of the finds came to light as early as the 18th and 19th centuries, and though much has been written about the excavations³, the circumstances of discovery are very seldom known. E. Fiumi has, however, reconstructed some excavations from the 19th century and identified the objects⁴. I have not been able to use any new excavation results in my study⁵.

¹ R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'La tomba dei Calini Sepuś presso Monteriggioni', *SE* 2 (1928), 133-176; see also RUMPF, *passim* (Malacena), and BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Val d'Elsa', 123-166.

² See the maps of Volaterrae, e.g. G. MICALI, *Antichi monumenti per servire all'opera intitolata l'Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani*, Firenze 1810, t. I; DENNIS, II, between pp. 150-151; FIUMI 'Volterra', 1200, fig. 1343; H. H. SCULLARD, *The Etruscan Cities and Rome*, London and Southampton 1967, 147; BANTI, 205.

³ GORI, *Mus. Etr.* I-III; ID., *Difesa dell'alfabeto degli antichi Toscani*, Firenze 1742, pp. CXCII-CXCIII, CXXXVII-CXXXIX; ID., *Inscriptiones antiquae in Etruriae urbibus exstantes* III, Firenze 1743, 159; ID., *Mus. Guarnacci*; N. M. LISCI, *Documenti intorno all'antichità toscane di C. Inghirami*, Firenze 1739, 1-2; MAFFEI, *Osserv. Lett.* V (1739), 315-319; VI (1740), 128-132; LAMI, 'Volterra', *Novelle Letterarie* 3 (1742), 122-125; 18 (1757), 337-358; GIORGI; L. A. CECINA, *Notizie storiche della città di Volterra*, Pisa 1758, 2; M. GUARNACCI, 'Articolo di Lettera scritta da Volterra', *Novelle Letterarie* 19 (1758), 805-806; ID., *Origini italiane* I, 43, 63-64; G. TARGIONI TOZZETTI, *Relazioni d'alcuni viaggi fatti in diverse parti della Toscana*, III², Firenze 1769, 26-29, 202; RICCOBALDI DEL BAVA, 'Museo Guarnacci', 88-94, 101-108, 119-122; ID., *Dissertazione storico-etrusca*, 41-42, 153, 159-163, 174; G. AVERANI, *Raccolta di antichità etrusche*, Fiorenza 1777; GIACHI, 10-11, 15, 197-205; INGHIRAMI, I:1, I:2, IV, VI, *passim*; G. CINCI, 'Scavi di Volterra', *BullInst* (1829), 202-205; (1830), 235-237; (1832), 161-163; (1833), 35-36, 91-92; O. GERHARD, 'Scavi etruschi', *BullInst* (1829), 1-18; G. B. ZANNONI, 'Intorno un'etrusca iscrizione di Volterra', *BullInst* (1830), 28-30; DENNIS, II, 156-162; E. HÜBNER, 'Antichità di Volterra', *BullInst* (1857), 183-187; A. CINCI, 'Scavi di Volterra', *BullInst* (1860), 183-195; (1861), 144-150; (1874), 229-236; H. BRUNN, 'Scavi di Volterra', *BullInst* (1862), 210-213; D. F. GORI, 'Scavi di Volterra', *BullInst* (1862), 207-210; P. L. CONSORTINI, *Volterra nell'antichità*, Volterra 1940, 258.

⁴ E. FIUMI, 'Contributo alla datazione del materiale volterrano. Gli scavi della necropoli del Portone degli anni 1873-74', *SE* 25 (1957), 367-415; ID., 'Coll. Cinci'.

⁵ Short notes of the excavations, *SE* 28 (1960), 441; *SE* 29 (1961), 249; *SE* 33 (1965), 420; *FA* 15 (1963), 186, no. 2706; *FA* 16 (1964), 206-207, no. 2920; *FA* 18-19 (1963-1964), 324, no. 4446.

The scarcity of exact find reports and clear find associations have caused the researcher great difficulties. The urn reliefs have been the main interest for scholars, but the studies have been mostly concerned with mythological and historical problems¹. The inscriptions on the front border of the lids have been published on many occasions². The lid sculptures have mostly been mentioned as excellent examples of realistic Etruscan portrait sculpture. R. Bianchi Bandinelli has treated Volaterran lid sculptures in several connexions³, and, in particular, emphasized that they are almost never real portraits. R. Enking has tried to date the whole production of cinerary urns and a great part of other Etruscan art as late as to the Imperial Era, but no one has accepted this⁴. O. Vessberg has convincingly dated some lid sculptures to the first century B.C. and even to the Augustan period comparing them with Roman art⁵. E. Fiumi has published several valuable articles on Volaterran material in general, not only on the cinerary urns⁶. O.-W. von Vacano has written a couple of articles on some groups of Volaterran urn reliefs and the technique

¹ H. BRUNN — G. KÖRTE, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche I-III*, Roma-Berlino 1870-1916; P. R. BIÉNKOWSKI, *Die Darstellungen der Gallier in der hellenistischen Kunst*, Österreichische archäologisches Institut in Wien, Wien 1908; F. DE RUYT, *Charun, Démon étrusque de la mort*, Études de philologie, d'archéologie et d'histoire anciennes publiées par l'Institut historique Belge de Rome, 1, Rome 1934; LAMBRECHTS, etc.

² CIE I, 18-172, where the older literature of them.

³ 'Materiali archeologici del territorio di Siena', *Miscellanea Senese* I, Siena 1928, 13-23; 'Calini Sepuś'; 'Val d'Elsa'; 'Ritratto etrusco in età ellenistica', *SE* 11 (1937), 489-494; *Storicità dell'arte classica*, Firenze 1950, 86-87; 'Ragna Enking, Datierung u. Motive d. spätetruskischen Kunst...', *SE* 21 (1950/51), 485-489; *Archeologia e cultura*, Milano-Napoli 1961, 176-178, 184-185; 'Arte etrusca', *EAA* 3 (1960), 491-492; *L'origine del ritratto in Grecia e in Roma*, Corsi universitari, Roma 1961, 114; 'Ritratto', *EAA* 6 (1965), 714-716; 'Naissance et dissociation de la koiné hellénistico-romaine', *Huitième Congrès International d'archéologie classique*, Paris 1965 (1963), 449-450.

⁴ 'Datierung und Motive der spätetruskischen Kunst', *AA* (1948/49), 183-237. Criticism: BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Recensione Enking'; A. NEPPI MODONA, 'Arte imperiale romana ed arte etrusca', *SE* 22 (1952/53), 341-364; J. THIMME, 'Chiusinische Aschenkisten und Sarkophage der hellenistischen Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie der etruskischen Kunst', *SE* 23 (1954), 32, note 8; C. LAVIOSA, *Scultura tardo-etrusca di Volterra*, Milano 1965, 13.

⁵ *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik*, Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae VIII, Lund-Leipzig 1941, 126, 227, 242, 243.

⁶ 'Per la cronaca dei ritrovamenti archeologici nel Volterrano', *SE* 19 (1946/47), 349-355; 'Volterra, scavi nell'area del teatro romano degli anni 1950-1953', *NSc* 9 (1955), 114-150; 'Portone'; 'Coll. Cinci'; 'Intorno alle ceramiche del iv sec. a. C. di fabbrica erroneamente chiamata chiusina', *SE* 26 (1958), 243-258; 'Sco-

used in them¹. T. Dohrn has treated a Volaterran urn and lid in a study concerning the Pergamene influence in Etruria². The only monograph is the well illustrated book of C. Laviosa, originally published as an exhibition catalogue³. The urns of Barberino Val d'Elsa have been published in an illustrated catalogue written by A. Talocchini⁴.

Though a detailed chronology is still lacking, the dating of the Volaterran urn production as a whole is known approximately. The urns with lid sculptures have rarely been found together with Volaterran red-figured column *kraters*, the production of which seems to have continued to the middle of the third century B.C. Thus the production of the urns seemingly began about that time⁵. The archaeological dating of the end of the production period is not quite clear, but it seems to have taken place during the early Empire. Roman imperial material has sometimes been found in the entrance corridors and in the earth on top of the Etruscan chamber tombs, but seldom in the tombs themselves⁶. In the first century A.D. the material already possesses a purely Roman character⁷.

Many scholars have dated some urns and lids to the Augustan period on stylistic grounds⁸. There are, however, five female lid sculptures, until now practically unknown, with the *nodus*-coiffure, which is certainly dated to the time of the Second Triumvirate and the Augustan period (see below, p. 349).

perta di due tombe etrusche e di una tomba romana in località Poggio alle Croci (Volterra)', *SE* 27 (1959), 251-268; 'La "facies" arcaica del territorio volterrano', *SE* 29 (1961), 253-292; 'Volterra'; 'Confini'.

¹ 'Studien an volterranner Urnenreliefs', *RM* 67 (1960), 48-97; 'Ödipus zwischen den Vierge-spannen, Studien zur Komposition der Giebelskulpturen von Telamon', *RM* 68 (1961), 9-63.

² 'Pergamenisches in Etrurien', *RM* 68 (1961), 1-8; see below p. 298.

³ *Scultura tardo-etrusca di Volterra*, La Strozzi 1964, Firenze; 2. ed., Raccolta Pisana di saggi e studi 14, a cura dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Arte dell'Università di Pisa, Milano 1965.

⁴ *La scultura etrusca nelle urne di Barberino Val d'Elsa*, Mostra 20 Luglio - 24 Agosto 1968, Firenze.

⁵ FIUMI, 'Portone', 375, 386; ID., 'Poggio alle Croci', 261; M. MONTAGNA PASQUINUCCI, *Le kelebai Volterranne*, Studi dell'Ateneo Pisano 1, Pisa 1968, where also the older literature on the subject (see especially p. 28).

⁶ E. g. INGHIRAMI, IV, 93-94; FIUMI, 'Volterra', 1201.

⁷ FIUMI, 'Portone', 407-414; ID., 'Poggio alle Croci', 263-268; BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Recensione Enking', 488.

⁸ VESSBERG, 243; BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità*, 86; ID., 'Recensione Enking', 488; ID., 'Arte Etrusca', 491; VACANO, 'Volt. Urnenreliefs', 77-79; LAVIOSA, 13, nos. 40, 45, 47, 49.

These form incontrovertible evidence that the Etruscan culture did not vanish at once with the Roman citizenship or the Sullan siege.

In this study I have dealt only with the lid sculptures. The urn reliefs represent a more complex field of problems, with their varying motifs and compositions¹. On the lids the motif is always the same—a man or a woman reclining on the couch—and it is much simpler, here, to follow the development of the style and the characteristics of the workshops. Furthermore, it is very seldom certain that the lid and the urn, now displayed together, originally belonged to each other. Firstly, the tombs have commonly been found with all the material lying pell-mell on the ground, and it is difficult to determine corresponding lids and urns². Secondly, one cannot rely upon the sex of the lid sculptures having been interpreted correctly, since there are numerous examples of misinterpretation in the literature of the 18th and 19th centuries. Thus if a certain urn is mentioned as having had a male figure on the lid and there is now a woman, it is impossible to tell whether the lid was changed or not³. Furthermore, it is not sure that the lid and the urn originally belonging to each other were of equal quality, material and measurement. In Clusium there are examples of urns and lids which certainly have belonged together, though they do not match⁴. The urns and lids were obviously bought from a store of ready-made sculptures and put together carelessly⁵.

It is, however, not quite impossible to form an idea about what kind of urn reliefs belong to the different groups of lid sculptures. We cannot maintain that we can never solve the problem because of the uncertainty, nor can we progress far on the basis of one or two certain combinations. The reliefs and the lids can be studied separately; we can form groups of both and combine them by observing their common features, the materials, the measurements and the manner of sculpting. This requires much further investigation, but later on I will, anyway, make some preliminary suggestions of what kind of reliefs seem to correspond to the different style phases and groups of lid sculptures.

¹ Cf. THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), 37.

² E. g. GORI, *Mus. Etr.* III, cl. II, t. 9; INGHIRAMI, IV, t. 14; FICMI, 'Coll. Cinci', 466; BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità*, 87; LAVIOSA, 11. In Clusium, see THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), 38.

³ See e.g. FICMI, 'Portone', 385, no. 1, 387-388, no. 2, 395 nos. 1, 4.

⁴ THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), 38, 64.

⁵ LAVIOSA, 18.

In the Volaterran urns the inscriptions are on the front border of the lid, and very seldom on the urn. I shall not draw any genealogical or philological conclusions from them, but the language of the inscriptions helps in arranging the groups into chronological order—or better, they confirm the order already obvious on other grounds. The language in itself never gives an absolute dating, but the Latin inscriptions must, of course, be later than most of the Etruscan ones.

The scarcity of reliable reports of finds and intact tombs at Volaterrae excludes several methods in dating, but the find associations which are known, help in drawing the main outlines.

Coins have often been discovered in the tombs, but they do not give exact datings¹. We seldom know in which urn the coin has been, and even more seldom, which lid has belonged to the urn. The same difficulties are caused by the other material found in the tombs, such as the vases (except the red-figured *kraters*, cf. above p. 278), bronze utensils, jewellery etc., the dating of which is often even more uncertain than that of the urns².

The order of the urns in the tombs is almost never known with certainty at Volaterrae, consequently we cannot draw any conclusions on this basis as to the chronology of the urns, as Thimme has done in the more rewarding Clusine material³. Genealogical reconstructions, likewise used by Thimme⁴, cannot be made, either, because of the relatively small number of inscriptions. Even the genealogy of the family Ceicna-Caccina can only be reconstructed so fragmentarily that no definite chronological conclusions can be drawn.

Stylistic comparisons with the urns of Clusium and Perugia do not help much. Some of the lid sculptures of the tomb of the Volumnii in Perugia offer parallels with some Volaterran urns⁵. The other urns in Perugia have not yet been published as a whole⁶, but the parallels with

¹ Cf. THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), 26-27, note 2; VACANO, 'Volt. Urnenreliefs', 78.

² THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), 26-27, note 3.

³ 'Chiusinische Aschenkisten und Sarkophage der hellenistischen Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie der etruskischen Kunst', *SE* 23 (1954), 25-147; *SE* 25 (1957), 87-160.

⁴ THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), 36.

⁵ G. KÖRTE, 'Das Volumniergrab bei Perugia', *Abhandlungen der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil. hist. Kl.*, 12 (1909); A. v. GERKAN - F. MESSERSCHMIDT, 'Das Grab der Volumnier bei Perugia', *RM* 57 (1942), 122-235; THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), 132-147; cf. p. 297 n. 5.

⁶ A. E. FERUGLIO, 'Coperchi di urne cinerarie a Villa Monti (Perugia)', *SE* 37 (1969), 487.

the Volaterran material are few. The urns in Clusium have been grouped and dated by Thimme¹, and there are some parallels, but on the whole the degree of correspondence is small. The production of cinerary urns and sarcophagi varied in the different North-Etruscan cities, and the material cannot be examined as a whole.

Only some lid sculptures of an unusually high quality can be compared with Hellenistic art. The dating on the basis of stylistic comparisons is, however, very uncertain, especially because the greater part of the Volaterran urn production belongs to the Hellenistic period, and the chronology of the possible models is still in many respects uncertain².

The Roman art of the first century B. C. offers some converging points. The development of the style in Volaterrae seems not, however, to have followed Roman art so closely as to make that datings exact.

The coiffures and the jewellery worn by the figures and the vases in their hands offer only a few useful hints as to the dating. Most of the details cannot be dated more exactly than the whole urn production itself, but they are valuable in the typological grouping.

The old-fashioned typological method, though giving too schematic results, is in fact the only one which can be used successfully in this material. I have, of course, used all the other methods mentioned above when it was required, but the typological method has provided the backbone of the study. I have tried to avoid schematism by taking into consideration that throughout the whole period of production there have existed urns of different qualities, more elaborate works for the rich and cheaper ones for the common people³.

2. STYLISTIC AND CHRONOLOGICAL PHASES

I have divided the material into three style phases, each containing the products of several workshops and lasting for some generations. Only the last style phase has been further divided into minor groups. Each of these groups seems to represent the products of one workshop, dominated by one master. Many lids can easily be ascribed to different workshops,

¹ THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), *SE* 25 (1957).

² THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), 28-31.

³ Cf. VACANO, 'Volt. Urnenreliefs', 78; BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Recensione Enking', 486; LAVIOSA, 18.

but both those of an unusually high and low quality are more difficult to classify.

In the grouping of the material I have registered such typological elements as the postures, the hair-dresses, the clothing and the draperies, the wreaths and the garlands, the jewellery, the attributes¹, the cushions, and the treatment of the back of the sculptures². The style phases and groups do not differ from each other with regard to all these features, but in many of them. The inscriptions have not been regarded as typological elements, but they did prove to belong to certain groups; this also refers to the Latin ones.

The most common material used in the urns is the soft local alabaster, which is easy to carve, even in detail³. Somewhat less common is the local tufa, which is easy to carve, too, but the result is simpler⁴. Terracotta is used only in nine lid sculptures, all modelled individually by hand⁵.

The dimensions—the length and width as well as the height—of the lid sculptures proved to be important. Especially the width compared to the length is an important factor; it does not vary much in a group. In diagram (1.) I have marked the length-width and the length-height indices of all those lid sculptures, the measurements of which I know⁶, each style phase and group having its own symbol. I have limited with lines the densest concentration of tufa sculptures of the Idealizing Group (the empty green rings), and let the vertical lines continue straight upwards and downwards;

¹ By the word "attribute" I mean only the objects which the figures hold in their hands.

² In extremely rare cases I have had the opportunity to see how the lids have been sculpted underneath. Certainly most of the lids are just plain and roughly sculpted on the underside, but I have seen that a couple of them have been scooped out (cf. pp. 340, 374) or sculpted into steps in order to fit the urn better (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek H. 304, *Bildertafeln* 142). Such details may prove important.

³ A. NICCOLAI, 'Sui materiali in cui sono scolpite le urne cinerarie di Volterra', *SE* 2 (1928), 421-425; FIUMI, 'Portone', 386; LAVIOSA, 13.

⁴ NICCOLAI, 425; FIUMI, 'Portone', 386.

⁵ NICCOLAI, 425-426. Of the terracotta urns in the Museo Guarnacci, nine have saddle-roofs. The following nine have lid sculptures: Volterra 14, 388, 497, 527, 613 (cf. p. 323), 615 (CONSORTINI, fig. p. 129), 617, 619, Leyden H III QQQ 1 (JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 3; GORI, *Mus. Etr.* III, pp. XXI-XXII).

⁶ Quite exact measuring proved to be very laborious, and thus most of the measurements are approximate, though they seldom differ much from those given in earlier literature on the subject. The lids are often broadest on the right side.

the diagonal lines to the left meet in the O-point, and the same lines to the right include the area of most of the alabaster lids of the Idealizing Group (the green dots). In this way I have three groups for the length (1, 2, 3), the width (A, B, C) and the height (a, b, c). The different style phases and groups concentrate in different fields on the diagram, though partly overlapping each other¹.

Over the whole urn production period there are somewhat more men than women represented on the lid sculptures², but the difference is great only in the latest groups. There are only six couples, with a man and a woman on the same lid (see below p. 324 n. 1). The couples are rare also in Clusium, but somewhat more usual in the Perusine material.

As mentioned above, I have distinguished three style phases, the latest of which has been divided further into workshop groups. In the following I will try to characterize the style phases and groups and date them roughly. Because the space does not permit me to treat the earlier production in detail, the picture given here is certainly more schematic than the development has been in reality. The groups of the last style phase will be described in greater detail.

2.1 LOCAL STYLE PHASE

2.1.1 DESCRIPTION

I have called the first style phase "local", because there is no apparent influence from Hellenistic or Roman art to be distinguished. The characteristic trait of the style is simplicity in modelling. The execution is normally rough and the artistic quality is rather modest. The material used in this style phase is almost exclusively tufa, which for its part led to simple modelling with the avoidance of detail. The sculptures of tufa of the later groups show, however, that the material did not command the style, but only the simplicity of execution. Stereometric modelling has been considered one of the main elements of Etrusco-Italic art, and indeed works of art reminiscent of the Volaterran Local Style Phase have

¹ The diagrams can be used for the length-width indices of the Volaterran urns as well, but the system of length-height indices must be adjusted according to the proportions of the urns. The urns and lid sculptures of Clusium and Perugia are so broad that they would all belong to width group C, and that is why these diagrams are suited only to the Volaterran material.

² I have dealt with 282 males, 212 females and 6 couples.

also been found in other places. The style in itself was thus not limited to Volaterrae and its vicinity, but it represents a somewhat primitive artistic current, possible without direct connexions with the great art centres of the period.

My material includes only 56 lid sculptures belonging to this style phase, but there are many more in reality. There are no inscriptions; they were rare on the lids of tufa during the whole urn production period. There are no traces of painted text, either.

The lid sculptures vary in their details, because they represent many workshops and some few generations. In the following I will sketch the usual features of the style phase.

The length of the lids varies between 40 and 70 cm, and most of them belong to length group (2). The width is either normal (width group B) or broad (group C). The height varies a good deal; there are both very low (group a) and very high (group c) lid sculptures, but most of them belong to the normal height group b (see diagram 2). The proportions had thus not yet been standardized.

The postures of the figures were not as yet established according to a conventional pattern. Many of the figures are reclining in the posture which was also usual in the later phases, namely the body and the face turned to the front, the left elbow supported on the cushions and the feet drawn up. Some of the figures are in a posture which is typologically earlier—I am now thinking of the typological series of the Tarquinian sarcophagi. There the development of the posture can be followed from figures of the deceased lying supine to the figures in the posture of the banquet, reclining, looking to the front and representing living persons¹. In the intermediate stage the figure is still in a lying position, but turning slightly to the side, and the left arm is reposing bent at the elbow on the cushions. Of this diagonal posture there are some examples in the Volaterran material², but no one is lying supine. Hence it is probable that the

¹ R. HERBIG, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage*, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 7, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin 1952, 109-111, 122-124.

² E.g. Volterra 509, 599, 601 (the last two are couples), Berlin E 68 (RUMPF, T. 44), E 69 (RUMPF, T. 46), E 71 (RUMPF, T. 46), London D 101 (PRYCE, fig. 122), all belonging to the Local Style Phase. Volterra 283 is difficult to place in the style phases, because the attributes, the open diptych and the book-scroll, are used in the latest groups, and not in the Local Style Phase, which it greatly resembles in other respects. Florence 92070, a woman lying on her back, is from Barberino Val d'Elsa, but it does not seem to belong to the Volaterran urn production (T'ALOCCHINI, no. 6; BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Val d'Elsa', 36, no. 18).

impulses for making urns with reclining figures on the lids came from southern Etruria, when supine figures were abandoned and the sculptures represented living persons, the posture changing from the flat position on the side to the more erect frontal posture of the banquet. This happened during the third century B. C.¹, and the urn production may have begun in Volaterrae in the first half of the third century B. C.². The production of similar urns in Clusium seems to have begun at the same time or somewhat later than in Volaterrae³.

As far as I know, the lid sculpture with the plain urn, Volterra 7, is one of the few of alabaster in the intermediate posture. The sculpture represents a fat man and it is of great artistic value. It was possibly executed by a sculptor from southern Etruria⁴, who visited Volaterrae for a short time, introducing the new type of cinerary urn to the local artisans.

The figures of the Local Style Phase usually have the upper and lower part of the body of equal length, or then the lower part of the body is a little shorter, but in very few cases it is longer, as in the late Etruscan sarcophagi⁵. As a limit between the upper and lower part of the body I have chosen the middle of the border of the cloak which is drawn over the stomach. The tendency to a disproportionate big head is not quite as prominent as it is in the latest style phase. Numerous figures have rather small heads, in proportion to the bodies, but there are also heads which are too big. In later phases there are relatively more disproportionate heads, though the artistic quality is usually higher. Hence, the size of the head has little to do with the skill of the artisan.

The back of the figures is normally sculpted in the same manner as the front, which was visible to the spectator. That is why the lids are rather broad. When the figure has been modelled in a natural manner and some part of the mattress has been left free on both sides, the lid is so broad that it belongs to the width group C or at least to B (see diagram 2). This also applies to the urns in Clusium and Perugia, and to most of the Etruscan sarcophagi. Only in the latest Volaterran lid sculptures is the back of the figure neglected, the lids thus being narrower.

¹ HERBIG, *Sark.*, 124; THIMME, *SE* 25 (1954), 135.

² Cf. FIUMI, 'Poggio alle Croci', 261; ID. 'Portone', 383, 385-387.

³ At the same time as in Volaterrae, BANTI, 55, 201. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Arte Etrusca', 491, about the year 200 B. C.; THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), note p. 58; ID., *SE* 25 (1957), 135. LAVIOSA considers the Clusine production to be later than the Volaterran urns (LAVIOSA, 18).

⁴ Cf. HERBIG, *Sark.*, T. 26 a, 110 a.

⁵ In the first Clusine Style Phase (200-175 B. C.), the proportions are about 1:2, THIMME, *SE* 25 (1957), 135.

The face is sometimes merely sketched. The ears, the eyes, the nose and the mouth have been marked flatly on the ball-shaped head¹. There are also faces which have been sculpted in greater detail, but the features are rough or plump². Sometimes the ugliness may remind one of real portraits, but there are many similar faces, and they must be considered simply as conventional types³.

The hair-dress is normally sculpted without details. The head often looks bald; as regards men, they may have a marked hair-line. The women may have their hair parted in the middle and knotted at the neck, but the details of the hair-dress are seldom clear.

The figures are usually fat, the face is plump and the stomach round. Thus they correspond to the *obesus etruscus* of Catullus (39,11), which is often mentioned in connexion with fat Etruscan figures⁴.

Men's corpulent stomachs are normally clearly seen, because they wore mostly only the cloak, *himation*, which was wrapped round the legs and the left arm, leaving the upper part of the body and the right arm free. The *chiton* is more seldom used by men in this style phase⁵, but women always wear both the cloak and the *chiton*, although the head is not veiled. In the Hellenistic manner the *chiton* of the women is girt just under the breast, but in this style phase the detail is seldom sculpted clearly. The draperies of the clothes have been sculpted in several ways, but normally their surfaces are quite plain, large, and stereometric.

Both men and women sometimes have plain wreaths crowning their heads⁶. A couple of men wear plain garlands round their necks⁷. The

¹ E. g. Volterra 509 (FIUMI, 'Portone', 385-387, fig. 18), 601 (a couple), London D 93 (PRYCE, fig. 114).

² E. g. Berlin E 64 (RUMPF, T. 45), Florence 5477 (FIUMI, 'Coll. Cinci', 469, no. 56), London D 94 (PRYCE, fig. 115), San Gimignano, Bucciano (MORI, t. 88 b). The two women, Copenhagen, National Museum 3815 (*Nationalmuseet*, 92, vetrines 15-18, A) and Leyden H III MMM 1 (JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 27), are certainly made by the same sculptor.

³ Volterra 161 (LAMBRECHTS, no. 24 a, pl. 28 below), 212, Berlin E 62 (RUMPF, T. 45), San Gimignano, Il Piano (SCAMUCCI, t. 27: 1-2).

⁴ Vergil expressed it "*pinguis Tyrrhenus*" (*Georgica* 2, 193), cf. also *Aeneis* 11, 736-740.

⁵ Volterra 536, Berlin E 61 (RUMPF, T. 44).

⁶ Men: Volterra 160 (LAMBRECHTS, pl. 28), 536, Berlin E 67 (RUMPF, T. 44), London D 93, D 94, D 99 (PRYCE, fig. 120), Copenhagen, National Museum 3813 (*Nationalmuseet*, fig. p. 94). Women: Volterra 161, 212, Copenhagen, National Museum 3815, Leyden H III MMM 1, H III RRR 1 (JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 13), San Gimignano, Il Piano and Bucciano.

⁷ E. g. Volterra 160, London D 93, D 94.

women seldom have any jewellery. A few wear earrings¹ and some women have torcs² round their necks. The finger-rings are extremely rare, but one woman has two small holes on both sides of the ring-finger of the left hand, apparently for attaching a real metal ring³.

Many of the figures have nothing in their hands. The left hand is just reposing on the cushions and the right on the knee. The only attribute for men is a plain *phiale mesomphalos* for pouring libations⁴, and for women a pomegranate⁵, both held in the right hand. These two attributes, which were the only ones during the Local Style Phase, were most usual during the whole urn production period. *Phialai* were also very common on the

¹ Pendant earrings, Volterra 212, San Gimignano, Bucciano, Wien I 1032 (R. NOLL, 'Etruskische Aschenkisten mit der Troilossage in Wien. *SE* 6 (1932), T. 18 : 2). Ball-shaped ear-buttons, Copenhagen, National Museum 3815 and perhaps Leyden H III MMM 1.

² Barcelona (J. M. BLÁZQUEZ, 'La colección inédita de urnas y sarcófagos etruscos del Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona', *AEArq* 35 (1962), 95-97, fig. 2 p. 92). Literature on the torc: E. SCHUPPE, 'Torques und torquis', *RE* 6 (1937), 1800-1805; G. BECATI, *Oreficerie antiche dalle minoiche alle barbariche*, Roma 1955, 104-105; L. POLACCO, *Il volto di Tiberio*, Accademia patavina di scienze, lettere e arti 67, Roma 1955, 82-89.

³ Volterra 161.

⁴ Volterra 160, 509, 536, Berlin E 58 (RUMPF, T. 42; J. M. BLÁZQUEZ MARTÍNEZ, 'Caballos en el infierno etrusco', *Ampurias* 19-20 (1957-58), 76, fig. 1), E 63 (RUMPF, T. 44), E 66 (RUMPF, T. 43), E 67, E 68, E 71, E 72 (RUMPF, T. 46), Casole d'Elsa, Poggio di San Niccolò (cf. p. 289), Copenhagen, National Museum 3813, London D 93, D 94. Some women, too, in this style phase have *phialai*: Volterra 212, San Gimignano, Il Piano (cf. p. 289).

For the *phialai*, see e. g. H. LUSCHEY, *Die Phiale*, Diss. Bleicherode am Herz, 1939; D. E. STRONG, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate*, Glasgow 1966, passim, especially 97-98, 112. There are several plain *phialai* of black ceramic, with only the central boss, in the Museo Guarnacci. Of libation see e. g. D. M. ROBINSON, *Excavations at Olynthus* 11, Baltimore 1942, 187-188.

⁵ E. g. Barcelona (J. M. BLÁZQUEZ, 'La colección inédita de urnas y sarcófagos etruscos del Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona', *AEArq* 35 (1962), 92, fig. 2), Berlin E 62, E 64, Copenhagen, National Museum 3815, Florence 5477, and A. MINTO, 'Nuovi acquisti del R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze', *SE* 3 (1929), t. 51, 1, Leyden H III RRR 2 (JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 30), H III PPP 3 (JANSSEN, op. cit., no. 14), H III TTT 2 (JANSSEN, op. cit., no. 16), H III MMM 1, London D 101. The pomegranate was the symbol of fertility and immortal life, see e. g. G. W. ELDERKIN, *Kantharos*, Princeton 1924, 3, 10, 25-27; STEIER, 'Malum punicum', *RE* 14 (1928), 928-942; E. v. MERCKLIN, 'Antiken im Hamburgischen Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe', *AA* (1928), 385, no. 792 (with references); A. DE AGOSTINO, 'Statuette e statue femminili con l'attributo della melagrana', *SE* 10 (1936), especially p. 88.

Clusine lid sculptures of cinerary urns and on the southern Etruscan sarcophagi¹, but pomegranates were more seldom used.

There are usually two plain, flat cushions, and they look uncomfortable and hard. The slab of stone on which the figure is reclining has not been transformed into a soft-looking mattress, either.

Traces of polychromy have been preserved on several figures. The complexion of both men and women is sometimes brownish red². Red has also been used on the hair, as well as yellow ochre and black or dark grey. These three colours were the dominating ones during the whole urn production period.

Many of the lids of this style phase have plain urns, quite free of decoration. Alternatively, they imitate the construction of wooden chests. Some of them have painted geometric decoration³. Thus I agree with Bianchi Bandinelli in considering this kind of urns as the oldest ones⁴. There are also examples of low reliefs⁵.

2.1.2 CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISCOVERY AND DATING

A number of the lid sculptures belonging to this style phase have been found in the localities of the Volaterran territory, such as Casole d'Elsa, Castelfalfi (Montaione), San Gimignano and Monteriggioni⁶. They may be of local production, but there are no great differences in comparison with the Volaterran specimens.

The circumstances of discovery of only few lid sculptures are known and most of them do not tell us much, but all point to the same dating.

¹ HERBIG, *Sark.*, 111; E. S. TÖRR, *Spätetruskische Tonsarkophage*, Diss. Giessen, 1969, 52.

² Volterra 161 (P. REUTERSWÄRD, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik, Griechenland und Rom, Untersuchungen über die Farbwirkung der Marmor- und Bronzeskulpturen*, Stockholm 1960, 170), 212, 509, Copenhagen, National Museum 3815, etc.

³ E. g. Berlin E 61-72; Casole d'Elsa, Poggio di San Niccolò; San Gimignano, Il Piano (cf. p. 289).

⁴ BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Calini Sepuś', 176.

⁵ Volterra 509, "the Rape of Helena" (FIUMI, 'Portone', fig. 18 p. 387; BR.-KÖRTE, III, 235, no. 6 a), Florence 5477, "Procession to the Underworld Conducted by Demons (FIUMI, 'Coll. Cinci', 469, no. 56; BR.-KÖRTE, III, 58, t. 49, 10 a), Leyden H III TTT 2 (JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 16; BR.-KÖRTE, III, 86, t. 72, 2 b), Volterra 536, floral ornament (FIUMI, 'Portone', fig. 11 p. 382; BR.-KÖRTE, III, 225, t. 152, 2 e).

⁶ Casole d'Elsa, see SCAMUCCI, 355-357, t. 27, 3; Castelfalfi, Montaione, see MINTO, 'Nuovi acquisti', 470, t. 51, 1; San Gimignano, the urns displayed in the yard of the Museo Civico, San Gimignano, see SCAMUCCI, 354-355; Monteriggioni, Malacena, see RUMPF, 33-36, E 58, E 61-62, E 64-70.

A male figure, Volterra 536, was found in the tomb *k* in the necropolis of Portone during the excavations of 1873-74¹. The relief of the urn with floral ornaments is low. The other burials of the tomb were in earthenware vessels, one of which was a red-figured *krater* produced in Volaterrae, and in a saddle-roofed urn of tufa. Furthermore, there were bronze mirrors and golden earrings. Fiumi dates the tomb between the years 300/280 and 240/230 B.C., and the urn with the lid sculpture would belong to the latest burials of the tomb².

The urn Volterra 509 was found during the same excavations in the tomb *r*, together with another urn, of which only the chest is now known. There was nothing else in the tomb; hence it does not help in the dating³.

An urn with its lid belonging to this style phase was found in Casole d'Elsa, Poggio di San Niccolò. The features and the draperies of the man reclining on the lid are rendered in a schematic way and the figure can be considered typical of the style phase. The posture is diagonal. The tomb was found intact and contained a large number of vases, a bronze mirror, and three bronze coins. One of them could be identified as belonging to the oldest Volaterran coin series, dated about the year 300 B.C. The other burials were in vases, one of which was a Volaterran red-figured column *krater*⁴. Thus, the tomb can be dated about the year 300 and the third century B.C., the urn belonging to the latest burials, perhaps to the middle of the century.

A plain urn with a female figure on the lid was found at Il Piano near San Gimignano. The features are rough and the execution summary. This is one of the few cases of women with a *phiale* in the right hand. Together with the urn were found two plain chests with saddle-roofs, as well as some vases⁵. Thus, the tomb adds little to the dating of the Local Style Phase.

These few find combinations indicate that at least a part of the Local Style Phase represents the earliest production of urns with lid sculptures. I would think that the production began in the first half of the third century (cf. p. 278 n. 5) and lasted until about the year 200 B.C. In fact, it is difficult to estimate, how long a time it lasted.

¹ FIUMI, 'Portone', fig. 11 p. 382, 379 no. 2; *EAA* 7 (1966), 1075, fig. 1202 ('urna etrusca', MANSUETTI).

² FIUMI, 'Portone', 378-383.

³ FIUMI, 'Portone', 385-387, fig. 18 p. 387.

⁴ SCAMUCCI, 355-357; MONTAGNA PASQUINUCCI, 22-25.

⁵ SCAMUCCI, 354-355, pl. 27 : 1-2.

2.2 HELLENISTIC STYLE PHASE

2.2.1 DESCRIPTION

I have given this name to the following style phase, because the influence of Hellenistic art is now more apparent in the lid sculptures. The Hellenistic traits are not always clear, and the exact dividing line between this and the earlier style phase is sometimes difficult to define. Often the influence is limited to the hair-dress and other formal features. The style is most apparent in some lid sculptures of a high artistic quality, and these are exceptions in the great mass, produced by modest workmanship. It is possible that foreign artists have occasionally visited Volaterrae for a short time, made an urn or two and moved away. The local artisans have been introduced to the current art of the time and have acquired new impulses. Hence, the quality varies much in the many workshops. The style phase probably lasted over several generations. The possibilities for variations were now greater and the details richer. This is partly due to the material, alabaster, which dominated the production. Tufa has been used more seldom¹. Of the nine terracotta sculptures I have attributed all but one to this style phase².

There are about 80 lids belonging to this style phase in my material, but the real number is considerably greater. The inscriptions are very

¹ E.g. the two sarcophagi, Volterra 123 and 124 (GIACCHI, 201; INGHIRAMI, I:1, t. 3; N. TOSCANELLI, *Pisa nell'antichità dalle età preistoriche alla caduta dell'Impero Romano II*, Pisa 1933, 574, 665 (the inscription, CIE 128, is not Latin, but Etruscan); III, Pisa 1934, 775; LAMBRECHTS, no. 18, pl. 15; M. TABANELLI, *La medicina nel mondo degli Etruschi*, Biblioteca della "Rivista di storia delle scienze mediche e naturali" 11, Firenze 1963, t. 30; G. HAFNER, 'Das Bildnis des Q. Ennius, Studien zur römischen Porträtkunst des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', *Deutsche Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft*, 20, Baden-Baden 1968, 27-28, Abb. 11 p. 29; HERBIG, *Sark.*, nos. 260-261, T. 85-86, 102: a-c; cf. p. 296 n. 8), as well as the cinerary urns, Volterra 32 (G. Q. GIGLIOLI, *L'arte etrusca*, Milano 1935, t. 408, 4), 295, 503 (C. RICCI, *Volterra*³, Collezione di monografie illustrate, Italia artistica 18, Bergamo 1926, fig. p. 30), 560 (DE RUYT, fig. 40), Florence 78517 (DE RUYT, fig. 12), London D 100 (PRYCE, fig. 121), D 104 (PRYCE, fig. 125), D 106 (PRYCE, fig. 127), Berlin E 59 (RUMPF, T. 43), Leyden H III LLL 1 (JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 18), H III B (JANSSEN, op. cit., no. 23).

² Cf. p. 282 n. 5. The exception is Volterra 613, see p. 323.

rare — I do not know of more than two lid sculptures and in both cases the language is Etruscan¹.

The length of the lids now varies between about 45 and 90 cm. Only a few belong to the smallest length group (1), several to group (2), but the majority to group (3) (see diagram 2). There is, thus, an increase in length. Then lids are broad, belonging mostly to the width group C. The height varies in accordance with the posture of the reclining figure from height group a to c. Many of the figures are almost in a sitting position, but especially the crudely executed sculptures are lower, with the upper part of the body only somewhat raised. The face is mostly turned to the front, occasionally to the right, to the left or upwards. Thus the posture could be varied, expressing more elegance or pathos than the frontal one. Sometimes the bare feet are placed on the left edge of the lid and the bottom of the foot can be seen from the back. The lower part of the body is usually shorter than the upper part. The heads of most figures are correctly proportioned in relation to the body. The heads of the shortest figures may, however, be too big, and some of the long, well-executed lids have shortened legs (Volterra 119 and 291). The back of the figure is normally sculpted with the same care as the other sides.

Many of the lid sculptures of a high artistic quality have a pathetic expression on the face, in the Hellenistic manner². Those of an inferior quality have a placid expression³. The idea of the gloom of the underworld does not seem to be mirrored in the figures produced by local artisans, but has been restricted to the production of foreign artists.

The eyes, deep-set and slanting downwards towards the cheeks, are a typical trait, derived from Hellenistic models⁴. The features are normally plump, with a double chin, and the jaws of the elder men are flabby. There are many face types for men, both old and young, but the women are usually aged and with no signs of idealization. Individual features are lacking, too, and most of the figures must be considered as mere workshop types.

¹ Volterra 124 (CIE 128) and 291 (CIE 143), the latter with traces of painted text on the scroll.

² E. g. Volterra 119 (cf. p. 298 n. 1), 124, 181, 291 (cf. p. 298 n. 2). Vatican 13887 (cf. p. 298).

³ E. g. Volterra 205 (BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità*, 272, note 131), 355, 395, 453, 458, Florence 78517 etc.

⁴ The trait is too common to be exemplified in detail here, but some of the most exaggerated examples are Volterra 100 (A. DELLA SETA, *Italia Antica*², Bergamo 1928, 265, fig. 288; DE RUYT, fig. 28; GIGLIOLI, t. 396, 1), 109 (INGHIRAMI, VI, t. X 3:2), 124, 295, 458, Florence 78517.

The men have rather long hair, evenly cut round their heads, or the locks are tousled in the manner which Alexander the Great brought into fashion. The ears are, however, seldom covered by the hair, but are usually free¹. The hair-dress of women is the classical one, with the hair parted in the middle, waving at the temples and gathered into a knot at the neck. Sometimes the knot is placed higher up than at the neck (Volterra 399).

The men are usually corpulent, and the women are also rather stout. The men mostly wear only the cloak, which leaves the upper part of the body nude. The *chiton* is used more seldom by men, whereas always by women. The men have never covered their heads with the cloak, and women are seldom veiled. The cloak may be bordered by a plaited ribbon², and the corner of the cloak lying free is often arranged into knots and cascades of draperies, in different manners changing from workshop to workshop. The manner of rendering the draperies also varies, from quite natural folds to dense, nervous or stiff, schematic draperies. The women's *chita* are always girt just under the bosom, and there are many kinds of girdles. A few of them are tied into a Heracles-knot³, most are just plain ribbons⁴ or ribbons with garland ornaments (Volterra 153, 326). Together with the girdle, plaited cross-bands with a wheel-buckle in the middle may be used⁵. Sometimes the buckle is missing and there is a hole in the place for attaching a metal buckle (Volterra 71, 242, 450).

¹ The ears covered by the hair: Volterra 7 (cf. p. 285), 204 (BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità*, 272, note 131), 527, 617, Leyden H III N 1 (JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 19). The ears are free: e.g. Volterra 100, 119, 124, 181, 208, 291, 295, 395, 557, Florence 78517, 92061 (BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Val d'Elsa', fig. 32, no. 9; LAVIOSA, no. 1; TALOCCHINI, no. 1), 92074 (BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *op. cit.*, no. 22; TALOCCHINI, no. 10), Berlin E 57 (RUMPF, T. 41), E 59.

For the hair-dress, see G. HAFNER, 'Männer- und Jünglingsbilder aus Terrakotta im Museo Gregoriano Etrusco', *RM* 73-74 (1966-67), 29-52; *ib.*, 'Das Bildnis des Q. Ennius', 28, 32; VESSBERG, 121 and *passim*.

² E.g. Volterra 204, 208, 400 (DE RUYT, fig. 33), Berlin E 57 (RUMPF, T. 41).

³ This was the most common way of tying girdles in antiquity; E. SAGLIO, 'Nodus', *DAREMBERG-SAGLIO*, IV:1, 87-88; H. ÖHRWALL, 'Nägot om knutar i antiken', *Eranos* 16 (1916), 64-71. E.g. Volterra 399, Leyden H III QQQ 2 (JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 17), and in a different way, Volterra 217 (LAVIOSA, no. 42; INGHIRAMI, VI, t. V 3: 2).

⁴ Volterra 107, 458, Florence 5512 (FIUMI, 'Coll. Cinci', 469, no. 30), London D 104, D 106, New York (RICHTER, *Etr. Collection*, fig. 142).

⁵ Volterra 71, 218, 242, 326, 347, 450, Florence, Poggio alle Croci. Such also occur in Clusium, Perugia and Tuscania (THIMME, *SE* 25 (1957), T. III: 3, fig. 31; HERBIG, *Sark.*, T. 50, no. 13, T. 57 a, no. 76; PRYCE, figs. 57, 65; FERUGLIO, T. 127 a; TÜRRE, 54).

Most of the men have wreaths round their heads. They are occasionally plain¹ as in the foregoing style phase, but more often decorated with leaves, bands and flowers which vary a great deal in stylization². Some women, but not all of them, have diadems³ or, instead, a row of holes⁴.

The men often wear garlands round their necks. The garlands of this style phase are usually decorated, sometimes with groups of cross-lines and tiny dots in between, i.e. stylized bands and flowers⁵. Some garlands are quite plain⁶, others are densely dotted⁷. Many garlands are completely cross-banded⁸. Occasionally we find long garlands elegantly wound round the hands.

The jewellery of the women is rich and varied in this style phase. The torc is the most common jewellery worn by the women round their necks⁹. A new type of necklace appears, composed of a plaited chain with numerous small pendants (Volterra 71, 242, 326), the popular pendant necklace of the Hellenistic period¹⁰. As far as I know, Volterra 71, a lid sculpture representing a woman, is unique in the Volaterran material since she wears very rich jewellery, comprising not only a pendant necklace but also a torc and a chain of *bullae*, resembling thus some of the Clusine figures¹¹.

¹ Volterra 132, 204, 295, 617.

² Volterra 32, 118, 119, 157 (LAMBRECHTS, no. 37, pl. 40; SERCHI, fig. p. 98), 181, 208, 248, 291, 395, 400 (DE RUYT, fig. 33), 483 (LAMBRECHTS, no. 22 d, pl. 23), 503, 557, Florence 78492, 78517, 92059 (BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Val d'Elsa', 35, no. 7; TALOCCHINI, no. 3), 92061.

³ E.g. Volterra 109, 153 (LAMBRECHTS, pl. 36), 239, 347, 450, 453, 465, 619, Vatican 13887.

⁴ London D 106; Vatican 13887 has both a diadem and small holes in front of it.

⁵ Volterra 157, 208, 248, 512 (G.-K. LOUKOMSKI, *Art étrusque*, Paris 1930, pl. 54), Florence 92059, 92061. This is common in Clusine lid sculptures (see THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), figs. 6, 25, 44, 49; *SE* 25 (1957), fig. 20).

⁶ Volterra 132, 205, 462, 617, Florence 92074.

⁷ Berlin E 59.

⁸ Volterra 181, 291, 355, 503, Vatican 13887. This is especially common in Perusine lid sculptures, see e.g. FERUGLIO, t. 128-129; RUMPF, T. 32, 36 (E 42, 50); VACANO, 'Ōdipus', t. 5.

⁹ Volterra 71, 109, 153, 217, 218, 239, 347, 399, 450, 453, 465, 619, Florence 5512, London D 104, D 106, New York (RICHTER, *Etr. Collection*, fig. 142).

¹⁰ R. SIVIERO, *Gli ori e le ambre del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Firenze 1954, pls. 100-101, nos. 80, 88; R. A. HIGGINS, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, London 1961, 168, pl. 49, colour pl. C, below (p. 168/169); H. HOFFMANN-P. F. DAVIDSON, *Greek Gold Jewelry from the Age of Alexander*, Mainz 1965, nos. 35, 37, 39 etc; TÜRRE, 54.

¹¹ Cf. Chiusi, the Museo Civico, inv. 973 (HERBIG, *Sark.*, no. 12, T. 47 a, 164 c), Palermo, Coll. Casuccini 24 (HERBIG, *Sark.*, no. 76, T. 57 a), London D 44 (PRYCE, 209, fig. 65).

The earrings are of the type composed of a disc and a pyramidal or a conical pendant; these are executed in a variety of shapes. Some of them are so big that they reach the shoulders¹. The type was popular during the Hellenistic and early Imperial period².

The armlet is an unusual piece of jewellery (Volterra 217 and 453), but the bracelet is quite common. It is usually a snake-formed spiral bracelet³, a type, which was in fashion during the late Hellenistic and early Imperial period, both in Greece and Italy⁴. All these types of jewellery continued during the following style phase.

Both men and women wear finger-rings, some of which have a big oval or round bezel⁵.

The most usual attributes are still the *phiale* for men and the pomegranate⁶ for women, and they are normally held in the right hand, just as in the former style phase. The *phialai* are now often decorated with radial ornaments, in the form of leaf-shaped hollows; the central boss may be decorated, too⁷. The left hand is lying on the cushions, holding the cloak or supporting the cheek.

¹ Volterra 71, 153, 218, 239, 453, 458, 465, 547, and smaller ones, Volterra 217, 347, 450; cf. K. HADACZEK, *Der Ohrschmuck der Griechen und Etrusker*, Abhandlungen des archäologisch-epigraphischen Seminars der Universität Wien, 14, Wien 1903, 70, notes 3-4; FIUMI, 'Portone', 391.

² FIUMI, 'Portone', 391; ID., 'Poggio alle Croci', 259, fig. 7, no. 48; HADACZEK, 69-71; HIGGINS, 165-166, no. 5, a-b, pls. 42 a, 48; G. HAFNER, 'Frauen- und Mädchenbilder aus Terrakotta im Museo Gregoriano etrusco', *RM* 72 (1965), 54-55, T. 21, 3; G. M. A. RICHTER, *A Handbook of Greek Art*⁶, London and New York 1969, 268, fig. 382 (upside down); C. CARDUCCI, *Gold- und Silberschmuck aus dem antiken Italien*, Wien-München 1962, T. 32, a; SIVIERO, t. 54, no. 44; H. HOFFMANN - P. F. DAVIDSON, *Greek Gold Jewelry from the Age of Alexander*, nos. 22, 23.

³ Volterra 107, 153, 217, 218, 239, 326, 347, 399, Florence 5512, London D 104, D 106, Leyden H III B.

⁴ TORR, 53, 55-56; *EAA* 2 (1959), 161 ('Braccialetto'); G. BECATTI, *Oreficerie antiche dalle minoiche alle barbariche*, Roma 1955, 213, nos. 498, 499, t. 141-142; F. H. MARSHALL, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum*, London 1911, pl. 62, no. 2774, p. 324; SIVIERO, pls. 154-165; F. COARELLI, *L'oreficeria nell'arte classica*, Milano 1966, figs. 39, 44, 58, 59, 67; C. CARDUCCI, *Gold- und Silberschmuck aus dem antiken Italien*, Wien-München 1962, pls. 22, 46, 51; HIGGINS, 172, no. 5.

⁵ Volterra 118, 217, 291, 400. Smaller ones, Volterra 119, 181, 204, 248, 395, 399, 503, 617, Florence 78492, Berlin E 44 (RUMPF, T. 32), E 57.

⁶ E. g. Volterra 123, 153, 218, 239, 399, Florence 5512, Leyden H III QQQ 2.

⁷ Volterra 119, 124, 295, 355, 429, 557, Berlin E 44, E 57, E 59, Florence 92061.

As a new attribute some women have a leaf-shaped fan in the right hand¹. In this case the pomegranate is held in the left. One woman holds a bird in her left hand². Some men have a book-scroll (Volterra 100, 291) or closed tablets³. The man of the Vatican couple (cf. below p. 298) holds a high-footed *kantharos*⁴.

The shape of the cushions varies a great deal. Some of them are simple and rather uncomfortable as in the Local Style Phase, but most of them are big and soft. Many of the cushions have been decorated with tassels and ribbons⁵. The mattress is now modelled softly, and there are often skins or a coverlet on the mattress, with a waving border⁶, a detail which was also used in Clusium and Perusia⁷, but in Volaterrae only during this style phase. The only example of a head board, *fulchrum*, in the Volaterran urn material is that of the Vatican couple (see below p. 298).

Traces of polychromy are left on some sculptures. Brownish red has been used for hair, eyes, lips, wreaths and cushions, black and dark grey for hair and eyes, and yellow ochre, instead of gold, for *phialai* and torcs. The colours are the same as in the earlier style phase.

The alabaster block has often been too small or it has broken during the carving, and the piece was completed by using another block, carved separately. Holes have been drilled in the surface of the join, and in these were set wooden or iron tenons as supports⁸. The join was revealed, when

¹ Volterra 347, Palazzo Inghirami 10 (C. DELPLACE, 'Catalogue des urnes et couvercles de la collection Inghirami de Volterra', *Bull. Inst. hist. Belge de Rome*, 41 (1970), fig. 15). London D 104, Leyden H III B. Volterra 453 holds a fan in the left hand.

² Volterra 109.

³ Volterra 250, 345 (DE RUYT, fig. 6), Leyden H III MMM 2 (JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 29; C. C. VAN ESSEN, 'Chronologie der latere etruscische kunst', *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome* 6, 'S-Gravenhage 1926, pl. 10 fig. 5).

⁴ Cf. TERR, 52-53; STRONG, 96, pl. 26 A; P. WUILLEUMIER, *Tarente des origines a la conquête Romaine*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 148, Paris 1939, pl. 22, 1; SCAMUCCI, 355, t. 27, 6, to the right.

⁵ Volterra 217, 242, 512, Florence 78492, 92061. Tassels: Volterra 118, 119, 181, 204, 250, 345, 395, 400, 483, 619.

⁶ Men: Volterra 119, 181, 205, 250, 400, 429, 483, Berlin E 57, Leyden H III MMM 2, Florence 78517. Women, Volterra 326, 619.

⁷ Clusium: e. g. THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), figs. 6, 7, 14, 22, 25, 26, 57; *SE* 25 (1957), figs. 3, 4, 20, 21, 27, T. III: 3, V: 2. Perusia: e. g. G. DAREGGI, 'Recupero e riesame di una collezione privata nei dintorni di Perugia', *SE* 37 (1969), t. 125; FERUGLIO, t. 127-129; RUMPF, T. 32, 36 (E 42, 50); VACANO, 'Ödipus', T. 5.

⁸ E.g. Volterra 71 (the hands, the back of the knot at the neck), 181 (a part of the garland), 242 (the head and hands), 450 (the right hand), 465 (the left half

the sculpture broke anew in the same place. This technique has been used only for alabaster sculptures in Volaterrae, but it was very common in marble sculptures elsewhere. As mentioned before, there are also holes for attaching pieces of metal jewellery (above, p. 292).

Many of the lid sculptures of this style phase are lying on urns which certainly do not belong to them. Those which seem to belong to the lids vary much, both in the motifs, the plasticity and the quality. A rather low relief was the most common, but there are also reliefs practically in the round. Some reliefs are framed by plain borders¹, certainly survivals from the urns imitating wooden chests. Flat pilasters with or without capitals were also used as framings of reliefs², and similarly, but more seldom, other architectural ornaments³. The urns are still, as a rule, supported by short, broad legs, either plain⁴ or with lion's paws⁵. All the three categories of motifs, the mythological⁶, the ornamental⁷ and those referring to the death and the funeral⁸, were represented in the Hellenistic Style Phase.

of the figure), Florence 92061 (a part of the right side), London D 106 (the attribute in the right hand). For the technique, see LAVIOSA, no. 14; VACANO, 'Volt. Urnenreliefs', 51; VESSBERG, 221-222.

¹ E. g. Volterra 100, 355, Florence 5512.

² Volterra 71, 119, 121 (P. DUCATI, *L'arte classica*², Torino 1927, 561, fig. 697; ID., *Storia dell'arte etrusca*, Firenze 1927, fig. 582 t. 237; DE RUYT, fig. 27), 123, 124, 204, 205, 290, 399, 450, Berlin E 57, Leyden H III QQQ 1.

³ Volterra 71, 290, 450, Berlin E 57.

⁴ E. g. Volterra 100, 121, 123, 204, 355, 399, Florence 5512.

⁵ Volterra 71, 119, 124, 205, Florence 92061, Leyden H III QQQ 1.

⁶ Such as "the Death of Troilus" (Volterra 295, BR.-KÖRTE, I, 60, t. 55, 15), "Medea Fleeing from Corinth" (Volterra 497, BR.-KÖRTE, II, t. 1, 2; cf. p. 297), "Oedipus and the Sphinx" (Volterra 355, BR.-KÖRTE, II, 20, t. 6, 1), "Eteocles and Polyneices" (Volterra 399, BR.-KÖRTE, II, 43, t. 14, 3), "Oenomaus" (Volterra 181, 450, Vatican 13887, BR.-KÖRTE, II, 110, t. 5, 1; 113, t. 42, 4; 115, t. 42, 5), "the Rape of Proserpine" (Florence 92061, LAVIOSA, no. 1), and some uncertain motifs (Volterra 204, 205, BR.-KÖRTE, II, 253, t. 118, 1-2).

⁷ Floral motifs, e. g. Volterra 32 (BR.-KÖRTE, III, 227, t. 155, 1), Florence 92066 (BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Val d'Elsa', 36, no. 14; TALOCCHINI, no. 8), and Leyden H III QQQ 1 (BR.-KÖRTE, III, 226, t. 152, 4d). Such sea monsters as Florence 5512 (BR.-KÖRTE, III, 221, t. 148) and Volterra 71 (BR.-KÖRTE, III, 30, t. 17, 2) might also be considered as ornamental motifs.

⁸ E. g. "the Journey to the Underworld on Horseback" was a very common motif, Volterra 100, 118, 119, 121 (BR.-KÖRTE, III, 83, t. 69, 1; 83, t. 70, 2; 84, t. 69, 3;

2.2.2 CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISCOVERY AND DATING

Cinerary urns which certainly belong to the production of the Volaterran workshops of the Hellenistic Style Phase have also been found in the Volaterran territory, for example at Barberino Val d'Elsa¹ and Monteggioni².

As far as I know, there is only one urn belonging to this style phase found in circumstances which are known to us. This is the exceptional terracotta urn, Volterra 497³. The man on the lid is in an almost sitting posture. He is resting his cheek in his left hand. The lid sculpture is, however, badly damaged. The relief—certainly belonging to the urn—has been identified as Medea's Flight to Corinth. The urn was found in 1874 in the tomb *a* of the necropolis of Portone together with a red-figured column *krater* and four saddle-roofed urns of tufa, objects that have otherwise been found together with urns belonging to the Local Style Phase. Fiumi has dated the urn to the middle of the third century B. C.⁴, but I would venture to propose a later dating, perhaps about the year 200 B. C., because of the almost sitting posture of the figure.

Comparisons with urns of other Etruscan centres and with Hellenistic art are more useful with regard to the dating of the style phase. There are many parallels to the Volaterran lid figures in the Clusine material, especially in Thimme's style phase III, dated to 150-125 B. C.⁵.

90, t. 75, 13). Scenes of leave-taking (Volterra 123, BR.-KÖRTE, III, 61, t. 54, 19) and "a Magistrate Going to the Underworld Followed by a Procession" (Volterra 124, BR.-KÖRTE, III, 110, t. 90, 1) also belong to the Style Phase.

¹ Florence 92059, 92061, 92074; TALOCCHINI, nos. 1, 3, 10.

² Berlin E 57, E 59. Some urns of the tomb of the Calini Sepuś at Monteggioni seem to belong to the same or a somewhat earlier time (as BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Calini Sepuś', t. 27, 3 a), but these urns seem to follow more closely Clusine than Volaterran development. Cf. THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), 56, note 30.

³ FIUMI, 'Portone', 373-378, no. 5, fig. 7; A. CINCI, 'Scavi di Volterra', *BullInst* (1874), 233; BR.-KÖRTE, II, 5, t. 1, 2. For the recent finds, see p. 276 n. 5.

⁴ FIUMI, 'Portone', 377.

⁵ THIMME, *SE* 25 (1957), 136-138. Such details as the coverlets of the mattresses, the garlands with groups of dots and cross-lines as well as the face types, the decorated borders of the cloak etc. often occur on Clusine lid sculptures. Especially good parallels are the urn 4 of the Pellegrina tomb of Clusium (THIMME, *SE* 23,

Some of the lid sculptures of a high artistic quality, perhaps executed by foreign sculptors, can be dated to the second century B.C. on the grounds of stylistic comparison with Hellenistic art—for example, two cases of aged men, Volterra 119¹ and 291². A Vatican urn, representing a couple (Vatican 13887), is quite exceptional, and can be dated to some time after the middle of the second century B.C. because of its purely Pergamene style and composition. It was probably made by a sculptor who had worked in Pergamon and become unemployed after the Pergamene monuments were finished as suggested by Dohrn³.

The time of production of the Hellenistic Style Phase seems to have been the second century B.C., but it is difficult to date it more exactly⁴.

(1954), 108-109, fig. 49) and Florence 5777 (THIMME, *SE* 25 (1957), 121, fig. 12), and some of the figures of the tomb of Volumnii at Perugia, which belong to Clusine development rather than Perusine (THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), 132-147).

¹ INGHIRAMI, VI, t. 1:2; D. LEVI, 'L'arte etrusca e il ritratto', *Dedalo* 13 (1933), 222-223; VESSBERG, 126, 242, T. 87: 1-2; BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità*, 272, note 131; ID., 'Ritratto', 716; M. PALLOTTINO - H. und I. JUCKER, *Etruskische Kunst*, Zürich 1955, 153, fig. 111; *Kunst und Leben der Etrusker*, Kunsthaus Zürich, Zürich 1955, 124, no. 325; A. FROVA, *L'arte etrusca*², Milano 1960, fig. 42; M. SANTANGELO, *Musei e monumenti etruschi*, Novara 1960, fig. p. 76; VACANO, 'Volt. Urnenreliefs', 85; LAVIOSA, no. 39; SCULLARD, t. 70; HAFNER, 'Das Bildnis des Q. Ennius', 28, 32, Abb. 18, p. 40.

² MICALI, 8, t. 42; INGHIRAMI, VI, t. U 3: 4; DUCATI, *AE*, fig. 578; ID., *L'Italia antica dalle prime civiltà alla morte di Cesare*, Storia d'Italia 1, Milano 1936, 408, fig. 295; B. NOGARA, *Gli Etruschi e la loro civiltà*, Milano 1933, 411, fig. 233; P. J. RIIS, 'The Etruscan City Gates in Perugia', *AArch* 5 (1934), 89, no. 13, fig. 14 p. 91; CONSORTINI, fig. p. 139; T. KRAUS, *Das römische Weltreich*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 2, Berlin 1967, 152, Abb. 7.

³ T. DOHRN, 'Pergamenisches in Etrurien', *RM* 68 (1961), 1-8. The provenance of the urn is not quite clear; it was in Todi in 1737 (GORI, *Mus. Etr.* 1, t. 135), and by the beginning of the 19th century in the Vatican; MICALI, 8, t. 44; E. PISTOLESI, *Il Vaticano descritto ed illustrato* IV, Roma 1829, t. 111 below; *Mus. Gregor.* 1, t. 95, 1, p. 13; DENNIS, II, 429-493; B. NOGARA, *Guide du Musée étrusco-Grégorien du Vatican*, Vatican 1933, 29; TOSCANELLI, II, fig. 53 p. 571; BANTI, t. 91; *EAA* 3 (1960), 345, fig. 419 ('Enomao'); *EAA* 4 (1961), 488-489, fig. 573 ('Lasa'); HELBIG-SPEIER, I, 555-556, no. 740 (DOHRN); R. HERBIG, *Götter und Dämonen der Etrusker*, herausg. und bearbeitet v. ERIKA SIMON, Mainz 1965, T. 28, 2; R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Naissance et dissociation de la koine hellénistico-romaine', *Huitième Congrès International d'archéologie classique*, Paris 1965, 449, pl. 109: 3. The relief, BR-KÖRTE, II, 113, t. 42, 4.

⁴ The Hellenistic Style Phase seems to correspond to the alabaster phase of FIUMI, who has, however, dated the transition from tufa to alabaster to as early as 250/230 B.C.; FIUMI, 'Portone', 385, 387.

2.3 ROMAN STYLE PHASE

2.3.1 DESCRIPTION

I have called the third style phase "Roman", because more or less obvious reflections of Roman art can now be traced in the lid sculptures, although at the beginning they are integrated with the Hellenistic tradition. One of the characteristic features is the short fringed hair-dress of the men. The figures are no longer fat, but rather slim in agreement with Roman taste. Both men and women are wearing the *chiton* and the cloak, and all women and most of the men have their heads covered by the cloak, as if taking part in a sacrifice¹. The garlands have vanished, but the men still retain wreaths round their heads². These are, in fact, important differences in the clothing as compared with the two earlier style phases. The attributes are now more varied than before. The *phialai* and the pomegranates are still common, but so are the *rhyta*, the diptychs, the tablets and the book-scrolls³ for men, the fans and the mirrors for women.

Most of the Volaterran inscriptions on cinerary urns belong to this style phase. Earlier, inscriptions were very rare, but now a good number of the alabaster urns are inscribed with the name and the age of the deceased. This custom is consequently relatively late in Volaterrae. The tufa lids were seldom inscribed, perhaps because the material was too rough.

Alabaster is the dominating material, but tufa has returned and is also relatively common. Tufa seems to have been used as being a cheaper material, but it did not stand the execution in minute detail. Therefore, the details were often painted instead of being carved. Both materials have been used in the same workshops.

¹ About the veiling of the head, see e.g. H. FREIER, *Caput velare*, Diss. Tübingen, 1963, esp. 102-105, 138-171, 177.

² For the use of wreath, see GANSZYNIEC, 'Kranz'. *RE* 21 (1921), 1588-1604; L. DEUBNER, 'Die Bedeutung des Kranzes im klassischen Altertum', *ARW* 30 (1933), 70-104, esp. 81, 90-91, 94-96.

³ For the discussion of the symbolic meaning of the writing utensils, see e.g. KERÉNYI, 'Sul significato dei libri nei monumenti sepolcrali etruschi', *SE* 9 (1935), 421-422; G. HERBIG, 'Die etruskische Leinwandrolle des Agramer National Museums', *Abh. d. Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-philol. und Hist. Kl.* 25: 4, München 1911, 11-18; F. MESSERSCHMIDT, 'Die schreibenden Gottheiten in der etruskischen Religion', *ARW* 29 (1931), 60-69.

The workshops have now definitely gone over to massproduction. The same details and motifs were used numerous times, and hence the grouping of the lids into different workshops is now easier than before. In addition to the urns produced by clearly identifiable workshops, there are also some lid sculptures either of exceptionally high or unusually low quality as well as some in other respects quite isolated ones, which are more difficult to attribute to anyone group.

In the following, I will treat the style phase workshop by workshop. I have divided the style phase into an earlier and later part, and only the workshop groups of the later part will be treated in detail.

2.3.2 EARLIER PART OF THE ROMAN STYLE PHASE

2.3.2.1 *Transitional Group*

Here I will mention a small group of lid sculptures¹, which typologically and probably also chronologically can be placed between the Hellenistic and the Roman Style Phases. As in the preceding style phase, most of the lids have been sculpted carefully on all sides and the attributes are held in the right hand only. The faces are round and cheerful, and the women are rather stout, but the men are now slimmer. The short fringed hair-dress of the men, the design of the wreath, the covered upper part of the body and the jewellery of the women are details which rather suggest to the Idealizing Group of the Roman Style Phase. Both alabaster and tufa—in some cases perhaps travertine—were used. I would date the group to the beginning of the first century B. C., or approximately to the years 100–80 B. C.

¹ Men of alabaster: Florence 78477 (in the *Tomba Inghirami*), 93484 (MILANI, 167, 285; W. HAUSENSTEIN, *Die Bilderei der Etrusker*, München 1922, T. 60; A. MINTO, *Il Regio Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, Roma 1931, t. 70, above to the left; GIGLIOLI, t. 399: 2). Men of tufa: Volterra 645 (FIUMI, 'Poggio alle Croci', 261, no. 1, fig. 9 p. 262), Berlin E 60 (RUMPF, T. 43, from Monteriggioni), London D 98 (PRYCE, fig. 119). Women of alabaster: Florence 78507 (in the *Tomba Inghirami*; MILANI, 286), Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, H. 303 (*Bildertafeln*, 142; *Den etruskiske Samling*, 59). Women of tufa or travertine: Volterra 213, Florence 92055 (Barberino Val d'Elsa, TALOCCHINI, no. 4; BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Val d'Elsa', 34, no. 3), Volterra 39 (GORI, *Mus. Etr.* III, cl. III, t. 19, 1; GORI, *Mus. Guarnacci*, t. 19, 1).

2.3.2.2 *Idealizing Group*

2.3.2.2.1 Description

This group has derived its name from the manner of sculpting faces: these are reminiscent of the ideal types of the Hellenistic art. Usually both men and women are represented as being young and beautiful, regardless of the age given in the inscription. There are also some lid sculptures executed in a more realistic manner testifying to the influence of Roman Republican portraiture.

The Idealizing Group represents the largest workshop in the whole Volaterran urn output. I have dealt with about 160 typical examples of the group, but including the more loosely connected ones, there are about 255 lid sculptures. Of these, about 180 are of alabaster, which might be rather near the total number. Only about 75 of them are of tufa, which bears little relation to the real number¹. The workshop seems to have dominated the whole urn production in the city, because there are very few lid sculptures of the time which deviate considerably from the normal pattern. Several sculptors and assistants have certainly worked in the workshop, apparently under the direction of one, rather skillful master. A great part of the production—the 160 examples referred to—is astonishingly homogeneous. The assistants have, of course, created differences in detail and in quality. Sometimes it is possible to follow the development from a typical example of the Idealizing Group to lid sculptures of quite another character, but it is difficult to estimate the direction of the development; has the sculptor moved to or from the Idealizing Group? These are, however, questions that I will not try to answer nor have I arranged the minor groups in chronological order.

About a third of the lids of alabaster have an inscription on the front border (see the index of inscriptions, p. 397-398). Usually the name and the age of the deceased are given. The language is always Etruscan, except in the urn relief, Volterra 177, which seems to belong to the group, though the same motif was also used in the Book-Scroll Group. It has a Latin inscription in an unusual place, namely on the lower border of the urn. The length of the inscription may be the reason for the unusual

¹ This is because during my visit to Volterra in May 1970 the ground floor of the Museo Guarnacci was under reparation, and most of the urns displayed there are of tufa.

place. In the inscription not only the name and the age of the deceased have been mentioned, but also the title, *quattuorvir*¹.

In 15 cases the inscriptions record the age of the deceased, which varies between 20 and 70 years, the average being 37 years.

The epigraphy of the group could be characterized as "curvilinear". Curving lines have often been used in letters which were normally incised in straight lines. This points to texts painted with a pencil as a model². The inscriptions have often been painted black or red, but in one case there are remnants of text only painted but not inscribed³.

The massproduction has influenced the measurements of the lids and urns. The measurements of the tufa sculptures are clearly standardized, belonging very often to the size group 2-B-b. The length of the tufa lids often lies between 57 and 60 cm., which indicates that the blocks used for the sculptures have been about two Roman feet long⁴. Many of the alabaster lids also belong to length group (2), but a great number of them are longer, belonging to group (3). Thus there is a difference between the alabaster and tufa sculptures, which is natural, because alabaster was used for the more elaborate and expensive urns and tufa for the cheaper ones. The width and height of the alabaster lids belong, however, to the normal groups B-b, which means that the lids have become a little narrower, the height remaining normal. The urn, Volterra 374⁵, is an exceptional piece, certainly made to order. The measurements of the alabaster lid are 60×30×44 cm., i.e. it belongs to the size group 2-C-b. The exceptional width of the lid is caused by the urn, which in its turn is broader than usual, because there are also reliefs on the sides of the urn. The urn is also unusually high, because of the lion's paws supporting it. (For the size groups, see diagram 3).

The space of the lids has been utilized accurately and the figure is cramped into as small a space as possible. We can see the figure only down to the knees, because the left leg is bent straight backwards at the knee and the right leg is drawn up. The posture is normally quite frontal, but sometimes the alabaster figures have been made more elegant

¹ CIL XI¹ 1744; BR.-KÖRTE, II, 128, t. 51, 6.

² VACANO, 'Ödipus', 32-33.

³ Volterra 434 (LAVIOSA, no. 43).

⁴ A further study of the ancient measurements used in the lid sculptures might give interesting results, but it is outside the scope of my present investigation.

⁵ VACANO, 'Ödipus', 12-37, T. 4, 6: 2-3, 7; CONSORTINI, fig. p. 95.

by turning the face to the left and raising the left hand to the cheek¹. The lower part of the body is now considerably shorter than the upper part, which may be even twice as long. The small and middle-sized figures have too large a head, but the longest ones usually have the head in natural proportion to the body.

The figures of the group have been sculpted carefully only at the front and at the short sides, which could be seen in the tomb, whereas the back of the figure, facing the wall, has been modelled roughly. The cushions are, however, usually modelled at the back, and sometimes the bottom of the left foot is sketched, too. Thus massproduction has achieved labour saving devices, and the location of the urn in the tomb has now been taken into consideration.

The faces have seldom any individual traits. Both men and women have been rendered young and beautiful, the men with strong and the women with classical features. There are also some women who are represented as matrons, with plump, soft features². Sometimes there are carved wrinkles at the corners of the eyes and on the forehead in an otherwise smooth face³, but some frowning faces reveal that the Roman influence is not totally lacking (see below p. 321).

Of the men's hair only a short fringe can be seen in front of the wreath. The hair is arranged in small clusters. Between the wreath and the cloak draped over the head there are often waving lines representing the hair. Some men are partly bald, and the hair is seen only above the ears⁴. The women have always the classical coiffure with the hair parted in the middle

¹ E.g. Volterra 327, 376 (CONSORTINI, fig. p. 33; LAVIOSA, no. 45), Florence 92054 (TALOCCHINI, no. 2; BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Val d'Elsa', fig. 29, no. 2), and Volterra 169, where the left hand is resting on the cushions (*Toscana, Touring Club Italiano, Attraverso l'Italia*, 6:2, Milano 1935, 85, fig. 179; HAUSENSTEIN, T. 59; DUCATI, *L'Italia antica*, 410, fig. 296; LAMBRECHTS, no. 22 g, pl. 26; A. BOETHIUS, 'Etruskernas sexhundra år i Italien', *San Giovenale. Etruskerna, landet och folket*, Malmö 1960, fig. 84; T. KRAUS, *Das Römische Weltreich*, 152, Abb. 8; SCULLARD, pl. 102; C. HAMPTON, *The Etruscans and the Survival of Etruria*, London-Southampton 1969, fig. 16).

² E.g. Volterra 183 (DUCATI, *AE*, fig. 577), 333, 511 (RICCI, fig. p. 18; G. M. A. HANFMANN, 'Etruscan Reliefs of the Hellenistic Period', *JHS* 65 (1945), 52 fig. 4), Vatican 13896. Women, not typical of the group, e.g. Volterra 235, 427 (J. MARTHA, *L'art étrusque*, Paris 1889, 40, fig. 8; GIGLIOLI, t. 400, 1; LAVIOSA, no. 51).

³ E.g. Volterra 228 (RICCI, fig. p. 27; LAVIOSA, no. 50), 314, 384 (E. PAIS, *Storia dell'Italia antica* I, Roma 1925, t. 73).

⁴ Volterra 154 (cf. p. 321 n. 3), London D 95 (PRYCE, fig. 116). Volterra 136 (cf. p. 313 n. 2) and 317 are bald only at the temples. Volterra 374 has originally had an uninterrupted fringe, but it has been carved off (cf. below p. 313).

and waved at the temples. The hair is certainly thought to be gathered into a knot at the neck, but it is never carved, because the head is veiled. There is often a loose lock just above the ears, represented in relief, or carved¹.

Men's ears are normally enormously large and protruding². The "wing-ears" in the classically beautiful face seem inappropriate, but perhaps they, too, belonged to the ideal. In fact, wing-ears were very common during the late Roman Republic and the early Empire, up to the time of Emperor Claudius (who himself had very protruding ears) in Roman art, both in idealizing and realistic portraits. In some Roman tomb-reliefs the wing-ears seem to have been caused by technical difficulties in sculpting the ears against a plain background³. The veil may have caused the same difficulty when sculpting ears. The women have their ears partly under the hair, but there are also some examples of wing-ears⁴.

The wreaths on male heads are of a type which I call "plaited wreath", composed of leaves plaited cross-wise, in a stylized manner⁵. In some big alabaster figures, the same model has been decorated with zones of small four-petalled flowers, on the top of the head and on the temples just above

¹ E. g. Volterra 254 (DELLA SETA, 267, fig. 290, to the right), 280, 402 (E. HÜBNER, 'Antichità di Volterra', *BullInst* (1857), 185), 511. Vatican 13893, 13896. Not typical of the group: Volterra 199, 235, Vatican 13891.

² E. g. Volterra 114 (DE RUYT, fig. 29), 154, 155¹ (LAMBRECHTS, pl. 38), 180 (GORI, *Mus. Etr.* III, cl. III, t. 7; *Id.*, *Mus. Guarnacci*, t. 7), 203, 206, 223, 260, 272, 281, 294, 317, 340, 348, 358, 376, 396, 418 (degenerated), 434 (LAVIOSA, no. 43), 435, Florence 5710 (G. CONESTABILE, *Iscrizioni etrusche e etrusco-latine in monumenti che si conservano nell'I. e R. Galleria degli Uffizi di Firenze*, Firenze 1858, 54, no. 57), 78519, Leyden H III NNN 1 (degenerated; JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 31), H III TTT 1 (JANSSEN, *op. cit.*, no. 33).

³ E. g. Copenhagen, the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inv. 762; V. POULSEN, *Les portraits romains I, République et dynastie Julienne*, Publications de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg 7, Copenhagen 1962, no. 116, t. 191.

⁴ Volterra 111 and 586, both of tufa. See also pp. 316-317, the women who were originally men.

⁵ E. g. Volterra 38, 114, 154, 155, 166, 206, 223, 228, 260, 281, 299, 314, 323, 339, 348 (modelled in stucco, painted red; VACANO, 'Ōdipus', 21, note 27), 358, 370 (DUCATI, *AE*, fig. 411; *Id.*, *Etruria antica* 2^a, Torino 1927, fig. 42; P. DUCATI - G. Q. GIGLIOLI, *Arte etrusca*, Milano 1927, 170, fig. 59; DELLA SETA, 267, fig. 290, to the left; E. BULANDA, *Etrurja i etruskowie*, Lwów 1934, 102, fig. 28; GIGLIOLI, t. 398, 2; I. M. SZELIGOWSKA, *L'art décoratif étrusque*, Bulletin international de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres, Classe de philologie, classe d'histoire et de philosophie, suppl. 4, Cracovie 1938, fig. 86), Volterra 374, 384, 396, 434.

the ears¹. The wreaths of the tufa figures are either of the plaited model without flowers², of a simpler cross-pattern³, or they are quite plain⁴. Some sculptures of men which are only related to the group have a wreath of long laurel leaves, with a flower in the middle⁵.

In the whole group there are only two men with garlands round their necks, Volterra 482⁶ and 374; the latter is also in other respects an exceptional piece, seemingly made to order (cf. above p. 302).

A great number of the female figures have lost the top of the head and only few have the diadem quite intact. There are two types of diadems used in the style phase, a three-crested⁷ and an equally broad model⁸. Those of alabaster are decorated with beads and flowers but most of the tufa

Florence 5774 (CONESTABILE, 50-51, no. 55), 78513, Leyden H III C (GIORGI; JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 34).

¹ E.g. Volterra 136 (cf. p. 313 n. 2), 168 (VESSBERG, 243, t. 90, 3; LAMBRECHTS, pl. 31), 180, 203, 253, 317, 376, Florence 5710, Leyden H III E. The wreath of Volterra 192 has holes, probably for loose flowers.

² Volterra 549 (VESSBERG, 243, t. 90, 2), 566, 573, Palazzo Inghirami 8 (DELPLACE, fig. 13), Florence 5509 (DUCATI, *AE*, fig. 665; GIGLIOLI, t. 409 : 1; R. HERBIG,

³ Die italische Wurzel der römischen Bildniskunst', *Das neue Bild der Antike*, II, Rom, Leipzig 1942, Abb. 10; FIUMI, 'Coll. Cinci', 469, no. 32), Leyden H III OOO 2 (JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 22).

⁴ Volterra 126, 172, 246, 543, 587, Florence 5804, London D 95.

⁵ Volterra 117, 310, 350, 414 (VESSBERG, 243, T. 90, 1), 505, 508, 572 (LEVI, 225, above to the right; R. PARIBENI, *Il ritratto nell'arte antica*, Milano 1934, t. 76, 2; BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità*, 271, note 106), Florence 5516 (FIUMI, 'Coll. Cinci', 468, no. 12), 5810, 92056 (BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Val d'Elsa', 34, no. 4; TALOCCHINI, no. 5), San Gimignano, the tufa urn on the first floor in the museum.

⁶ E.g. Volterra 70, 122, 170 (damaged; LAMBRECHTS, pl. 27), 207, 271 (DELLA SETA, fig. 324; GIGLIOLI, t. 399, 2), 499.

⁷ LAMBRECHTS, pl. 29.

⁸ E.g. Volterra 111, 145 (SERCHI, fig. p. 96 and 100; W. ZSCHITZSCHMANN, *Etruskische Kunst*, Frankfurt am Main 1969, T. 180), 303, 416 (CONSORTINI, fig. p. 119; FIUMI, 'Portone', 402), Florence 5479, 5778 (FIUMI, 'Coll. Cinci', 468, no. 19), 5793 (FIUMI, op. cit., 470, no. 96), and 92060 (BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Val d'Elsa', 35, no. 8).

⁹ E.g. Volterra 230 (*CIE* 131; A. J. PFIFFIG, 'Verschreibung und Verbesserung in etruskischen Inschriften', *SE* 32 (1964), 186; VACANO, 'Ödipus', 21, note 27), 538 (HAUSENSTEIN, T. 58; DUCATI, *AE*, fig. 666; GIGLIOLI, t. 408, 2; CONSORTINI, fig. p. 123; FIUMI 'Portone', 402; G. A. MANSUELLI, *Etruria and Early Rome*, Holland 1966, fig. 68, p. 179; SERCHI, fig. p. 97), 559, 586 (a plain one with painted red ornament), Florence 5785 (CONESTABILE, 57, no. 60), Vatican 13893, Verona, Museo del Teatro Romano.

diadems are simpler, either plain or bordered by a furrow. One type of the three-crested diadems is decorated with beads, a central flower and curving lines on the sides, a motif which was also used as the pediment of a shrine in the urn reliefs of the same workshop¹. This is an example of how one motif could be used for several purposes in the workshop. Beads and the four-petal flowers especially were popular in all possible places of the alabaster lid sculptures and reliefs in the workshop, but in tufa they were usually simplified or omitted.

Some of the women have a row of holes for attaching a real diadem². In many cases the top of the head has been broken and there are holes on the surface for fixing another block of alabaster or stucco³.

As mentioned before, the men of this group always wear the *chiton* as well as the cloak, which is normally draped over the head. The *chiton* of men is sewed on the shoulders, and the seam is marked with a furrow⁴. Women's dress is buttoned on the shoulders, with ring-shaped openings between the buttons⁵. The draperies of the clothes have been sculpted rather stiffly, into parallel pleats, which are rendered a little more naturalistically in the alabaster figures than in those of tufa. The hem of

¹ See BR.-KÖRTE, II, t. 75, 2 and 99. The motif was often used in the diadems of the Book-Scroll Group, see p. 328.

² E.g. Volterra 131 (G. MAETZKE, 'Nord-westliche Toskana', MATT-MORETTI-MAETZKE-GASSER, *Kunst und Land der Etrusker*, Zürich-Würzburg 1969, 166), 235, 361, 439, 511, London D 56 (PRYCE, fig. 75), Wien I 1038 (NOLL, 'Etr. Denkmäler', 307, T. 42, 2).

³ E.g. Volterra 229, 254, 426, 427, Vatican 13896.

⁴ E.g. Volterra 126, 154, 202 (DE RUYT, fig. 8), 203, 206, 271, 272, 281, 294, 299, 314, 322, 351, 358, 370, 374, 375 (LEVI, fig. p. 225, below to the right; GIGLIOLI, t. 401, 1 - not inv. no. 350), 376, 435, 478, 566, 573, Florence 5509, 5653 (CONESTABILE, 58, no. 62), 5774, 5810, 78519, Leyden H III C, H III E, H III OOO 2, H III PPP 4 (JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 21), London D 95.

⁵ E.g. Volterra 145, 198, 226 (DUCATI, *AE*, fig. 581; FIUMI, 'Portone', 402), 229, 230, 235, 251, 254, 255, 276 (A. ROLFSEN, 'Gravene ved Tarquinia', L. AMUNDSEN-A. ROLFSEN-J. THURMANN-MOE, *Hvem var etruskerne?*, Oslo 1956, fig. p. 9), 280, 332, 354, 372, 402, 427, 439, 442, 511, 538, Florence 5524 (a fragment), 5744 (FIUMI, 'Coll. Cinci', 468, no. 29), 5785, 78478, 78495, Leyden H III D (JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 26), London D 102 (PRYCE, fig. 123), Paris MA 2356 (MICALI, t. 43; CLARAC, pl. 214 ter, fig. 204 bis; II: 1, 509-513, no. 789; J. MARTHA, *L'art étrusque*, Paris 1889, 199, fig. 155; DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, I: 2, 'Catena', 970, fig. 1246; S. REINACH, *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains* III, Paris 1912, 471, fig. 2; FIUMI, 'Portone', 402; ID., 'Coll. Cinci', 483, note 23), MA 2355 (CLARAC, pl. 214 ter, fig. 236 bis; II: 1, 649, no. 792), MA 2357 (CLARAC, pl. 214 ter, fig. 316 bis; II: 1, 752-753, n. 794), Vatican 13893, 13896.

the *chiton* can be seen under the cloak and it is lying free at the feet; the pleats have been arranged schematically. The *chiton* forms a V-shaped pleat at the collar. The cloak wrapped round the feet forms a thick series of folds over the stomach. A certain group of alabaster and tufa lids have the draperies rendered in expressively waving folds¹.

Women's dress is girt just under the breast. The girdle is square-patterned and embroidered with beads at the edges, either on both sides or only on one of them. The girdle is not open at the front². The same model may also occur in the tufa sculptures, but a plain girdle bordered with a straight furrow is the simpler variant of the theme, and it is more usual³. Girdles ornamented with a garland⁴ or tied into the Heracles-knot⁵ have been used in lid sculptures which are related to the group.

The big alabaster women especially may have plaited cross-bands together with the girdle⁶. The cross-bands are fastened on the shoulders by means of

¹ E.g. Volterra 37, 228, 240 (GORI, *Mus. Etr.* I, t. 132; II, 259-260), 258, 299, 321 (CONSORTINI, 131), 375, 460, Palazzo Inghirami 16 (DELPLACE, fig. 23), Florence 5808 (CONESTABILE, 59, no. 63), 92072 (BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Val d'Elsa', no. 10; ID., *Storicità*, 298, t. 69, fig. 143; LAVIOSA, no. 52; TALOCCHINI, no. 9), all of alabaster. Most of the tufa lids are not as distinct in this respect, but the clearest ones are like Volterra 505, and the urn on the first floor of the Museo Civico at San Gimignano.

² Alabaster, e.g. Volterra 44, 145, 229, 230, 251, 332, 333, 402, 431, 439, 511, Arezzo, Florence 5785, 78478, 78479, 92054, 92060, Castiglioncello 279, Leyden H III D, Paris MA 2357, Vatican 13893, 13896, 13898. Tufa, e.g. Volterra 259, 416, 538, Florence 5793 and MINTO, 'Nuovi acquisti', t. 51, 2 (also D. LEVI, 'Rinvenimenti fortuiti e acquisti del Museo Archeologico di Firenze', *NSc* (1928), fig. 11, 45-46; A. SOLARI, *Vita pubblica e privata degli Etruschi*, Firenze 1931, 100, fig. 22; A. NEPPI MODONA, *A Guide to Etruscan Antiquities*, Florence 1968, fig. p. 127).

³ Volterra 111, 559, Florence 5479, 5480 (FIUMI, 'Coll. Cinci', 468, no. 28), 5517 (FIUMI, op. cit., 468, no. 26), 5744, 5778, 5790 (FIUMI, op. cit., 470, no. 71), London D 102, Vatican 13889 (HELBIG-SPEIER, I, 557-558, no. 742), Verona, Museo del Teatro Romano, two figures. The woman of alabaster, Volterra 354, has a plain girdle edged with beads.

⁴ These are some of the women with expressive draperies (cf. above, n. 1), Volterra 240, 258, Florence 5808.

⁵ Such are e.g. Volterra 67, 128, 235, 244, 255, 307, 337, 371, 372, 442, 586, 646 (FIUMI, 'Poggio alle Croci', 262, no. 2, 263, fig. 10), Florence 5520 (FIUMI, 'Coll. Cinci', 469, no. 62), 78495, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek H. 304 (*Bildertafeln*, 142; *Den etruskiske samling*, 59), London D 56, D 105 (PRYCE, fig. 126), Vatican 13891.

⁶ E.g. Volterra 169, 183, 185 (DUCATI, *AE*, fig. 577; FIUMI, 'Portone', 402, note 56; VACANO, 'Volt. Urnenreliefs', 62-64; ID., 'Ödipus', 32), 226, 280, 327, 514, 590, Florence 5808, Paris MA 2355, MA 5356.

a buckle; they come together in the middle of the girdle and are fastened with a wheel-buckle, ornamented with a flower or a wheel-motif¹. The most elaborate examples include not only the girdle and the cross-bands, but also a broad, diagonal ribbon ornamented with beads and tassels, descending from the right shoulder to the left loin².

The female figures of alabaster and tufa principally wear the same types and models of jewellery, but those of tufa are simpler than the richly ornamented alabaster women. In this group the women do not wear sculpted earrings³, but there is often a little hole in the ear lobe of the alabaster women⁴, certainly for fastening a real golden earring. As far as I know, golden attachments on the lid sculptures have never been found, because the tombs had usually been plundered before the excavations⁵. There are, however, some very small golden earrings of the disc and pyramid pendant type in the jewellery collection of the Museo Guarnacci⁶. I would think that such simple miniature earrings might have been used for the alabaster lid sculptures. The female figures of tufa do not normally wear earrings, nor do they have holes for them.

The torc is still the necklace most commonly used by the women⁷. This is the only type of necklace occurring among the tufa sculptures,

¹ The same wheel-motif has also been used in reliefs as the wheel of a wagon; as a wheel-buckle, e.g. Volterra 226, 258, Florence 5808; in urn reliefs, see BR.-KÖRTE, II, t. 41, 2 (LAVIOSA, no. 19), 49, 2 (LAVIOSA, no. 30), 54, 4; BR.-KÖRTE, III, t. 84, 1-2, 85, 3-4 (LAVIOSA, no. 31).

² Volterra 169, 226, 514, 590, Paris MA 2356; cf. P. WOLTERS, 'Faden und Knoten als Amulett', *ARW* 8 (1905), Beiheft 11, Abb. 8 p. 12.

³ The only exceptions I know are the women of tufa Volterra 111 and Vatican 13889, who have quite small pyramid-shaped earrings, of the same type which was common in the Book-Scroll Group, cf. p. 328.

⁴ Volterra 131, 185, 198, 199, 229, 230, 251, 254, 276, 280, 327, 332, 333, 361, 402, 426, 431, 439, 511, 514, 590, Florence 5524, 5785, 5789, 78479, 78493, 92060, Vatican 13893, 13896, 13898. Not typical of the group: Volterra 143, 235, 255, 307, 371, 427, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek H. 304.

⁵ Cf. CINCI, 'Scavi di Volterra', *BullInst* (1860), 191.

⁶ Inv. nos. 94 and 190. See HADACZEK, fig. 138-139, p. 71; FIUMI, 'Portone', 389, ori no. 1 (inv. 94, the measurements 2,5 cm), fig. 23 p. 390, an earring found in the tomb E, where there also was found two alabaster urns belonging to the Idealizing Group (op. cit., 387-388). The type of the earring is the same as in the Hellenistic Style Phase. For the literature on the subject, see 294 n. 2.

⁷ Alabaster: Volterra 44, 131, 145, 185, 198, 226, 229, 230, 251, 254, 332, 333, 344, 354, 402, 426, 439, 511, 514, Florence 5785, 5789, 78478, 78479, 92054, 92060, Arezzo, Castiglioncello 279, Leyden H III D, Paris MA 2355, MA 2357,

whereas the alabaster figures may wear a necklace composed of a plaited chain with beads and rich pendants¹, as well as the torc.

The armlet is a two or three-folded plain ring² and the bracelet—sometimes worn on both wrists—is the twisted snake-bracelet³, already in use during the Hellenistic Style Phase (see above p. 294). The finger-rings are worn both by men and women. They are worn on the left hand, on the ring-finger or more often on the little-finger. Most of the rings are simple and ball-shaped, without any details⁴, but in some of them a round bezel is incised⁵. Men have only one ring, but some women have two or more⁶. In the tufa sculptures rings are rare⁷.

Vatican 13893, 13896, 13898. Tufa: Volterra 111, 259, 276, 303, 416, 538, Ospedale Psichiatrico (the woman in tufa), Florence 5479, 5698 (FIUMI, 'Coll. Cinci', 469, no. 42), 5744, 5778, 5793, MINTO, 'Nuovi acquisti', t. 51, 2, London D 102, Vatican 13889, Verona, Museo del Teatro Romano, two figures. Lid sculptures which are related to the group: Volterra 67, 128, 255, 307, 337, 362, 371, 372, 442, Florence 78495, Copenhagen, National Museum 3814 (*Nationalmuseet*, 92, 15-18 C), London D 56, Vatican 13891.

¹ Volterra 183 (FIUMI, 'Coll. Cinci', 483, note 23), 280, 327, 431 (both a torc and a pendant necklace), Florence 5524, Paris MA 2356. The following are related to the group: Volterra 143, 235, 244, 427, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek H. 304.

² Volterra 44, 131, 169, 185, 198, 226, 229, 230, 251, 254, 276, 280, 302, 332, 333, 344, 354, 402, 426, 431, 439, 511, Florence 5785, 5789, 78478, 92060, Arezzo, Castiglioncello 279, Paris MA 2355, MA 2356, Vatican 13893, 13896, 13898. Tufa: Volterra 538, Florence 5790.

³ Volterra 131, 183, 185, 199, 229, 230, 251, 254, 280, 332, 333, 344, 426, 431, 511, Florence 5785, 5789, 78479, 92054, Arezzo, Castiglioncello 279, Paris MA 2356, 2357, Vatican 13893, 13896, 13898. Of tufa, Florence 5480.

⁴ Men: Volterra 106, 122, 192, 228, 271, 277, 358, 370, 374, 384, 401 (GORI, *Mus. Etr.* III, cl. III, t. VI; *Id.*, *Mus. Guarnacci*, t. VI; LEVI, fig. p. 225, below to the left), 430, 460, Florence 92072, Leyden H III NNN 1, Vatican 13890. Women: Volterra 44, 131, 145, 229, 230, 254, 402, 431, Florence 5785, 5789, 78479, 78495, Vatican 13896. Volterra 260 and 294 have a painted ring instead of a sculpted one.

⁵ Men: Volterra 70, 203, 207, 299, 321, 322, 339, 375, Florence 5774, 78514, Leyden H III E. Women: Volterra 235, 258, Florence 92060, Castiglioncello 279, Vatican 13893.

⁶ E. g. Volterra 235, 240, 427 (four rings), 442, 511, (two of the rings are only painted), Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek H. 304.

⁷ Men: Volterra 414, Florence 5516, 5810, 92056, San Gimignano, the urn on the first floor of the museum. Women: Volterra 416, Florence 5698, Vatican 13889.

The hands are usually very elegantly carved, with long thin fingers and a smooth back of the hand. There are, however, some men who have undulating furrows as veins on the back of the hand. Most of these belong to the little group with expressively waving draperies¹. The manner of sculpting nails is typical of the group, but it was continued in the later groups, too. The nails are practically trapeze-formed and cut straight over. This way of executing the nails seems to have been especially common in Roman art during the first century B.C.²

There is a rather rich variety of attributes, but the oldest ones, the *phiale* and the pomegranate, still dominate. The *phiale* is now elaborately ornamented with radial leaf-patterns and hollows, with beads or the Ionian *kymation* at the edges. The *phiale* is normally held in the right hand as before³, but if there is a *rhyton* in the hand, the *phiale* has been transferred to the left hand, and in such cases it is held with its back side showing the ornaments being executed in relief⁴. The *phialai* of the tufa male sculptures are simpler, with a basic ornament of holes⁵; alternatively the *phialai* are quite plain⁶. There are sometimes traces of ornament painted

¹ Volterra 299, 321, Palazzo Inghirami 16, Volterra 37 (a woman who was originally a man, cf. p. 317). Also the man of the famous terracotta couple, Volterra 613 (see pp. 323-325) has both veins and expressive draperies. Volterra 191 and Leyden H III E are normal men of the Idealizing Group.

² In fact, the nails are seldom clear enough in photographs, and hence I have made only casual observations of antique sculpture, mostly in Rome and in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek. Original Greek sculptures normally have more rounded nails, but trapeze-shaped nails may occur in Roman copies. They are very common on Roman tomb reliefs, e. g. that of Gessii (VESSBERG, T. 35) and Furii (VESSBERG, T. 39,2). Also in the Ara Pacis Augustae this kind of nail occurs, see e. g. E. SIMON, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Monumenta artis antiquae I, Tübingen 1967, T. 20.

³ Volterra 38, 155, 202, 203, 228, 294, 322, 323, 351, 384, 396, 418, 428 (GIGLIOLI, t. 399, 3), 430, 435, 478, 498, Florence 5807 (CONESTABILE, 58, no. 61), 78513, Leyden H III A (JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 35).

⁴ Volterra 114, 154, 168, 192, 206, 253, 317, 358, Florence 5710, 78511 (LAMBRECHTS, pl. 27). There is a black-glazed *phiale* with radial leaf-motifs in the Museo Archeologico, Florence, found at Castiglioncello (Soprintendenza antichità d'Etruria, photo no. 4260). Such types as J. D. BEAZLEY, *Etruscan Vase Painting*, Oxford 1947, 239-240, and A. BALLAND, *Céramique étrusco-campanienne à vernis noir*, 1, MEFR suppl. 6, Paris 1969, pl. 23, 1-2, pl. 24, 4, pp. 101-107, have also been found at Volaterrae, but they are not represented on the lid sculptures.

⁵ Volterra 549, Florence 5473 (FIUMI, 'Coll. Cinci', 467-468, no. 3).

⁶ E.g. Volterra 350, 505, 543, 572, 573, Florence 5810, 92056 (TALOCCHINI, no. 5), Castelfalfi (MINTO, 'Montaione', fig. 2), Leyden H III T1T1 1, London D 95, D 97 (PRYCE, fig. 118), San Gimignano, the urn on the first floor of the museum.

in red¹. If there are traces of colour on the *phialai* of alabaster, they are gilded², painted red³ or yellow ochre (Volterra 418), and in one case the outer side of the *phiale* is bluish (Volterra 430). Radial ornaments have been associated with *phialai* throughout antiquity⁴, and the basic motif without the plant element represents a stylized version of the rays of the sun, on coins, too⁵. Further, it appears as the nimbus of Helios⁶. The motif has also been used on shields⁷, on the Volterranean urn reliefs of the same group, too⁸, but the central boss is flat. Plant motifs have been connected throughout antiquity with the ray-motif on the *phialai mesomphaloi*.

A *rhyton* has often been used together with the *phiale*. The *rhyton* is a new attribute in this group, and as far as I know, one which does not occur on other Etruscan lid sculptures. Most of the *rhyta* have a horse *protome*⁹, but an ox may also appear¹⁰. The rim of the horn is often ornamented with beads or an astragal. There is sometimes an incised band of a garland pattern near the mouth and a ring round the waist of the animal, i.e. on the joint of the horn and the *protome*. The mane of the horse waves in the same manner as that of the horses on the reliefs of

¹ Volterra 117 (REUTERSWÄRD, 170), 414 (red on the central boss), 508, 549 (red on the rim).

² Volterra 114 (REUTERSWÄRD, 170), 168, 203, 317 (REUTERSWÄRD, 170), 358 (REUTERSWÄRD, 170), 435.

³ Volterra 70 (not a typical example of the group), 114 and 154.

⁴ See LUSCHHEY, *Die Phiale*, Diss. Bleicherode am Herz, 1939, especially 95-132, vegetal motifs; R. VON SCHAEWEN, *Römische Opfergeräte, ihre Verwendung im Kultus und in der Kunst*, Archäologische Studien 1, Berlin 1940.

⁵ E. SYDENHAM, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, Revised with Indexes by G. C. HAINES, London 1952, pl. 14, no. 96.

⁶ E.g. in the metope of the temple of Helios at Ilion, see e.g. A. SCHÖBER, *Die Kunst von Pergamon*, Bregenz 1951, Abb. 158.

⁷ See e.g. WINNEFELD, *Die Friese des Grossen Altars, Königliche Museen zu Berlin*, *Altertümer von Pergamon* III: 2, Berlin 1910, T. 10; H. SIGHTERMANN, *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien aus der Sammlung Jatta in Ruvo*, *Bilderhefte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Rom*, 3-4, Tübingen 1966, T. 99 (an Apulian krater).

⁸ See e.g. BR.-KÖRTE, I, t. 2, 4; II, t. 18, 3; 22, 4; 30, 7; 67, 2; 70, 8; LAVIOSA, nos. 27-28.

⁹ Volterra 114, 154, 168, 170, 192, 196, 206, 270, 278 (M. AHREN, *Das Weib in der antiken Kunst*, Jena 1914, 269, Abb. 256), 351, 418, 434, Florence 5653, 5774, Paris MA 2354 (CLARAC, pl. 214 ter, fig. 180 bis; II: 1, 472-473, no. 791). Uncertain: Volterra 203, 272, 323, 376.

¹⁰ Volterra 253, 317, and 273, which is related to the group.

the same group. No holes have ever been indicated as an outlet for the wine between the legs of the animal, as in the real *rhyta*. The *rhyton* was the attribute of a hero, i.e. a dead man, in the Greek world¹, and it is interesting to note that the attribute is late in the Volaterran material. There are no exact parallels to the Volaterran types, but the silver *rhyta* of Prague², Ermitage³ and Baschowa⁴ are reminiscent of them in many respects. The datings of these *rhyta* vary from the fourth century B.C. to the first century A.D. *Rhyta* of that type were also known to the Romans⁵.

Some of the men sculpted in alabaster have a *kantharos*, sometimes with double handles and decorated with beads⁶, and some of the figures which are loosely included in the group, have a cup or a deep bowl in their hands⁷.

Many of the men in alabaster and tufa have in their right hands closed tablets, consisting of at least three writing tablets. On the cover of the tablets may be a rhomb-shaped pattern or a little square with a ring inside, and the sides of the tablets are often red⁸. The book-scroll has

¹ A. FURTWÄGLER, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff* I, Berlin 1883-87, 28-33; H. HOFFMANN, *Tarentine Rhyta*, Mainz 1966, 111-112; F. DENEKEN, 'Heros', *Roscher* 1: 2, 1886-1890, 2573-2574, 2587; by the Etruscans, see e.g. O. W. VON VACANO, *Die Etrusker, Werden und geistige Welt*, Stuttgart 1955, 120; MONTAGNA PASQUINUCCI, 13, 15, with references; TUCHELT, 'Rhyton', *EAA* 6 (1965), 680.

² B. SVOBODA, 'Zur Geschichte des Rhytons', SVOBODA-CONČEV, *Neue Denkmäler antiker Toreutik*, Monumenta archaeologica 4, Praha 1956, 9-14, 75-89, T. 1-4; ID., 'Praga', *EAA* 6 (1965), 420-421; STRONG, 86; L. BYVANCK-QUARLES VAN UFFORD, 'A propos des rhytons à protome d'animal', *BABesch* 40 (1965), 90, fig. 1.

³ SVOBODA, 'Zur Geschichte des Rhytons', 11, 54, 83, Abb. 15 p. 53.

⁴ SVOBODA, 'Zur Geschichte des Rhytons', 51-52, 64-65, T. 8; STRONG, 86, t. 20 A.

⁵ SVOBODA, 'Zur Geschichte des Rhytons', 71, 74; FLORIANI-SQUARCIAPINO, 'Lari', *EAA* 4 (1961), 481, fig. 566 p. 483; A. FURTWÄGLER, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff* I, Berlin 1883-87, 33.

⁶ Volterra 260 (VACANO, 'Ödipus', 19, note 24), 271 (related to the group), 277, 374, Leyden H III NNN 1, H III C, and probably also Leyden H III E, of which only the foot of the *kantharos* remains. For the symbolical meaning of *kantharos*, see e.g. G. W. ELDERKIN, *Kantharos*, Princeton 1924, 1-8, 15.

⁷ Volterra 401, 499, 570, 587, Vatican 13890, and probably also Paris MA 2354 (CLARAC, pl. 214 ter, fig. 246 bis; II: 1, 675-677, no. 793). Volterra 180 is typical of the Idealizing Group.

⁸ Volterra 106, 126, 175, 370, Florence 78485. Plain ones, Volterra 172, 246, 281, 310, 320, 467, Leyden H III PPP 1 (JANSSEN, *Etr. grafreliefs*, no. 10), H III OOO 2, H III PPP 4, Volterra 433, a very clumsy figure. Bibl. of tablets: E. KÜHN, *Antikes Schreibgerät*, Meisterwerke in Berlin, Berlin 1923, Abb. 9, 10; G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, 'L'instrumentum scriptorium nei monumenti pompeiani ed ercolanesi', *Pompeiana*, Raccolta di studi per il secondo centenario degli scavi di Pompei, Napoli 1950, 268-278; G. LAFAYE, 'Tabella', DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, V (1919), 1-3.

been used as an attribute only in some lid sculptures which are related to the group¹, and by the exceptional figure, Volterra 374, who holds the book-scroll rolled into two parts (see above p. 302).

Quite exceptional is the figure of the *haruspex*, Volterra 136, holding a liver in the left hand. The lid sculpture has certainly been made to order².

Many of the men, both of alabaster and especially those of tufa, are holding the border of the cloak folded into a loop in the left hand. This is a characteristic feature of the group. Men who hold the border of the cloak, not draped into a loop, are only distantly related to the group³.

The most common attribute of the women is still the pomegranate, and almost all women have it, except those who are resting their left hand on their cheek⁴, holding a mirror⁵ or the looped edge of the cloak⁶ in the left hand. In this group the pomegranate is always kept in the left hand, not in the right as in the earlier style phases. There is a small four-petalled flower in relief on the pomegranate. The right hand holds more elaborate attributes, most commonly a feather fan. The type of fan is nearly always the same, but the details vary. The fan is held either upright⁷

¹ Volterra 207, 339, Vatican 13892 (HELBIG-SPEIER, I, 554-555, no. 739 (DOHRN)). With both hands, Volterra 88, a very clumsy figure, related to the group.

² CIE 92; G. BLECHER, *De extispicio capita tria*, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten II: 4, Gieszen 1905, T. 3, fig. 2; G. KÖRTE, 'Bildnis eines Haruspex', *RM* 20 (1905), 378-379, T. 14; BR.-KÖRTE, III, 97, t. 81, 5 c (the relief does not seem to belong to the lid); E. PAIS, *Storia dell'Italia antica* I, Roma 1925, t. 95; G. KARO, 'Etruskisch-römische Bildkunst', *Antike Plastik* (Ameilung-Festschrift), Berlin-Leipzig 1928, 103; B. NOGARA, *Gli Etruschi e la loro civiltà*, Milano 1933, 195, fig. 115; E. BULANDA, *Etrurja i etruskowie*, Lwów 1934, 142, fig. 58; CONSORTINI, fig. p. 141; A. GRENIER, 'Les religions étrusque et romaine', *Mana, Introduction à l'histoire des religions* 2, Paris 1948, 30; M. TABANELLI, *La medicina nel mondo degli Etruschi*, Firenze 1963, t. 19.

³ E.g. Volterra 211, 339, 401, 422.

⁴ Volterra 226, 230, 327, 437 (LEVI, fig. p. 226, above to the right), Florence 5524, 5793, 92054, Florence, MINTO, 'Nuovi acquisti', t. 51, 2; Paris, G. CONESTABLE, 'De quelques urnes sépulcrales de Volterra dans lesquelles on croit reconnaître le meurtre de Néoptolème par Oreste', *Revue archéologique* 12 (1865), 88-89, pl. 16.

⁵ Volterra 590, Florence 78493.

⁶ Volterra 229, 439.

⁷ E.g. Volterra 145, 198, 199, 251, 254, 344 (only the handle is left), 402, 431, 439, 511, 514, Florence 5785, 78478, 78479, 92060, Castiglione della Pescaia 279, Leyden H 111 D, Paris MA 2355, MA 2357 (FOUGÈRES, 'Flabellum', *DAREMBERG-SAGLIO*, II: 2 (1896), 1151, fig. 3075), Vatican 13898, Wien I 1038.

or turned down¹. The fans of the tufa sculptures are often simpler than those of alabaster². The handle of the fan type consists of pins fastened together with ornamental knobs and rings, sometimes decorated with beads. The handle is fixed to the central part of the fan by means of a palmette-ornament, the same motif which in reliefs has been used as a column capital. The central part is leaf-shaped, decorated with S-shaped figures and edged with beads. The feathers have been attached to this part, and are rendered softly³. In one case the feathers have been gathered within a frame (Volterra 333). Women who are distantly related to the group may have fans without feathers, reminiscent of leaves⁴.

A quite new attribute for the women is the mirror⁵. It is a rectangular⁶ or more seldom a round mirror-case⁷, with the two parts attached to each other with a hinge. The borders of the round mirror-cases have been decorated with beads and the discs are plain. It is possible that they refer to the round mirror-cases of metal, decorated with reliefs on the cover⁸.

¹ Volterra 44, 131, 143, 235, 276, 354, 426, 427, 538, Florence 5789, 92054, Arezzo, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek H. 304, Vatican 13891, 13896.

² Upright: Volterra 303, 586, Ospedale Psichiatrico, Florence 5517, 5698, 5793. Facing down: Volterra 4, 111, 416, 437, Florence 5479, 5480, 5520, 5744, 5778, 5790, London D 102, Vatican 13889.

³ For the type of the fan, see e.g. E. DIEZ, 'Flabella', *AA* (1955), 60-61; MAU, 'Fächer', *RE* 6 (1909), pp. 1960-1961, 1962 (the drawings of GORI and INGHIRAMI referred to in the article are not exact); G. FOUGÈRES, 'Flabellum', *DAREMBERG-SAGLIO*, II:2, 1151, fig. 3075 (the fan of Paris MA 2357).

⁴ A palmette motif in a frame, e.g. Volterra 240, 258, 516, Florence 5476, 5515, 5808, Leyden H III F (JANSSEN, *Etr. Grafreliefs*, no. 32), of both alabaster and tufa. The following ones are likewise of alabaster and tufa, but the stylization varies: Volterra 128, 255, 307, 337, 371, 372, 442, 646, London D 56. Some tufa sculptures which are related to the group, have a fan with feathers fastened into a round centre, e.g. Volterra 362, Florence 5779 (FIUMI, 'Coll. Cinci', 469, no. 38), Copenhagen, National Museum 3814.

⁵ Perhaps also the mirror had a symbolical meaning, see e.g. BEHM, 'Das Bildwort vom Spiegel', *Reinhold-Seeberg-Festschrift* I, Leipzig 1929, 328-331.

⁶ E.g. Volterra 169, 183, 185, 226, 229, 280, 327, 332, Paris MA 2356, Florence, MINTO, 'Nuovi acquisti', t. 51, 2.

⁷ Volterra 590, Vatican, 13893.

⁸ H. B. WALTERS, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, London 1899, 40-44 101, 125-128; ID., *Catalogue of Silver Plate (Greek, Etruscan and Roman), in the British Museum*, London 1921, 5-6, no. 18; G. M. A. RICHTER, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1915, 251, 257, 271; ID., *A Handbook of Greek Art*⁶, London and New York 1969, p. 222, fig. 316; W. ZÜCHNER, *Griechische Klappspiegel*, *JDAI* 14. Ergänzungsheft, Berlin 1942; J. CHARBONNEAUX, *Les bronzes grecs*, Paris 1958, 32-34; STRONG, 104-105.

The square mirror-cases are also often edged with beads and they have rich cornices. There is a round disc either on both parts or only on the upper part, representing the mirror-discs of bronze. I would think that the type represents ivory cases with discs of bronze¹. On some of the mirror-cases traces of red colouring have been preserved.

The cushions are of a type characteristic of the Idealizing Group, and they also appear in urn reliefs. There are two soft cushions, decorated length-wise with several waving lines and with tassels in the corners. A couple of them have also plaited ribbons (Volterra 317, 358). Some lid sculptures related to the group have three tassels on each cushion². In many tufa lids the cushions are simpler, with only one or two waving lines. In some lids, broad vertically painted stripes have been preserved on the cushions³.

Traces of polychromy⁴ have been preserved on many lid sculptures. For those of tufa, red and yellow ochre and dark grey are the most usual colours, just as they were during the earlier style phases. These colours were also common on alabaster sculptures; here more elaborate colours have been used, too, such as several shades of red, turquoise, blue, green, and rich guildings. The places to be gilt have been prepared with a dark lilac colour, which has often been preserved when the gold has been worn away. Stucco and plaster have been used in finishing the surface, especially if the sculpture was composed of more than one piece⁵. The technique of joining has very often been used. As mentioned above, earrings and in many cases diadems have been attached to holes on the alabaster sculptures.

Because there are some hundred lid sculptures belonging to this group, it is not surprising that a great number of urn reliefs, too, can be attributed

¹ See e.g. G. RIZZA, 'Leontini', *NSc* 9 (1955), 298, no. 65, *sepolcro* 215, fig. 15 p. 299. There are some round bronze discs without handles, of a diameter of about 10 cm, in the Museo Guarnacci (inv. nos. 931-933, 936, 940), as well as bronze squares, about 7-12 cm in size (inv. nos. 944-946, 948-949, 953). I know nothing of their provenance or of the circumstances of discovery, but they might have belonged to ivory cases, now vanished.

² Volterra 70, 122, 235, 372, 427, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek H. 304.

³ The stripes are dark lilac or dark grey, i.e. originally golden, on Volterra 232, 260 and Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek H. 304. The stripes are yellow on Volterra 340 and reddish ochre and white on Volterra 351. There are pink and yellow stripes on Volterra 226 and 511.

⁴ VACANO, 'Volt. Urnenreliefs', 80-97; REUTERSWÄRD, 170; NICCOLAI, 426.

⁵ VACANO, 'Volt. Urnenreliefs', 80-97.

to the group as well¹. Here the difference between the urns of alabaster and tufa is perhaps even more evident: those of alabaster have been made carefully and elaborately and those of tufa rapidly and with little attention to details. There are numerous motifs, both mythological, ornamental and such as refer to funeral ceremonies and the underworld; and there has probably been more than one sculptor involved in carving them. There are many details identical with the lid sculptures, such as the dress, the jewellery, the cushions etc. The dimensions are also the same as those of the lid sculptures. The urns of the group are usually without legs (Volterra 374 is an exception also in this respect) and pilasters at the sides. The alabaster reliefs have, however, rich architectural ornaments on the upper and lower border of the urn. The urns of tufa have often plain mouldings, but on some of them traces of ornaments painted in red have survived². The reliefs of alabaster are high, executed almost in the round, and the plain background can hardly be seen; the compositions are complicated. Sometimes the reliefs in tufa are, however, greatly simplified, low, and the compositions are schematic. Thus, there is a wide range of variations in the workshop, though the production was standardized, and the customers could choose a relief well suited to the lid sculpture according to their taste and means.

It is clear that in the Idealizing Group the urns and the lids were mass-produced, and that the customers chose even the lid sculptures from a store. Thus, the face-types had to please as many customers as possible. A clear sign that real portraits of the deceased were not usually in demand can be found in those lid sculptures which originally represented men, but were altered into women with some corrections. I have discovered eleven examples of these in the Volaterran material, all belonging more or less to the Idealizing Group³. Perhaps sculptures of women were sometimes in demand on a larger scale than the workshop had expected, and some alterations were hastily carried out to turn a man into a woman. I have not found any certain

¹ E. g. LAVIOSA, nos. 9-11, 14, 15, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 38.

² Copenhagen, National Museum 3814, Castelfalfi (MINTO, 'Montaione', 31-33, figs. 1-2), Volterra 303, 587.

³ Volterra 36, 37, 137, 215, 234, 257 (*Capolavori nei secoli*, II. *Dalla Grecia ai Bizantini*, Milano 1962, fig. p. 98, above to the right; F. ABBATE, *Dalla Grecia classica all'Etruria*, Milano 1966, 131, fig. 76; SERCHI, fig. p. 107), 574, 643 (FIUMI, 'Poggio alle Croci', 255, no. 8, fig. 5 p. 256), Florence 5773.

examples of changes in the opposite direction, perhaps it would have created excessive problems.

In changing men into women the faces were accepted as such. The strong features of the young men were not altered in any way. The veil covering the head and the cushions were similar as regards both sexes, and the end of the cloak in the left hand and the straight shoulder seam of the *chiton* remained unaltered, too. The crucial points were the wreath, the hair-dress, the jewellery, the breasts, the girdle and the attribute held in the right hand. The *phialai* have been altered into round mirror-disks by smoothing down the central boss and the radial ornaments (Volterra 36, 137, 215). Alternatively, one half of them has been sculpted away and the rest has been modelled into an *alabastron*¹. Closed tablets have been decorated with beads so as to represent closed square mirror-cases (Florence 5773). In alabaster lids the short fringe and the wreath were covered with waving hair made of plaster, and a row of holes was drilled at the back of the wreath for a diadem², or a parting was carved on top of the wreath (Volterra 234). The wing-ears remained because they were difficult to conceal. Holes were drilled in the lobes of the ears for earrings³. Plaster or stucco could not be used on the tufa sculptures, and in such cases the hair-dress was carved from the wreath⁴. The figures of alabaster were sculpted a little slimmer under the breast, and thus there was place for the girdle and flat breasts⁵. In two tufa sculptures a broad furrow was carved on the place of the girdle, but the draperies of the *chiton* beneath can be followed under the girdle furrow⁶. There was room for a torc round the neck or a snake-bracelet when the neck or arm was carved a little thinner⁷.

Perhaps the family of the deceased was content with the result—anyway no one seems to have commented on the alterations during the two hundred years the sculptures have been exhibited in the museums.

¹ Volterra 37. It is difficult to say what Volterra 234, 257 and 643 originally held in their right hands.

² Volterra 36, 137, 215, 257.

³ Volterra 215, 234, 257.

⁴ Volterra 574, 643, Florence 5773.

⁵ Volterra 36, 37, 137, 215, 234, 257, Florence 5773.

⁶ Volterra 574, 643.

⁷ Volterra 36, 137 (there is an incised snake-bracelet on the left wrist), 215, 234, 257.

2.3.2.2.2 Circumstances of Discovery and Dating

Urns and lid sculptures of both alabaster and tufa belonging to the group have been found in the Volaterran territory, not only at Volaterrae itself. These are the four lid sculptures from Barberino Val d'Elsa¹, the two from Castelfalfi² and the one from San Gimignano³. There is also one urn and lid from Castiglioncello⁴.

The circumstances of discovery of some lids are known, but the tombs were in use over a long period, and the datings are not exact. The figure of a woman in alabaster, Volterra 514, has been found in the tomb *p* in the necropolis of Portone in 1873-74, together with reliefs of the same group⁵. The coins found in the tomb extend from the third to the first century B.C., most of them from the latter half of the third century. The last coin was issued between 89-54 B.C.⁶, which shows that the tomb was in use at least that late.

A relief belonging to the Idealizing Group has been found in the tomb *E* of the necropolis of Portone, and the coins in that tomb also extend to the first century B.C.⁷.

The lid sculptures of tufa in the tomb *A* of Poggio alle Croci are not typical of the Idealizing Group, but they are related to it⁸. In this

¹ Florence 92072, an alabaster man with expressively sculpted draperies, cf. p. 307, Florence 92056, a man of tufa; 92054 and 92060, women of alabaster. Literature on Barberino Val d'Elsa, see p. 275 n. 4.

² MINTO, 'Montaione', 31-33, figs. 1-2, two men of tufa, both headless.

³ A man of tufa, displayed in the Museo Civico, San Gimignano, on the first floor.

⁴ Castiglioncello 279, a woman of alabaster. Cf. p. 275 n. 8. See also: A. SOLARI, *Vita pubblica e privata degli Etruschi*, Firenze 1931, 118, t. 47, fig. 92; *NRIE* 25; G. BUONAMICI, 'Le iscrizioni etrusche di Castiglioncello', *SE* 19 (1946-47), 331; A. NEPPI MODONA, *A Guide to Etruscan Antiquities*, Firenze 1968, fig. p. 126.

⁵ FIUMI, 'Portone', 395-404, no. 2, p. 395, fig. 27 p. 396. The only relief not belonging to this group is no. 5, p. 395, which belongs to the Book-Scroll Group, cf. p. 348.

⁶ FIUMI, 'Portone', 400-403. In this connexion Fiumi mentions several female figures, all belonging to the Idealizing Group, and he dates them to the first half of the 2nd century B.C., which must be far too early; cf. VACANO, 'Volt. Urnen-reliefs', 79.

⁷ FIUMI, 'Portone', 387-392.

⁸ FIUMI, 'Poggio alle Croci', 252-256, figs. 3, 5 (Volterra 639, 649). An exception is Volterra 640, which I attribute to the Book-Scroll Group, cf. p. 340, no. 33 (FIUMI, op. cit., no. 5 p. 253, fig. 4 p. 255).

tomb, too, the coins extend from the third to the first century B.C.¹ The tomb *B* of Poggio alle Croci had two lid sculptures of tufa, a man included in the Transitional Group and a very roughly executed woman, related to the Idealizing Group. The only coin found in the tomb is from the third century B.C.² The two men of tufa with their reliefs, belonging to the Idealizing Group, were found in Castelfalfi, Rignano, in a tomb where a coin issued in the year 194 B.C. was also found³.

Such a big complex with numerous urns as the *Tomba Inghirami*, now in the garden of the Museo Archeologico in Florence has, of course, been used over a long period of time. In the *Tomba Inghirami*, a great number of urns and lids belong to the Idealizing Group, but there are also examples of the Hellenistic Style Phase and later groups of the Roman Style Phase. The chronology of the tomb can hardly be reconstructed on the basis of the order of the urns, because it is not certain whether they are in their original places and whether the lids have been placed on the right urns. A coin from the year 94 B.C. is said to have been found in the tomb, but there were no vases⁴.

¹ FIUMI, 'Poggio alle Croci', 259-261.

² FIUMI, 'Poggio alle Croci', 261-263, Volterra 645 and 646.

³ MINTO, 'Montaione', 31-33, figs. 1-2.

⁴ FIUMI, 'Portone', 403. The tomb was discovered in 1861 in the necropolis of San Girolamo in the grounds of Villa Inghirami and was moved to Florence in 1900, where it was reconstructed in the garden of the Museo Archeologico. Some of the urns were displayed in the museum itself, in the Volaterran room. Bibl.: D. F. GORI, 'Scavi di Volterra', *BullInst* (1862), 207-210; H. BRUNN, 'Scavi di Volterra', *BullInst* (1862), 210-213; BR.-KÖRTE, I-III, passim (written both before and after the removal); MILANI, 225, 285-286; L. PERNIER, 'Ricordi e Monumenti archeologici della Valdelsa e del Chianti', ISOLANI-PERNIER, *Estratti dalla Miscellanea storica della Valdelsa* 33, 2-3, Castelfiorentino 1925, fig. 2; P. L. CONSORTINI, *Le necropoli etrusche di Volterra e le tombe dei secoli V e IV a.C.*, Lucca 1933, 38; A. ÅKERSTRÖM, *Studien über die etruskischen Gräber unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Entwicklung des Kammergrabes*, Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae III, Uppsala 1934, 162; GIGLIOLI, t. 395, 1; CONSORTINI, fig. p. 85; C. LAVIOSA, *Guida alle stele arcaiche e al materiale Volterrano*, Firenze 1962, 17-18; Id., *Scultura tardo-etrusca*, fig. 1; E. PANOFKY, *Grabplastik*, Köln 1964, T. 70; A. DE AGOSTINO, *Il Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, Firenze 1968, 109, no. 6; BANTI, 323-324, pl. 70 a; MAETZKE, 146, fig. pp. 164-165; SANTANGELO, fig. p. 35, below; J. M. C. TOYNBEE, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, London and Southampton 1971, p. 4.

Some authorities claim that the urns now guarded in the tomb are not the original ones, but from some other tomb in the necropolis of San Girolamo, and the original ones would be in the Museo Guarnacci or somewhere else in Volterra: R. ENKING, 'Volaterrae', *RE* 9 (1967), 729; SCULLARD, 14, pl. 69. I think, however, that this must be an error. Nothing points to it in the older sources.

These were the tombs with coin finds together with urns of the Idealizing Group. There are also some complexes of lid sculptures known to us, the most important of which is the tomb of Caecinae, found in the necropolis of Portone in 1739; it contained about 40 urns¹. Now the provenance of only the lids with inscriptions is known², and of these about a dozen are still left³. They all belong to those groups in which inscriptions were commonly used in Volaterrae, and hence we cannot know whether the tomb also contained urns of the earlier style phases. Of the lid sculptures six belong to the Idealizing Group, all with an Etruscan inscription⁴. To the Book-Scroll Group belong two lid sculptures with an Etruscan inscription (nos. 37 and 40, see below pp. 342, 343), and three with a Latin inscription (nos. 5, 9 and 14, see below pp. 332, 334, 335). The one of the two boys of the Caecina Selcia Group has an Etruscan inscription (no. 5, p. 354) and the other a Latin one (no. 4, p. 353). Thus the chronological order of the groups seems to be clear: the Idealizing Group is older than the Book-Scroll Group and the Caecina Selcia Group with Latin inscriptions, but not much earlier. In fact, this result could also have been obtained without the Caecina tomb and its inscriptions.

The last monument of the tomb, an altar-shaped cinerary urn of marble (figs. 64-65), was placed right in the entrance⁵. Though it is quite Roman in character, it is possible that it was made locally, because the ornaments have many peculiarities. It certainly belongs to the Early Empire, but it is difficult to decide whether it is from the Augustan era or somewhat later.

Two other tombs of the family Ceicna-Caecina have been found, one in 1785, the other in 1810, in the necropolis of Portone, both with only

¹ MAFFEI, *Osserv. Lett.* V (1739), 318-319; VI (1740), 128-132; L. A. MURATORI, *Notus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum in praecipuis earundem collectionibus hactenus praetermissarum* III, Mediolani 1740, p. 1648; GORI, *Inscriptiones antiquae*, 159; *Id.*, *Mus. Etr.* III, 94-95, cl. II, t. IX-XI; INGHIRAMI, I:1, 7; IV, 84-86, t. 14-15; DENNIS, II, 158-159; ÅKERSTRÖM, 162; M. TORELLI, 'Senatori etruschi della tarda repubblica e dell'Impero', *DialArch* 3 (1969), 297-298. Of the family, see HOHTI, pp. 414-417.

² CIE 18-35, where the older references are to be found. CIE 154, too, seems to have belonged to the tomb, see p. 335, no. 14.

³ Volterra 141, 154, 203, 209, 227, 253, 274, 317, 351, 376, Palazzo Antinori-Aldobrandini 3 and 9, and the altar-urn, CIE 18, in the Museo Guarnacci.

⁴ Volterra 154, 203, 253, 317, 351, 376.

⁵ CIE 18, *CIL* XI 1763; GORI, *Mus. Etr.* III, 94, cl. II, t. 11; RICCOBALDI DEL BAVA, *Dissertazione istorico-etrusca*, 160; W. ALTMANN, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin 1905, 130, no. 144; INGHIRAMI, VI, t. D 3, p. 23.

Etruscan inscriptions (CIE 36-42). Of these lids six belong to the Idealizing Group¹ and one to the Book-Scroll Group (no. 13, p. 335)².

Thus the tomb finds do not contribute towards any certain dating, and the chronological termini provided by the coins leave too wide a margin for the dating of the group. I am inclined to date the group to the first century B.C., mainly because of the men's short fringe hair-dress and because of the influence of realistic Roman portraiture. Such frowning faces as the men Volterra 154³, Florence 5710⁴, Leyden H III E⁵ and the woman, Volterra 332⁶, can hardly be explained without recourse to Roman art. These have all exceptionally realistic faces, but otherwise they are quite normal members of the group. The taste of the majority of the customers was—it seems—not inclined towards realistic Roman portraiture; they rather preferred a more idealizing style. Vessberg seems to have been the first to realize the late dating and the Roman character of several Volaterran lid sculptures belonging to this group, but I am not quite sure whether the more idealized examples are as late as from the Augustan era, as has been proposed⁷. The latest of the group might be from the time of the Second Triumvirate. In the group, the Hellenistic tradition seems

¹ Volterra 106, 182, 202 (A. J. PFIFFIG, 'Verschreibung und Verbesserung in etruskischen Inschriften', *SE* 32 (1964), 186; CIE 40), 278, 323, 460.

² It is not quite clear which of the inscriptions are from the tomb discovered in 1785 and which from the one of 1810, because the literature on the subject is later. The tomb of 1785 is described by GIACHI, 10-15; INGHIRAMI, I, 1, 11; DENNIS, II, 159; AKERSTRÖM, 162.

The tomb of the year 1810 is exceptional, consisting of a central chamber and five small cellas, and both the walls and the central pillar were roughly sculpted. INGHIRAMI, IV, 107-110, t. 17; DENNIS, II, 159. There are still two other tombs of the family, found in 1860/61, but they contained only Roman material. CINCI, 'Scavi di Volterra', *BullInst* (1860), 193-194; ID., 'Scavi di Volterra', *BullInst* (1961), 146; CIE 64.

³ CIE 32; DUCATI, *AE*, fig. 664; ID., *L'Italia antica*, 547, fig. 354; CONSORTINI, fig. p. 143; VESSBERG, 242, T. 88, 1; *Kunst und Leben der Etrusker*, 124, no. 326; SVOBODA, 'Zur Geschichte des Rhytons', 60, note 198; LAMBRECHTS, 170, 171, no. 32, pl. 35; LAVIOSA, no. 44.

⁴ CONESTABILE, 54, no. 57; CIE 72.

⁵ CIE 94; JANSSEN, *Inscriptiones Etruscae*, 10, no. 11; ID., *Gr., rom. en etr. Monumenten*, 64-65, no. 407; ID., *Etr. Grafreliefs*, 17-18, no. 25, pl. 12.

⁶ A. W. LAWRENCE, *Later Greek Sculpture and its Influence on East and West*, London 1927, 61, pl. 99; LEVI, 220, fig. p. 226, below to the left; PARIBENI, t. 76, 3; CONSORTINI, fig. p. 135; VESSBERG, 243, 284, T. 93, 3; FIUMI, 'Portone', 403, note 61; BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Archeologia e cultura*, 178, t. 8; ID., 'Ritratto', 713, fig. 824; VACANO, 'Volt. Urnenreliefs', 79; ID., 'Ödipus', 21, note 27.

⁷ VESSBERG, 243; LAVIOSA, no. 45.

to continue uninterrupted almost to the time of Augustan classicism, although this hardly had time to influence the workshop in Volaterrae. I would date the whole group to about 80/60-30 B. C., which conforms quite well with the datings of some urn reliefs of the same group proposed by Vacano¹.

2.3.2.3 *Some Isolated Lid Sculptures*

In the following I will briefly mention some lid sculptures which do not belong to the Idealizing Group, but which seem to be contemporaneous with it. The lid sculptures are isolated examples, but all of them are related to Roman Republican portraiture of the first century B. C.

1. Volterra 346.

Right hand broken.

Alabaster.

Phiale.

75 × 29 × 53 (3-C-c).

VESSBERG, 227, 242, 283, T. 87, 4.

Male.

The posture of the figure is frontal and compact. The toes of the right foot are placed on the left back corner of the lid. The head is not too big compared with the size of the body, which is seen only as far as the knees. The man is fatter than is usual in the Roman Style Phase, and the face is modelled softly, but realistically. He is frowning, but there is a peaceful expression on his face. There are deep bags under the eyes, and wrinkles around the broad mouth. It is not impossible that the lid sculpture is a real portrait.

The hair is longer than usual in this style phase. The wreath is drilled full of small holes, probably for attaching flowers and leaves. The head is not covered by the cloak. The *chiton* is modelled softly, and there is a thick ribbon or hem round the collar. The draperies of the cloak are very sharply carved.

The right hand is broken, and the left is holding a *phiale*, but in contrast to the Idealizing Group it is held upright and the leaf-patterns are inside the *phiale*. There seems to be only one thick cushion with a little tassel on the corner. The back of the head is now missing.

Vessberg has related the lid sculpture to the Hellenistic current of early Caesarian portraiture², and there are, in fact, numerous parallels to it in the Roman portraiture of the time³.

¹ VACANO, 'Ödipus', 37.

² VESSBERG, 227.

³ See e.g. VESSBERG, T. 32, 33, 35; B. SCHWEITZER, *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik*, Leipzig - Weimar 1948, Abb. 79, 82, 83, 97, 127.

2. Volterra 174.

Alabaster.

(60) × 24,5 × 37,5 (2-B-b).

Male.

Right hand broken.

The border of the cloak.

INGHIRAMI, VI, t. Y 5: 2,5 (if not the former).

LEVI, 219-220, fig. p. 225, above to the left.

PARIBENI, t. 76,1.

VESSBERG, 242, 283, T. 87,3.

This lid sculpture greatly resembles the former, but the execution is much coarser. It is badly weathered and cracked. The right hand is missing and there is a hole in the broken surface as well as in the cloak, a little way beneath the hand. The left hand is holding the border of the cloak, and there seems to be only one cushion.

The face type of the man is in fact the same as that of the former, but the modelling is rougher. The tip of the nose and the protruding chin have been damaged. There are deep wrinkles round the mouth. The hair has been rendered schematically, and the head is bare. The wreath is decorated with hardly visible cross-patterns.

3. Volterra, Palazzo Inghirami 9.

Alabaster.

63 × 27 × — (2-C--).

Male.

Phiale.

The corner of the cloak (?).

LAMBRECHTS, 173-174, no. 34, t. 37.

DELPLACE, fig. 14.

The head is far too big for the body, the features are round and there are numerous wrinkles on the face. A special feature is the loose skin under the chin, which hangs in folds. The hair is quite short and the head is bare. The right hand is holding a *phiale* and the left appears to be holding a loop of the cloak. The draperies of the *chiton* and the cloak have been rendered in dense folds. There are two tasselled cushions. This sculpture might be connected with the two former ones, though there is no positive proof that the sculptor is the same.

4. Volterra 613.

Terracotta.

71 × 34 × 41 (3-C-b).

Male and female.

Phiale in the left hand of the man.

E. STRONG, 'The Art of the Roman Republic', *CAH* IX, 810-811; *CAH*, Vol. of Plates IV, fig. 40 c.

GIGLIOLI, t. 414,2.

VESSBERG, 242-243, 283, T. 88,2.

SCHWEITZER, 55-56, 78.

BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità*, 271 note 106.

ID., 'Arte etrusca', 492, 495, fig. 595.

ID., 'Ritratto', 716.

PALLOTTINO-JUCKER, 153, fig. 113, p. 151.

P. J. RIIS, *Den etruskiske kunst*, København 1962, 217-218, fig. 123.

INGHIRAMI, I: 2, 689-690; VI, 32, t. X 3: 4-5.

G. KARO, 'Etruskisch-römische Bildkunst', *Antike Plastik* (Amelung-Festschrift), Berlin und Leipzig 1928, 104, Abb. 3 p. 103.

This is the most famous Volaterran lid sculpture, and much has been written about it, especially in connexion with realistic Etruscan portraiture and the disproportioned head in Etrusco-Italic art. Only a selection of the large bibliography is given above. Here I will simply examine its position in the context of the Volaterran lid production and mention things seldom referred to in the literature on the subject.

The lid sculpture—the urn is missing—is the only one of terracotta and the only couple which can be referred to the Roman Style Phase¹. The use of terracotta has certainly contributed to the very plastic and expressive modelling of the figures. Unusual features in the Volaterran material are the unveiled head, the shoulder-seam, the armlet and the very sharp realism of the female figure. The face of the man is not, however, isolated within the style phase, as Bianchi Bandinelli has already pointed out. The harsh realism is more evident in this case, but some men made of tufa, belonging to the Idealizing Group, greatly resemble this one². The plain wreath is also common in the tufa sculptures of the group, as well as the tasselled cushions with only one horizontal line (see above, p. 315). The trapeze-shaped nails are a little rounder than in the Idealizing Group, but the ring with the round bezel and the leaf-patterns of the *phiale* are common traits. The veins on the back of the hand are also a feature which sometimes occurs in the Idealizing Group (see above, p. 310 n. 1), but which is very striking in this case.

The figures are modelled plastically on all sides, the bare feet are placed on the back of the lid and there is plenty of space at the back of the figures. Both figures have a hole in the top of their heads.

This lid sculpture is thus in many respects an exceptional piece in the Volaterran lid production, but on the other hand, there are details which

¹ For the earlier terracotta sculptures, see p. 282 n. 5. The other couples: the Local Style Phase, Volterra 599 and 601; the Hellenistic Style Phase, Volterra 290 (INGHIRAMI, VI, t. V 3: 3), Florence 92066, Vatican 13887. All these examples certainly represent couples, and the urn of Florence 92066 is divided into two compartments for the ashes; thus I do not think that the woman in this case would be Vanth, the goddess of death, as has been proposed: *Kunst und Leben der Etrusker*, 124, no. 327; PALLOTTINO-JUCKER, *Etruskische Kunst*, 155 fig. 113; R. BLOCH, *Die Kunst der Etrusker*, Milano-Wien 1958, T. 84; M. PALLOTTINO, *Etruscologia*⁶, Milano 1968, t. 35; H. HARREL-COURTÈS, *L'Italie des Étrusques*, Paris 1960, 260-261.

² E.g. Volterra 572 (BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità*, 271, note 106; VESSBERG, 243, T. 89, 2; LEVI, 225, fig. above to the right), and Volterra 574, a woman who was originally a man, cf. pp. 316-317.

correspond to other lid sculptures. It is possible that it has been made by a sculptor of the Idealizing Group. This lid sculpture certainly belongs to the first century B.C., but it is difficult to place such a masterpiece more exactly within the framework of the development. Vessberg has proposed a rather late dating, because the realistic rendering of women is first seen in Roman art in Augustan times¹.

2.3.3 LATER PART OF THE ROMAN STYLE PHASE

2.3.3.1 *Characteristics*

I now come to the central material of this study, i.e., the lid sculptures which in my opinion belong to the last Etruscan urn production in Volterrae. There are three different groups that seem to be partly contemporary with each other, and two of these seem to have originated in the Idealizing Group. It is possible that the separation took place when the workshop of the Idealizing Group was still in action but it is more probable that some assistants founded their own workshops after the death of the leading master of the Idealizing Group. It is possible to follow the development from the Idealizing Group to degenerated and deformed lid sculptures. Generally, I will examine each group in a typological order, and I would think that this also corresponds to the approximate chronological order, though works of different quality could be made in the workshops at the same time.

The Etruscan inscriptions still dominate, but there are ten Latin inscriptions.

In the earlier Volaterran lid sculptures the heads were very often too big in relation to the body, but the other disproportions had almost vanished in the Idealizing Group. Now the different parts of the body may be connected with each other quite unanatomically, and the unorganic structure and deformations become a characteristic feature.

The tendency to save material and labour is also a striking feature. In the Idealizing Group the back of the figure was sculpted superficially, but now the lids are quite plain at the back and the sculptures have almost turned into reliefs.

As far as I know, the lids and the urns of the latest groups have been found only at Volterrae, and not at all in other sites of the territory.

¹ VESSBERG, 242-243.

2.3.3.2 *Book-Scroll Group*

2.3.3.2.1 Description

I have given this name to the group, because most of the men typical of the group have book-scrolls in their right hands. There are 50 lid sculptures in this group, 35 of men and 15 of women.

There are 21 inscriptions in the group, 13 of which are Etruscan and 7 Latin, and one which is illegible. The age of the deceased has been preserved in 15 cases, and it varies between 20 and 73 years, the average being 40 years, which does not differ much from the Idealizing Group. Only in one case is the epigraphy of the same curvilinear style as the inscriptions of the Idealizing Group (no. 1, p. 330). The common type of epigraphy is straightlined.

Alabaster is the dominating material (38 cases against 12 cases of tufa lids). The tufa lids represent a development parallel to those of alabaster, but it is not quite certain whether the same sculptor executed lids both in alabaster and in tufa. Each material requires a technique of its own. In the Idealizing Group tufa was sometimes sculpted in a way that resembled wood-carving¹. Most of the tufa sculptures which I am attributing to the Book-Scroll Group have been executed in such a manner, with a few firm strokes.

The length of the lids varies a good deal, between 27 and 86 cm, but the length groups (1) and (2) are the most common ones. Progressing degeneration of the figures seems to be accompanied by a continuous reduction of the length of the lids. The finest sculptures are to be found on the longest lids, whereas the shortest ones carry quite degenerated figures. Most of the lids are very narrow, belonging to width group A. The figures are now generally lower and belong to height groups a and b. Thus there is a tendency to diminishing both the length, width and the height (see diagram 4).

The posture is normally quite frontal and compact, but the head has been lowered remarkably, which accounts for the decreasing height of the lid sculptures. The right arm is radically shortened. In other respects the

¹ Volterra 111, 126, 172, 259, 416, 566, 573, Florence 5793, London D 95, to mention some of them. This technique may be a late feature in the group, where both very soft and more linear and polished modellings were also used in the tufa sculptures. The weathering of many sculptures often makes the evaluation of the original finish difficult.

postures are the same as in the Idealizing Group. The upper part of the body has been shortened and thus it is only a little longer than the lower part of the body. The longest lid sculptures have the head in correct proportions to the body, but the heads of the smallest figures are far too big. Consequently, the size of the head depends on the length of the lid.

The back of the figure is normally quite plain, but sometimes the cushions are also suggested at the back. The narrow lids could not be shaped into the natural forms of the figures, and it is clear that they were not intended to be seen except from the front – a little from above or at the same level. Sometimes the right arm appears to be narrower seen from above than from the front. The heads are quite flat, too. Normally there is the merest suggestion of the back of the skull and the cloak falls straight down behind the wreath. That is why the lid sculptures cannot be used as material for skull-measuring¹, because the “brachycephalic skull type” was not due to any physical feature, but to a material and labour saving device.

The face is long and thin, the nose broad and clumsy in its form and the chin protruding. The eyes are almond-shaped and often surrounded by furrows. The lips are pressed tightly together, the lower lip is broad and the upper lip thin, but the Amor’s curve is clearly marked. The men have numerous wrinkles on their faces, but most women have smooth skin. The face type was repeated numerous times, and thus the faces cannot be considered as real portraits in spite of their apparently individual features. Nowadays many of the figures are seen from a wrong angle, from underneath, because the lids are displayed high above the eye level. Thus, the chin and the neck look distorted and too dominating.

The neck is long and rather bony, and the big Adam’s apple protrudes. In fact, necks of that kind were rather usual on Roman coin portraits of the forties B.C.². All the men and some of the women have enormous “wing-ears”, which are modelled clumsily, with a big square ear lobe and a little ball above it.

The men have a short fringed hair-dress, which is often rather thick just above the ears, and the hair is perhaps a little longer than in the

¹ For the skull measurements of the lid sculptures in Volaterrae, see L. SCABIA, ‘Sul tipo etnico degli Etruschi rilevato dallo studio dei monumenti volterrani’, *Il frenocomio di S. Girolamo in Volterra*, Volterra 1911; TOSCANELLI, *Pisa* II, 496.

² See e.g. VESSBERG, *T.* 3: 2-3, 4: 1, 10, 8: 6-7. The neck of Caesar (*T.* 6-7) is as long, but even thinner; the numerous wrinkles do not, however, occur on the Volaterran figures.

Idealizing Group. The stylization of the details varies. Most of the women retain the classical knot-coiffure, with the hair parted in the middle and waving at the temples, though the side hair may also be straight. One woman has her hair drawn straight back (no. 42, see p. 344), and there is one example of the *nodus* hair-dress (no. 49, p. 347), which appeared in Rome for the first time during the Second Triumvirate and was popular during the greater part of the Augustan era (cf. below p. 349).

The wreaths worn by the men are of the same plaited type which was used in the Idealizing Group, but on the smallest figures the details of the wreaths are not very distinct. In the most elaborate wreaths there are also flowers. Many women wear diadems, of the three-crested type with flower- and leaf-decorations and beads.

Most of the men and all the women have their heads veiled with the cloak. The draperies of the clothes have been executed in schematic, parallel and dense folds. The hem of the *chiton* lying free around the feet has been arranged even more angularly than in the Idealizing Group. The border of the cloak near the left hand has usually been rendered in a step-like manner, characteristic of the group. The square-patterned girdle of the Idealizing Group is also used by two women in this group, but the other women have a ribbon-like, plain girdle. Some women also have the plaited cross-bands, and one of them has a diagonal ribbon. The wheel-buckle is now always composed of a flower, with or without a ring around it.

Now the sculpted earrings have returned, and the model is the same as in the Hellenistic Style Phase (see above p. 294), and probably also in the loose golden earrings of the Idealizing Group: the pyramidal or conical pendant, but normally without the disc. The size is, however, much smaller than in the Hellenistic Style Phase, where the sculpted earrings were enormous. Five women have torcs round their necks and five wear pendant necklaces. The model of the latter is the same as before, but simpler. One woman has a pearl necklace. Bracelets are unusual, and there is only one armlet. Thus the jewellery is simpler than before. One remarkable change is that there are almost no finger-rings in the group. This might be due to Roman influence¹.

The left hand which is resting on the cushion, is long and narrow; the fingers are very long and thin. This is in striking contrast to the

¹ See e.g. F. H. MARSHALL, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum*, London 1907, p. xix.

plump right arm and hand. If the nails have been sculpted, they are of the same trapeze-formed type as in the Idealizing Group.

Six men, most of whom are typologically related to the Idealizing Group, have a *rhyton* in the right hand. The type is the same as before, but round the neck of the horse there may be a triangular harness ornamented with beads. Some of the horses on the reliefs of the Idealizing Group were fitted out correspondingly¹. The *phiale* is now unusual. Three of the men with a *rhyton* have a *phiale* in the left hand. The typical attribute of the men is, however, the book-scroll². It is held in the right hand, and it never has any details sculpted on it. Some men have closed tablets in the right hand. In the left hand the men usually hold the tasselled corner of the cloak; this is a detail characteristic of the group. In the Idealizing Group the corner of the cloak could sometimes be tasselled, too, but normally it was looped and without a tassel.

The women hold the pomegranate only in the left hand, because the right is holding either a mirror-case or a fan. There are three mirror-cases, all square and elaborately decorated with beads. The type of fan is the same as before, but much smaller, simple and stiff.

The horizontally wave-lined and tasselled cushions of the Idealizing Group have been reduced to one, rather flat cushion, of which only a corner is usually seen. The type is the same as before. The lowness of the figures is also due to the one cushion instead of two—there are, however, exceptions with two cushions.

Colours have not been especially well preserved in the group. The range of colours is the same as before—brownish red, black, and dark brown. Gilding has been used only on the biggest figures. Also in this group more than one piece has often been used in sculpting the lid, but the smallest figures are, of course, created from one block.

Most of the urn reliefs are again lower and rather schematic in execution. The most usual relief-motif of the workshop seems to be "the Journey to the Underworld in a Wagon", *carpentum*³. In the wagon a man, woman or couple is reclining, and these figures look exactly like the lid sculptures in miniature size. On the relief in the British Museum

¹ E. g. BR.-KÖRTE, II, t. 22, 4; 41, 3; III, t. 84, 2; 92, 5 etc.

² F. BIRT, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, Leipzig 1907, 24, 80-81, 92; G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, 'L'istrumentum scriptorium nei monumenti pompeiani ed ercolanesi', *Pompeiana*, Napoli 1950, 274-275.

³ BR.-KÖRTE, III, t. 79-83; LAVIOSA, no. 33.

the woman in the wagon seems to be wearing the *nodus* hair-dress¹. Also Fiumi has attributed the motif to the latest period of production². The very schematically composed reliefs representing the procession to the underworld on foot³ and in *quadriga*⁴ might belong to the group, as well as the Oidipus, Amphiaraios and Gorgoneia reliefs published by Vacano⁵.

2.3.3.2.2 Catalogue

In the following I will examine the lid sculptures in typological series, first the men sculpted in alabaster, then those sculpted in tufa, and lastly the women. The dating will be discussed after the catalogue.

Fig. 1

1. Volterra 342.

Alabaster.

66, 5 × 18,5 × 39 (3-A-b).

Male, 31 years old.

Closed tablets.

Looped corner of the cloak.

An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 98, curvilinear epigraphy, painted red.

CONESTABILE, 262, no. 15.

This lid sculpture is still closely related to the Idealizing Group. The details which show this relationship are the curvilinear epigraphy, the correct proportions of the right arm, the natural way the clothes fall, the border of the cloak looped in the left hand and the two cushions. The closed tablets in the right hand are common attributes also in the Idealizing Group. On the cover of the tablets there is a square figure with the sides curving inwards and small dots placed in a circle. Only a short piece of the wreath has been preserved, and a part of the head has been broken. The common features for both groups are the trapeze-formed nails and the angular draperies at the foot. The head has been veiled by the cloak, but it is broken at both sides. In fact, the lid sculpture is in all respects a typical example of the Idealizing Group, except for the face which indicates that it must have been sculpted by the same man who exe-

¹ PRYCE, 228, D 67, fig. 87.

² FIUMI, 'Portone', 403.

³ BR.-KÖRTE, III, t. 91; LAVIOSA, no. 32.

⁴ BR.-KÖRTE, III, t. 86, 5-6; 87, 2; 88, 4-5.

⁵ VACANO, 'Volt. Urnenreliefs', T. 21, 22, 1, 23, 1-2, 24, 3; BR.-KÖRTE, II, t. 19, 15; III, t. 142, 1; LAVIOSA, no. 26.

cuted the following lid sculptures. The broad clumsy nose, the mouth with the full lower lip, the thin upper lip with the distinct Amor's curve and the protruding chin with a hole in it are all typical of the Book-Scroll Group. The forehead is smoother than in the following examples, but there are faint traces of wrinkles. There is a peaceful and confident expression on the smiling face, and the head leans slightly to the left.

Fig. 2.

2. London D 64.

Rhyton.

Alabaster.

Phiale.

61 × 23 × 36 (2-B-b).

An Etruscan inscription, not in *CIE*.

Male, 60 years old.

PRYCE, 225, fig. 84, D 64.

The attributes are the same as they often are in the Idealizing Group, the *rhyton* in the right hand and the *phiale* in the left¹. The rim of the *rhyton* is decorated with beads and the Ionian *kymation*, there is a ring round the body of the horse and round the neck a beaded harness. The horse has a flowing mane. The *phiale* is ornamented with radial leaves and the rim with beads. There is gilding on both vessels. The wreath is of the usual plaited type. The head is not veiled by the cloak. The big ears are typical of the group as are the face with the eyes incised, the broad nose, the lips, the strong chin and the numerous wrinkles. Now there is one cushion, only a corner of which can be seen. The right arm is radically shortened, though the sculpture is rather skillfully made in other respects. The back of the skull and the left corner of the lid have been broken.

3. Palazzo Antinori-Aldobrandini 6.

Phiale.

Alabaster.

An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 104.

77 × 16 × 35.5 (3-A-a).

DEUTSCHKE, *Antike Bildwerke* II, 163-164, no. 380 (30).

Male, 27 years old.

NEPPI MODONA, 266-269, no. 6, fig. 6.

Rhyton.

This sculpture greatly resembles the preceding, but this time the head is covered by the cloak and the face looks younger. The horse *protome* of

¹ E. g. Volterra 114, 154, 168, 192, 206, 253, 317, 358, Florence 5710, 78511.

the *rhyton* in the right hand does not have the ornamental harness. The left hand holds a *phiale*, but in this case the middle finger and the ring-finger are straight and are not inserted into the hole of the *phiale* as usual.

Fig. 3.

4. Volterra 470.

A Latin inscription, not in *CIE* or *CIL*.

Alabaster.

$72 \times 19 \times 41$ (3-A-b).

LEVI, 219-220, fig. p. 226 above to the left, BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità*, 87.

Male, 42 years old.

VACANO, 'Oedipus', 22, note 27.

Rhyton.

LAVIOSA, no. 40.

Phiale.

This man also has a *rhyton* in his right hand and a *phiale* in the left. The *rhyton* is badly damaged. The *phiale* is decorated with leaf-patterns, dots and beads. The head is not veiled. The hair has been sculpted in greater detail than usual, with curving locks of hair which criss-cross in a manner that resembles the plaited wreath. This is of the common type, but it has been made more elaborate with flowers in the middle. The face is typical of the group, with furrows on the forehead and lines under the eyes. The head is quite flat and it is clear that the sculpture is not meant to be seen from the side. The draperies of the cloak lying free at the front are rather naturalistically pleated and not like the schematic "step" motifs as on the other lid sculptures of the group.

The right hand is broken, parts of the cushion are weathered and a section at the foot, originally fastened into the holes, has been broken. The back of the figure is plain.

Fig. 4.

5. Volterra 227.

A Latin inscription, *CIE* 22, *CIL* XI¹ 1765, painted black.

Alabaster.

$86 \times 30 \times 43$ (3-B-b).

Found in the Caccina tomb in 1739 in the necropolis of Portone.

Male, 30 years old.

Rhyton.

MAFFEI, *Osserv. Lett.* VI, 132.

Border of the cloak.

INGHIRAMI, VI, 32, t. V 3: 4.

BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità*, 87.

The face is long and the forehead furrowed. Black has been used in the eyes. In the picture, taken from below, the shortened space between the chin and the neck is clearly visible. The wreath is weathered. The

rhyton in the right hand has a horse *protome*, with a triangular harness, but without beads. The rim of the *rhyton* is decorated with beads, Ionian *kymation*, and near the rim there is a band of incised garland motifs painted in turquoise. In this case, the left hand does not hold a *phiale* but the border of the cloak, stylized in a unusual way. The cushion has also been modelled at the back of the figure.

A piece of the left corner of the lid has been broken, and there is a hole in the surface.

Fig. 5.

6. Florence 78483.

Mottled alabaster.

52 × — × 29 (2-a).

Male, 72 years old.

Rhyton.

The corner of the cloak.

An Etruscan inscription, *REE*, 1973, 31.

Belongs to the *tomba Inghirami*.

The extremely shortened right hand holds a *rhyton*, which has an incised garland motif on the horn, and which is in other respects quite like the *rhyton* of the former sculpture. The left hand is now holding the tasselled corner of the cloak, one of the typical features of the group. The lid corresponds those previously described, but the size is smaller and it is not sculpted in detail.

7. Volterra 270.

Alabaster.

70 × 19 × 40,5 (3-A-b).

Male.

Rhyton.

The corner of the cloak.

This figure has many features in common with the Idealizing Group, such as the strong face, the two cushions and the draperies. The shortened right arm and the tasselled corner of the cloak in the left hand are, however, details which connect the sculpture with the Book-Scroll Group. The *rhyton* in the right hand, a part of the arm, the cushions, the hair and the wreath have been damaged.

Fig. 6.

8. Volterra 318.

Alabaster.

65 × 20 × 37 (2/3-B-b).

Male, 73 years old.

Rhyton.

The corner of the cloak.

An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 67.

BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità*, 87.

VACANO, 'Ödipus', 21, note 25.

LAVIOSA, no. 46.

The man represents the normal type of the group, and more or less the same scheme has been used in the following lid sculptures. The face is long and thin, but rather flat, with a broad nose and dominating chin, the lips have the clear Amor's curve, the eyes have been engraved, and the forehead is furrowed. The ears are enormous. This figure has the eyes painted brown and the hair dark red. A special feature is that the hair recedes from the forehead, but there is a tuft in the middle. To the usual scheme of the group belong the long and bony neck, the plaited wreath, the head covered by the veil, the strongly shortened right arm, the book-scroll in the right hand, the tasselled corner of the cloak in the left, the tasselled cushion, all the draperies and the plain back of the figure.

The sculpture is patched with stucco, apparently from the time of its creation, and there is a hole in the broken right corner of the lid. There are blue patches here and there on the cloak.

Fig. 7.

9. Volterra 274.

Alabaster.

67,5 × 18,7 × 29 (3-A-a).

Male, at least 20 years old.

Book-scroll.

The corner of the cloak.

A Latin inscription, *CIE* 20 and *CIL* XI¹, 1762.

Found in the Caecina tomb in the necropolis of Portone in 1739.

GORI, *Inscriptiones antiquae*, 159, no. 187.

This figure corresponds to the former, but here the hair is arranged in the usual way. The head has sunk very low, and the shoulder is on the same level as the ear. There is black colouring in the eyes. A part of the head and the book-scroll are damaged.

Fig. 8.

10. Volterra 357.

Alabaster.

52 × 14 × 28 (2-A-a).

Male.

Book-scroll.

The corner of the cloak.

The scheme is the same as in the former. Parts of the book-scroll and the cloak have been broken. There are some holes in the right side of the lid, and they reveal that a piece has been broken off.

11. Volterra 341.

Alabaster.

66 × — × 33 (3- -a).

Male.

Book-scroll.

The corner of the cloak.

The scheme is the usual one. The figure is weathered and patched with stucco in many places.

Fig. 9.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 12. Volterra 249. | The corner of the cloak. |
| Alabaster. | An Etruscan inscription, <i>CIE</i> 121, |
| $57 \times 17 \times 26$ (2-A-a). | painted red. |
| Male. | |
| Book-scroll. | <i>CH</i> no. 364 bis b. |

The scheme is the same as in the former. This time the book-scroll is held almost vertically.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 13. Volterra 225. | An Etruscan inscription, <i>CIE</i> 37, |
| Alabaster. | painted black. |
| $56,5 \times 18,5 \times 29$ (2-A-a). | Found in the Caecina tomb in the |
| Male. | necropolis of Portone in 1785 or |
| Book-scroll. | 1810. |
| The border of the cloak. | <i>CH</i> , no. 325 bis i. |

The scheme is the same as in the former. The face is weathered and parts of the figure have been broken, especially at the foot.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 14. Palazzo Antinori-Aldobrandini 3. | The corner of the cloak. |
| Alabaster. | A Latin inscription, <i>CIE</i> 154. |
| $(61) \times 20 \times 38$ (2-B-b). | |
| Male, 20 years old. | DÜTSCHKE, <i>Antike Bildwerke</i> II, 156-157, |
| Book-scroll. | no. 367 (17). |
| | NEPPI MODONA, 263-264, fig. 3, no. 3. |

The deceased probably belongs to the family Caecina, in which case the sculpture would have been found in the tomb of the family in the necropolis of Portone in 1739.

According to Neppi Modona there is a *phiale* in the left hand, but the picture published by him seems to show the corner of the cloak, though stylized in a manner other than is normal in the group. In other respects the figure corresponds to the usual scheme of the group. A part of the foot area has been broken.

15. Palazzo Antinori-Aldobrandini 11. A Latin inscription, *CIE* 4615.

Alabaster.

(44,5) × 17 × 30 (1/2-A-a).

Male, perhaps 59 years old.

Book-scroll.

The corner of the cloak.

DÜTSCHKE, *Antike Bildwerke* 11, 167, no. 385 (35).

BIRT, 92.

HERBIG, 'Etr. Leinwandrolle', 15, c, no. 1.

NEPPI MODONA, 271-272, fig. 11, no. 11.

The scheme is the usual one. The foot area of the lid has been broken and the figure is badly weathered.

Fig. 10.

16. Volterra 480.

Alabaster.

51 × 19 × 28 (1-B-a).

Male.

Book-scroll.

The corner of the cloak.

Traces of a painted text.

The scheme is the same as in the former, but the face is broader and the head is not covered by the cloak.

17. Volterra 200.

Mottled alabaster.

37 × 15 × 25 (1-A-b).

Male.

Book-scroll.

The corner of the cloak.

The size has now become smaller. The head is uncovered, but in other respects the scheme is the usual one.

18. Volterra 190.

Alabaster.

37 × 11 × 23 (1-A-a).

Male.

Book-scroll.

The corner of the cloak.

The lid sculpture is badly preserved. A section at the foot and a part of the right hand with the book-scroll have been broken, and the figure is severely weathered. Parts of the cloak and the face have been patched with stucco. The face has been sculpted more superficially than usual, and only the nose and the nostrils are clearly seen in the oval face.

19. Palazzo Inghirami.

Alabaster.

46,5 × 11 × (15,5) (1-A- -).

Male.

Book-scroll.

The corner of the cloak.

The head is missing, and the sculpture is weathered. There are remnants of a book-scroll in the right hand.

20. Volterra 81.

Male.

Mottled alabaster.

Book-scroll.

$57 \times 17 \times 32,5$ (2-A-a).

The corner of the cloak.

The sculpture is weathered, and parts of the top of the head have been broken. There are holes in the broken surface.

21. Volterra 103.

Male.

Alabaster.

Book-scroll.

$(49) \times 17 \times 28$ (2-A-a).

The corner of the cloak.

The scheme is the usual one, but the wreath is quite weathered and a section of the foot area has been broken.

22. Volterra 151.

The corner of the cloak.

Mottled alabaster.

The urn relief, BR.-KÖRTE, III, 97, t. 81, 5 b, *carpentum*, might belong to the lid.

$38 \times 9,5 \times 20,5$ (1-A-a).

Male.

Book-scroll.

The lid sculpture has been severely weathered. The scheme is the usual one, but the face is rounder and gives a childish impression. The size of the head is disproportionately large.

23. Volterra 40.

perhaps the original one, because both the style and the small dimensions match the lid.

Alabaster.

$27,5 \times 13 \times 19,5$ (1-C-b).

Male.

BR.-KÖRTE, III, 204, t. 138, 3 a.

Book-scroll.

VACANO, 'Volt. Urnenreliefs', 66-67,

The corner of the cloak.

T. 23 2.

The urn with the Gorgoneia-relief is

Id., 'Ödipus', 34, note 79.

This lid is sculpted quite hastily and is lacking in details due to the small size. The face is round, the head is large. The hair retains some black colouring. Parts of the right arm, the book-scroll and the side of the head have been broken.

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 24. Volterra 50. | Book-scroll. |
| Alabaster. | The corner of the cloak. |
| 35 × 11,5 × (22) (1-A-b). | Traces of an inscription, probably |
| Male. | Etruscan. |

The scheme is the usual one and the lid is quite small.

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 25. Inghirami, VI, t. V 3:1. | A fragmentary Latin inscription. |
| Alabaster. | INGHIRAMI, VI, 31, t. V 3:1. |
| Male. | |

I do not know where this fragmentary lid sculpture is nowadays. In the design of Inghirami it can be seen that the figure has been preserved as far as the waist and there are two holes in the broken surface. The attribute in the right hand has also been broken, and there is an indistinct object in the left hand.

Fig. 11.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 26. Leyden H III QQQ 3. | The border of the cloak. |
| Alabaster. | |
| (47) × 19 × 33 (1-B-b). | JANSSEN, <i>Gr., rom. en etr. Monumenten</i> , |
| Male. | 69, 70, no. 415. |
| Closed tablets. | Id., <i>Etr. Grafreliefs</i> , 16-17, no. 24. |

The face, the wreath, the cushion and the shortened right arm are all typical of the group, but the figure differs from the usual scheme by holding closed tablets in the right hand and the border of the cloak in the left, instead of a tasselled corner of the cloak. The hair and the eyes of the figure are red. The lid has been broken and weathered in many places.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 27. Volterra 550. | Male. |
| Alabaster. | Book-scroll (?). |
| 63 × 20 × 42 (2-B-b). | The looped corner of the cloak. |

This lid sculpture is badly broken and weathered. The right hand has obviously held the book-scroll, but the loop of the cloak in the left hand is stylized in the same way as in the Idealizing Group, and thus it differs from the usual scheme. The cushions have also been modelled at the back.

28. Palazzo Antinori-Aldobrandini 10. The Clusine urn of terracotta does
Marble (according to Neppi Modona). not, of course, belong to the lid.
(38) × 16 × 31 (1-B-b).
Male. DÜTSCHKE, *Antike Bildwerke* II, 165-166,
no. 383 (33).
Empty. BIRT, 92.
Book-scroll. NEPPI MODONA, 271, no. 10, fig. 10.

The dwarfish body is surmounted by a huge head, which is turned to the right. The book-scroll is held almost vertically in the left hand, and the right is empty. A section of the foot area is broken.

Fig. 12.

29. Volterra 140. Weathered.
Alabaster. A Latin inscription, *CIE* 62, *CIL*
43 × 15 × 23 (1-A-a). XI¹ 1770.
Male, 22 years old. *CII*, no. 325, bis b.
Diptych.

The figure is badly weathered except at the foot, the front border and the corner of the cushion. The right hand is holding open tablets. The left hand has been damaged.

Fig. 13.

30. Volterra 364. Found in the necropolis of Portone.
Tufa. The relief, BR.-KÖRTE, III, 102, t.
55 × 17,5 × 37 (2-A-b). 84,2 b, *quadriga*, might belong
Male. to the lid.
Rhyton.
The corner of the cloak. LAMBRECHTS, 166-167, no. 30, t. 33.

The "wood-carving style" is not especially apparent in the case of this tufa lid. The head of the figure is big, the eyes wide open and the mouth is small. The face type thus differs a little from those of alabaster in the group. The ears are big, the wreath is plaited, the fringe short and the head is veiled by the cloak. The right arm is long in this case, and the hand holds a big *rhyton* with a horse *protome*, with a plain rim and a beaded ring round the body of the horse. The left hand holds the tasselled corner of the cloak just like the alabaster figures. There are two striped cushions.

The holes in the stomach and chest of the figure reveal that the lid has been hollowed out, perhaps in order to make it lighter¹.

31. Volterra 142.

Male.

Tufa.

Right hand missing.

51,5 × 21 × 35 (1-B-b).

The looped corner of the cloak.

The face of this man is practically identical with the former, but the eyes have been sculpted in the sharp "wood-carving manner". The wreath has been decorated with diagonal lines. The right arm with the attribute has broken. The left hand is holding the looped border of the cloak and there are two cushions, as in the Idealizing Group. The cushions are also modelled at the back.

Fig. 14.

32. Volterra 441.

Closed tablets.

Tufa.

The looped corner of the cloak.

50 × 12 × 29 (1-A-a).

The urn relief, BR.-KÖRTE, III, 78, t. 65,4 n, may belong to the lid.

Male.

The face is now a little longer, but the features are the same as those of the former one. The wreath is almost plain. The right hand holds closed tablets and the long and thin fingers of the left hand hold the looped border of the cloak. In these respects, the figure is still close to those of the Idealizing Group. Now there is only one cushion. The figure is quite flat, like a relief, and the back of the lid is plain.

33. Volterra 640.

century B. C., down to the year 80 B. C. This proves that the tomb has been in use at least that late, but it does not preclude an even later dating. Which one of the reliefs or the coins found in the tomb belonged to this lid sculpture, is not known (cf. p. 348).

Tufa.

51 × — × 37 (1--b).

Male.

Book-scroll.

The looped corner of the cloak.

The lid sculpture was found in the tomb A in Poggio alle Croci near the necropolis of San Girolamo, in 1957. The coins of the tomb date back from the third to the first

FIUMI, 'Poggio alle Croci', 253-254, no. 5, fig. 4 p. 255.

¹ This is a rather common trait, especially in tufa sculptures; cf. also the alabaster sculpture of the Diptych Group, p. 374 no. 25.

The figure has clearly been sculpted by the same person as the former but now there is a book-scroll in the right hand. This time the head is turned to the right. The left hand is holding the looped border of the cloak. There are two cushions. The figure has been carved skilfully and carefully, but somewhat schematically. A piece of the front border has been broken.

34. Volterra 390.

Male.

Tufa.

Book-scroll.

$52 \times 15 \times 26$ (1-A-a).

The looped corner of the cloak.

This man is identical with the former. The back of the lid is plain.

Fig. 15.

35. Volterra 94.

Male.

Tufa.

Closed tablets.

$57 \times 21 \times 30,5$ (2-B-a).

The corner of the cloak.

This figure is quite deformed, and the features of the Book-Scroll Group do not dominate. The head is very big, the upper part of the body is shrunk and shortened, and the draperies of the *chiton* are unnaturally straight. The right arm is long and it is attached to the body in a peculiar way. In the right hand there are closed tablets, the cover of which is decorated with waving lines and a rhomb-shaped figure. The left hand is holding the border of the cloak, draped in an unusual way. There is one cushion. The wreath is stylized in a manner which goes back to the plaited pattern. The coarse face is broad and the ears are very large.

36. Palazzo Inghirami 11.

Mirror-case.

Alabaster.

Pomegranate.

$56 \times 16 \times 34$ (2-A-b).

Female.

DELPLACE, fig. 16.

This woman still retains some features of the Idealizing Group, such as the waved hair and the two cushions. The face has rather soft features. The lips are modelled in the same manner as those of the men in the Book-Scroll Group, but the mouth is not as broad. The hair and the eyes are dark. There are small sculpted earrings. Round the neck there is a pendant necklace and on the right wrist a snake bracelet. The right arm is shortened. The square mirror-case is fragmentary. The *chiton* is buttoned on the shoulders, with ring-shaped holes between the buttons,

as in the Idealizing Group. The nails are trapeze-formed, and there are wrinkles on the fingers. The left hand holds a pomegranate. The girdle is square-patterned and decorated with beads. There are also plaited cross-bands, and the buckle is decorated with a flower. The surface of the sculpture is weathered and broken in many places, and there are several holes. The top of the head and the diadem have been broken.

Fig. 16.

37. Volterra 306.

Alabaster.

(52) $\times$ 16,5 $\times$ 31 (2-A-a).

Female.

Mirror-case.

Pomegranate.

An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 35 (with an erroneous inv. no.).

Found in the Caccina tomb in the necropolis of Portone in 1739.

MAFFEI, *Osserv. Lett.* VI, 132.

The face looks too broad in the picture, which has been taken from below. Seen from a little further above, the face, the neck and the whole posture look more natural. The lips are modelled in the usual way. The hair is now straight, but dressed in the classical knot coiffure. The diadem, parts of which have been broken, is of the three-crested type, decorated with curved lines and beads. There is a pendant necklace round the neck, and the earrings are small. The girdle is no longer square-patterned, but like a plain ribbon decorated with beads. A part of the right arm and the square mirror-case have been broken. There are some holes in the mirror, which show that the missing piece was originally made of a separate block. The pomegranate in the left hand is not decorated with a flower in relief but with an engraved circle with radial lines. The cushion has been damaged, and a section of the foot area is missing. The back is quite plain and the head is so flat that the veil falls straight down behind the diadem.

Figs. 17, 18.

38. Volterra 373.

Alabaster.

57 $\times$ 17,5 $\times$ 31,5 (2-A-a).

Female, 21 or 31 years old.

Mirror-case.

Pomegranate.

An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 127.*CH*, no. 364 bis c.

This sculpture greatly resembles the former lid, but the face is turned to the left. It is rather pretty, with a well-shaped nose. This time there is a torc round the neck. The diadem has been broken, but there

are traces of the border-fillet and beads. The pomegranate in the left hand is quite plain. The square mirror-case is in an excellent state of preservation. On the lower part there is an engraved square and on the upper part a circle. The sides of the case and the knob of the hinge are beaded. The girdle and the cross-bands are just like those of the preceding woman. This time there are two cushions. The draperies at the foot have been arranged very stiffly. A piece of the front border is broken.

Fig. 19.

39. Volterra 261.

Fan.

Alabaster.

Pomegranate(?).

57 × 20 × 34 (2-B-b).

Female.

VACANO, 'Ödipus', 22, note 27.

This example differs in many respects from the normal lids of the group, but the face greatly resembles those of the other women. The earrings have been added with stucco. The waving hair and the fan in the right hand are treated with a coating of stucco, too. There is red colouring on the hair. The diadem seems to have an undulating border. There is no jewellery round the neck, and the girdle is like a ribbon. There are both an armet and a snake bracelet on the right arm. The object in the left hand is not very distinct; it is either a pomegranate or the corner of the cloak. There is a ring added with stucco on the ring-finger of the left hand; this is the only ring in the group. There are two cushions and they are decorated in the usual manner with waving lines. The draperies at the foot are also modelled at the back. A loose block fastened to the two holes in the middle of the front border is now missing.

40. Palazzo Antinori-Aldobrandini 9.

Found in the Caecina tomb in the necropolis of Portone in 1739.

Alabaster.

56 × 18 × 41 (2-A-a).

Female, 54 years old.

MAFFEI, *Osserv. Lett.* VI, 132.

Fan.

DÜTSCHKE, *Antike Bildwerke* II, 166, no. 384 (34).

Pomegranate.

An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 29 and 166.

NEPPI MODONA, 271, no. 9, fig. 9, p. 269.

The features of the face are similar to those of the men of the group, and the face is turned to the right, i.e., at the spectator in the tomb.

The hair and the eyes are reddish. The diadem is partly broken, with a flower in the middle, curved lines on the side, and it is bordered with beads. The jewellery also comprises earrings and a pendant necklace, as well as a snake bracelet on the right wrist. The girdle is again square-patterned, and the wheel-buckle of the plaited cross-bands is of the flower-model. There is also a diagonal ribbon, descending from the right shoulder to the left loin. The right hand holds a fan upwards, as it does on the following lid sculptures, and the fan must be considered as the normal attribute for women in the Book-Scroll Group. The centre of the fan is decorated with beads, and the feathers are short and stiff. The left hand holds a pomegranate. The cushion is wave-lined and tasselled.

Fig. 20.

41. Volterra 558.

Female.

Tufa.

Fan.

57 × 16 × 40 (2-A-b).

Pomegranate.

LEVI, 220, fig. p. 226, below to the right.

The hair is waved in a very plastic manner. The features are more realistic than usual, with furrowed brow, but the face type is practically the same as that of the tufa men in the group. The weathered surface of the face gives, furthermore, too realistic an impression. The diadem is three-crested, with a flower in the middle, curved lines on the sides and a beaded border. There are the usual small earrings in the ears. On the right arm there are both an armlet and a snake bracelet, and there is a snake bracelet also on the left wrist. There is a torc round the neck. The right hand is holding a fan upright, modelled almost as softly as in the Idealizing Group. The left holds a pomegranate. The ribbon-girdle is bordered with beads. There are two cushions, and they are also modelled at the back.

Fig. 21.

42. Volterra 398.

Found in the necropolis of Portone
in 1856.

Alabaster.

(48) × 15 × 31 (1-A-b).

Female, at least 30 years old.

CII, no. 329 bis.

Fan.

HADACZEK, 70, note 3.

The corner of the cloak.

FIUMI, 'Portone', 391.

An Etruscan inscription, CIE 46.

LAVIOSA, no. 48.

MORI, 455, t. 89 a.

In this case the coiffure is exceptional. The hair has been combed straight back without any parting in the middle, and fastened with ribbons

wound round the head. There seem to be beads on the border of the outermost ribbon. Under the veil there must be a knot, placed high at the back of the head. The face is oval and of the type usual in the alabaster women of the group. The right earring is sculpted, but the left one is modelled in stucco. There is a pendant necklace round the neck. The girdle and the cross-bands are just like those of Volterra 306 and 373 (nos. 37 and 38, see above p. 342), but the flower-buckle is not inside a ring. The centre of the fan in the right hand is decorated with beads, and the feathers are stiff and straight. The left hand is holding the tasselled corner of the cloak. Parts of the foot area have been broken.

Fig. 22.

43. Volterra 485.

Fan.

Alabaster.

The corner of the cloak.

41 × 16 × 27 (1-B-b).

An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 103.

Female, at least 21 years old.

CH, no. 364, bis 1.

The face greatly resembles the men of the group, and the ears are also enormous. The earrings are small. The diadem is damaged, but it is of the three-crested type, with simple beads. The plain ring round the neck may be a necklace or wrinkled skin. The girdle is a plain ribbon without any decorations. The fan is of the same model as that of the former one, but even simpler and the borders of the centre are not decorated with beads. The left hand is holding the tasselled corner of the cloak. The figure is quite flat and the back is plain, but there is so broad a border at the back that the lid sculpture belongs to width group B.

Fig. 23.

44. Volterra 420.

The corner of the cloak.

Mottled alabaster.

An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 75.

62 × 21 × 36,5 (2-B-a).

CONESTABILE, 263, no. 24.

Female.

HADACZEK, 70, note 3.

Fan.

FIUMI, 'Portone', 391.

The face is rather flat, but the eyes, the lips and the chin are of the type usual in the group. The straight hair is parted in the middle. The diadem is three-crested, with a flower in the middle, curved lines on the sides and beads on the border. The small earrings are of the usual type. There is a plain bracelet on the right wrist. The little fan and

the girdle are just like those of the previous sculpture. The little-finger of the right hand is held straight in an elegant manner, and it is unnaturally long. The left hand is holding the corner of the cloak. There are two striped cushions. A corner of both the left and right end of the lid have been broken, and the right side of the inscription has been patched with stucco. The back of the figure is plain, but there is a narrow border.

Fig. 24.

45. Volterra 311.

Female.

Tufa.

Fan.

49 × 14 × 31 (1-A-b).

Pomegranate.

The figure greatly resembles the previous alabaster figure, but now the "wood-carving manner" has been used, clearly apparent in the modelling of the face. The hair waves in a plastic manner. There is a torc round the neck, small earrings and a plain diadem. The girdle is extremely simple. The right hand holds a fan, and the little-finger is again straight and rather long. There is a pomegranate in the left hand, which is long and thin, with tapering fingers. There are two tasselled cushions, both with one stripe.

Fig. 25.

46. Volterra 504.

Female.

Tufa.

Fan.

49 × 12 × 28 (1-A-a).

Pomegranate.

The figure differs from the previous one in its more elegant posture. The rim of the plain diadem is dented. The girdle is bordered by beads at the upper side, and the centre of the fan is also beaded. There is only one cushion. The draperies of the *chiton* lying free at the foot are arranged in straight folds as usual, but they take more space than before.

47. New York 96. 9. 224¹.

The lid and the urn were acquired in 1896 in Florence from the Baxter collection.

Tufa.

55,7 × 10,2 × 26,1 (2-A-a).

The relief, BR.-KÖRTE, II, 239, t. 108, 2, may belong to the lid.

Female.

Fan.

Pomegranate.

RICHTER, *Etr. Collection*, 49, fig. 141.

¹ I express my gratitude to Dietrich von Bothmer, who has kindly supplied me with information on the lid sculpture and the urn.

The lid sculpture differs in only a few respects from the previous ones—there is a furrow lining the plain diadem and two furrows on the border of the girdle, instead of beads. There is a torc round the neck. The foot area of the *kline* is again a little longer, in fact almost long enough for the figure to lie on it with the legs stretched out. This trait is remarkable, because most of the *klinai*—both on cinerary urns and in vase-painting—are shortened to a length which fits the figure, when lying with the legs drawn up¹. The back of the lid is plain.

Fig. 26.

48. Volterra 184.

Female.

Tufa.

Alabastron.

46 × 14 × 31 (1-A-b).

The corner of the cloak.

The deformed figure has an enormous head and the right arm is very much shortened. The face is round and the ears are very big. The hair is vaguely sculpted and it is difficult to discern any hair-dress. The diadem seems to be plain, but it is weathered. There is no jewellery, and the girdle is a plain ribbon. The right hand is probably holding an *alabastron*, the neck of which is partly broken. The left hand is holding the tasseled corner of the cloak. The cushion is wave-lined. A piece of the knee is broken off.

Fig. 27.

49. Volterra 167.

Fan.

Alabaster.

Pomegranate or the corner of the cloak.

34 × 15 × 20 (1-A-a).

Female.

The round features of the woman greatly resemble the previous figure in tufa. The shape of the mouth is typical of the group. The figure seems to follow the advice given by Ovid (*Ars Amatoria* III, 137-140) that women with a round face should wear the *nodus* coiffure. Both the high *nodus* and the hair at the temples have been marked as incised, in slightly waving furrows. There is no diadem, and the veil covers the back of the head; a part of the skull has been broken. Thus it is not possible to make out the details of the coiffure: whether the knot is at the neck or

¹ Cf. G. M. A. RICHTER, *A Handbook of Greek Art*⁶, London and New York 1969, 375.

higher at the back of the head. The side hair is separated as in the classical knot coiffure. The hair, the eyes, the fan and the girdle are painted dark. The small earrings are of the usual type, and there is a pearl necklace round the neck. The girdle is a plain ribbon. The upper part of the body is quite shapeless and flat. The fan is of the usual type, but sculpted quite simply. The left hand with its attribute, the cushion and the front border of the lid are all weathered. The figure is not sculpted at the back, but there is a broad border.

50. Volterra 452.

Female.

Alabaster.

Fan.

59 × 20 × 28 (2-B-a).

Weathered.

This figure is mentioned as the last example of the group, not because it belongs to the end of the typological series, but because it is so badly weathered that it is difficult to estimate its real place in the development. There is a broken fan in the right hand.

2.3.3.2.3 Circumstances of Discovery and Dating

Bianchi Bandinelli has mentioned some members of the Book-Scroll Group and dated them to times "not much later than 89 B. C.", because of the inscriptions, in both Etruscan and Latin¹. It is very probable that the Latin inscriptions did not occur much before that time, but we do not know when Etruscan language was discarded in sepulchral monuments; on the contrary, it is one of the main problems of this study. That is why I cannot use the language as a criterion in dating the lid sculptures.

Find reports do not give any certain dating either. The tufa sculpture, Volterra 640 (no. 33, p. 340), is the only one, of which the circumstances of discovery are known. It was found in Poggio alle Croci, tomb A, where several coins from the second half of the third century down to about the year 80 B.C. were also found². A fragmentary relief representing *carpentum*, a motif which seems to have been used exclusively in the Book-Scroll Group, has been found in the tomb p of the necropolis

¹ BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità*, 86-87: Volterra 227, 470, 318, and Volterra 338, which belongs to the Diptych Group, see p. 374 no. 26.

² FIUMI, 'Poggio alle Croci', 252-261. See p. 318.

of Portone¹, where the coins extend from the third century to the period 89-54 B.C.² The years in which the latest coins were issued do not necessarily indicate the last burial of the tomb, but they prove that the tomb was in use at least that late.

In 1860/61 A. Cinci found an urn probably with the *carpentum* motif, in an intact tomb. Inside the urn and nearby there were several pieces of jewellery and many small objects, for instance some glass bottles³. This might point to a date in the early Empire.

The typologically and probably also chronologically earliest sculptures of the Book-Scroll Group are clearly greatly influenced by the Idealizing Group. I would suggest that the master of the Book-Scroll Group began his career as an assistant in the Idealizing Group, adopting most of the details used in the workshop. Anyway, the greatest part of the production must be later than the Idealizing Group.

With the Book-Scroll Group, Roman influence became more apparent than before, not only in the language of the inscriptions. The idealized face types have been replaced by the realistically rendered features of an old man, the favourite motif of the Roman Republican portraiture in the first century B.C. A similar face type was used almost throughout the entire production; hence we cannot speak of real portraits. The face type became, however, rounder, softer, and more childish in the typologically latest figures (nos. 16, 22, 23, 35, 48, 49), together with an increase in deformity and a diminishing in size.

I have attributed lid sculptures of a very low quality to the latest production of the group. To such sculptures belongs Volterra 167 (no. 49, p. 347), the woman with the *nodus* coiffure. The hair-dress appeared in Rome for the first time in the late forties B.C.⁴, and was worn by the leading ladies of the Second Triumvirate and the early Empire, such as Fulvia, Octavia, Livia and Julia, both on coins and busts⁵. The hair-dress was fashionable for a rather long time, up to the birth of Christ, though hardly later than the first decade A.D.⁶; but it was worn by older women on Roman tomb reliefs even a decade later—up to about the year

¹ FIUMI, 'Portone', 395-396, no. 5, 403.

² FIUMI, 'Portone', 400-402.

³ CINCI, 'Scavi di Volterra', *BullInst* (1861), 148-150; FIUMI, 'Portone', 403.

⁴ L. FURNÉE-VAN ZWET, 'Fashion in Women's Hair-Dress in the First Century of the Roman Empire', *BABesch* 31 (1956), 2, no. 1, from the year 43 B.C., p. 3.

⁵ FURNÉE-VAN ZWET, 2-6, 11-15; VESSBERG, 246, 248; POULSEN, *Portraits romains*, no. 34, 65-69.

⁶ FURNÉE-VAN ZWET, 15.

A. D. 20¹. Thus, the appearance of the hair-dress in Volaterrae is important, because it dates the latest part of the urn production to times certainly later than the forties B. C.

The hair-dress used on the Volaterran lid sculptures have until now been nearly always the same—the hair is parted in the middle, gathered into a knot at the neck, and the hair at the temples forms thick, separate parts, which are normally waved. The same hair-dress is used by most of the women of the Book-Scroll Group, but the hair at the temples is often straight. Thus, the coiffures were extremely traditional, and I do not think that the *nodus* hair-dress would have been approved in the lid sculptures unless it had been worn by most women, including those of Volaterrae. It is impossible to say when this happened, but I would propose the dating of the latest production of the Book-Scroll Group to about the year 20 B. C., or perhaps somewhat later.

The master of the group might have received his artistic impulses from the Roman art of the time of the First Triumvirate, especially in the forties B.C. (cf. p. 327), and become master of the workshop during the latest period of the Idealizing Group or immediately after it, perhaps about the year 40 B.C., and at the latest about 30 B.C. Hence the taste for realistic portraiture would first have become popular in Volaterrae during the Second Triumvirate and the Augustan era. Contemporaneously with the classicizing court-style of Augustan times, a popular and more realistic current of art also continued in Rome itself². Thus, the late dating of the group does not seem improbable to me.

Vacano has dated some urn reliefs, varying in quality but all apparently belonging to the Book-Scroll Group, between the years 50 and 20 B.C.³, which fits well with my dating, which falls between the years 40 and 20 B.C., or less exactly, not earlier than 50 or later than 10 B.C.

2.3.3.3 *Caecina Selcia Group*

2.3.3.3.1 Description

The next group to be examined is very small—eleven⁴—and the sculptures are not closely related to each other. Through lack of any really pre-

¹ VESSBERG, 247.

² VESSBERG, 201-206.

³ VACANO, 'Volt. Urnenreliefs', 48-79; cf. p. 330.

⁴ I have omitted a lid sculpture representing a man formerly in the Camposanto in Pisa, because only a drawing of it exists. It seems to be related to no. 2 in the group (see p. 352), but it has something in common with nos. 16-18

dominant feature I have chosen to name it after a typical example of the group, namely the boy, A. Caccina Selcia (no. 4, below p. 353). The good carriage, the "wing-cars", the wide open eyes and the projecting border of the sleeve, almost resembling an armlet, are traits that are common to most of the members. The finest examples clearly show that this group has also been derived from the Idealizing Group. It is difficult to estimate whether the sculptures have been made by one or more persons, and the quality varies a good deal.

There are 5 Etruscan and 1 Latin inscriptions in the group. The average age is 39 years, but in fact the ages vary a great deal, from about 10 to 75 years. There are two boys, 10-12 years old, two men (28 and 48 years old) and two women (63 and 75 years old).

I will examine the lid sculptures in typological order, beginning with those which are closest to the Idealizing Group, first the men and then the women.

2.3.3.3.2 Catalogue

Figs. 28, 29.

1. Volterra 502.

Alabaster.

(70) × 23,5 × 48 (3-B-b).

Male, 48 years old.

Right hand broken.

The looped corner of the cloak.

An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 113.

The epigraphy is curvilinear, but not

as fine as in the Idealizing Group.

The deceased belongs to the family Flave, and it is thus possible that the sculpture was found in 1760 in the tomb of the family in the necropolis of Portone¹.

L. LANZI, *Saggio di lingua etrusca* II, Roma 1789, 345, no. 12.

INGHIRAMI, VI, t. Z 5: 1,4.

LEVI, 220, fig. p. 219.

SCHWEITZER, 76, 78, Abb. 95.

This lid sculpture is still close to the Idealizing Group, but it also bears some little resemblance to the Book-Scroll Group. The face has been individualized in a manner which is reminiscent of the latter—the face is meagre, the cheeks hollow and the chin prominent. There are numerous furrows

of the Diptych Group, as well. P. LASINIO figlio, *Raccolta di sarcofagi, urne e altri monumenti di scultura del Campo Santo di Pisa*, Pisa 1814, 11, no. 97, t. 32; DÜTSCHKE, *Antike Bildwerke* I, 75-76, no. 94; *CIE* 155.

¹ See RICCOBALDI DEL BAVA, 'Museo Guarnacci', 90-91; INGHIRAMI, I:1, 9-10, 22-35; IV, 101. The inscriptions of the family Flave, *CIE* 112-116, 128, 164.

on the forehead, the big eyes with the engraved irises are directed upwards. The neck with the Adam's apple greatly resembles the necks of the Book-Scroll Group. The wreath is of the plaited type, the ears are very large and protruding, and the cloak covers the head. The right arm with its attribute has been broken, but there is a hole for fastening a loose object near the knee. The left hand holds the tasselled corner of the cloak, but it is stylized in a different manner from that of the Book-Scroll Group. The nails have been sculpted in an extraordinarily clearly trapeze-formed manner. The draperies are sculpted in a way that resembles that used in the Idealizing Group. There are two tasselled and wave-lined cushions. A section at the foot and at the right side has been broken.

Schweitzer has connected the lid sculpture with such Roman coin portraits as the Antius Restio group, and dated this sculpture to the first third of the first century B. C., about 100-70/60 B. C.¹ I would also connect this with the same portraits, but I would date this one, not on the basis of the portrait sculptures which have probably been used as models for the coins, but according to the dates of the coins themselves, that is the forties B. C.

Fig. 30.

2. Volterra 171.

An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 69.

Alabaster.

MAFFEI, *Osserv. Lett.* VI, 127.

82 × 22 × — (3-B- -).

GORI, *Mus. Etr.* III, cl. III, t. 28,2.

Male, 28 years old.

Id., *Mus. Guarnacci*, t. 28,2

Rhyton.

LAMBRECHTS, 166, no. 29, t. 32.

Phiale.

VACANO, 'Ödipus', 21, note 25.

The face has been stylized in a manner that resembles the portraits of Late Antiquity, such as that of Constantine the Great, with the wide open eyes with engraved irises, directed at the sky; there is, of course, no reason to date according to such stylistic comparisons². Furthermore, it is probable that the eyes were directed at the spectator in the tomb and not at the sky. The ears are very big. The wreath is yellowish and decorated with rhomb-shaped patterns one inside the other, a model which goes back to the plaited wreath type of the Idealizing Group. There is some red in the cloak near the right ear. The right hand is holding a *rhyton*. Its rim

¹ SCHWEITZER, 76.

² Cf. O. VESSBERG, *Romersk porträttkonst*, Stockholm 1969, 51.

is beaded, and there is a garland design incised on the horn. There is a plain ring round the body of the horse *protome*, and leaf-motifs branching out from it on the horn. This is very clearly drawn in the design published by Gori, but now it can be seen only faintly. The left hand is holding a *phiale*, upside down. There are beads round the central hole and round the rim, and instead of leaf-motifs, very thin engraved radial stripes. There is a ring on the ring-finger of the left hand. There are two tasselled, wave-lined cushions, but only the right corners of them can be seen. The anatomy of the upper part of the body has not been modelled well, and the draperies are now quite different from those of the Idealizing Group. The stylization of the draperies around the feet in particular is something new, with the folds crossing each other. The *chiton* has now rather long sleeves, and both the rim and the shoulder seam resemble thick strings. The back of the figure is plain, but the lid is not very narrow.

Fig. 31.

3. Florence 78521.

Phiale.

Alabaster.

The looped corner of the cloak.

Male.

In the *tomba Inghirami*.

The figure is completely weathered and partly broken. Many features of the Idealizing Group are still left, such as the draperies, the two cushions, the *phiale* in the right hand and the corner of the cloak in the left. But the long thin neck, the gaunt face, the wide open eyes and the "wing-ears" are details that justify attributing the figure to this group.

Fig. 32.

4. Volterra 141.

Found in the tomb of the family

Alabaster.

Caecina in 1739 in the necropolis
of Portone.

51,8 × 21 × 35 (1-B-b).

A boy, 12 years old.

MAFFEI, *Osserv. Lett.* VI, 18.

Closed tablets.

INGHIRAMI, VI, 31, t. U 3: 1.

A hole in the hand.

CONSORTINI, fig. p. 228.

A Latin inscription, *CIE* 24 and *CIL*

LAVIOSA, no. 47.

XI¹ 1764.

This boy, *A. Caecina. Selcia. annos. XII*, has given the name to the group. In this case the sculptor seems to have taken into consideration the age of the deceased, though almost the same face type has also been used for a 63 years old woman (no. 10, p. 357). The "wing-ears" are, however,

not an especially individual feature, since they belong to most of the lid sculptures of the group, as well as to the other groups of the Roman Style Phase, but they fit well in this case. The neck is long and the face thin. The reddish brown wreath is decorated with cross-patterns. The hair is black. In a ribbon round the neck a *bulla* is suspended, such as Roman boys used to wear. The *bulla* was adopted by the Romans from the Etruscans¹, but in this case it must be considered a Roman feature, because *bullae* do not occur in the Volaterran material before the Roman Style Phase². The sleeve is rather long and the shoulder-seam is typical of the group. The right hand is holding closed tablets composed of seven parts. The left hand has held an object which is lost, and a hole remains in the clenched left hand. The object may have been a real book-scroll, if tightly rolled, or still better, a *stylus*, which would go well with the tablets. In the Volaterran lid sculptures there is, however, only one other *stylus*, and even it is uncertain³. The figure is deformed and the upper part of the body is short. In the draperies plain surfaces alternate with densely waving furrows. The border of the cloak over the stomach is very narrow and entwined. There are two flat cushions.

Fig. 33.

5. Volterra 209.

Alabaster.

50 × 16 × 35 (1-A-b).

A boy.

Book-scroll.

The end of the cloak.

An Etruscan inscription, CIE 21.

Found in the Caccina tomb in 1739
in the necropolis of Portone.

LANZI, II, 356, no. 47.

In fact, it is difficult to judge whether the figure belongs to the group or not, because it is in several respects an exception. I mention it in this connexion because of the *bulla*. The face is round and the features soft, thus resembling the physiognomy of the following Diptych Group. There are

¹ MAU, 'Bulla', *RE* 3 (1899), p. 1048; F. H. MARSHALL, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum*, London 1911, p. xli; AMORELLI, 'Bulla', *EAA* 2 (1959), 222-223.

² The necklace of Volterra 71, cf. p. 293, does not consist of round *bullae*. In the Idealizing Group *bullae* may occur in urn reliefs, BR.-KÖRTE, III, t. 65-67, where a man stands with a necklace of *bullae* in his hand. In the Museo Guarnacci there is a miniature golden *bulla*, no. 9; CINCI, 'Scavi di Volterra', *Bull Inst* (1860), 186-187, tells us about a gilt silver *bulla*.

³ Volterra 339, related both to the Idealizing and the Book-Scroll Groups, holds a scroll in his right hand and a striped pin-like object in the left.

cross-patterns on the wreath. The eyes and the eyebrows are dark. The shortened right hand is holding a book-scroll, apparently held together with a string, because there are wrinkles on the scroll. The left hand holds the end of the cloak, stylized in an unusual manner. The nails are very sharply marked as trapeze-shaped (cf. no. 1, p. 351). There is a *bullæ* round the neck, as mentioned. The two cushions are thin and tasselled.

Fig. 34.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| 6. Volterra 176. | Female. |
| Alabaster. | Fan. |
| 73 × 18,5 × 39 (3-A-b). | Pomegranate. |

The face bears a resemblance to the man, no. 1 (p. 351), and this figure is also rather close to the Idealizing Group. There are small holes pierced in the lobes of the ears, for attaching earrings. The top of the head has been broken, and holes and traces of patching with stucco are left. The hair is parted in the middle and waves in a plastic manner at the temples. The cloak is veiled over the head. The neck is long, but rather thick, and begins lower than is usual in the group. There is a torc round the neck. The *chiton* has been buttoned on the shoulder, with ring-shaped openings between the buttons. The right hand holds a fan of the same model as in the Idealizing Group, and there is a pomegranate in the left hand. There is a ring on the little finger. The *chiton* is girt with the usual square-patterned and beaded girdle of the Idealizing Group. The upper part of the body is quite shapeless and clumsy. The two cushions are tasselled, but there are only two rather straight lines on them. The draperies greatly resemble those of the Idealizing Group, but they are rendered in a rather more schematic way.

Fig. 35.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 7. Volterra 173. | The lid sculpture is said to have |
| Alabaster. | been in Cortona in the 18th century, |
| 88,6 × 21 × — (2-B-—). | but it is undoubtedly of Volaterran origin. |
| Female, 75 years old. | |
| Broken. | J. B. PASSERI, <i>In Thomae Dempsterii libros</i> |
| The border of the cloak. | <i>de Etruria regali paralipomena</i> , Lucca |
| An Etruscan inscription, CIE 56. | 1767, 218. |
| | FIUMI, 'Portone', 391. |

This figure greatly resembles the man, no. 2 (p. 352). The neck is long and thin and the head is held high, which hardly agrees with the age of the

deceased. The face is idealized and the wide open eyes are looking upwards. There is black on the eyes as well as on the hair, which has been dressed in the usual classical knot coiffure, but the waving hair at the temples has been arranged schematically. The pendant earrings are so big that they almost reach the shoulders, just as they did earlier, in the Hellenistic Style Phase. Round the neck there is a pendant necklace of the type usual in the Idealizing Group, but this is simpler. The type of the girdle also goes back to the Idealizing Group, but instead of square-patterns and beads it is decorated with hatchings and edged with twining. The plaited cross-bands are fastened in the middle of the girdle by means of a flower-buckle. The border of the sleeve is like an armlet. The right hand with the attribute has been broken, and the left hand seems to rest upon the cushions and holds the border of the cloak. There is a ring on the little-finger of the left hand. The three thick cushions, decorated with a fish-bone pattern, are exceptional. The draperies at the foot resemble those of no. 2 (p. 352), but they are rendered more expressively.

Fig. 36.

8. Volterra 487.

Female.

Alabaster.

Mirror-case.

(74) $\times$ — $\times$ — (3- -).

Broken.

Both the head, the cushions and the left hand of the lid sculpture have been broken, but the rest greatly resembles the preceding woman. The necklace and the girdle with the cross-bands are quite identical as well as the clumsy upper part of the body. In this case the attribute of the right hand has been preserved, and it is a square mirror-case, with an incised circle on the lower part. The draperies at the foot look as if they are wound round the body. There can hardly have been three cushions, because the figure is low. The border of the lid is very thick.

9. Volterra 48.

Female.

Tufa.

Fan.

51 $\times$ 11 $\times$ 31 (1-A-b).

The border of the cloak.

This figure is very awkwardly sculpted, but clearly related to the women of alabaster, as the upper part of the body, the plaited cross-bands and the border of the sleeve show. The head is very big compared with the body, and the features are rough, with smiling lips and wide open eyes. The straight hair is parted in the middle. There is an imposing diadem

of the three-crested model edged with beads. The short right hand holds upright a fan with a long handle. The left holds the end of the cloak. Only the corners and tassels of the two cushions can be seen. The draperies at the foot have been carved into curving and straight furrows.

10. Palazzo Antinori-Aldobrandini 5.

Alabaster.

61,5 × 19 × 40 (2-A-b).

Female, 63 years old.

Mirror-case.

Pomegranate.

The urn relief, BR.-KÖRTE, III, 100,

t. 83,10 (the Journey to the Under-

world), is probably the original one.

Exceptionally, on the upper border of the urn there is an Etruscan inscription, CIE 158. The epigraphy is curvilinear.

DÜTSCHKE, *Antike Bildwerke* II, 160-161, no. 376 (26).

NEPPI MODONA, 266, no. 5, fig. 5 p. 265.

Together with the common classical knot coiffure this woman wears an exceptional veil arrangement. Her veil is short, hardly touching the shoulders, but knotted on top of the head, with the folds hanging down the sides. I cannot venture to say anything further about the exceptional coiffure or the veil arrangement. The features of the face and the ears greatly resemble the boy, no. 4 (p. 353), but they have been sculpted a little more accurately and beautifully. There is a pearl necklace round the neck. The right hand is holding a square mirror-case, which must have been meant to be seen from above, because the perspective would otherwise be very curious. The palm of the left hand is turned upwards and is apparently holding a pomegranate. There are two cushions decorated with tassels and straight lines. The upper part of the body is deformed, and the draperies around the feet resemble many other sculptures of the group. The *chiton* is girt with a tied ribbon. The border of the cloak over the stomach is entwined in a way that very much resembles no. 4 (fig. 32).

Fig. 37.

11. Volterra 134.

Tufa.

44 × 18 × 26,5 (1-B-b).

Female.

Right hand broken.

Left hand lies on the cushion.

This figure is closely related to the previous woman and the boy, no. 4, though this example is of tufa and executed very roughly. The eyes are wide open. The ears are very large. The straight hair is parted in the

middle, and there is a diadem with a beaded border on the head. The projecting shoulder-seam and the ring-shaped rim of the sleeve are typical features of the group. The girdle is not sculpted distinctly, and it is either plain or tied. The figure is quite deformed. The attribute of the right hand is broken, and the big left hand rests on the cushions, which it completely covers. The border of the cloak passing over the stomach runs down as far as the feet. No other draperies have been sculpted, and the clothes have a smooth surface. The back of the figure is quite plain.

2.3.3.3.3 Dating

The Caecina Selcia Group is small in number and the degeneration advanced in great steps from one lid sculpture to another. At the beginning of the typological series, the lid sculptures have a clear affinity with the Idealizing Group, but these features vanished rapidly. I would suggest a dating between the years 50/30 and 10 B.C., based on the typological development in lack of any find combinations or details for dating. The lid sculpture of Caecina Selcia himself was found in the tomb of the Caecina family in 1739 in the necropolis of Portone, in which the last monument is the altar-shaped urn of marble (cf. above p. 320).

The lid sculptures of the next group sometimes greatly resemble the Caecina Selcia Group, consequently it is difficult to decide in which of the groups a certain lid sculpture ought to be included.

2.3.3.4 *Diptych Group*

2.3.3.4.1 Description

The name of the group refers to the most common attribute of the men, the open diptych. Closed tablets were already common in the Idealizing Group, but the open diptychs almost all belong to this group¹.

I have attributed to the group 28 lid sculptures, of which 21 are men and only 7 women. Of these, 14 have an inscription or traces of painted text. Nine of them are Etruscan, one is a bilingue (no. 26, p. 374). Furthermore, there is one uncertain Latin inscription (no. 6, p. 364) and three which have been preserved so badly that it is impossible to determine

¹ Volterra 283, cf. p. 284 n. 2 and Volterra 140, p. 339, are exceptions.

the language. In three cases the text is merely painted red and not inscribed.

Now the average age of the deceased is much higher than that of the other groups of the Roman Style Phase, 54 years (cf. pp. 302, 326 and 351). A 14 years old boy and a 21 years old woman are the youngest ones, but the other six members of the group with the inscription well enough preserved, were from 51 to 80 years old when they died. This is consistent with the late dating of the group (see p. 375), since it would be natural that during the final stages of the urn production the old people were those who expressed a particular wish to be buried in the old-fashioned way. Certainly the small number of the inscriptions with the age preserved—eight in this group—does not warrant complete statistical validity, but I think that even this result might be interesting.

Alabaster is the dominating material in the group, and there are only five lid sculptures in tufa.

The length of the lids varies a good deal, from 38 to 80 cm. Most of the lids belong, however, to the smallest length group (1). Thus the length has diminished together with the degeneration as in the two former groups. The lids are not very narrow, but belong usually to width group B. The height groups a and b are almost as common, which means that the figures are of the normal height or lower (see diagram 4).

As before, the posture of the figures is usually quite frontal. The bare toes of the right foot are sometimes placed on the left border of the lid, and the legs are not drawn up as much as before. The lower part of the body is thus longer than before, and when the upper part is shortened, the proportions have again become almost the same as those in the Local Style Phase: both parts are approximately as long, or the lower part of the body is only a little shorter than the upper part. The head of the longest figures may be in correct proportion to the body, but most of the figures have far too large a head. Many of the sculptures are badly deformed, the upper part of the body is awkwardly modelled, and the members of the body may be connected with each other in an unnatural way. The back of the lid is plain, though the lid sculptures are not entirely flat. Thus, material has not been saved, only labour.

The face type is round and the features are soft, without any wrinkles or other marks of individualization. The ears are small but prominent, and they are stylized in a manner that resembles a volute. They are often placed lower than is natural.

The wreaths worn by men round their heads are normally quite plain, but there are some examples of ornamented wreaths as well (nos. 17-22, pp. 369-371). Only two women have diadems. The head is covered by

the cloak, but usually only the corners of it are seen under the ears. The sleeves of the *chita* are often relatively long, sometimes reaching as far as the elbow. Usually the draperies of the clothes are arranged into parallel lines and curves, with stepped folds around the feet, but there are also other kinds of draperies in the group. The girdles used by women consist of either plain or tied ribbons, and most of them also have cross-bands, which are not always plaited.

Earrings are not used by more than three of the women. The pendant type has now vanished, and two of the women have ear buttons¹ and one has rings in her ears. Two women have necklaces, the one being a pendant necklace and the other a pearl necklace. The long sleeves hindered the use of armlets, and only one woman has a bracelet. Thus, jewellery is simpler and seldom used. Finger-rings are, however, very usual in the group, worn both by men and women, usually on the ring-finger of the left hand. Perhaps this reflects the growing popularity of rings in the Augustan era². The hands are often big and swollen and the right arm is thick. Some men have, however, very small and effeminate hands. The nails are seldom sculpted in detail, but there are some who have trapeze-shaped nails.

As mentioned above, open diptychs are the most usual attributes of men. The tablets are sometimes painted black and the frames red. On two of them there are incised texts, both of them apparently giving the name and the age of the deceased (nos. 1 and 3, pp. 361, 363), i.e. the same things normally given in the inscription on the border of the lid. Some men, who are more freely associated with the group, have a *rhyton* in the right hand. The left hand holds either the border of the cloak or a book-scroll³.

The pomegranate is held by the women in the left hand, and it is usually only a round ball without any details in relief. The right hand holds a simple mirror-case, which is round, and only in one case square. The round mirror-cases have straight rims and convex discs. The cover of the mirror-case is either at the back of the knee or it has been omitted altogether.

¹ For the type, cf. SIVIERO, t. 184, no. 278, Pompei and Herculaneum, 1st century B. C. and A. D.

² F. H. MARSHALL, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum*, London 1907, p. xx.

³ BIRT, 110.

The cushions are normally plain, with one horizontal furrow, the seam, and triangular tassels. Only the right corners of the cushions are usually seen. Sometimes two cushions are used, sometimes only one.

The most common colours of the earlier scale are still used, i.e. red, brown and yellow ochre and black, and the finesses of the Idealizing Group, such as gilding, have been totally omitted. The polychromy is thus rather simple. Sometimes the technique of using more than one alabaster block in sculpting the figure has been used, but this is not especially common in the group, because of the small size of the figures.

I am not quite sure what kind of reliefs the group produced. The only urns which seem to match the lids perfectly are no. 7 (p. 364), with the *quadriga*-motif represented very schematically and stiffly, and no. 15 (see p. 367) with the relief representing the couch on which the figure is lying. Some of the lids are now lying on rather simple chests with plain framings and rather low reliefs (no. 1, Philoctetes and Paris, and no. 9, a floral motif), but these might easily belong to the Hellenistic Style Phase. Some of the reliefs are as clumsy as the figures and could thus belong to the lids (nos. 22 and 28), but most of the lids do not seem to belong to the urns. Thus, I would only surmise that the reliefs of the group represent a rather low artistic quality like the lid sculptures themselves, and are low and schematic, and that the motifs are perhaps the same as before.

2.3.3.4.2 Catalogue

In the following, I will examine the specimens of the group in typological order, first the men and then the women. The dating will be discussed after the catalogue.

Fig. 38.

1. Volterra 334.

Alabaster.

55 × 22 × 35 (2-B-b).

A boy, 14 years old.

Diptych.

The looped corner of the cloak.

An Etruscan inscription, CIE 70, engraved in the black diptych.

MAFFEI, *Osserv. Lett.* VI, 145.

F. MESSERSCHMIDT, 'Die schreibenden Gottheiten in der etruskischen Religion', *ARW*, 1931, 64-65.

DE RUYT, 160-161.



The childish face is in keeping with the young age of the deceased, but in fact, a rather childish appearance was quite common in the group, even for aged persons. The face seems to be quite lacking in individual traits. The features are round and pretty, the eyes are wide open and the head is held high. There is red colouring on the eyes and the hair. The fringed hair-dress is sculpted in great detail. The small volute-ears are placed somewhat lower than their natural place. The wreath is partly broken, but on the sides there are traces of leaf-ornaments. The head is covered by the cloak. A curious detail are the two holes, about 2-3 cm. deep, on both sides of the neck. I would think that these holes were made for attaching something round the neck. A garland was not used during the Roman Style Phase, but a *bullā* suspended by a ribbon could be quite natural for a 14 years old boy (cf. pp. 353-354, the two boys of the Caecina Selcia Group).

The right hand is holding the open diptych, painted black and with red frames. The age of the deceased proves that the attribute was not restricted only to magistrates and adult men. The clenched left hand holds the end of the cloak, looped in an unusual manner. There is a big ring on the ring-finger of the left hand. Only the nail of the right thumb can be seen, and it is trapeze-shaped. Both cushions have a straight seam lengthwise, and a triangular tassel. The draperies resemble some of the members of the former group, and are not typical of the Diptych Group. The border of the cloak, passing over the stomach, disappears under the figure. The toes of the right foot lie on the left corner of the lid. The back of the figure is quite plain.

2. Vatican 13895.

Alabaster.

61,5 × 23 × 36 (2-B-b).

Male.

Rhyton.

The looped corner of the cloak.

An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 139.

Mus. Greg. II, 21, no. 7, t. 103,6.

This figure greatly resembles the former. The head is held high, but the right side of it is broken. The eyes are black and the wreath seems to be plain. There is a fragmentary *rhyton* in the right hand. The left hand is holding the border of the cloak, looped in almost the same manner as that of the former, and here, too, is a ring on the ring-finger of the left hand. Parts of the left arm and pieces of the cushions have been broken off. The border of the cloak passing over the stomach again disappears under the figure, and the toes of the right foot are placed on the left corner.

Fig. 39.

3. Volterra 165.

Alabaster.

67 × 19 × 40 (3-A-b).

Male.

Diptych.

Book-scroll.

An inscription, *CIE* 140, on the diptych. Only an "x" is left, and thus it is not possible to estimate the language or the age.

CHI, no. 364 bis f.

LAMBRECHTS, 20, no. 22.

This figure initiates the series of representatives typical of the group, but here the draperies still resemble those of the Idealizing Group and the Book-Scroll Group. The face is round and smooth, and turned slightly to the left. The eyes and the hair are painted red. The wreath is quite plain. The hair is marked as a narrow stripe following the wreath closely, and the small volute-ears are placed very low. The right hand holds the diptych, painted black. The left hand holds a small book-scroll, and there is a ring on the ring-finger. It is painted red. A trapeze-shaped nail is preserved in the thumb. The cushions are plain. The sculpture consists of two pieces, still intact.

4. Volterra 58.

Alabaster.

54 × 23,5 × 32 (2-B-a).

Male.

Diptych.

Book-scroll.

GIGLIOLI, 74, t. 400, 4.

The head is very big, and the face is of the usual type of the group, with round features. There are "volute-ears", a short fringe, but no wreath. The cloak is veiled over the head, but only the corners of it can be seen under the ears. The right hand holds the diptych and the left the book-scroll. There is a ring on the ring-finger of the left hand. The plain cushions have triangular tassels. Now the draperies are arranged into parallel curves and lines, as in the following lid sculptures.

Fig. 40.

5. Volterra 501.

Alabaster.

59 × 20 × 30 (2-B-a).

Male.

Diptych.

Book-scroll.

Now particularly the disproportionately large left hand and the thick and short right arm are striking features. The face is round, and both the lips and the eyes are painted red. The "volute-ears" are placed low, but are not symmetric. The diptych in the right hand is painted red, and the left hand holds a book-scroll. There is the usual ring on the ring-finger. The cushions and the schematic draperies are typical of the group. The toes are not to be seen. The back of the sculpture is quite plain.

6. Volterra, Ospedale Psichiatrico Diptych.
(now in the Museo Guarnacci, Book-scroll.
sala VIII).

Alabaster.

76 × 24 × 38 (3-B-a).

Male.

There are traces of a red painted text on the front border of the lid. The reading is uncertain, but the language seems to be Latin.

The head has sunk very low, but in other respects the scheme is normal. The volute-ears are placed very low. The figure is certainly meant to be seen from above. The right arm is very thick and the hand holds the open diptych, painted red. There is a book-scroll in the left hand and a big ring on the ring-finger. The cushions are not tasselled. The back of the figure is quite plain.

Fig. 41.

7. Mannheim Bc 10.

Alabaster.

73 × — × 27 (3--a).

Male.

Diptych.

Book-scroll.

There are traces of a painted text

on the border of the lid, but the language is uncertain.

The relief, BR.-KÖRTE, III, 109, t. 88,4 f, seems to be the original one, because both the material, the measurements and the style match the lid.

The lid is rather long, and there is a free area both at the foot and by the cushions. The head is rather small and superficially sculpted, the neck is thick and the cloak covers the head. The sleeve of the *chiton* reaches to the elbow, and the extremely thick and awkward right hand is holding a diptych. There is a book-scroll in the left hand, and a ring on the ring-finger. The cushions are plain. The draperies of the clothes have been marked with a few curving lines.

The sculpture was destroyed in the Second World War.

8. Pisa, Magazzino del Museo dell'Opera della Primaziale.
 Alabaster.
 $(46) \times 18 \times — (1/2-B- -)$.
 Male.
 Diptych.
 Book-scroll.
- DÜTSCHKE, *Antike Bildwerke* I, 4, no. 6.
 BIRT, 110, Abb. 60.
 HERBIG, 'Etr. Leinwandrolle', 15, C, no. 5.
 MESSERSCHMIDT, 'Die schreibenden Gottheiten', *ARW*, 1931, 60-61.
 LAMBRECHTS, 163-164, no. 27, t. 30.

A great part of the face was destroyed in the Second World War, but the foot area seems to have been damaged earlier. There is an open diptych with square tablets in the right hand and a book-scroll in the left.

Fig. 42.

9. Volterra 179.
 Alabaster.
 $(41) \times 15,5 \times 27 (1-B-a/b)$.
- Male.
 Diptych.
 Book-scroll.

The figure is altogether weathered and parts of the right side have been broken, as well as the cushions. In other respects the figure is just like the previous ones, and the back of the figure is plain.

Fig. 43.

10. Volterra 391.
 Alabaster.
 $46,5 \times 15 \times 20 (1-A-a)$.
- Male.
 Diptych.
 The border of the cloak.

The head is turned to the left, and it is very large. There is a placid expression on the round face, the eyes are half closed, with two wrinkles at the corners. The diptych in the right hand is painted black, and the left hand holds the end of the cloak. The cushion and a great part of the front border have been damaged.

Fig. 44.

11. Florence 5809.
 Alabaster.
 $39 \times 15 \times 22 (1-B-a)$.
 Male, 80 years old.
 Diptych.
- The border of the cloak.
 An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 81.
 LANZI, II, 345, no. 10.
 CONESTABILE, 55-56, no. 58.

The face is turned upwards to the left, and the knee is drawn up more than usual in the group. Now the draperies somewhat resemble the former group. The big eyes are wide open and the head is held high, which does not correspond well with the high age of the deceased. The wreath has almost completely vanished. The right hand is holding the open diptych, but it is directed to the right. The left hand is holding the border of the cloak. The two cushions are tasselled.

12. Florence.

Alabaster.

Male.

Diptych.

Book-scroll or the border of the cloak.

The lid sculpture is seen in pictures of the *tomba Inghirami*, e. g. LAVIOSA, fig. 1, along the back wall, at the right side of the central pillar, the second urn from the left.

The face is turned upwards. The right hand holds the open diptych, and the left holds either a book-scroll or the border of the cloak. The cushions are tasselled.

13. Volterra 268.

Alabaster.

74 × 25 × 36 (3-B-a).

Male.

Diptych.

Book-scroll.

Traces of a painted text.

The figure is completely deformed. In this case the head is small, but the features are round and smooth in the usual way, and the ears resemble the volute-type. There seems to be no wreath. The cloak veiled over the head is now seen almost as far as the elbow, being a smooth background for the round face. The neck is thick, as is the right arm with the sleeve reaching to the elbow. The hand holds a tablet, or perhaps a diptych sculpted without the hinge in the middle. The enormously large left hand seems to hold a book-scroll, and there is a ring on the ring-finger. The draperies are typical of the group, but rendered more simply, with large, smooth surfaces, and some curving furrows here and there. The cushion is represented in a curious manner, as if in perspective. The back of the figure is not modelled. The simplifying tendencies of the Local Style Phase can be said again to have become a dominating feature. This figure, though not at all displeasing to the modern eye, represents the primitive lack of organic unity inherent in popular handicraft.

Fig. 45.

14. Volterra 78.

Tufa.

44,2 × 14 × 29 (1-A-b).

Male, 65 years old.

Right hand on the knee.

Book-scroll.

An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 108.

This is one of the few inscriptions on tufa sculptures.

GORI, *Mus. Etr.* III, cl. III, t. 9, 1.

ID., *Mus. Guarnacci*, t. 9, 1.

INGHIRAMI, I:1, 12-13, t. 1.

CONSORTINI, fig. p. 116.

Especially the draperies, the thick and straight right arm and the left hand reveal that the sculptor is the same as that of the preceding lids, but the face has been carved a little sharper than in the alabaster figures. There are some wrinkles on the forehead, but the face is round, the fringe short, the wreath is plain and there are the small "volute-ears", just as on the alabaster sculptures of the group. Of the cloak which covers the head only a corner can be seen under the right ear. There is no attribute in the right hand, which merely rests on the knee. This is in fact the only detail, together with the material itself, which differs from the usual scheme of the group. The left hand is holding a big book-scroll, and there is an oval ring on the ring-finger. Only the corners of the two cushions can be seen. The back of the figure is quite plain.

Fig. 46.

15. Volterra 22.

Alabaster.

43 × 16 × 32 (1-B-b).

Male, 52 years old.

The border of the cloak in both hands.

An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 88. A

part of it is in the usual place on the border of the lid, and the rest is on the relief. Painted red.

The relief, BR.-KÖRTE, III, 137, t.

109,1, representing a *kline*, un-

doubtedly belongs to the lid.

The urn and the lid were probably found in the necropolis of Portone, since they belonged at the end of the 18th century to the Franceschini collections (LANZI, II, 458, no. 455).

PASSERI, *In Thomae Dempsterii libros de Etruria regali paralipomena* . . ., Lucca 1767, 223.

INGHIRAMI, I: 2, 393-414, t. 51.

C. O. MÜLLER, *Denkmäler der Alten*

Kunst I, Göttingen 1832, no. 314, T. 62.

I have attributed the lid sculpture to this group, though it also bears some resemblance to the Caecina Selcia Group. The face is weathered, but the delicate features are still fairly clear. The eyes are large, the

nose fine and the lips are thin. The head is very big compared with the body. This time the "volute-ears" are placed rather high. The hair has been totally weathered, as has the wreath, which may have been plain originally. There are no attributes, and the small effeminate hands hold the border of the cloak which covers the stomach. The folds of the *chiton* and the cloak are deeply incised. The bare toes of the right foot are placed on the back corner of the lid, and a tasselled corner of the cloak is lying free at the foot. There are two cushions with fish-bone patterns and triangular tassels. The back of the figure is plain.

The urn relief is exceptional, featuring a couch in low relief. The legs of the couch are decorated with volutes and vegetal motifs, and there is a foot-stool between them¹.

Fig. 47.

16. Volterra 77.

Male.

Alabaster.

Right hand rests on the knee.

47 × 16 × 26 (1-A-a).

An egg (?).

The draperies and the features are typical of the group. The back of the head, the hair, the wreath and the ears have been broken. The hands are over-large but effeminate. The right hand rests on the knee without any attribute, and the left hand is holding a ball-shaped object which can hardly be the looped border of the cloak, but possibly an egg. The egg is not a common attribute in Volaterran material, and as far as I know, there is only one other example of it, Volterra 204, which belongs to the Hellenistic Style Phase². There is only one flat cushion and the back of the figure is not sculpted.

¹ There is only one other couch relief in Volaterrae, Volterra 54, BR.-KÖRTE, III, 137-138, t. 109, 2, with two birds on the foot-stool. In Clusium and Perugia the motif was a little more common, see BR.-KÖRTE, III, 135-139, t. 109, 3-5, but at least some of them are earlier. The couch urn of the *Tomba Calini Sepus* in Monteriggioni belongs to the Clusine production rather than to Volaterran (THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), 35, fig. 4; BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Calini Sepus', 142-143, no. 1, t. 27).

² Concerning the symbolic meaning of the egg, see e. g. M. P. NILSSON, 'Das Ei im Totenkult der Alten', *Martini P. Nilsson Opuscula Selecta* I, *Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae* 80 II:1, Lund 1951, 3-20; ID., 'The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age', *Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae* 80 V, Lund 1957, 139-142; D. M. ROBINSON, *Excavations at Olynthus* 11, Baltimore 1942, 192-194, with references.

Fig. 48.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------|
| 17. Volterra 189. | Male. |
| Alabaster. | Rhyton. |
| (60) $\times$ 23 $\times$ 41 (2-B-b). | Phiale. |

This figure also resembles the Idealizing Group with his strong features. The engraved eyes are directed upwards as in the Caccina Selcia Group. The ears are small, and the hair is painted dark brown. The wreath is now plain, but was apparently plaited originally. The right hand holds a *rhyton* ending in an ox *protome*. The feet of the ox dangle over the border of the lid. The rim is decorated with beads and Ionian *kymation*, and there is a ring round the body of the animal. The left hand holds a *phiale*, decorated with stylized leaf-reliefs. Also, the *phiale* and the fingers of the left hand overlap the border. There is a big ring on the ring-finger. The cushions are plain. The cloak wound round the left wrist has very dense folds. The back of the figure is not sculpted. A piece of the left side is missing.

Fig. 49.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 18. Volterra 330. | as in the Idealizing Group. This |
| Alabaster. | bears an even greater resemblance |
| 63 $\times$ 18 $\times$ 35 (2-A-a). | to texts painted with a pencil. |
| Male, at least 70 years old. | |
| Rhyton. | GORI, <i>Mus. Etr.</i> I, t. 123, (the drawing |
| Phiale. | is very misleading). |
| An Etruscan inscription, <i>CIE</i> 65, | MAFFEI, <i>Osserv. Lett.</i> VI (1740), 127. |
| painted red. The epigraphy is cur- | W. DEECKE, <i>Etruskische Forschungen</i> III, |
| vilinear, but not in the same way | Stuttgart 1879, 311, no. 21. |
| | GIGLIOLI, t. 400, 3. |

The face with the childish round features and the thick and straight right arm are typical of the Diptych Group. The wreath is, however, plaited just as in the Idealizing and Book-Scroll Groups, and the draperies have been carved in a quite unusual manner, into very sharp folds. The right hand is holding a *rhyton* with an ox *protome*. The ox is this time bearded, and there is a ring round the body. The rim is decorated with the usual beads and Ionian *kymation*. The left hand holds a *phiale*, which reaches the border of the lid. The central hole is edged with beads, and

the *phiale* is decorated with stylized leaf-motifs. There is the usual ring on the ring-finger of the left hand. The plain cushions have long tassels. The bare toes of the right foot are placed on the back corner of the lid. The back of the figure is plain.

Fig. 50.

19. Volterra 304.

Male.

Tufa.

Rhyton.

38 × 16 × 26,5 (1-B-b).

The corner of the cloak (?).

Here is another example of the tufa sculptures of the group. The head is too large. The features are rather typical of the group, but the eyes are more protuberant than usual. There are volute-ears, a very short fringe and a plain wreath. The cloak covering the head is seen only behind the right ear. The thick, straight right hand is holding a *rhyton* with a horse *protome* and a plain rim, sculpted very simply. What the big left hand holds, is not quite certain. It may be the end of the cloak. The draperies are sculpted very simply, with some curving furrows on a smooth surface. The cushion has a straight stripe lengthwise. The foot area of the lid ends abruptly in a vertical smooth surface, and the back of the figure is not modelled.

20. Leyden H III UUU 1.

The inscription, *CIE* 169, is probably false.

Tufa.

50 × 17 × 35 (1-A-b).

Male.

Rhyton.

The border of the cloak.

JANSSEN, *Inscriptiones Etruscae*, 14-15, no. 18.Id., *Gr., rom. en etr. Monumenten*, 58, no. 392.Id., *Etr. Grafreliefs*, 8-9, no. 12, t. 4.

This figure and the next two lid sculptures greatly resemble each other. They are distantly related to the Diptych Group. The figure is quite deformed, the head is too big, the legs too small and the upper part of the body curiously modelled. The head is held high. The patterns of the wreath revert to the plaited type. This time the cloak veiled over the head can be seen almost as far as the knees, thus forming a background to the figure. The right hand holds a *rhyton* with a horse *protome*, and

a plain ring round the rim. The left hand is holding the border of the cloak. There is one tasselled cushion.

Fig. 51.

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------|
| 21. Volterra 446. | Male. |
| Tufa. | Rhyton. |
| 56 × 26 × 31,5 (2-C-a). | Uncertain. |

The body of this figure appears as if sunken into the mattress, the foot area is a shapeless lump and the upper part of the body is modelled like the former lid. The head is enormous, and the features are meagre and sharp—resembling those of the Caccina Selcia Group. The eyes are wide open, and the expression lively. The fringe is short, and the wreath is decorated with cross-patterns. The right hand holds a small *rhyton* with a horse *protome*, and the left holds either a closed diptych or an angular book-scroll, or is resting on a cushion. The lid is broader than usual. The front border is thicker at the left end.

Fig. 52.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 22. Leyden H III SSS 2. | The clumsy relief, BR.-KÖRTE, III, |
| Tufa. | 195, 129, 1 a, may be the original |
| 61 × 22 × 36 (2-B-b). | one. |
| Male. | JANSSEN, <i>Gr., rom. en etr. Monumenten</i> , |
| Phiale. | 61, no. 399. |
| Probably the corner of the cushion. | ID., <i>Etr. Grafreliefs</i> , 7-8, no. 11, t. 4. |

The features are extraordinarily realistic, the face is full of wrinkles, the lips are parted and the wide open eyes are averted. The wreath is decorated with dense cross-patterns. The neck is long. Of the cloak veiled over the head only a corner behind the right ear can be seen. The figure is deformed in much the same manner as the two previous ones. This time the right hand holds a flat bowl with plain rims, perhaps an offering bowl without the *omphalos*. The left hand rests on the two plain cushions and is perhaps holding the border of the cloak. There is a ring on the little-finger.

The seven women of the Diptych Group do not form as coherent a series as most of the men of the group. The number is so small that they must have been created at rather long intervals; hence, due to great advances in the typological development, there is no normal type.

Figs. 53, 54.

23. Volterra 356.

Alabaster.

55 × 17,8 × 35 (2-A-b).

Female, 75 years old.

Mirror-case.

Bent at the ear.

An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 71,
painted red. The epigraphy is
slightly curvilinear.

GORI, *Mus. Etr.* I, t. 170, 1. (the urn
relief is not the same as nowadays).

INGHIRAMI, VI, t. U 3:2, Z 5: 3, 6.

M. AHREM, *Das Weib in der antiken
Kunst*, Jena 1914, 269, Abb. 256.

A. SPRINGER, *Die Kunst des Altertums*¹²,
Leipzig 1923, 463, Abb. 893.

C. C. VAN ESSEN, 'Chronologie der lateren
etruscische Kunst', *Mededeelingen van
het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te
Rome* 6, 1926, p. 10 fig. 6.

Guida per l'escursione archeologica nell'Etruria settentrionale 2-4 maggio 1926,
1^o Convegno Nazionale Etrusco, Firenze
27 Aprile — 4 Maggio 1926, t.
27, 1.

TOSCANELLI, II, 570, fig. 52.

GIGLIOLI, t. 400, 2.

SANTANGELO, 79, fig. to the right.

V. POULSEN, 'Etruskisk kunst', *San Giovanni-
venale. Etruskerne, landet och folket*,
Malmö 1960, fig. 452.

LAVIOSA, no. 41.

SERCHI, fig. p. 106.

MAETZKE, 146, fig. p. 167.

In spite of her age, the woman has been represented as a young beauty of the Hellenistic type. In fact, the face also resembles the boy, no. 1 (fig. 38). The hair has been drawn up into a knot on top of the head forming a coiffure which is usual in Hellenistic statues of Aphrodite to Late Republican times¹, but there is also a diadem of the three-crested model, and the cloak is veiled over the head. There is a pearl necklace round the neck. The sleeve of the *chiton* reaches the elbow. The girdle is tied into the Heracles-knot, and the cross-bands are fastened with a flower-buckle over the girdle. This is unusual in Volterrae but quite normal in other monuments. The collar of the *chiton* is hemmed. The upper part of the body is rather shapeless. There is a plain bracelet round the right wrist. The right hand holds a mirror-case with round discs. The upper disc is behind the knee. The pose has been made more elegant by raising the left hand to the ear, in order to hold the veil. There is a small ring on the ring-finger. The two cushions have a straight seam line and tips at the corners. The stiff way of rendering the draperies, especially at the foot, bears some resemblance to the Idealizing

¹ Cf. H. STUART JONES, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome, the Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford 1912, 182-184, no. 1, pl. 45, 1; VESSBERG, 248, 'T. 94, 2-3.

and the Book-Scroll Groups. A piece of the right side of the figure has broken off, and there are two deep holes in the damaged surface.

24. Volterra 164.

Alabaster.

56 × 20,5 × 37 (2-B-b).

Female, probably 51 years old.

Mirror-case.

The end of the cloak.

An Etruscan inscription, *CIE* 109,
painted red.

LANZI, II, 349, no. 26.

LAVIOSA, no. 49.

The features resemble those of the boy, no. 1 (fig. 38), and even the man, no. 17 (fig. 48). A special detail, not represented in other Volaterran lid sculptures, are the eyes, inlaid with black and white glass paste, which can still be seen in the right eye. The hair has been dressed in the classical knot coiffure with the hair waved at the temples. Not only above the ears are there loose locks, as often occurs in the Idealizing Group, but also on the forehead on both sides of the parting. Laviosa compares the locks above the ears with the coiffures of Livia, but does not mention the locks on the forehead. The combination of loose locks occurs in portraits of Livia, which were sculpted after the death of Augustus, in Tiberian and Claudian times¹. Loose locks in corresponding places were also very common together with the *nodus* hair-dress², and hence they may occur already in the Augustan period. The rim of the plain diadem is perhaps dented. The earrings are small and ball-shaped, and round the neck there is either a pearl necklace or a ring. In this case, too, the collar of the *chiton* is hemmed. The girdle is tied, and the upper part of the body is modelled awkwardly, just like the former one. The right upper arm is quite short. The hand is holding a round mirror-case, and the other disc is behind the knee. The left hand holds the end of the cloak, and there are rings both on the index finger and the ring-finger of the left hand. The cushions are plain, with a knob on the corners. The toes are placed on the left border as in nos. 1 and 2 (see fig. 38).

¹ See e.g. POULSEN, *Portraits romains*, nos. 36, 37, 38, and an unknown Roman lady, no. 104; A. DE FRANCIS, *Il ritratto romano a Pompei*, Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti di Napoli, Memorie I, Napoli 1951, 55-56, figs. 57-58; H. BARTELS, *Studien zum Frauenporträt der augusteischen Zeit*, *Fulvia, Octavia, Livia, Julia*, München 1963, 48 ff.

² See e.g. FURNÉE-VAN ZWET, 12-14, figs. 7, 10, 12; POULSEN, *Portraits romains*, nos. 34, 68, 70.

Fig. 55.

25. Volterra 245.

Alabaster.

(73) × 27 × 37 (3-B-a).

Female.

Mirror-case.

Pomegranate.

There is some red colouring on the left end of the front border, apparently traces of a painted text. It is impossible to say in which language it is written.

Ricci, fig. p. 19.

The figure greatly resembles the men typical of the group. The face is turned to the left. The long neck and the head are placed very low. The features are soft, but the shape of the face is more oval than usual. There are no individual traits. The hair has been combed into the *nodus* coiffure. The bun on top of the head is rather flat and quite plain. The straight hair at the temples is drawn backwards, but the veil covers the rest of it, and we cannot say whether the hair at the temples is combed straight to the knot at the back of the head or at the neck, or if it forms separate parts. There are ring-shaped earrings in the ears, and a pendant necklace round the neck. On the right wrist there is a plain bracelet. The sleeve of the *chiton* reaches the elbow. The right hand is holding a mirror-case, which this time has square covers. There is a circle on the upper part of the mirror, and traces of red at the corners. The left hand holds a small pomegranate, and there is a big ring on the ring-finger. The girdle is a thin ribbon, but there are also plaited cross-bands, with a flower-buckle in the middle of the girdle. There are two cushions with a straight seam and triangular tassels. The draperies of the clothes seem to follow the common scheme used in the lid sculptures typical of men. The back of the lid is quite plain. The lid sculpture is hollow inside; this can be seen at the broken foot area.

Figs. 56, 57.

26. Volterra 338.

Alabaster.

Ca. 74 × 26,8 × 37 (3-B-a).

Female.

Broken off.

Pomegranate.

An Etrusco-Latin inscription, *CIE* 135, painted red. The Etruscan part of it is nowadays illegible, but there is clearly left in Latin «VIX...OS». The age XI given in *CIE* is not clear and might as well be XXI.

BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità*, 86-87.

Bianchi Bandinelli has mentioned this figure in connexion with some lid sculptures belonging to the Book-Scroll Groups (cf. above p. 348), but it clearly belongs to the Diptych Group. The sculpture is broken into two pieces in the middle. A large part of the face has been damaged, but the contours seem to be of the usual round and soft type. The hair is parted in the middle and the hair at the temples is waved. There is no diadem, and the veil covers the back of the head. The earrings are button-shaped and small. The girdle is a narrow ribbon, and the cross-bands are not plaited but formed by double ribbons, the wheel-buckle being a round disc with a small ball in the middle. This is a simplified version of the usual flower-buckle. The sleeve of the *chiton* reaches the elbow. The draperies of the clothes are typical of the group. The attribute of the right hand has been destroyed, but the left hand holds a pomegranate. There is a ring on the little finger of the left hand. The cushions are flat. The back of the lid is not modelled.

Figs. 58, 59.

27. Volterra, sala XIII (without inv. (29) × 14,8 × 19,5 (1-A/B-a).
 no.). Female.
 Mirror-case.
 Alabaster. The border of the cloak.

The face is turned to the left, and the features are round, smooth and pretty, like a doll's. The big eyes and the hair are painted dark grey. The hair is dressed in the *nodus* coiffure, with a very high *nodus* on the forehead. This time it seems clear that the hair at the temples forms thick separate parts. The hair is slightly wavy. The back of the head is covered by the veil, which can be seen only when looked at from the side. The figure is completely deformed. The head is too large, and the body has sunk down and resembles a flat lump. The left hand is enormously big, but the right arm is short. It is rather thick seen from the front, but flat from above. The right hand holds a round mirror-case, but now one disc only has been sculpted. The left hand holds the border of the cloak. There is no girdle, but plaited cross-bands have been added with stucco, with a flower-buckle in the middle. The cushion is quite flat. The foot area has been broken off.

Fig. 60.

28. Leyden H III PPP 5.

Pomegranate.

Alabaster.

41 × 14 × 24 (1-A-a).

JANSSEN, *Gr., rom. en etr. Monumenten*,
65-66, no. 410.

Female.

Id., *Etr. Grafreliefs*, 18, no. 28, t. 13.

Mirror-case.

The figure is thoroughly weathered. The face is averted, and the features are not distinct, but there seems to be a *nodus* on top of the head. The cloak covers the rest of the head. The right hand holds a round mirror-case and the left a pomegranate. The fingers of the left hand are thick, but not as swollen as those of the previous sculpture. The cross-bands are not plaited, and there is a flower-buckle in the middle.

29. Vienna I 1039.

C. CAVEDONI, *Indicazione dei principali monumenti antichi del Reale Museo Estense del Catajo*, Modena 1842,
21, no. 5.

Tufa.

54 × 20 × 34 (2-B-b).

DÜTSCHKE, *Antike Bildwerke* V, 173,
no. 420.

Female.

Mirror-case.

Pomegranate.

NOLL, 306-307, T. 42, 1.

An Etruscan inscription, NOLL, p. 306.

The figure is quite deformed, with a flat body, a thick right arm and swollen left hand. The face is round and rough, with asymmetrical features. The *nodus* on top of the forehead is damaged, but still clearly discernible. The hair at the temples is straight. The head has sunk so low that the shoulders are on the level of the ears. There is no girdle or cross-bands. The right hand is here, too, holding the round mirror-case and the left a pomegranate. The fingers of the left hand dangle over the border. The two "rings" round the left wrist are not bracelets, but draperies of the cloak wound round the wrist. The cushion is plain and has a triangular tassel.

2.3.3.3.3 Dating

As far as I know, the circumstances of discovery of the lid sculptures belonging to the group remain unknown. The Diptych Group seems to be somewhat later than the Book-Scroll and Caecina Selcia Groups. The higher average age might point to the fact that now only the old people wished to be buried in the old way (cf. p. 359). I would date the beginning of the

production about the year 20 B. C. The four women with the *nodus* coiffure do not give us any exact dating for the end of the production period because they allow as late a dating as A. D. 20 (cf. p. 350). The classical knot coiffure with the loose locks on the forehead, worn by one woman (no. 24, p. 373), is, in fact, even later than the *nodus* hair-dress, because it was worn by Livia after the death of Augustus, but it might be possible already in the Augustan period.

For the dating, I propose the time between the years 20 B.C. and A.D. 10/20, although this is not exact. With this workshop the Etruscan tradition seems almost to have disappeared.

2.3.3.5 *Two Figures Lying on Their Stomachs*

Figs. 61, 62.

1. Volterra 241.

No attributes.

Alabaster.

62 × 26 × 26 (2-C-a).

INGHIRAMI, I:2, 689.

Female.

Id., VI, 32, t. X 3:1.

The figure is lying on her stomach in an entirely awkward posture, supporting her small hands on the mattress. The head is large as in a caricature. The face is somewhat damaged, but the features can nevertheless be discerned. The face is round and rough, and the eyes are surrounded by double furrows. The hair-dress of the woman has been carved in great detail and with care, in clear contrast to the body. The hair is parted in the middle, and the hair at the front is clearly separated from the rest, forming a flat and slightly wavy zone on both sides of the head. The hair at the sides covers the ears and continues as a strand to the neck, where it meets the rest of the hair, which has been combed straight to the back, and is only slightly wavy. The hair is gathered at the neck, not into the usual knot, but into a tail, tied by a strand of hair or a ribbon wound round it.

The body of the figure is utterly deformed. It is thin and shapeless, and wrapped in the cloak, which is in numerous folds. The cloak reaches only a little below the knees—if these can be discerned—and there is a *chiton* reaching as far as the feet under it. It is closely plaited, resembling the tail of a fish, and the small feet are placed on the left border of the lid. There is no cushion, but a straight line follows the border of the mattress. The flat figure is sculpted on all sides, and the lid is again broader than in the groups of the Roman Style Phase.

Returning to the coiffure, it has no exact parallels, and thus the dating must remain uncertain. I would, however, place it in the context of the tail coiffures of the late Tiberian and Claudian periods, because before that time a knot was used when the hair was gathered in at the neck. The simplest form of the tail coiffure was worn by Antonia, Claudius' mother¹, with the hair combed plainly into tail at the neck, but she did not have the side hair separated from the rest of the hair, as this Volaterran figure has. The other ladies of the Claudian period, such as Agrippina, had the hair at the temples separated, but it was dressed into a mass of curls framing the face². I would think that such elaborate hair-dresses were simplified when used by common people, such as the woman in Volaterrae, and the side hair was not curled but only slightly waved, and the tail was not as elegantly plaited and tied. This might date the lid sculpture to the forties A.D., but in fact, a somewhat earlier dating might also be possible. There is a gap in the chronology of hair-dresses of women after the death of Livia, i.e. for the remainder of the reign of Tiberius. Livia's "*salus* coiffure"³ about the years A.D. 22-23 has a knot at the neck, but the hair at the temples is wavy in almost the same manner as on the Volaterran lid sculpture. It might be possible that the simple tail-coiffure was quite fashionable after the *salus* coiffure during the twenties and thirties A.D.⁴. It is not possible to date the Volaterran figure exactly, but it might be from the twenties to forties A.D. If this dating is justified, the lid sculpture and also, because of the same posture, the following one, represent the latest examples of the survival of the Etruscan tradition in Volaterrae. The posture which differs from all the other Volaterran lid sculptures indicates that the sculptor did not have much practice in carving lid sculptures, and there may have been a pause in the production.

Fig. 63.

2. Volterra 262.

No attributes.

Alabaster.

HAUSENSTEIN, T. 64.

84 × 32 × 37 (3-C-a).

RICCI, fig. p. 31, below.

Male.

DUCATI, AE, fig. 658.

GIGLIOLI, t. 404, 1.

¹ FURNÉE-VAN ZWET, 8-9.² FURNÉE-VAN ZWET, 8.³ FURNÉE-VAN ZWET, 2, no. 20, p. 6, fig. 1.⁴ Cf. the portrait busts, FURNÉE-VAN ZWET, 16, figs. 23, 24.

This lid sculpture is longer than the previous one, but the width and the height correspond to it. The figure is lying practically on his left side, but both hands are placed on the mattress in front of the figure. The hands are deformed and resemble those of the woman. The flat figure is not modelled in detail, just wrapped into the cloak, which reaches the ankles; the small feet are seen at the left end of the lid. In this case, there is a flat cushion under the left hand. Now the cloak can be called a *toga*: the *sinus* is lying in front of the figure.

The large head and realistically executed face form a striking contrast to the deformed body. The face is in no way a masterpiece of portrait sculpture, but it succeeds in giving the impression of a real portrait with individual features and a jovial and lively expression. The nose is clumsy, the forehead frowning, the lips are thin and there is a hole in the prominent chin. The eyes are surrounded by double furrows. There is no wreath round the head nor veil, and the hair is combed into short curving clusters. This kind of face might be dated as early as to Republican times, but nothing precludes a dating equally late as in the case of the woman. Though the two figures are not identical in detail, it is probable that they have been executed by the same sculptor.

3. CONCLUSION

3.1 CHRONOLOGY

I will here give a brief description of the Style Phases and the workshop groups and the datings which I have proposed for them. The grouping of the material has been based on the typological method, but other methods have also been used in the dating, when possible.

THE LOCAL STYLE PHASE, about 270/250-200 B. C., sets in motion the Volaterran urn production with tufa as the dominating material worked roughly into figures with very simple forms. Both jewellery, hair-dress and attributes are simple or mostly missing. Men may have *phialai* and women pomegranates in their right hands. Men are usually fat and dressed only in a cloak. There is sometimes a thick and stiff garland round the neck. The lids usually belong to size group 2-C-b, but there are also other combinations (see diagram 2). The figures are also roughly modelled at the back.

THE HELLENISTIC STYLE PHASE, about 200-100 B.C., has used alabaster as the dominant material. Several workshops must have been active during the style phase, and their quality and style differ from each other. The material made very detailed carving possible. Men have rather long hair and the women's knot-coiffures with the hair parted in the middle have been represented in detail. The jewellery is rich, and there are some new attributes, but the *phiale* and the pomegranate predominate and are held in the right hand. Men often have the upper part of the body nude, and there may be garlands round their necks. The women have seldom veiled their heads with the cloaks. The size combination 3-C-b is the most usual (see diagram 2). Also the back of the figures is sculpted carefully.

THE ROMAN STYLE PHASE, about 100 B.C.—A.D. 20/50, is distributed among several workshops. Features common to all of them are the short fringed hair-dresses of the men, the relative slimness of the figures and the clothing. Now the men always use the *chiton* and the cloaks, and they almost never wear garlands. Furthermore, all women and most of the men have covered their heads with cloaks. The lid sculptures become narrower and the back of the lid is not sculpted carefully. The workshop groups of the style phase comprise the following.

THE TRANSITIONAL GROUP, about 100-80 B.C., has lid sculptures which are still sculpted carefully at the back as well as the front, and the attributes are in the right hand. Men's hair-dresses, women's jewellery and many other details fall, however, into the following group.

THE IDEALIZING GROUP, about 80/60-30 B.C., is the biggest group in the Volaterran urn production, and there have certainly been several assistants in the workshop. Both alabaster and tufa were used. The face types are usually idealized in the Hellenistic manner, but there are also some exceptions where influence from realistic Roman portraiture is evident. Both the urns and the lid sculptures were mass-produced, and the back of the lid was modelled only superficially, but the quality was consistently high. The repertoire of jewellery and attributes is large, but standardized. New attributes for men are the *rhyton* and the closed tablets, and the *phiale* is sometimes held in the left hand. The women now always have the pomegranates in their left hands; the right hold fans or mirror-cases. The tufa sculptures usually belong to size group 2-B-b, and the alabaster sculptures to size groups 2/3-B-b (see diagram 3). Inscriptions first become common in this group and they are all in Etruscan (the only exception, see p. 301).

SOME ISOLATED LID SCULPTURES, following more closely the Roman Late-Republican portraiture, are dated to the same time as the Idealizing Group, from about 80 to 30 B.C.

The following three groups are partly contemporaneous, and they represent the time when the Etruscan tradition was still alive, but clearly degenerating.

THE BOOK-SCROLL GROUP, about 50/40—20/10 B.C., has mostly used alabaster as its material and it clearly derives from the Idealizing Group. Roman realism has at last influenced the face type. Mass production has definitely been adopted, and most of the lid sculptures follow the same scheme. Jewellery has become simpler, but the types are the same as before. Book-scroll is the most usual attribute for men, and it is held in the right hand, whereas the left holds the tasselled corner of the cloak. The *rhyton* also occurs as an attribute held in the right hand. Mirror-cases or more normally rather stiff fans are the attributes which the women of the group hold in their right hands, and the left hold pomegranates or tasselled corners of the cloaks. One of the women has a *nodus* coiffure, most of the others classical knot-coiffures. The most usual size combination is 1/2-A-a (see diagram 4). The figures are quite flat and not sculpted at the back. Now Latin inscriptions occur by the side of the Etruscan ones.

THE CAECINA SELCIA GROUP, about 50/30-10 B.C., is also derived from the Idealizing Group. Degeneration has set in in a pronounced manner. Alabaster is the dominant material, but tufa is also used. At the beginning of the typological series, realistic face types are stylized in a sharp schematic manner, but stylization leads into quite impersonal types. The attributes and the jewellery of the Idealizing Group are still used, but in simpler and degenerated forms. The size has also diminished in this group from the longest to the shortest group, from (3) to (1), the breadth and the height usually being that of groups B-b (see diagram 4). There is one Latin and five Etruscan inscriptions.

THE DIPTYCH GROUP, about 20 B.C.—A.D. 10/20, has mainly used alabaster as the material, but tufa also occurs. The face type is round and soft, usually with no attempt at individualization. There are, however, some figures with very sharp and realistic features, but they are only vaguely attributable to the group. The men form a rather coherent typological series, degenerating gradually, but the seven women of the group are more distantly connected with each other. The usual attributes for men are the open diptych or sometimes a *rhyton* in the right hand, and a book-scroll or the border of the cloak in the left. Women have round, and in one case square mirror-cases in the right hand, and pomegranates in the left. Four out of the seven women have their hair dressed in the *nodus* coiffure, which dates them to Augustan times. The usual size combinations are 1/2-B-a (see diagram 4). The back of the lid is not modelled. Etruscan inscriptions are still dominant, and only in one case can we be sure of a Latin text.

THE TWO FIGURES LYING ON THEIR STOMACHS, a man and a woman, have been dated to about A. D. 20-50, because of the simple tail-coiffure worn by the woman. As far as I can see, no lid sculptures made in the Etruscan tradition can be dated later than that.

3.2 ART-HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS

The main problem has been in general to group the material into chronological phases, and in particular to examine the latest workshop groups in order to give an approximate date for the Romanization of Volaterrae. Many other art-historical problems, such as the origin of influences in the different style phases and groups, have generally been omitted, since this would have brought us too far from the main subject, and would have involved a great deal of further investigation. I would like, however, to discuss the portrait problem, many times touched upon in connexion with Volaterran lid sculptures.

I have consciously avoided the word "portrait" when speaking of the figures on the Volaterran lids. The term should be restricted to representations depicting the features and the character of a certain person¹, and there are very few examples in the Volaterran material which can be considered as such². A visit to the Museo Guarnacci or other museums with Volaterran lid sculptures usually gives the totally opposite impression, often reiterated in the literature on the subject, namely that the lid sculptures are highly individual portraits of the deceased³. This is mainly due to the fact that the urns have been displayed according to the relief motifs. Because there are so few examples of lids and urns that certainly belong together, and because the same motifs have been used in several workshops, the lid sculptures representing different workshops and style phases have been placed in the museum in a very casual way. Thus the impression is

¹ Cf. e. g. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Ritratto', 695, 705-711.

² This point of view has already been presented e. g. by the following, but especially by BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Storicità*, 87; *Id.*, *Archeologia e cultura*, 176-178; *Id.*, 'Arte etrusca', 492; *Id.*, 'Ritratto', 714-716; LAVIOSA, 18; M. CRISTOFANI, 'Scultura tardo-etrusca di Volterra. Catalogo a cura di C. LAVIOSA, 1964', (review), *AC* 17 (1965), 328; cf. Clusium, THIMME, *SE* 23 (1954), 86, note 51.

³ I will record no bibliography here, because the standpoint has been usually presented in publications which do not seem to be based on investigations of a large body of the Volaterran material but only on single lid sculptures.

far too varied and every sculpture seems to differ from every other one—there are beautiful and ugly, old and young, slim and fat figures, and cheerful and gloomy expressions.

In the Local Style Phase, the production of urns and lids was not as schematic as it was later, and hence there is a great deal of variety among the figures. Many of the heads are simply modelled spherically with the eyes, nose, mouth and ears marked flatly on them, and it is clear that such representations cannot be called portraits. There are also, however, roughly depicted faces which probably represent aged men or women in general. Idealization was not common, and the lively figures look individual, even though they are not real portraits.

In the Hellenistic Style Phase, there are some lid sculptures of a comparatively high artistic quality, which might be regarded as real portraits (Volterra 119, 291, see p. 298), though they have been created according to the general fashion of the time¹. Both the sculptor and the model have certainly striven towards the same ideal². These are, however, not typical of the Volaterran lid production of the period, but isolated works, perhaps executed by foreign artists. Each of the workshops of the period had their own face types, representing, for example, young men idealized, fat old men, women with rough features and so on. The production was based on types.

During the Roman Style Phase, most of the urns and the lids were mass-produced, more than ever based on types. Because the material of the sculptures was alabaster and tufa, and they were not cast in terracotta as in Clusium, few of them are exactly identical. In the Idealizing Group, the assortment of details was large and hence the results were more varied than in the latest groups, where one scheme was repeated in an almost unaltered form in numerous sculptures.

As far as I can see, the development of the face types in the Roman Style Phase is considerably retarded compared with Roman art. The Idealizing Group with its roots in the Hellenistic ideal types and not in portraiture, used idealized types for the most part. They were, however, very striking, and many of the faces—especially those of the men—could be used as portraits even for modern people, both in Italy and elsewhere. A workshop which based its creations on idealized face types was, in fact, rather sure to catch the features of a relatively great part of the population.

¹ Cf. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Ritratto', 716.

² Cf. P. J. Riis, *Den etruskiske kunst*², København 1962, 212.

Women and young men are those who best succeed in masking their individual features behind fashionable patterns, in antiquity as in the modern times. Old men, the main object of Roman Republican portraiture from the age of Sulla, were not a popular motif in the Idealizing Group. Sometimes wrinkles were carved on the smooth and young faces, but there are also examples of a rather more realistic conception (cf. p. 321).

It is difficult to say whether the idealization of the Augustan period had time to affect the last works of the Idealizing Group, which were in any case idealized. I would suggest that the master of the Idealizing Group was a Greek—perhaps from Southern Italy—who, after a short time in Rome, moved to Volaterrae, where he found that the customers preferred idealized representations. Thus, neither Roman nor Hellenistic realism had a great deal of influence on his work.

Some lid sculptures representing men followed the realistic Roman types more closely, and they might be real portraits, but these were created by other masters during the same time that the Idealizing Group was producing (cf. pp. 322-325). "The masterpiece of Etruscan portraiture", the terracotta couple, Volterra 613 (see above, p. 323), is in many respects an exceptional piece in the Volaterran urn production, and the two figures may well be real portraits. Bianchi Bandinelli has, however, pointed out that the features of the man greatly resemble some tufa sculptures (cf. p. 324), which I have attributed to the Idealizing Group.

In the Book-Scroll Group, the long, furrowed face of an old man was the dominant type. It was used in numerous cases, and thus it cannot be considered as a portrait. The face type could be dated as early as the time of the First Triumvirate, that is, the same time as the Idealizing Group. The Latin inscriptions indicate, however, that at least a part of the group was later than the Idealizing Group. Realistic portraiture also continued in Rome during Augustan times, not as the prominent art of the court, but as a vernacular trend. The realistic conception together with Roman taste first achieved popularity in Volaterrae, in my opinion, about the years 50/30 B.C. The other group of the same time, the Caccina Selcia Group, followed the same realistic lines, but the face types gradually became stylized. The third workshop group, the Diptych Group, had a face type with round and soft features, omitting any tendencies to individualization.

It seems clear that at least during the Roman Style Phase both reliefs and lid sculptures were made in advance for a store¹ and the sculptor

¹ Cf. BANTI, 55-57; LAVIOSA, 18; in Clusium, THIMME, *SE* 25 (1957), 101 note 11; in Perugia, F. MESSERSCHMIDT, 'Neue etruskische und römische Terrakotten', *RM* 45

did not know whom the lid sculpture would represent in due course. It was probably uncommon for living people to order cinerary urns for themselves, but the family must have cared about it. There was certainly not much time for making real portraits between the death and the burial, and thus it was only practical that the workshops should have a store of ready-made reliefs and lid sculptures. The family chose the lid which resembled the deceased most and suited the purse best, and with it a matching urn with a pleasing motif. The standardized measurements, used especially in the tufa sculptures of the Idealizing Group, facilitated the free combination of lids and urns.

A very clear sign that real portraits were not usually required can be seen when we examine those members of the Idealizing Group who have been changed from men into women. The changes concerned the attributes, the hair-dresses and the wreaths; some jewellery and the girdle have been added, but the faces have been good enough as such (see p. 317).

Apart from the mass-produced sculptures, there are also some examples of lids obviously made to special order. As such I would consider the urn and the lid of Aule Cneuna (see above p. 302 n. 5), which differs in several ways from normal specimens of the Idealizing Group. The face corresponds, however, to that of many other men of the group. A little attention has, however, been paid to the appearance of the deceased: he has obviously been bald, because the fringe has been removed, and there is hair only above the ears. The *haruspex* with the liver in left hand, Volterra 136 (see p. 313), also belongs to the Idealizing Group, though he has something in common with the Book-Scroll Group, too. The face is weathered and it is difficult to tell whether the 24 years old deceased has been individualized or not, but he has a receding hair-line, too. The three boys, Volterra 141, 209 (pp. 353-354) and 334 (p. 361), all belonging to the late groups, are very youthful in appearance, but almost identical features have also been used in other lid sculptures, for example in those of aged women¹. Thus, none of the lid sculptures made to order differ essentially from the common face type of the workshop.

(1930), 172. It is possible that the hair and the eyes of the figures were painted after the death of the person, in order to make the likeness more striking. The most usual colours for eyes and hair were black and reddish brown, but yellow ochre may also occur.

¹ Cf. A. Caecina Selcia (fig. 32) with Volterra 173 (fig. 35) and Palazzo Antinori-Aldobrandini 5 (p. 357), and Volterra 334 with Volterra 356 (fig. 53) and 164 (p. 373).

Taking the whole production of lid sculptures in Volaterrae into consideration, it can be claimed that, in general, real portraits with the individual features of the deceased were not required. The sculpture was meant to represent a person of the same sex in a manner demanded by the style and the fashion of the time¹. This does not mean that rendering human features caused difficulties; on the contrary, even the most awkward lid sculptures were always lively and expressively characterized.

The disproportionately large head is a trait typical of the Volaterran lid sculptures, as has always been emphasized. The size of the head follows, however, the length of the figure. The longest of the Volaterran lid sculptures have the head in good proportion to the body. In estimating the size of the head, it must be remembered that the figures are often seen only as far as the knees. The large head predominates in the small and middle-sized figures (length groups 1-2, see diagrams 1-4), from the Local Style Phase to the end of the production period, but mostly in the late groups. The head was considered the most essential part of the person, more important than the organic structure of the body. This was not represented as being too small, even though the face did not depict the features of the deceased. This trait is common to most Etruscan and Italic art².

3.3 THE INSCRIPTIONS AND THE LANGUAGE SHIFT

Here I will just summarize what has been said above concerning the inscriptions on the front border of the lid sculptures (see also the index of inscriptions, pp. 397-398, and Kaimio, 215-216).

¹ Elsewhere, see e. g. VESSBERG, 184, 197; G. HAFNER, 'Frauen- und Mädchenbilder aus Terrakotta im Museo Gregoriano etrusco', *RM* 72 (1965), 45; Id., 'Männer- und Jünglingsbilder aus Terrakotta im Museo Gregoriano etrusco', *RM* 73-74 (1966-67), 29.

² Cf. e. g. R. HERBIG, 'Die italische Wurzel der römischen Bildniskunst', *Das neue Bild der Antike II, Rom*, Leipzig 1942, 85-99; SCHWEITZER, 1; BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Archeologia e cultura*, 184-185; Id., 'Ritratto', 714; T. DOHRN, 'Grundzüge etruskischer Kunst', *Deutsche Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 8, Baden-Baden 1958, 54-59; G. KASCHNITZ VON WEINBERG, *Das Schöpferische in der römischen Kunst*, *Römische Kunst I*, herausg. v. H. VON HEINTZE, Hamburg 1961, 106. H. BLANCK, 'Porträt-Gemälde als Ehrendenkmäler', *Bj* 168 (1968), 5-6, has claimed that the unorganic representation of the head was not foreign to the Greeks either.

Most of the inscriptions are late, from the first century B.C. Perhaps the name of the deceased was not considered important before that time and in the tomb all belonged to the same family anyway. The custom of sculpting the name and the age of the deceased on the front border of the lid first became common in the Idealizing Group, from 80/60 to about 30 B.C. The inscriptions in the Idealizing Group are all Etruscan, except one in an urn relief (see p. 301). Only in the three later Groups—the Book-Scroll Group (about 50/40-20/10 B.C.), the Caccina Selcia Group (50/30-10 B.C.) and the Diptych Group (20 B.C.-A.D. 10/20)—Latin may occur, but Etruscan is still by far the dominant language. My material contains only ten Latin inscriptions¹. Of these four belong to the Caccina family (see p. 320).

Only one of the women with the *nodus* coiffure, certainly from Augustan times and at the earliest from the Second Triumvirate (cf. p. 349), has an inscription, and it is written in Etruscan (Diptych Group no. 29, p. 376). One other female figure with the *nodus*, Diptych Group no. 25 (fig. 55), shows traces of a painted text, but it is illegible. The dominance of the Etruscan language in the latest groups means that Etruscan was used in Volaterrae at least as late as about the birth of Christ or perhaps even a little later. In fact, one woman with a coiffure which occurs in Livia's portraits after the death of Augustus (Diptych Group no. 24, p. 373), also has an Etruscan inscription.

3.4 THE ROMANIZATION OF VOLATERRAE AND THE EXTINCTION OF THE ETRUSCAN TRADITION

As we have seen, the last traces of the Etruscan language and culture represented by the cinerary urns with lid sculptures disappeared long after the political Romanization of Volaterrae. After the siege of Volaterrae, the lid sculptures show some Roman traits (the Idealizing Group), but Etruscan culture seems to have continued almost unaffectedly. Even more so as the cinerary urns were now of a rather high quality, even though they were mass-produced. It is not impossible that it was a kind of protest

¹ The Latin inscriptions of the Book-Scroll Group, see nos. 4, 5, 9, 14, 15, 25, 29 of the catalogue. The Caccina Selcia Group, no. 4, p. 353. The Diptych Group, nos. 6, 26 (pp. 364 and 374). I have not seen the Latin inscription, CIE 90.

against the power of Rome. The Caecina family, of which we know a great deal both from literary sources (see Mr. Hohti, pp. 414-417) and from monuments in Volaterrae (cf. pp. 320, 389) did not differ much from the other families who could afford alabaster urns: during the Idealizing Group the inscriptions are Etruscan, and in the Book-Scroll Group there are some Latin inscriptions, too. The only Latin inscription of the Caecina Selcia Group belongs, however, to the family. There are no representatives of the family in the Diptych Group, which indicates that they had abandoned the Etruscan tradition some decades before the total extinction of the urn production¹.

The Latin inscriptions belong to the same groups where the quality of the production gradually deteriorated: the Book Scroll Group, the Caecina Selcia Group and the Diptych Group, i.e. between 50/40 B.C. and A.D. 10-/20. In Clusium², Tarquinia³ and Tuscania⁴, to mention some of the centres where urn and sarcophagus production with lid sculptures was alive in the first century B.C., the degeneration process can be noticed as early as the beginning of the century. Volaterrae was considerably retarded, because the Idealizing Group maintained a high standard later than in other Etruscan centres. The development of urn and sarcophagus production had more or less advanced side by side in the different centres, but the Idealizing Group lacks parallels.

The construction of the Roman theatre at Vallebuona, which seems to have taken place at about the birth of Christ⁵, marks one of the first Roman monuments in Volaterrae. Two different kinds of portraits representing Augustus have been found in the theatre⁶ and several Latin inscriptions of the Caecina family⁷. At the same time urn production was still being continued in the Etruscan tradition, but the quality had fallen off conside-

¹ Cf. TORELLI, 298, d-e. Romanization did not, however, take place as early as during the 2nd century B.C.

² THIMME, *SE* 25 (1957), 139-140.

³ HERBIG, *Sark.*, 124.

⁴ TÖRR, 63-64.

⁵ FIUMI, 'Teatro romano', A. DE AGOSTINO, 'Volterra, il teatro romano, studio architettonico e ricostruzione', *NSc* 9 (1955), 150-181; TORELLI, 295, 298, 349 note 43.

⁶ The first was found in 1952, see FIUMI, 'Teatro romano', 124, fig. 30, 132-133, 138 no. 1, dated to about 31-27 B.C. The other portrait was found in 1957, see *SE* 26 (1958), 189; FIUMI, 'Volterra', 1201.

⁷ FIUMI, 'Teatro romano', 123-124, 132; DE AGOSTINO, 'Volterra, il teatro romano', *NSc* 9 (1955), 174-178; TORELLI, 295-296, note 43, p. 349.

rably. The prosperous families had, it seems, abandoned the Etruscan tradition, and production continued for a few more decades longer as a popularized trend maintained by the common people¹. Total Romanization must have been accomplished at the beginning of the first century A.D. The two figures lying on their stomachs, probably from the Tiberian or Claudian periods, are isolated examples of the survival of the Etruscan tradition and do not change the picture much (see above pp. 377-379). Later in the first century A.D. the whole material is Roman in character².

Consequently, the complete Romanization of the inhabitants of Volaterrae and the change from an Etruscan to a Roman culture seems to have taken place later than in most other Etruscan centres, and can be seen as a result of increasing cultural and political influence from Rome during the Augustan period.

¹ Cf. TARR, 63-64; TORELLI, 298, d.

² FUMI, 'Portone', 407-414; ID., 'Poggio alle Croci', 263-268; BIANCHI BANDINELLI, 'Recensione Enking', 488.

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Local Style Phase

Ca. 270/250-200 B.C. (about 56 lid
sculptures):
No inscriptions.

Hellenistic Style Phase

Ca. 200-100 B.C. (about 80 lid
sculptures):

CIE Museum no.
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143 Volterra 291; 291, 298

Roman Style Phase

Ca. 100 B.C.-A.D. 10/20
Transitional Group, ca. 100-80 B.C.
(10 lid sculptures):

CIE Museum no.
— Florence 93484; 300
Idealizing Group, ca. 80/60 B.C.
(about 250 lid sculptures):

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CIL XI¹

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B. C. (50 lid sculptures):

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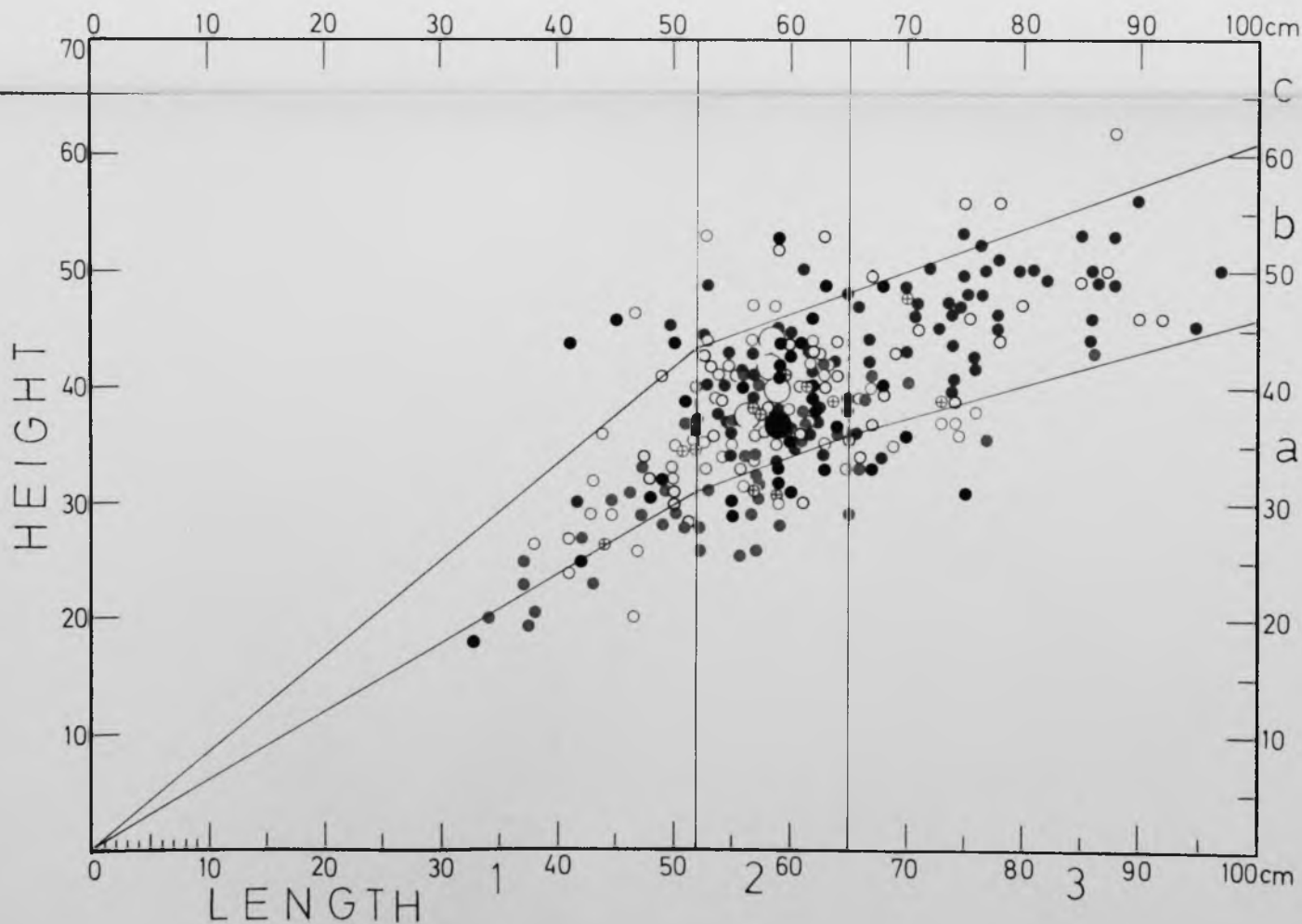
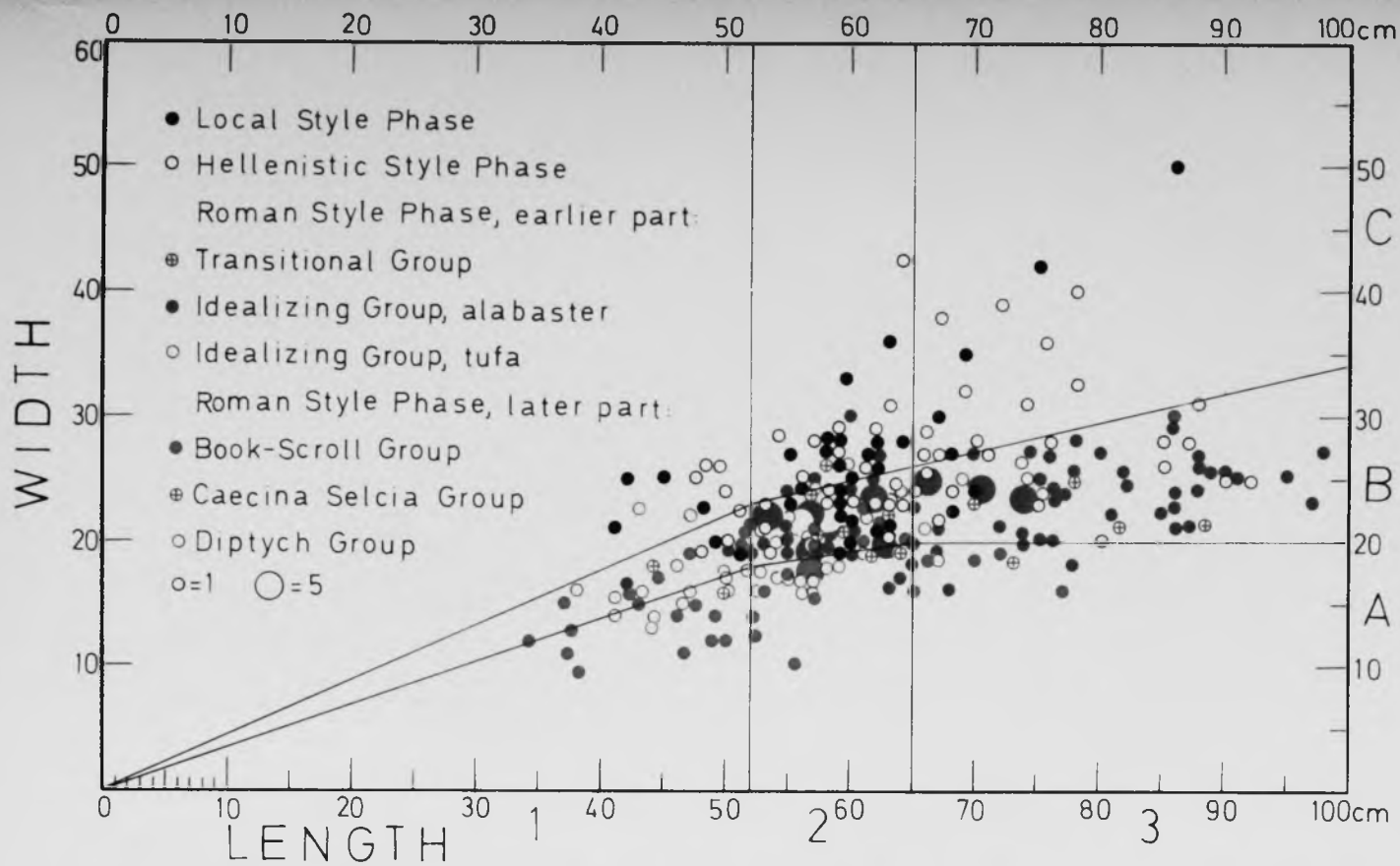


DIAGRAM 1. The measurements of all style phases and groups.

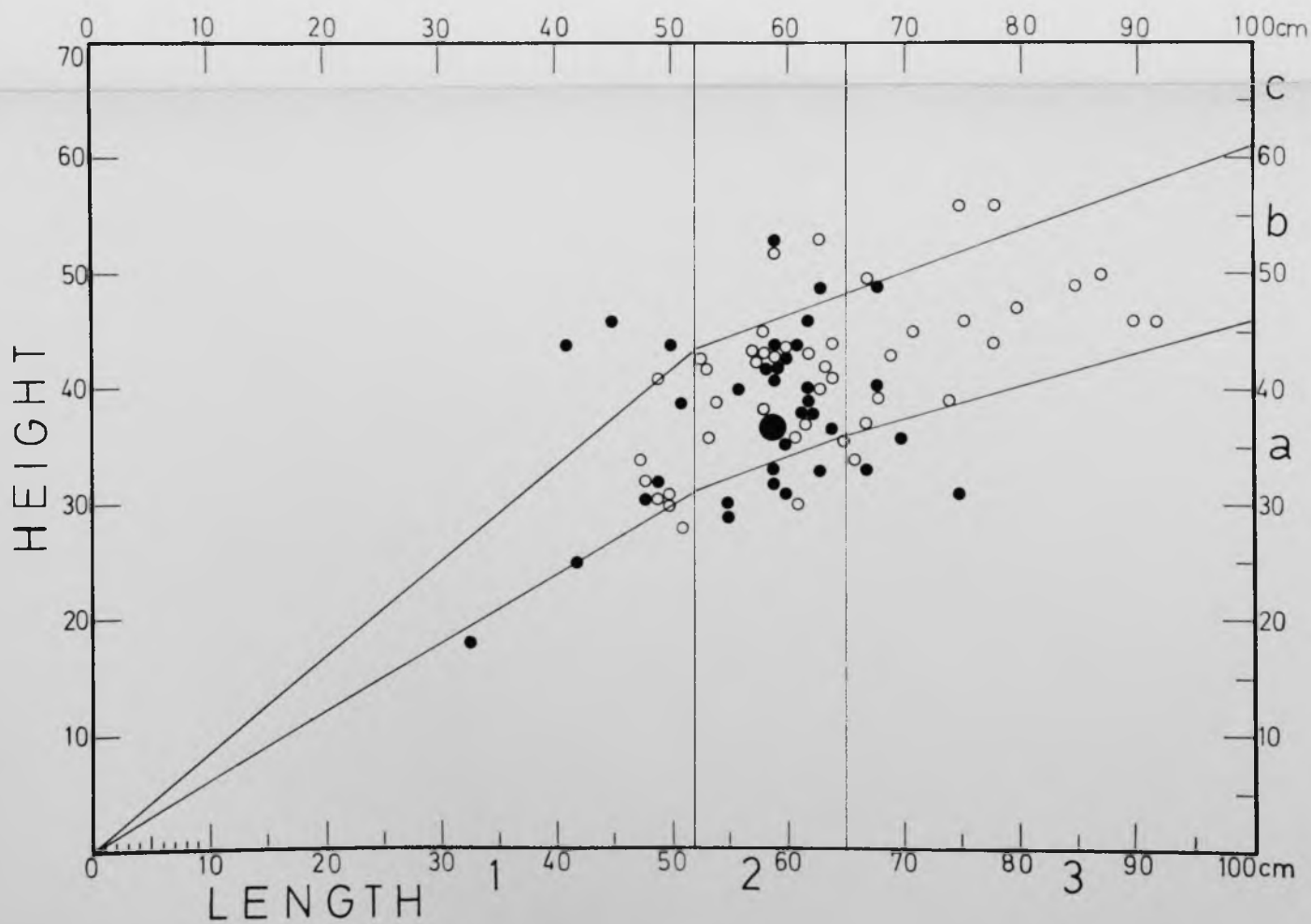
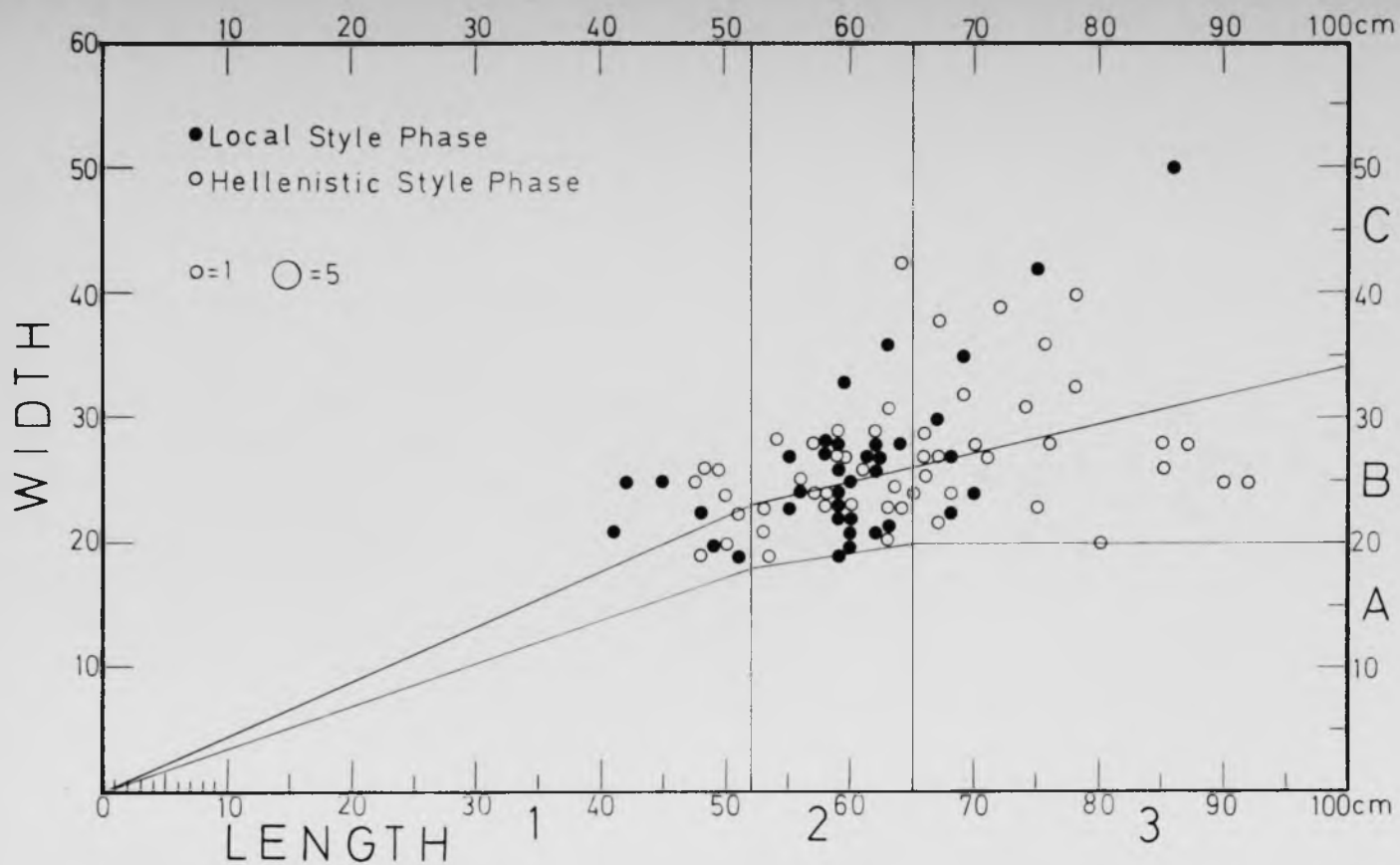


DIAGRAM 2. The measurements of the Local and Hellenistic Style Phases.

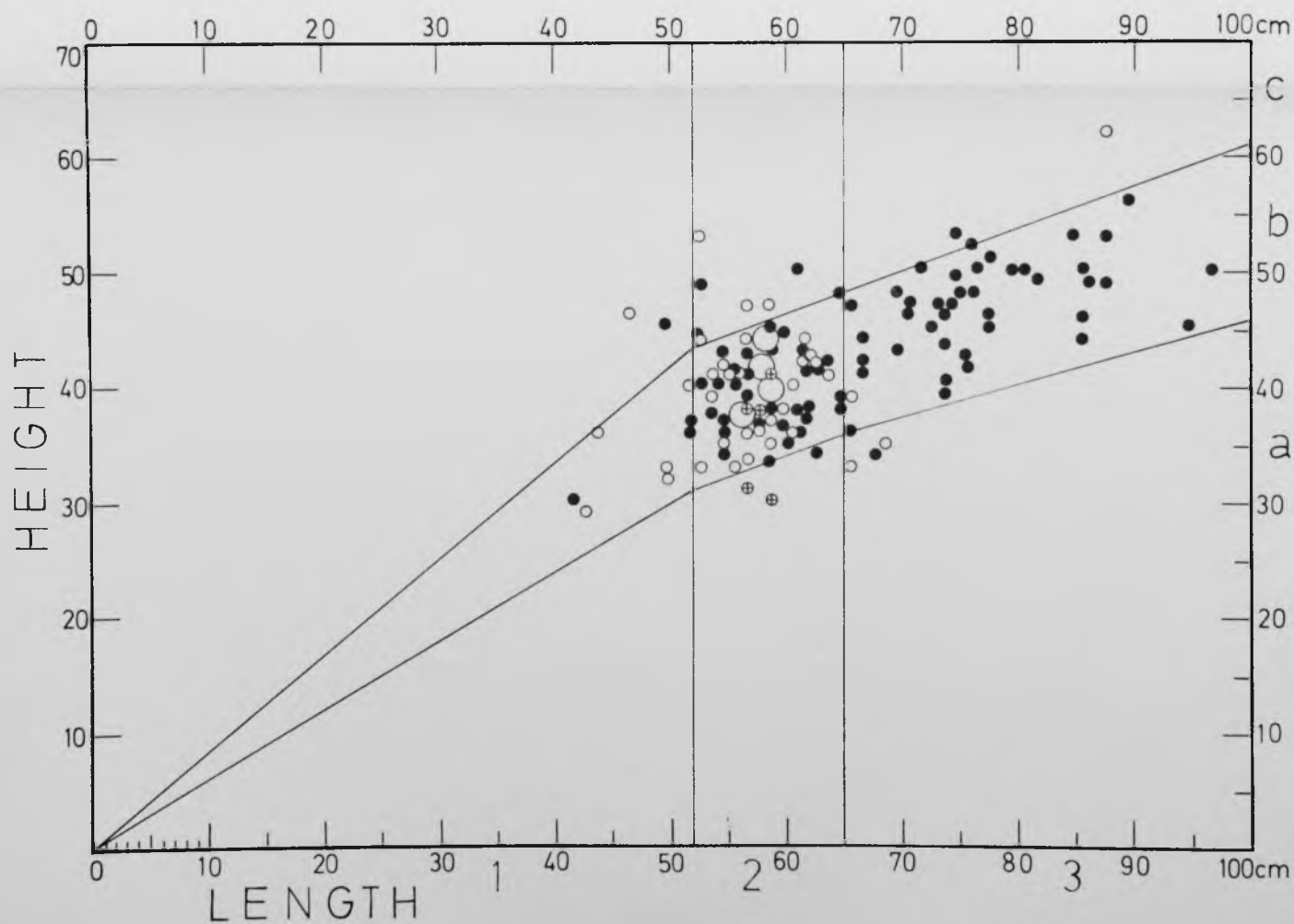
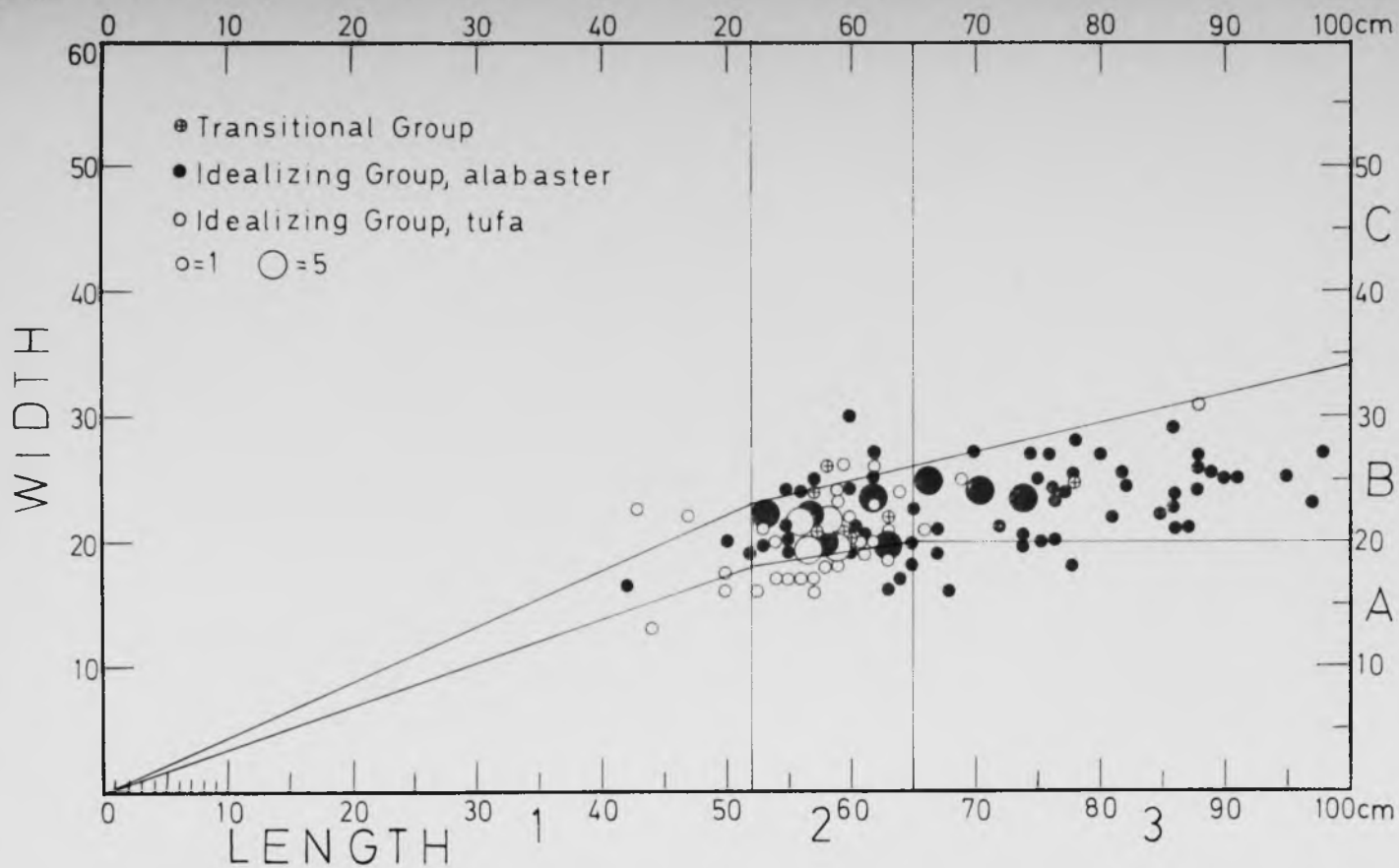


DIAGRAM 3. The measurements of the earlier part of the Roman Style Phase: Transitional Group and Idealizing Group.

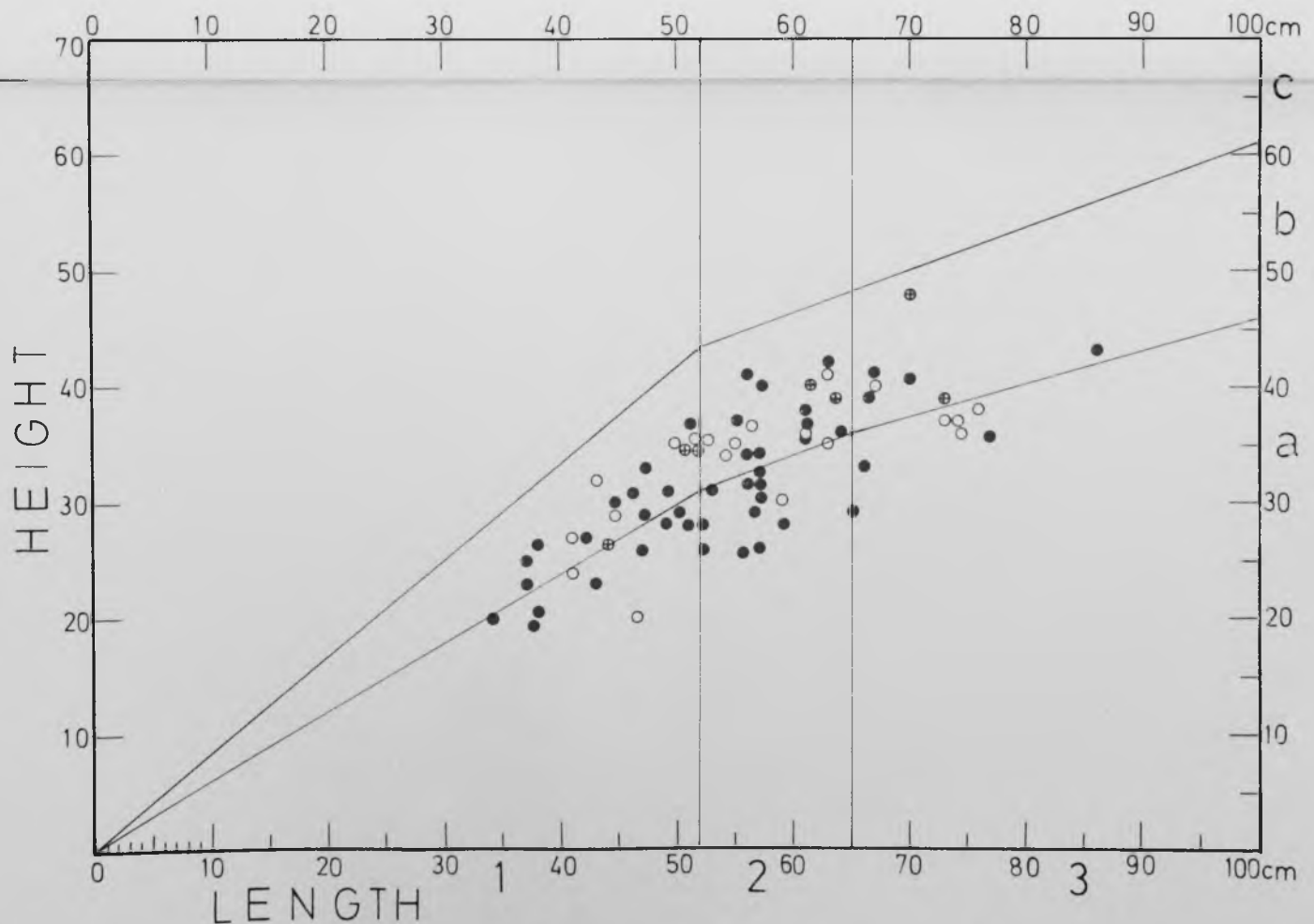
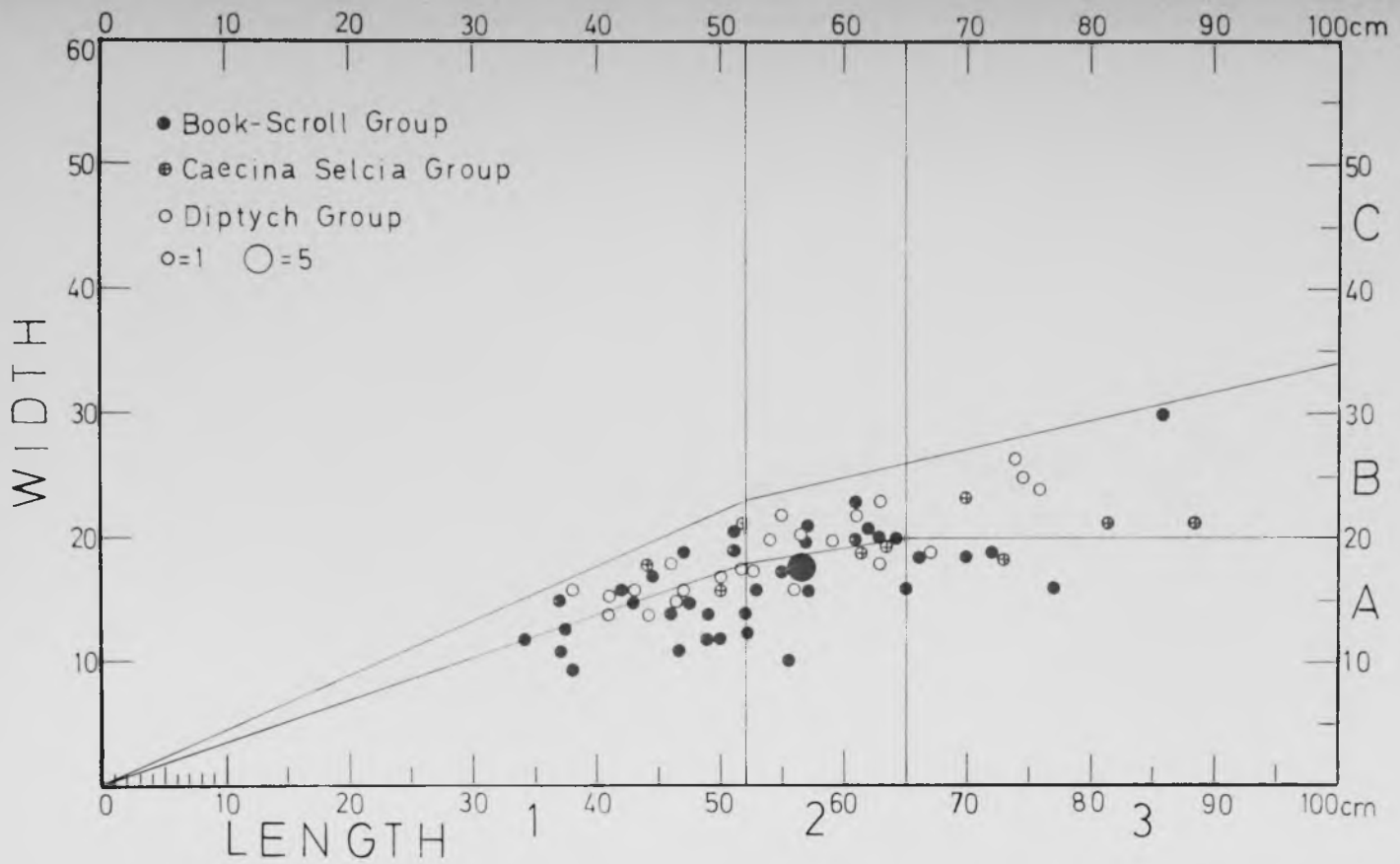


DIAGRAM 4. The measurements of the later part of the Roman Style Phase: Book-Scroll Group, Caecina Selcia Group and Diptych Group.

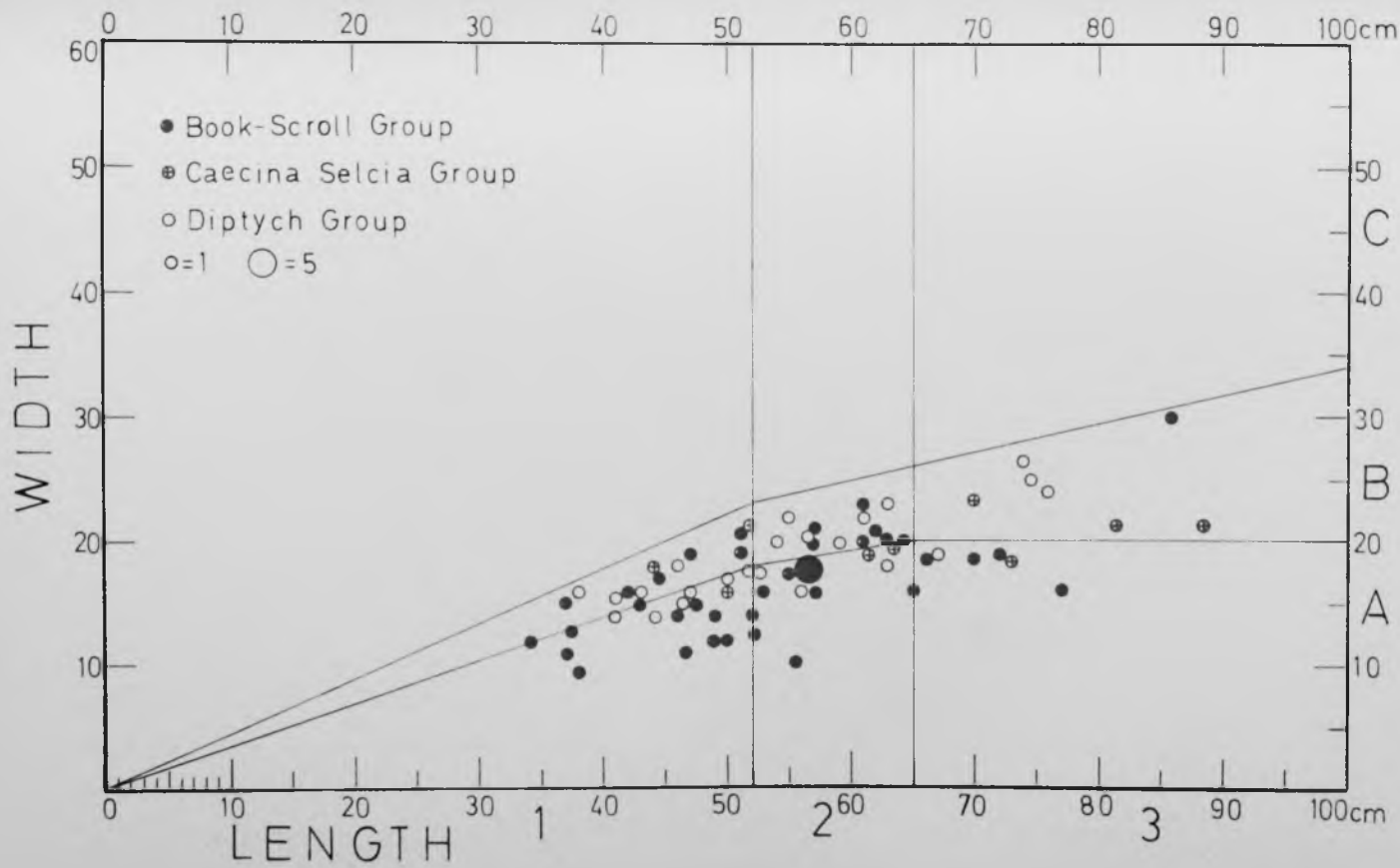




Fig. 1. - Volterra 342, Book-Scroll Group 1. Photo Renzetti.



Fig. 2. - London D 64, Book-Scroll Group 2. Photo by the Trustees of the British Museum, neg. XXVC(7).



Fig. 3. — Volterra 470, Book-Scroll Group 4. Photo Renzetti.



Fig. 4. — Volterra 227, Book-Scroll Group 5. Photo Fivizoli.



Fig. 5. - Florence 78483, Book-Scroll Group 6. Photo Soprintendenza alle antichità - Firenze, 19513.



Fig. 6. - Volterra 318, Book-Scroll Group 8. Photo Fivizoli.



Fig. 7. - Volterra 274, Book-Scroll Group 9. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 8. - Volterra 357, Book-Scroll Group 10. Photo Renzetti.



Fig. 9. - Volterra 249, Book-Scroll Group 12. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 10. - Volterra 480, Book-Scroll Group 16. Photo Renzetti.



Fig. 11. - Leyden H III QQQ 3, Book-Scroll Group 26. Photo Centrale Fotodienst, Groningen University, archive nr. E 40746/31.



Fig. 12. - Volterra 140, Book-Scroll Group 29. Photo Renzetti.



Fig. 13. — Volterra 364, Book-Scroll Group 30. Photo Renzetti.



Fig. 14. — Volterra 441, Book-Scroll Group 32. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 15. - Volterra 94, Book-Scroll Group 35. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 16. - Volterra 306, Book-Scroll Group 37. Photo Alinari 34743.



Fig. 17. - Volterra 373, Book-Scroll Group 38.
Photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom, Inst. neg. 31.1646.



Fig. 18. - Volterra 373, Book-Scroll Group 38. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 19. - Volterra 261, Book-Scroll Group 39. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 20. - Volterra 558, Book-Scroll Group 41. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 21. - Volterra 398, Book-Scroll Group 42. Photo Fivizoli.



Fig. 22. - Volterra 485, Book-Scroll Group 43. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 23. - Volterra 420, Book-Scroll Group 44. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 24. - Volterra 311, Book-Scroll Group 45. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 25. - Volterra 504, Book-Scroll Group 46. Photo Renzetti.



Fig. 26. - Volterra 184, Book-Scroll Group 48. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 27. - Volterra 167, Book-Scroll Group 49. Photo Renzetti.



Fig. 28. - Volterra 502, Caecina Selcia Group 1.
Photo Fivizoli.



Fig. 29. - Volterra 502, Caecina Selcia Group 1.
Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 30. - Volterra 171, Caecina Selcia Group 2. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 31. - Florence 78521, Caecina Selcia Group 3. Photo Soprintendenza alle antichità - Firenze, 5745.



Fig. 32. - Volterra 141, Caecina Selcia Group 4. Photo Fivizoli.



Fig. 33. - Volterra 209, Caecina Selcia Group 5. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 34. - Volterra 176, Caecina Selcia Group 6. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 35. - Volterra 173, Caecina Selcia Group 7. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 36. - Volterra 487, Caecina Selcia Group 8. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 37. - Volterra 134, Caecina Selcia Group 11. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 38. - Volterra 334, Diptych Group 1. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 39. - Volterra 165, Diptych Group 3. Photo Renzetti.



Fig. 40. - Volterra 501, Diptych Group 5. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 41. - Mannheim Bc 10, Diptych Group 7. Photo Reiss-Museen, Mannheim.



Fig. 42. – Volterra 179, Diptych Group 9. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 43. – Volterra 391, Diptych Group 10. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 44. - Florence 5809, Diptych Group 11. Photo Soprintendenza alle antichità - Firenze, 19604.



Fig. 45. - Volterra 78, Diptych Group 14. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 46. - Volterra 22, Diptych Group 15. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 47. - Volterra 77, Diptych Group 16. Photo Renzetti.



Fig. 48. - Volterra 189, Diptych Group 17. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 49. - Volterra 330, Diptych Group 18. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 50. - Volterra 304, Diptych Group 19. Photo Renzetti.



Fig. 51. - Volterra 446, Diptych Group 21. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 52. - Leyden H III SSS 2, Diptych Group 22. Photo Centrale Fotodienst, Groningen University, archive nr. E 40746/17.



Fig. 53. - Volterra 356, Diptych Group 23. Photo Alinari 8727.



Fig. 54. - Volterra 356, Diptych Group 23.
Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 55. - Volterra 245, Diptych Group 25. Photo Soprintendenza alle antichità - Firenze, 14690.



Fig. 56. - Volterra 338, Diptych Group 26. Photo Renzetti.



Fig. 57. - Volterra 338, Diptych Group 26. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 58. - Volterra, Diptych Group 27. Photo Renzetti.

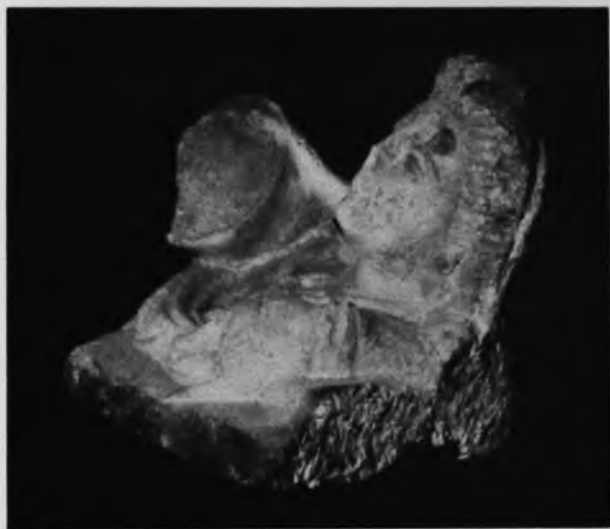


Fig. 59. - Volterra, Diptych Group 27. Photo Renzetti.



Fig. 60. – Leyden H III PPP 5, Diptych Group 28. Photo Centrale Fotodienst, Groningen University, archive nr. E 40746/20.



Fig. 61. - Volterra 241, female figure lying on her stomach. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 62. - Volterra 241, female figure lying on her stomach. Photo Renzetti.



Fig. 63. - Volterra 262, male figure lying on his stomach. Photo Renzetti.



Fig. 64. - Altar-shaped cinerary urn, front. From the Caccina tomb, found in the necropolis of Portone in 1739. Photo S. Nielsen.



Fig. 65. - Altar-shaped cinerary urn, right side. From the Caccina tomb, found in the necropolis of Portone in 1739. Photo Renzetti.

PAAVO HOHTI

6. AULUS CAECINA
THE VOLATERRAN
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1. INTRODUCTION

When we were planning this study on the Romanization of Etruria, it seemed appropriate to illustrate the relationship between Etruscan and Roman peoples by means of a case study. It is my task to give some sidelight on the process of Romanization by analyzing the background and the life of an Etruscan and his attitudes to the Roman world.

For this purpose I chose Aulus Caecina from Volaterrae. One could immediately ask whether the choice is justified and whether the case of Aulus Caecina really elucidates the Romanization process. Now, the choice is restricted by the scarcity of material. There are extremely few persons in this period of whom we have material enough for a relevant study. On Aulus Caecina we have both Etruscan and Roman material. The *gens Caecina* was a prolific family living in Volaterrae as attested by a *stèle* of the archaic period and by tombs of the second and first centuries B.C. Among the Roman sources Cicero's speech *pro Caecina* and letters are of the utmost importance. How far Aulus Caecina can be said to represent his Volaterran compatriots and his fellow Etruscans constitutes a complicated problem. The Etruscans probably regarded themselves as one people, but even so they did not form a national entity. The Roman influence and power was extended to different Etruscan territories at different times as is shown by Mrs. Ruoff¹. It is, therefore, impossible to find out any Etruscan who would be a kind of mean proportion of the whole of Etruria, from the chronological (diachronic) point of view as well as from the geographical and social one. Aulus Caecina represents the highest social class of Volaterrae, an Etruscan city comparatively far from Rome, which retained a high degree of independence longer than any other Etruscan city. A person of lower social status would be impossible for there would not be sufficient information on him. On the other hand, a study of a man of rank may clarify certain attitudes to the Romans of the Etruscan community which most certainly in many ways was influenced

¹ See above pp. 60 ff.

by him. On the Roman side, Aulus Caecina was regarded as an Etruscan which is of utmost importance for this study.

The home town of Aulus Caecina was Volaterrae where Etruscan culture and traditions seems to have been very much alive as late as the time of Augustus, as is suggested by the studies of Mrs. Nielsen¹ and Mr. Kaimio². Against this background Aulus Caecina is an interesting object for study because of his close relations with Rome. Mrs. Ruoff's study has furnished us with the historical background with regard to the vicissitudes of Volaterrae down to 80 B.C.³. I propose to sketch briefly the further history of Volaterrae from the siege of Sulla to the death of Augustus in order to enable the subsequent account of the life and actions of Aulus Caecina to emerge more distinctly from the background constituted by his native milieu.

2. VOLATERRAE IN 80-44 B.C.

In 81 B.C. Sulla had all lands in the southern Etruria in his possession and the last Marian troops had been obliged to retire towards the North. Isolated Volaterrae was a good refuge; the town lies on a hill, precipitous on all sides and surrounded by walls⁴.

We do not know much about the troops. According to Strabo, the total number was four $\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ consisting of men proscribed by Sulla in addition to some Etruscans⁵. There is nothing to point to a special pro-Marian attitude among the Volaterrans. The town became the last stronghold of the Marians because of its geographical position.

Our knowledge of the fate of Volaterrae is based principally on Cicero's speeches *pro Caecina* and *de domo*. In addition to these, we know that

¹ See above pp. 388-389.

² See above pp. 215-216.

³ See above pp. 56 f.

⁴ On Volaterrae in general see ENKING, *RE IX A*, 721-737. With Volaterrae Strabo mentions Populonia, 5, 2, 6 = 223 C.

⁵ Strabo, loc. cit. The number of the soldiers is uncertain because the sense of $\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ is not clear. Appian mentions (*BC* 5, 2, 6) that there were 6000 Etruscans under the command of Marius. The number should not be regarded as very large, W. V. HARRIS, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, Oxford 1971, 258 and n. 2.

the siege of Volaterrae lasted for two years¹. After the war Sulla punished the inhabitants by disenfranchising them and reducing the town to the status of Ariminum. There is, however, a difficulty in gauging the status of Volaterrae, because that of Ariminum is not exactly known². According to Cicero the Volaterrans had the *ius Latii* and elaborating this fact he states: "Sulla ipse ita tulit de civitate ut non sustulerit horum nexa atque hereditates"³. On the other hand, this seems to be contradicted by a passage in the same speech. Discussing the *adscriptio* of the *lex Cornelia* he states that the law was invalid⁴. This seems to be supported by another source. In the speech *de domo* Cicero treats of Volaterrae as a case *sui generis* representing a different status than other punished towns. He states that the deprivation of citizenship of Volaterrae was not approved by the *comitia centuriata*⁵. Why, we do not know. The confiscation of land, on the other hand, according to Cicero, was carried on, because *erat enim populi potestas*. All the territories of rebellious cities were made *ager publicus*, part of which was made into colonies by Sulla⁶. Such colonies are attested to in Arretium and Faesulae, but no colony was founded on Volaterran territory, as far as we know⁷. Brunt suggests that there was no need for land any longer and therefore Volaterrae was saved⁸. We have no evidence of colonists or other people moving to Volaterrae. It is possible that most of the lands remained in the possession of the Volaterrans. This is suggested by Cicero's words in the letter to Valerius Orca, where he states that the immortal gods and fortune had saved the lands of Volaterrans⁹.

In another letter to Orca Cicero records the fate of C. Curtius¹⁰. He was a Caesarian senator and inhabited Volaterrae in 45 B.C. Sulla had taken all his possessions, but we do not know anything of where they were. After being in exile he was restored and he now conferred all his property

¹ Livy *Per.* 88; Gran. *Lic.* 32 F.; Strabo 5, 2, 6. On Sulla's *castra* near Volaterrae, cf. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 7, 20; 20, 105.

² On Ariminum see HÜLSEN, *RE* II, 829 and BRUNT, below p. 480 n. 4.

³ Cic. *Cacc.* 102. On this law see also Sall. *Hist.* I 41, 12 M; Livy *Per.* 77, 89.

⁴ See below, p. 425.

⁵ Cic. *dom.* 79.

⁶ Cic. *fam.* 13, 4, 1-2; *Att.* 1, 19, 4.

⁷ On Arretium see Cic. *Mur.* 49; on Faesulae Cic. *ibid.*; Cat. 3, 14; Gran. *Lic.* 42, 1 F; cf. also HARRIS, 261-264.

⁸ P. A. BRUNT, *Italian Manpower* 225 B.C. - A.D. 14, Oxford 1971, 306.

⁹ Cic. *fam.* 13, 4, 1-2.

¹⁰ Cic. *fam.* 13, 5.

on Volaterrae. Wiseman suggests that the property of this Curtius was earlier in his father's possession¹. The case of Curtius is the only one where, as far as we know, confiscation had consequences. It is, however, possible that the property of the family Curtius was not at Volaterrae.

No evidence (except for the case of Curtius) has been preserved with regard to the effects of the confiscation. There are also no grounds for supposing hostility towards Rome. In Volaterrae there were no colonists, who, probably, in other places were objects of hate. As Mrs. Nielsen has shown, the Etruscan culture could continue unaffected and perhaps more isolated than in other places.

The first concrete evidence of the relations between Volaterrae and Cicero is the trial between Aulus Caecina and Sextus Aebutius in 69 B.C., when Cicero defended Caecina. By means of this case Cicero enlisted the Volaterrans as his adherents², because we have to assume that the influence of A. Caecina in his home town was considerable. Later Cicero expresses his gratitude to Volaterrans in a letter to Valerius Orca: "nam nec in honoribus meis nec in laboribus umquam defuerunt"³. We have, however, no evidence for the help of the Volaterrans. Cicero mentions his *consuetudo* towards them and for this there is evidence. Cicero defended the properties of Volaterrans against the propositions of Rullus in 63 B.C. and on a second occasion he opposed the bill of Flavius in 60 B.C.⁴. If enacted, these bills would have made impossible the allotment of the lands confiscated to the veterans. It seems therefore that the lands in Volaterrae were not distributed by Sulla. Through Caesar's agrarian law, Cicero's defence finally registered results. Caesar freed the lands of Volaterrans from partition and the inhabitants from all fear⁵. Cicero's activity was approved by Caesar. It is, however, possible that the contents of this letter are exaggerated. Cicero writes in support of a Volaterran senator and a

¹ T. P. WISEMAN, *New Men in the Roman Senate 139 B.C.-A.D. 14*. Oxford Classical and Philosophical Monographs, Oxford 1971, 211.

² A few years later, in 64 B.C., Q. Cicero stresses the importance of the support of Italian leading men in the elections. See *Comm.pet.* 25.

³ *Fam.* 13, 4, 1. The letter is written in 45 B.C. *Honores et labores* hardly point to the consular election. Further, it does not give us any evidence concerning Cicero's visit to Volaterrae as HARRIS, 283, suggests. It is, however, probable that Cicero some time visited Volaterrae.

⁴ *Fam.* 13, 4, 1-2. Cicero, in fact, does not mention the bill of Flavius. Therefore W. W. HOW, in HOW - A. C. CLARK, *Cicero, Select Letters* (new ed. 1925-26), Notes, 437, suggests that he has confused the two bills.

⁵ *Fam.* 13, 4, 2.

supporter of Caesar, C. Curtius, to Valerius Orca, who was a member of the commission of the seven for the partition of land. Brunt, therefore, justifiably doubts the words *in perpetuum liberavit*¹. According to him, Caesar exempted the *ager Volaterranus* from redistribution; the status of the owners did not change. This is attested to by the activity of the commission of seven in 45 B. C. In the above-mentioned letter, as well as in the following letter of the 13th book in *ad familiares* Cicero asks Orca to save the possessions of the Volaterrans². There is only one testimony for the further history of Volaterrae. According to *Liber Coloniarum* "colonia Volaterrana lege triumvirale in centurias singulas iugera CC, decimanis et kardinibus est adsignata. quam omnem veterani in partionibus divisam pro parte habent; in quas limites recipit intervallo ped IICCCC. in quibus centuriis unus quisque miles accepit iugera XXV et L et XXXV et LX. termini ea lege sunt constituti qua superius diximus" (214, 10 L). The author of this passage calls Volaterrae a colony, probably falsely, as scholars ever since Mommsen have maintained. Cicero once mentions that Volaterrae was a *municipium*³. We have the evidence of *quattuorviri*⁴, but they acted in municipia as well as in colonies.

The value of the evidence of *Liber Coloniarum* is much discussed⁵. If we believe the passage cited above, the veterans sent to Volaterrae received 25, 50, 35, 60 *iugera* land, depending probably on their respective military ranks. For Brunt's suggestion that the veterans were from Volaterrae we have no evidence⁶.

We have no evidence for Volaterrae's history during the Augustan period. It seems that the Etruscan culture continued as is testified by the Etruscan language and burial customs⁷. One explanation for the special traditionalism of Volaterrae could be found in the particular position of that town. The lands were not assigned to the veterans, who in other places were a considerable Romanizing factor. The continuation of Etruscan traditions can also be considered as a reaction against Rome because of the Marians and the punishment by Sulla.

¹ BRUNT, 313, 323; cf. HARRIS, 264.

² *Fam.* 13, 5. For Orca see MÜNZER, *RE* VIII A, 172-173; *MRR* II, 165.

³ *Fam.* 13, 4.

⁴ BORMANN, *CIL* XI, p. 325; A. DEGRASSI, 'Quattuorviri in colonie romane e in municipi retti da duoviri', *Scritti vari di antichità*, I. Roma 1962, 99-177.

⁵ See BRUNT, 335.

⁶ BRUNT, 323.

⁷ See above KAIMIO, pp. 215-216 and NIELSEN, pp. 388-389.

3. GENS CAECINA

Cicero says of his friend Aulus Caecina that he was *amplissimo totius Etruriae nomine*¹. This statement is in the conclusion of his speech for Caecina and Cicero surely exaggerates the facts. There may be, however, some truth in these words, but we have no evidence of the greatness of the family. The tombs of the family date from the first century B.C., and we do not know anything of the relations with Rome before Cicero's time. On the basis of the archaeological evidence, for example, Roman coins found in Etruria, we know that the Etruscan aristocracy of northern cities had some connexions with Rome before the first century B.C.². Thus, there is a theoretical possibility of connexions of Caecinae with Rome, but if there were some, they left no traces. Caecinae did not differ from other Volaterran people as far as the burial customs and language of the cinerary urns are concerned, as Mrs. Nielsen points out³.

The Caecinae had great estates near Volaterrae and there is still a village and river called Cecina near the modern Volaterrae. The *gens* had at least three family tombs in the necropolis of Portone. The total number of cinerary urns is not known, but it must have been quite large, for, in the two tombs found in 1739 and 1785, there were 80 of them in all⁴.

The oldest piece of evidence about the Caecinae comes from Felsina, not from Volaterrae. The two inscriptions (*TIE*² 698-699) are from the archaic period. There is, however, one archaic *stèle* from Volaterrae, too, mentioned by Enking in *RE*⁵. Later inscriptions recording Caecinae outside Volaterrae come from Horta⁶, Clusium⁷, Tarquinii⁸, and Volsinii⁹.

¹ *Caec.* 104. On the *gens Caecina* see MÜNZER, *RE* III, 1236-43, and M. TORELLI, 'Senatori etruschi della tarda repubblica e dell'impero', *Dial.Arch* 3 (1969), 295-298.

² See J. THIMME, 'Chiusinische Aschenkisten und Sarkophagen der hellenistischen Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie der etruskischen Kunst', *SE* 23 (1954), 120.

³ Above p. 388. The opposite view by TORELLI, *Dial.Arch* 3 (1969), 298.

⁴ Cf. NIELSEN, above p. 320 f.; TORELLI, *Dial.Arch* 3 (1969), 298; Å. ÅKERSTRÖM, *Studien über die Etruskischen Gräber unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Entwicklung des Kammergrabes*. Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae 3, Uppsala 1934, 162.

⁵ *RE* IX A, 736 s. v. Volaterrae.

⁶ *CIE* 5682.

⁷ *CIE* 1093-4, 1571, 1975.

⁸ *CIE* 5494-5.

⁹ *CIE* 5234.

On the basis of these inscriptions, we can conclude that the name Caecina had an exceptionally large range of association. They had connections and large marriage relations with inhabitants of other Etruscan towns. The feminine *gentilicia* Curi and Armini in Volaterran inscriptions¹ of the family show, perhaps, some relations with southern towns, as Torelli has suggested, but in general the Caecinae of the first century B. C., married persons of noble families of the home town².

The first Caecina mentioned in the Latin literature is the father of Aulus Caecina, the friend and client of Cicero, praised by Cicero as *clarus homo et fortis vir* and *nobilissimus atque optimus vir*³. He must have been born in the first half of the 2nd century B. C., and was still living in the early years of Cicero, who knew him well. Cicero's *familiaritas* with the father of Aulus Caecina is mentioned twice in the letters⁴. It is very probable that they had learned to know each other in Rome, at least we do not know of any visit of Cicero to Volaterrae⁵. The father of Aulus was well acquainted with *disciplina etrusca* and had taught it to his son⁶. According to Cicero⁷, the Etruscan discipline was also cared for by the *lucumones*, a fact to point to a high social position of the family. The reason of the friendship was perhaps Cicero's interest in religious matters without forgetting the political interest. The date of the father's death is not known. He was anyway dead before 45 B. C., when Cicero wrote in the letter to Servilius Isauricus of the father's *memoria*⁸. We do not know where he was buried. So far at least no inscription bearing his name has been found at Volaterrae.

Another *Caecina Volaterranus equestris ordinis*, known by the testimony of Pliny⁹, was a landowner and breeder of horses and pigeons in Volaterrae. The only suggestion for his visit to Rome is connected with

¹ CIE 19, 30.

² TORELLI, *Dial.Arch* 3 (1969), 298.

³ Cic. *fam.* 6, 9, 1; 6, 6, 3. For the discussion of two Auli Caecinae see below p. 419.

⁴ *Fam.* 6, 9, 1; 13, 66, 1.

⁵ Cicero writes in the letter to Furfanius (*fam.* 6, 9, 1) that he knew Aulus Caecina *a puero*. It seems therefore that the Caecinae came to Rome in the 80's B. C.

⁶ *Fam.* 6, 6, 3.

⁷ *Div.* 1, 9.

⁸ *Fam.* 13, 66, 1.

⁹ Pliny, *NH* 10, 34, 2; MÜNZER, *RE* III, 1237; C. NICOLET, *L'ordre equestre à l'époque républicaine (312-43 av. J.-C.)*, 1. Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 207, Paris 1966, 307.

the use of colours in circus races. The exact time, when the colours of parties were introduced into the circus races is not known. They were common in the late Republican times and mentioned for the first time in literature in connexion with the circus races of the year 77 B. C.¹ Thus, his lifetime is uncertain, but I am inclined to suppose that he lived in the former half of the first century B. C.

There are four other Caecinae mentioned in the literary sources. Cicero, in a letter to Atticus², writes about a *Caecina quidam Volaterranus*. He cannot be identified with Aulus Caecina, his father or his son because of the word *quidam*. Cicero would not have used such a word of his intimate friends in 44 B. C. This Caecina was Octavian's personal representative and *familiaris*. He is probably the same Caecina who is mentioned in Appian, though Münzer regards him as a different person³.

The son, Aulus Caecina lived in Rome during the exile of his father⁴. L. Caecina L. f. was *III vir iure dicundo* in Volsinii. He is known to us only by an inscription⁵. A. Caecina Severus was consul in 1 B. C. His relations with Volaterrae were very close⁶.

The social status of Caecinae was that of a land-owning aristocracy. The sepulchral inscriptions, as is usual in Volaterrae, do not record any magistracy⁷. The Etruscan traditions in the family, at least among the inhabitants of Volaterrae, were strong as is attested by Etruscan discipline, marriages and the language of the inscriptions. On the other hand, they have a certain interest in Roman affairs. The father of Aulus Caecina probably brought his son to Rome for studies; they were surely familiar with Latin.

There is in the sources no mention of the Roman citizenship of Caecinae before the process between A. Caecina and Sex. Aebutius (in 69/68 B. C.). It is possible that they received Roman citizenship together with other Volaterrans in 90 B. C.⁸. The equestrian rank of the family is explicitly attested by the testimony of Pliny⁹. We can conclude on the basis of Aulus

¹ Pliny, *NH* 8, 186; cf. 8, 160 (date 47 B. C.).

² *Att.* 16, 9, 2 (date 44 B. C.).

³ Appian, *BC* 5, 60; MÜNZER, *RE* III, 1237.

⁴ *Cic. fam.* 6, 5, 7; MÜNZER, *RE* III, 1237.

⁵ *CIL* I² 2515; TORELLI, *DialArch* 3 (1969), 306-307; Cristofani, *SE* 36 (1966), 349.

About the inscription see TORELLI, *DialArch* 3 (1969), 295-298; *CIL* XI, 6689, 54.

⁷ On the significance of the tomb concerning the status see TORELLI, *DialArch* 3 (1969), 298 f.

⁸ On the possibility of an earlier date see RUOFF above p. 57.

⁹ See above p. 415.

Caecina's affairs that he was also of equestrian rank¹, but there is nothing to prove that his father would have been an *equus Romanus*.

The Caecina family was, as far as we know, the first *gens* of Volaterrae of the beginning of the first century B. C. to go to Rome. It rose first to the equestrian rank and later to a senatorial level, towards the end of the century.

4. AULUS CAECINA

According to Cicero's testimony, Aulus Caecina seems to have been a most distinguished person. His abilities are, of course, praised several times in the speech *pro Caecina* and in Cicero's letters. The expressions like *summa virtute*, *summa auctoritate domestica praeditus* and *dignitas* were used to point to the most valued features of the Roman nobility². Other attributes, often used in connexion with Roman senators such as *fortis*, *prudens* and *summo studio* are expressions of a high political and administrative nature³. There is only one attribute, *spectatissimus*, which is characteristic of Roman equestrian rank⁴.

Cicero also praises Caecina's mental abilities, his *ingenium* and *eloquentia*⁵. All this becomes a man, who is *clarus* and *omnium nobilissimus in Etruria* and whose restitution is requested by *tota Etruria* in 45 B. C.⁶. Cicero regards him as one of the most eminent persons of his age in the whole Republic⁷, although it is true that the words of this letter, written to a person in exile, have a consolatory character and therefore cannot be wholly trusted.

There are two points which would indicate something of Caecina's relation to Rome. In the letter to Furfanius, proconsul of Sicily, Cicero mentions the *summa probitas* of Aulus Caecina. Here Cicero is speaking of Caecina to another Roman as a client. The use of the word *probitas* by

¹ See below p. 419.

² About the Volaterran senatorial *gentes* see TORELLI, *Dial.Arch* 3 (1969), 298 f. and WISEMAN, *New Men*, 288, no. 148.

³ *Caec.* 102; *fam.* 6, 5, 3. Cf. J. HELLEGOUARC'H, *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la république*. Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Lille, 11, Paris 1963, 242 ff., 297, 388.

⁴ *Caec.* 18; 102. J. HELLEGOUARC'H, 247 f., 256 ff., 174 ff.

⁵ *Caec.* 102. J. HELLEGOUARC'H, 465 f.

⁶ *Fam.* 6, 5, 3; 6, 9, 1.

⁷ *Fam.* 6, 6, 8-9.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Cicero is restricted to the letters of recommendation and its meaning determines the relation of a client to his patron¹. Considering the value of evidence of this word we must remember that Caecina was a friend of Cicero's and, because of the difficult situation in exile, regarded himself as a client of Cicero. It is also possible that the word here bears a purely intellectual connotation, since it is used in connexion with *eloquentia*. The other point is the *sapientia* of Aulus Caecina, his familiarity with politics, civic rights and the position of Volaterrae in the Republic².

On the other hand, during the trial, Cicero's attitude to Aulus Caecina is that of a Roman towards Etruscan. It is clearly seen in the speech, where Caecina's influence in Etruscan society but not in Roman society is stressed. Cicero regards Caecina as an Etruscan, who is worthy of Roman citizenship. In Cicero's letters the attitude is a little changed. In 45 B. C. he writes to Caecina, who has been conscious of his skill as an *augur*, a fact which points to his Etruscan origin. But at the same time he mentions Caecina's activity on behalf of the Republic, his fighting for it among the *boni*³.

Aulus Caecina was married to Caesennia, a woman of the Tarquinian nobility⁴. On the basis of this marriage we can hardly draw any conclusions concerning the Etruscan national spirit. It is natural that the members of the Etruscan nobility married within their own social group. We cannot, however, forget reasons like property or a possible dislike of Roman *gentes* to a man of provincial origin.

The intervening time between Cicero's speech *pro Caecina* and his correspondence with Aulus Caecina covers twenty years. In the letters there are some points which could support the suggestion that the Aulus Caecina, whom Cicero defended, and the Aulus Caecina to whom Cicero sent his letters, were not the same person. Orelli distinguished the two Auli Caecinae; subsequently this opinion has been expressed by Münzer and, more recently, by Torelli⁵. Zimmermann, Boulanger and Nicolet, on the other hand, regard them as the same person⁶.

¹ HELLEGOUARC'H, 285-286.

² *Caec.* 18.

³ *Caec.* 79.

⁴ *Fam.* 6, 6, 9.

⁵ See below, note 6.

⁶ ORELLI, *Onomasticon Tullianum* s. v. Caecina; MÜNZER, *RE* III. 1234; TORELLI, *Dial.Arch* 3, (1969) 295; A. ZIMMERMANN, *De A. Caecina scriptore*, Diss. Berlin, 1852, 12; A. BOULANGER, *Cicéron, Discours*, VI. Coll. Budé, Paris 1936, 59 and n. 1; NICOLET, 307, 312.

The main argument for there having been two Auli Caccinae is the close friendship between Aulus Caccina's father and Cicero. This is mentioned in the letters¹. In the speech, on the other hand, there is no mention of Aulus Caccina's father. Besides, in the letter to Furfanius Cicero states that he has known Aulus Caccina from *his* boyhood². There is also no mention of Caesennia in the letters.

The friendship between Cicero and Aulus Caccina's father proves nothing. Neither is there anything strange in the fact that Cicero was friends with older persons. There is, however, positive evidence for the assumption that the two Auli Caccinae were one in reality. In a letter to Cicero, Caccina speaks of himself as an old client of Cicero³. It is possible to think that this is a reference to the trial in 69/68. Anyhow, Aulus Caccina must have been younger than Cicero, because Cicero knew him *a puero*. A similar evidence of age is given by the statement *tuae aetatis*⁴. The difference between the ages was not very large. Caccina was born about 100 B. C.⁵. Cicero often mentions their common studies and close relations during their lifetime⁶. It seems that Caccina was young when his father brought him to Rome. He studied with Cicero in Rome and acquired considerable *eloquentia*, which is praised by Seneca too⁷. Seneca attributed it to Caccina, who was co-aeval with Cicero and writer of a treatise on *disciplina Etrusca*. In addition to this, we know that Caccina made a business journey to Asia in 58 B. C.⁸. If he were the son of Aulus Caccina and Caesennia, he would be too young for such a journey. On the other hand, Caccina had several children and the oldest of them was *adulescentulus* residing in Rome during his father's exile⁹. If he were to spring from the marriage with Caesennia, i.e. born before 69/68, he would not be called *adulescentulus* in 45 B. C. Hence it seems that the mother of the children mentioned in the letters cannot be Caesennia.

We have sufficient evidence to conclude that Aulus Caccina was of equestrian rank. The heredity of Caesennia surely gave the material basis

¹ See above p. 415.

² *Fam.* 6, 9, 1.

³ *Fam.* 6, 7, 4.

⁴ *Fam.* 6, 6, 9.

⁵ ZIMMERMANN, 12, concludes wrongly that Caccina was older than Cicero, born in 109 B. C.

⁶ *Fam.* 6, 5, 4; *vetustas nostri amoris*, cf. *ibid.* 6, 6, 1.; 6, 9, 1.

⁷ *NQ* 2, 56, 1.

⁸ See below p. 420.

⁹ *Fam.* 6, 7, 5.

for equestrian census and Caecina was one of the leading men in Etruria. There is no explicit mention of his equestrian *ordo*, but the business journey to Asia in 58 B. C. as well as the expression *omnium nobilissimus* used by Cicero¹ of him would prove that. On the basis of Cicero's words, Nicolet, in his recent study of the Roman equestrian order, puts him in the group of *domi nobiles*². This suggestion is justified with reference to a number of parallel cases. Nicolet, however, does not consider the evidence of business. He thinks that the trial of Caecina and Aebutius would already indicate the equestrian rank³. There is, however, no evidence for it during the trial proceedings. Had Caecina been an *eques*, Cicero would surely have mentioned it in his speech. Hence, it seems that Caecina became a knight after the trial.

Aulus Caecina was married to Caesennia, a woman of Tarquinian origin. The Caecinae also had other connexions with this town, as is attested by the inscriptions found in the tomb near Tarquinii⁴. Caesennii lived in Tarquinii from the fourth century B. C. and the family was of the highest social rank⁵. The first Caesennius in Roman political life was L. Caesennius Lento, an adherent of Caesar's and one of the *VII viri agris dividendis* in 44 B. C.⁶

Caesennia was first married to a Tarquinian, Marcus Fulcinus⁷. The *gens Fulcinia* was famous in the middle of the fourth century, when two of the members acted as *zilai*⁸. Marcus Fulcinus, like Aulus Caecina, was of equestrian rank and acted as banker in Rome. Later, he gave up his bank and returned to Tarquinii, where he purchased land with his and with Caesennia's money⁹. Marcus Fulcinus died in the seventies as did his son by Caesennia. The son was also called Marcus Fulcinus and died *adulescens* not much after his father's death¹⁰.

¹ *Fam.* 6, 6, 9.

² NICOLET, 397 ff., cf. also 307, 312.

³ NICOLET, 307.

⁴ CIE 5494-5495; M. CRISTOFANI, *La tomba del Tifone. M.A.Linc* s. 8, 14 (1969), 250.

⁵ CRISTOFANI, 251; TORELLI, *Dial.Arch* 3 (1969), 312-313; CIE 5525-5526, 5585; CIL I² 446, XI 3392, 3415 (Tarquinia), 2739, 2902, 6310, 6555; CIE 3373 (Perusia); SE 37 (1956), 310.

⁶ MÜNZER, *RE* III, 1307; TORELLI, *Dial.Arch* 3 (1969), 312, 332.

⁷ Cic. *Caec.* 10.

⁸ CIE 5837, 5385, 5388; CIL XI 3654.

⁹ *Caec.* 10; NICOLET, 372, 378.

¹⁰ *Caec.* 11-12.

The trial between Aulus Caecina and Sex. Aebutius in 69/68 helps us to determine the date of the marriage. Caesennia had bought the estate of Marcus Fulcinius in *auctio hereditaria* after her son's death¹. It happened four years before her death². Thus, the date must lie between 73/72–69 B. C., probably in 72 or 71, because Cicero states that she married Caecina not much after the death of her son and the *auctio hereditaria*: *neque multo post A. Caecinae nupsit*³. We do not know anything of the time between the date of marriage and the trial. Cicero only states that the wife died after she had made her will⁴. The children of Caecina mentioned in the correspondence between Caecina and Cicero cannot be of this marriage because of their age⁵. Neither are they mentioned in Caesennia's will.

5. THE TRIAL BETWEEN AULUS CAECINA AND SEX. AEBUTIUS

The case between Aulus Caecina and Sex. Aebutius in 69/68⁶ on Caesennia's estate in Axii near Tarquinii provides a little sidelight as to the difficulties, and to the obscure situation concerning the rights of the Volaterran people after the punishment of Volaterrae by Sulla. Aebutius, who is mentioned in no other source excepting this speech, was probably a Roman⁷. He enters into litigation against a Volaterran, using as one argument the lack of right to inherit a Roman citizen because of the status of Volaterrae. The fact that Aebutius could claim the property on this ground testifies that the juridical status of Volaterrae and its inhabitants was not known to everybody at that time.

In spite of recent studies⁸ on the case it is necessary to outline briefly the antecedents of the trial. Caesennia was first of all married to M. Ful-

¹ Ibid.

² *Caec.* 19.

³ *Caec.* 17.

⁴ Ibid.: *ut in pauca conferam, testamento facto mulier moritur.*

⁵ See above p. 419.

⁶ On the date see HARRIS, 281–282; H.-J. METTE, 'Der junge Zivilanwalt Cicero', *Gymn.* 72 (1965), 21; BOULANGER, *Cicéron, Discours*, VII. Coll. Budé, Paris 1950, 59.

⁷ Cf. HARRIS, 276 ff.; METTE, *Gymn.* 72 (1965), 22; M. GELZER, 'Zwei Civilprozessreden Ciceros', *Kleine Schriften* I, 305–311.

⁸ HARRIS, 284; E. KLEBS, *RE* I, 442. The following paragraph is an abridgement of the *narratio* of Cicero's speech *pro Caecina* 10–23, cf. METTE, *Gymn.* 72 (1965).

cinus of Tarquinii, who worked as an *argentarius* in Rome. With Caesennia's *dos* Fulcinus bought a *praedium* in Tarquinii, where he also had other possessions. Later Fulcinus realized his money and bought more land in Tarquinian territory. Caesennia and M. Fulcinus had a son from the marriage, also called M. Fulcinus. When the father died, the *heres* was his son, according to the father's will. Caesennia obtained a joint *usus fructus* by *legatum*. Not much later the son died. In the younger M. Fulcinus' will the *heres* was P. Caesennius, while his mother and wife had *usus fructus*. Four years before the trial, i.e. in 73/72 B. C., the estate was auctioned in Rome in *auctio hereditaria*. The agent of Caesennius was Sex. Clodius Phormio¹. In the auction, Sex. Aebutius bought the estate on the order of Caesennia and with her money. After buying it, Caesennia let it. Not much later Caesennia married Aulus Caecina and died about two years later. According to her will Caecina got the greater part of her property (69/72). To a *libertinus* of her husband also called M. Fulcinus she left 2/72 and to Aebutius 1/72.

Now Aebutius claimed that the estate was his, because he was the owner since the purchase in *auctio hereditaria* and Caecina could not inherit because of his status as a punished Volaterran.

The trial took place in Rome in *ius praetorium*. It has been assumed that the *ius praetorium* and the presence of the *recuperatores* at the trial was a sign of the lack of Roman citizenship². It is true that the *recuperatores* were originally established for the trials between Roman citizens and non-Roman persons. In this case, however, the interdiction was *de rei armata* and a case concerning the violation of public security required the *recuperatores* to be present³. Thus, there is nothing on the formal side of the proceedings to point to the question of citizenship.

The question of citizenship was however, one of Aebutius' arguments for getting Caesennia's estate. Cicero records in the speech *pro Caecina*: "iam in principio ausus est dicere non posse heredem esse Caesenniae Caecinam, quod is deteriore iure esset quam ceteri cives propter incommum Volaterranorum calamitatemque civilem"⁴. Aebutius thought, according to Cicero, that Caecina would not dare to have any doubts cast

¹ MCNZER, *RE* IV, 81.

² See the introduction to *pro Caecina* by H. GROSE HODGE in *Cicero, The speeches*. The Loeb Classical Library, London & Cambridge Mass. 1927, 93.

³ See B. SCHMIDLIN, *Das Rekuperatorenverfahren. Eine Studie zum Römischen Prozess*. Arbeiten aus dem Juristischen Seminar der Universität Freiburg (Schweiz), 26, Freiburg 1963, 47-50.

⁴ Cic. *Caec.* 18.

on his rights as a citizen (*ut sc. Caecina de civitate in dubium veniret, Caec. 18*), and therefore would give away to him as large a part of the estate as he would want.

The trial concerned *deductio quae moribus fit* and *interdictum unde vi*. It has recently been analysed by M. Gelzer and H.-J. Mette from the juridical point of view¹. For us it is important to concern ourselves only with the parts of the speech, where the citizenship of Aulus Caecina and that of the Volaterrans in relation to Rome is discussed. On the basis of Cicero's speech, C. Calpurnius Piso², the lawyer of Aebutius, discussed the status of the Volaterrans in the second argument according to which only the *possessor* of estate could use the *interdictum unde vi*. Caecina in Piso's opinion did not possess the estate; Caecina could not inherit Caesennia, because he had lost his right of citizenship through the legislation of Sulla on Volaterrae and Arretium³.

Cicero begins the defence to this argument of Piso by analysing the *interdictum* and claims that the *possessio* was necessary only for the *interdictum de vi cotidiana*, not for *unde vi*⁴. Cicero claims also that Caecina did in fact possess that estate, because he inherited the *usus fructus* of Caesennia⁵. In the following part of the speech (*Caec. 95-102*) Cicero discusses Caecina's right to inherit a Roman citizen, stating, however, that it does not directly concern this case⁶. He states that Sulla reduced Volaterrae to the status of Ariminum and that thus the Volaterrans had the right to inherit Roman citizens: "Sulla ipse ita tulit de civitate ut non sustulerit horum nexa atque hereditates. Iubet enim eodem iure esse quo fuerint Ariminenses; quos quis ignorat duodecim coloniarum fuisse et a civibus Romanis hereditates capere potuisse?"⁷. This was his second argument against Aebutius and Piso's claim. It is preceded by a long discussion on the law of Sulla regarding Volaterrae's and Arretium's status. The crucial point of Cicero's discussion is to show the force of the *adscriptio*: *si quid ius non esset rogarier, eius ea lege nihilum rogatum*⁸. According to Cicero this *adscriptio*

¹ GELZER, *Kleine Schriften* I, 305-311; METTE, *Gymn.* 72 (1965), 21-27.

² C. Calpurnius Piso, the consul of 67, cf. MÜNZER, *RE* III, 1376-1377; *MRR* II, 142.

³ See above p. 411.

⁴ *Caec. 91-93*.

⁵ *Caec. 94-95*. On the error of Cicero see METTE, *Gymn.* 72 (1965), 26.

⁶ *Caec. 95-102*, especially: "Nam ad hanc quidem causam nihil hoc pertinuisse primum ex eo intellegi potest quod vos ea de re iudicare non debetis" (102).

⁷ *Ibid.* The status of Ariminum is not exactly known. See p. 411.

⁸ *Caec. 95*.

was inserted into every law. In this particular case Cicero uses it as an argument to prove that no one could lose Roman citizenship against his own volition and Sulla's law therefore was invalid. This, in fact, had according to Cicero already been proved ten years previously in the case of the Arretine woman¹. This *praeiudicatum* as well as other examples recorded by Cicero have led scholars to consider the reliability of Cicero's words². It has been suggested that Cicero could not prove citizenship in the case of the Arretine woman and the judges were in agreement only on her *libertas*³. Furthermore, Cicero treats *libertas* and *civitas* in this speech as equivalent conceptions, which can hardly be correct⁴. The whole passage is rhetorical and it would therefore seem that the statement concerning other lawsuits⁵ would not have the value of evidence, which Cicero gives it. There is, however, some other evidence, which could lead us to think that the status of the Volaterrans is a question *per se* and not the same as that of the Arretines. In the speech *de domo*, Cicero states: "an vero Volaterranis, cum etiam tum essent in armis L. Sulla victor, re publica recuperata, comitiis centuriatis, civitatem eripere non potuit..."⁶. Here the Volaterrans are separated from the inhabitants of other *municipia*. Hence, we could suppose that there was no dispute on the citizenship of the Volaterrans, as Cicero's words on other law-suits in fact show. The treatise on the *adscriptio* was necessary to confirm the treatise on civil law and to show that Caecina had the full citizenship, and thus the civic rights to a property.

There are two important problems in the argumentation of both parties. First, how could Aebutius claim that Caecina was not a Roman citizen, because there was no doubt among the magistrates and lawyers about the validity of Sulla's law on Volaterrae⁷. Second, why did Cicero analyse the validity of that law. Would it not have been enough to point to the *ius Latii* of Volaterrae?

¹ Ibid. 97.

² HARRIS, 274-276; E. LEVY, 'Libertas und civitas', ZSS 78 (1961), 152-153 and n. 42 with further bibliography.

³ E. PUGLIESE, *Atti del Congresso internazionale di diritto romano e di storia del diritto*, II, Verona 1948, 70-71 (publ. 1951).

⁴ E. LEVY, ZSS 78 (1961), 152-153 and n. 42; SCHMIDLIN, 90.

⁵ *Caec.* 97: "Iam vero in ceteris rebus, ut omnes qui in eadem causa sunt et lege agant et suum ius persequantur, et omni iure civili, sine cuiusquam aut magistratus aut iudicis aut periti hominis aut imperiti dubitatione utantur, quid ego commemorare?"

⁶ *Dom.* 79.

⁷ *Caec.* 97.

The exact words of Piso are not known and the main contents of his second argument are deduced from Cicero's refutation. It would have been too simple an argument if it were based only on the statement that Caecina could not be an heir because he lacked the right to inherit a Roman as being from the Roman standpoint a citizen *deteriore iure*. Cicero could very easily show the right to inherit by pointing to the *ius Latii* of the Volaterrans. He should not have needed a discussion of the *adscriptio* of Sulla's law¹. Therefore, we have to consider other possibilities. On the basis of the speech *de domo* we know that the *lex Cornelia* contained regulations not only concerning the citizenship of Volaterrans but also about their property. This is attested to also in the letters of Cicero². Piso must have known that Caecina's right to inherit could not be contested. But could he probably mean that because of the regulations concerning the property, Caecina had no right to keep the estate in his possession? If it was so, we could explain the long discussion and praise of civil law in the speech³. It was not enough for Cicero to demonstrate Caecina's right to inherit, but he had to verify that Caecina was *in numero Quiritium*, i. e. had full citizenship⁴. If Caecina was a Roman citizen, he was, then, subjected to Roman civil law, according to which he had the right to retain possession of the estate: "nam ut perveniat ad me fundus testamento alicuius fieri potest; ut retineam quod meum factum sit sine iure civili fieri non potest"⁵.

There is one objection to the above explanation. Cicero does not explicitly mention Piso's claim on Caecina's ownership and Sulla's regulations on the landproperties of the Volaterrans. Cicero, however, speaks not of the right to inherit but of the right to possess, discussing the second argument of Piso after the treatise on *interdictum*: "si Caesennia tum possidebat, cum erat colonus in fundo, post eius mortem heres eodem iure possederit?" The contesting of the Roman citizenship of Caecina was only a trick of Aebutius to frighten him, the process did not center on it on the advice of Piso⁶. The fact that Aebutius could use that trick on citizenship testifies to the uncertainty of the situation. All Italians were theroretically *cives Romani* after 89 B. C., but only those of them

¹ As HARRIS seems to think, 276-281.

² On the speech *de domo*, cf. above pp. 411, 424. On the letters p. 413.

³ *Caec.* 73-75.

⁴ *Ibid.* 96.

⁵ *Ibid.* 74.

⁶ *Ibid.* 18.

who were enrolled in the census lists were citizens *de iure*¹. Hence it seems that the trial has to be dated before the census of 70/69 B. C., as Harris quite correctly suggests². Cicero's discussion on Sulla's law has of course political aims, but it is principally concerned with this case, as is proved by the unusual connexion *civitas-libertas*. To my mind we can trust Cicero's words on the validity of the law as they are expressed in the speeches *pro Caecina* and *de domo*.

Aulus Caecina was an influential man in Volaterrae and Cicero's friend. On the other hand, Cicero did know the value of influential clients in *municipia*. Defending their rights, he could count on their votes. Ten years earlier he had defended the Arretine woman; later he took care specially of the Volaterrans as his letters show³. This *consuetudo* for Volaterrans sprang perhaps from his personal friendship with the Caecinae. Later, Cicero defended the property of the Volaterrans, which is proved by his activity against the bills of L. Flavius in 60 B. C.⁴ and P. Servilius Rullus in 63 B. C.⁵. Cicero's role as defending counsel is also attested against the distribution of public lands by the commission of seven in 44/43 B. C.⁶.

But what were the motives of Piso in his defence of Aebutius? We know that he fought hard to acquire the consulship in 68 B. C. It has, in fact, been suggested that he resorted to bribery⁷. He was a passionate adversary of Cn. Pompeius Magnus. Conceivably, therefore, he was strongly opposed to the registration of new citizens. The *populares* were in a good position ever since the consulship of Pompey in 70 and Piso, the optimate, had to fight hard for his consulship. Piso surely needed, as M. Gelzer suggests⁸, many clients for the elections and therefore probably needed Aebutius. It is, however, impossible to say anything of Aebutius' influence among the electors, because we do not know anything more about him.

Cicero records the names of the ten witnesses against Caecina. Nearly all of them are otherwise unknown. There was, however, one interesting person among them, C. Fidiculanus Falcula⁹. He was a Sullan senator

¹ On the census of 70 B. C., see BRUUN, pp. 466-474.

² HARRIS, 282.

³ Cf. below pp. 431-432.

⁴ Cic. *Att.* 1, 18, 6; 19, 4; 2, 1, 6-8; Dio 37, 49-50; *MRR* II, 184.

⁵ *MRR* II, 168.

⁶ *MRR* II, 332-333.

⁷ Sall. *Hist.* 4, 81; Dio 36, 38, 3; MÜNZER, *RE* III, 1376-77.

⁸ GELZER, *Kleine Schriften* I, 311.

⁹ WISEMAN, *New Men*, 231 no. 174; TORELLI, *DialArch* 3 (1969), 125; NICOLET, 245; MÜNZER, *RE* VI, 2287.

and probably of Etruscan origin¹. Cicero ironically attacks Falcula: "decimo vero loco testis expectatus et ad extremum reservatus dixit, senator populi Romani, splendor ordinis, decus atque ornamentum iudiciorum, exemplar antiquae religionis"². Cicero tries to invalidate the testimony of Falcula by reminding the jury of the case of Statius Albius Oppianicus in 74 B. C., when Falcula as judge had accepted a sum of money³. Cicero's attitude to Falcula is very sarcastic; he shows that Falcula is a political adventurer and profiteer. By all this Cicero means that Aebutius probably experienced no difficulty in persuading him to bear witness against Caecina.

The trial of Aebutius and Caecina was between an Etruscan and a Roman, but there is nothing in the proceedings that suggests the existence of a special anti-Etruscan tendency among the officials or the parties concerned. The status of Volaterrae was unclear, even if the *lex Cornelia* on the citizenship of Volaterrans and Arretines was not valid. The regulations on property, however, remained valid.

On the basis of the trial, we can conclude that Caesennia and Aulus Caecina lived in Rome. When M. Fulcinius acted as *argentarius*, Caesennia surely lived there, but afterwards she presumably moved with her husband to Tarquinii. After the death of her son, she moved back to Rome, where she became acquainted with Sex. Aebutius. Cicero naturally describes Aebutius' actions not very favourably. The *auctio hereditaria* took place in Rome and not in Tarquinii. Finally, Aulus Caecina also lived, or at least had lived there for the purpose of study. Thus, we see the close connexion of the Etruscan higher class with the city. But at the same time they did not forget their native towns.

6. THE LITERARY ACTIVITY OF AULUS CAECINA

We have evidence for two kinds of literary activity of Aulus Caecina. In the letter to Cicero he writes about his pamphlet against Caesar and of his *liber querellarum*⁴. In addition to these political writings he wrote a treatise on *disciplina Etrusca*, which was source material for Seneca⁵. This treatise has to be dated earlier than his political pamphlets, because the latter

¹ An Etruscan as a Sullan senator would point to the fact that Sulla did not punish all the Etruscans, only the Marians.

² Cic. *Caec.* 28.

³ Ibid. See also *Cluent.* 103-104, 113.

⁴ See below p. 431.

⁵ *NQ* 2, 56, 1.

is not mentioned in the letters. Seneca tells us that Caecina wrote on fulgurous science and that he would have had a reputation for eloquence if he had not stood in the shade of Cicero¹.

Caecina had learned the *disciplina Etrusca* from his father², as was the custom among the Etruscans³. Caecina's father was also a friend of Cicero's and there is the possibility that the reason for this friendship was Cicero's interest in the discipline. The same object of studies⁴ of Cicero and Caecina would partly point to the study of religious matters. During these studies, Cicero got well acquainted with the *disciplina*, as his reference to the religious language of the *haruspices* in the letter to Caecina shows⁵. In the same letter Cicero points directly to the skill of Caecina as an augur by speaking of Caecina's prophecy concerning Cicero's reinstatement in 57 B. C.

The literature on *disciplina Etrusca* in Rome during the first century B. C. was very copious. In addition to the Roman writers, of whom the most important was naturally Varro, there were Greek authors such as Polles of Aigiai. The other writers of Etruscan origin were Tarquitiu Priscus and Nigidius Figulus⁶.

Tarquitiu Priscus wrote the *Libri Tagetici* in Etruscan, but translated some of them into Latin. The book of Caecina, among others, was presumably written in Latin, because it was known as such to Seneca, who knew the writings of Tarquitiu Priscus only through Varro⁷. It is doubtful, whether Pliny knew Caecina's writings at first hand, although Caecina is mentioned in the index of *Naturalis Historia*⁸. It is probable that Caecina was known to Pliny through Varro, who was Pliny's principal source⁹. Caecina by writing in Latin wrote for a Roman public. The *eloquentia* mentioned by Seneca would point to a high literary quality. His book may therefore have been well-known in Rome. The sources do not give any evidence for conclusions concerning Caecina's attitude to Rome,

¹ The contents of Caecina's book was recently analysed by S. WEINSTOCK, 'Libri Fulgurales', *PBSR* 36 (1962), 102-130.

² *Cic. fam.* 6, 6, 3.

³ Later stated in Roman law. *Cic. div.* 1, 41, 92 and *leg.* 2, 9. The *disciplina* was always cared for by the Etruscan *nobiles*, *Censor. de die nat.* 4, 13, cf. *Cic. div.* 1, 41, 92. In general see THULIN, *RE* VII, 2437.

⁴ See above p. 419.

⁵ *Fam.* 6, 6, 7.

⁶ Cf. WEINSTOCK, *PBSR* 36 (1962), 129; HARRIS, 5-6.

⁷ WEINSTOCK, *ibid.*, 125.

⁸ *NH* II, index.

⁹ WEINSTOCK, *PBSR* 36 (1962), 115.

except the language, of course. Weinstock concludes that Caecina applied the divinatory system of the Etruscans to the scientific explanation of the Greeks. He also points out that Caecina's book as such is evidence of the survival of Etruscan traditionalism¹.

There is still one piece of evidence for the contents of Caecina's book. The scholiast of Virgil's Aeneid states in connexion with Mantua that according to Caecina, Tages had founded that town². This myth, Tarquinian in origin³, indicates that Caecina treated in his book matters, which expanded the scope of pure fulgurous science.

7. AULUS CAECINA AND POMPEY

On the basis of Cicero's letter to Caecina, we know that the latter took an active part in the Civil War, on Pompey's side⁴. Some time before the battle of Thapsus he wrote a pamphlet against Caesar⁵. The contents of the pamphlet are not known. According to Suetonius it was *criminosissimus*. After the victory of Thapsus Caesar did not punish Caecina with death, which according to the *XII tabulae* would have been possible⁶. Caesar showed clemency; Suetonius records that he *laceratam existimationem suam civili animo tulit*. Caecina had to go into exile in Sicily.

In Cicero's letters we can find some indications of the reasons for Caecina's rallying to Pompey. Being one of the *boni*, Caecina fought for the Republic and Republican institutions⁷. He, like some of the Roman *nobiles*, saw the only salvation of the Republic in the defeat of Caesar, as he reports to Cicero⁸. The discussion of the political activities of Pompey and Caesar in these letters is limited to the time immediately preceding

¹ Ibid., 127, 148. The triad as a proof of Etruscan traditionalism is, however, to be doubted because of its universality in the ancient world.

² *Intpp. vett. ad Verg. Aen.* X 198.

³ L. BANTI, *Il mondo degli Etruschi*, Roma 1969, 16.

⁴ *Fam.* 6, 7, 1.

⁵ Ibid. and Suet. *Div. Iul.* 75, 5. See also H. BARDON, *La littérature Latine inconnue* I, Paris 1952, 273. In the same context Suetonius mentions the maledictory poem of Pitholaus, who was probably a *libertus* of Pompey. ZIMMERMANN, 12 dates the pamphlet after the battle of Pharsalus.

⁶ Cf. Cic. *rep.* 4.

⁷ *Fam.* 6, 6, 12: *arma sumpsisses pro republica*; 6, 5, 2.

⁸ Ibid. 6, 7, 2.

the Civil War. In the sixth letter, Cicero states that he had shared the same opinions as Caecina, but that he had changed his mind a little before he wrote the letter, because of Caesar's magnanimity¹.

It is not easy to say why Caecina was a Pompeian. We have to assume that Pompey had not very many adherents in Etruria, because it was Caesar who turned to the people who had suffered by Sulla². And the Etruscans were in general on Caesar's side. It is however, most probable that the *nobiles* of Etruria were, partly at least, supporters of Pompey³. They looked at the political situation on the basis of their wide experience and perhaps we can see in their valuations some Roman influence.

We do not know when Caecina became an active supporter of Pompey. It happened probably as late as during the Civil War—at least there is no evidence for his sympathies from the earlier time. Cicero, however, knew him as early as 71 B. C.⁴, and it is possible that Caecina got to know Pompey through Cicero. Also, Caecina's journey to Asia in 58 B. C., undertaken for reasons of business and commerce, may have something to do with his Pompeian sympathies⁵.

After the battle of Thapsus, Caecina was allowed to remain in Sicily owing to an exceptional promise of Caesar. He could stay there still the first of January, 45 B. C.⁶. Cicero's requests addressed to Balbus and Oppius concerning his friend enabled Caecina to remain in Sicily as long as he wanted. Caecina's bitterness due to his exile was great. He writes to Cicero that he cannot understand how Caesar pardoned those who actively worked for Caesar's destruction but banished him, who did nothing but write against Caesar⁷.

Immediately after the expulsion, Caecina took up writing the *liber querellarum* in order to mitigate Caesar. The first copy of it was finished in September 46 when Cicero writes about it to Caecina. He judges it to be *praeclarus*⁸. In it Caesar was described as mild and merciful. Cicero apparently proposed some corrections, because Caecina sends a new manu-

¹ Ibid. 6, 6, 4-6, 10; cf. *Att.* 8, 3, 1-4 (in 49 B. C.).

² D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, *CIQuart* 10 (1960), 265.

³ HARRIS, 296-298.

⁴ See GELZER, *RE VII A*, 843 (on basis of JOHANNEMANN).

⁵ On Pompey and the East see E. BADIEN, *Roman Imperialism in the Late Republic*, Oxford 1963, 80-85.

⁶ *Cic. fam.* 6, 8, 1.

⁷ Ibid. 6, 6, 1-2.

⁸ Ibid. 6, 6, 8.

script to Cicero¹. The interval between the letters is three months². During that time, Caecina apparently made considerable alterations, because he writes about the book as if Cicero had not earlier read it. The last words of the letter *aut ita corrigas, ne mihi noceat* would also point to the fact that Cicero did not know the book or, at least, parts of it earlier. In that letter Caecina declares his motives concerning the eulogy of Cicero and the praise of Caesar expressed in the book.

The second copy sent to Cicero was probably the final version of Caecina's *liber querellarum*. The letter to Cicero suggests that Caecina was not very anxious to publish the booklet for fear that it might influence Caesar in a way different from what he wanted. This fear was increased by comparison of his own work to Cicero's *Brutus*, which was written for similar purposes in the same year³. The final decision concerning the publication of the *liber* depended on Cicero's judgement. The fate of that book is not known. In January 45 Cicero wrote to Caecina that he had read it and was still studying it carefully, without showing it to other persons⁴. If it was published, it had no influence on Caesar, as far as we know, and Caecina remained in Sicily. We have no evidence for his return to Rome before the death of Caesar.

During his exile Caecina was able to attend to matters of business. We do not know of what kind they were, but we are informed of a journey to Asia in 58 B. C. obviously undertaken because of them⁵. In 46 B. C. he was planning a new journey to Asia and asked Cicero for advice about it. Cicero advised him to stay in Sicily because of the political situation, and Caecina altered his plans⁶.

Although Cicero could comfort his friend in exile by writing about Caesar's admiration for Caecina⁷, all the efforts to get him back to Rome were of no avail. Cicero himself was getting on more familiar terms with Caesar than he had been, but he knew that his chances of changing Caesar's mind concerning Caecina's banishment were restricted. Nevertheless, he tries to assure Caecina of Caesar's *clementia*⁸. Thus Caecina like P. Nigidius Figulus and others had to stay in exile. Notwithstanding the

¹ Ibid. 6, 7, 1.

² The letter 6, 6 is written in September and 6, 7 in January.

³ *Fam.* 6, 7, 3.

⁴ Ibid. 6, 5, 1.

⁵ Ibid. 6, 6, 2.

⁶ Ibid. 6, 7, 5; 6, 8, 2.

⁷ Ibid. 6, 6, 8; 6, 5, 3.

⁸ Ibid. 13, 66, 2.

consolatory optimism expressed in the letters to Caecina, Cicero regarded the banishment as justified¹ and the recommendation letters to Furfanius, proconsul of Sicily, and to Servilius Isauricus remained the only real help for his friend².

There is in Cicero's letter to Caecina one interesting point, which would suggest that there were people in Etruria who wanted Caecina to return home. Cicero writes of the sincere wishes of *consentiens Etruria*³. How far the meaning of these words should be extended, we cannot now say. They may be exaggerated and intended to help Caecina. On the other hand, we can be sure that all the Etruscans who in a way or another were in connexion with Cicero, were anxious to speak for the banished Etruscan.

Regardless of all the appeals of friends and supporters, Caecina was only able to return to Rome after Caesar's death⁴.

8. CONCLUSION

In analysing the life and activities of Aulus Caecina, we can see the process of Romanization in the life of an Etruscan leader. His background was totally Etruscan, but his home town Volaterrae, because of geographical reasons, became connected with Roman politics. It became the last stronghold of the Marians and consequently was punished by Sulla by confiscations of property. At this time, or earlier, the Caecinae or at least the father of Aulus Caecina started to think about the possibilities of taking part in the public life of the *Urbs*, and Aulus went there to study. The enfranchisement of all Italians in 89 B.C. created a new situation for the smaller communities. The Caecinae were, seemingly, used to holding a leading position in the community and it was therefore necessary to abandon the *municipium* to engage in the political life of Rome.

Aulus Caecina was married with an Etruscan woman of his own social status. The inheritance left by his wife gave to Sex. Aebutius, her former agent, an opportunity to litigate with Caecina. At this trial, the unclear status of Volaterrae was used as an argument, and Aebutius claimed the inheritance as his own on the grounds that Caecina did not have full Roman

¹ Ibid. 6, 6, 9.

² Ibid. 6, 9; 13, 66.

³ Ibid. 6, 6, 8.

⁴ Provided that the Caecina mentioned by Cicero in *fam.* 10, 25, 3 is really Aulus Caecina.

citizenship. The speech of Cicero, however, shows that there was no dispute about Caecina's citizenship. Even at the time of the trial Caecina was regarded as a man from a *municipium*. Cicero's speech leads us to think that Caecina had no Roman "merits" as yet.

The activities of Aulus Caecina show that he was of equestrian rank, but the time of his census remains unclear. The reports from the time of Civil War suggest that Caecina's standpoint now was different from what it had been earlier. He regarded himself as a citizen of the *communis respublica* and felt himself obliged to take an active part in politics on the side of Pompey.

The treatise of Aulus Caecina on *disciplina Etrusca*, probably written in Latin, suggests that he wanted to transmit the Etruscan tradition to the Roman public. At the same time it shows that he was reasonably proud of his Etruscan origin. Despite his purely Roman standpoint in politics, Caecina was regarded as an Etruscan by Cicero. This is suggested by the jargon of augurs and mentioning of the wishes of friends in Etruria to be found in Cicero's letters.

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7. CONCLUSION:
THE ROMAN CENSUS AND ROMANIZATION
UNDER AUGUSTUS

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1. INTRODUCTORY NOTES

1.1 ETRUSCANS IN ROMAN SOCIETY NO PROOF OF THE ROMANIZATION OF THEIR HOME TOWNS

Gathering together the threads of the preceding inquiries, the results of the individual studies seem to be in conflict. The narrative sources of Roman origin suggest that Roman citizenship was extended to many important Etruscan towns at an early juncture. Similarly, men of Etruscan origin had established themselves in Roman society to the extent of acquiring seats in the Senate prior to the Social War¹. Others, justifiably or not, termed *equites* such as the Caecinae of Volaterrae, were obviously men of substance with influential friends in Rome². The existence of these early and successful forerunners to the final Romanization appears to be at odds with the evidence of both the epitaphs of Etruria and, in particular, the cinerary urns of Volaterrae. This evidence can be illustrated by the following points:

(1) The Volaterran Aulus Caecina in Mr. Hohti's case study appears as a thoroughly Latinized, if not Romanized, Etruscan of Cicero's time. He is a very influential man at home³; his roots remain in Etruscan soil. He has not lost his interest in the culture of his native country, but he appears to move with the greatest of ease in the Roman world. On the other hand, the evidence of the inscriptions suggests that the Latinization of Volaterrae was completed under the early Empire. Mr. Kaimio refers

¹ In addition to Caere, Nepes, Tarquinii and Perugia are known as the original home towns of senatorial *gentes* in the second century B.C., cf. M. TORELLI, 'Senatori etruschi della tarda repubblica e dell'impero', *Dial-Arch*, 3 (1969), 342 f.; T. P. WISEMAN, *New Men in the Roman Senate 139 B.C.-14 A.D.*, Oxford 1971, lists the "Origins of new men" in the Appendix II, 184 ff.

² Cf. recently W. V. HARRIS, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, Oxford 1971, chapter V. 5 "Acquisition of Roman Citizenship Before the Social War", 192-201, and the critical Appendix "Etruscans who acquired Roman Citizenship before the Social War", 319-328. HARRIS assumes that it is "unlikely that there were any citizens of the *civitates foederatae* resident in their towns who possessed the Roman citizenship, at least until the time of the Lex Repetundarum". According to HARRIS, the Etruscans with Roman citizenship before the war were all domiciled at Rome.

³ Cf. above p. 417.

it to the later part of the first century B. C. and to the early part of the first century A. D., Mrs. Nielsen can in exceptional cases only refer any Latin urn inscription to this century¹—an epitaph recording a Roman official, a *quattuorvir*²—and notes that the epitaphs in the Etruscan language were frequent even at the beginning of the first century A. D., i. e. almost up to the moment when the Volaterrans ceased to employ the miniature sarcophagi as receptacles of the ashes of their dead.

(2) The known dates concerning the franchise of the Etruscan towns and the consequent Romanization of the urban communities of Etruria are also at variance with the conclusions of the epigraphists. Volaterrae is probably the most striking example. The city may have obtained the *civitas Romana* before the Social War³; Cicero's arguments concerning Caecina's citizenship⁴ show Volaterrae as enjoying at least the *ius Latinum*, the town having been demoted to this status or, according to Cicero, to the *ius Ariminensium*, from full franchise. Harris⁵ argues that the franchise was restored both to Volaterrae and Arretium in the 70/69 B. C. census. The quattuorviral inscription⁶ by Mrs. Nielsen dated not later than 30 B. C. (80-30 B. C.) proves Volaterrae to have been a *municipium* anew at least in the very last years of the Republic, yet its burial customs and its onomastic habits as expressed in the epitaphs appear to have remained unchanged for many decades.

Caere was the first among the Etruscan towns to receive Roman citizenship⁷. A close neighbour to Rome, this town shows a different pattern of development than Volaterrae, yet even Caere, where the Latinization starts earlier than in other Etruscan communities, according to the epitaphs⁸, bears witness to the basic correspondence as to the behaviour of Volaterrae: the old Etruscan burial customs were maintained towards the end of the pre-Christian era, notwithstanding the status of the city within the Roman

¹ Cf. 3. 3 above.

² *CIL* XI 1744 = the text of the lid numbered Volterra 177 above.

³ Cf. RUOFF, p. 457 above.

⁴ Cf. HOHTI, pp. 423-427 above.

⁵ 282 f.

⁶ *CIL* XI 1744.

⁷ For the incorporation of the *ager Veientanus* and the case of Capena, cf. RUOFF, pp. 40-43 above, for the latter also HARRIS, 42 f.

⁸ Caere is the earliest of the Etruscan towns to be Latinized. Even so, the chronological difference between the Latinization of Caere and other Etruscan towns has to be counted in decades only. The language shift begins in the late second century B. C. (cf. KAIMIO, p. 195 above), and not in the fourth century (cf. e. g. KAIMIO, p. 194).

commonwealth¹, and the same applies to Tarquinii, where one of the necropoleis was in use in the reign of Tiberius².

Arretium is another case in point. The town is represented in the Roman senate during the early days of the Empire³, yet as late as 40 B. C. an Etrusco-Latin bilingual inscription was incised in this very town⁴.

Comparing the narrative sources with the epigraphical evidence, it is easy to see that these two kinds of material reflect different, comparatively narrow, aspects of Etruscan society. We should, furthermore, remember that when the narrative sources transmit glimpses of social life in Etruria, they are incidental to the main purpose of the story, in the depiction of Roman history. The insight we gain with regard to the Etruscans is to a large extent based on deductions from narratives dealing with a different subject than the one investigated. In contrast, the inscriptions are remnants of Etruscan social life. This in no way postulates the fact that the conclusions drawn from the different types of sources would conflict. On the contrary, we should assume that they are supplementary, and that, primarily, we should look for an explanation which would cover all the facts at our disposal, and all the deductions made.

The picture of the general development in Etruria illustrates, on the one hand, how some members of the nobility of the Etruscan towns try to acquire a foothold in Roman society, on the other, that the majority of the population, probably without any ambitions outside their own community, remains faithful to local tradition, even continuing to use the old language in funerary inscriptions. The Volaterran material shows that during the process of the unification of Italy under Augustus the burial customs remained unchanged although the production of cinerary urns decreased and seems to have been discontinued completely under his successors.

The nobles who wanted to make a career in Rome were Roman citizens; in many cases their home towns were franchized. Viriatic grants of citizenship were exceptional in the Republic⁵, at least before the Social War;

¹ Cf. KAIMIO, p. 220 f.

² Cf. *Introduction*, p. 25 n. 2.

³ TORELLI, *Dial.Arch.* 3 (1969), 291 ff., 342 f., and WISEMAN, *New Men*, 278, no. 516.

⁴ *TLE* 930; cf. KAIMIO, p. 189 above, and, generally for Arretium, T. P. WISEMAN, 'The Potteries of Vibienus and Rufrenus at Arretium', *Mnemosyne*, 16 (1963), 275-283.

⁵ For such cases, cf. A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE, *The Roman Citizenship*, Oxford 1939, 128 and further 189, 191 concerning those who had obtained citizenship

normally the franchise was extended to *populi*¹. But in contrast to the early Romanized Etruscans, their contemporaries, who stayed at home, appear unaffected by the fact that their town had obtained the franchise. At any rate, in the tombs, their Etruscan names and name forms were still in use. The picture of the Romanization of Etruria should comprise the "influential upstarts from all over the country" *ex tota Italia delecti*², who competed with the old *gentes* in the capital as well as those who at home gradually succumbed to the forces of change. How the latter process was carried out has been established by Mr. Kaimio³ in his study of the epitaphs. The reasons for the change will be subject of the subsequent notes.

1.2 THE LATINIZATION AND THE CONCESSION OF CITIZENSHIP IN THE LIGHT OF THE FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS

Before considering the reasons for the language shift, something should be said about the value of the evidence of the funerary inscriptions. It may be assumed:

(1) that the name forms used in most cases were those which had been employed for the deceased, in life, by himself, and/or by his family. This must have been the general rule when the epitaph together with the deceased or his ashes was secluded in the tomb and out of view to

through service in the auxiliary forces of the army. In the last few years three scholars, M. TORELLI, T. P. WISEMAN and W. V. HARRIS (in the studies mentioned above) have concerned themselves with the advancement of non-Romans in Roman society. TORELLI and WISEMAN have examined the cases of those who reached the highest social and political level, the senatorial aristocracy; HARRIS, however, is more interested in the enfranchisement proper. "It was not Roman policy to make citizenship available to large numbers of individual member of Italian allied states at any time during this period" (i.e. from the conquest to the Social War), he remarks (192). In an Appendix (319-328) he discusses the cases of *singillatim civitate donati* and concludes (328) by listing eleven individuals of Etruscan origin enfranchized before the Social War (cf. also TORELLI, diagram, 342 f.). Five of them acquired citizenship before the Gracchan age (i.e. before the *lex Repetundarum* and the tenure of magistracies in towns with *ius Latii* opened a new way to the *civitas Romana*). They were all domiciled in Rome (HARRIS, 197).

¹ SHERWIN-WHITE, 131; cf. also RUOFF, pp. 40 f., 43 ff. above.

² SHERWIN-WHITE, 179.

³ 2. 3 above.

all except the family. At Caere, however, where the epitaphs were incised on *cippi* standing in front of the tombs, the publicity of the inscriptions may have prevented flagrant deviations from the officially accepted name forms¹. In addition to the *cippi* exposed to the public, the bilingual inscriptions are an exception to the general rule; they illustrate the language shift and the fact that parallel name forms could be used at times.

(2) that the language of the epitaph, in contrast to the name form, may at times represent a relapse to usage not current any more at the time of the burial. Particularly in cases of resentment or of opposition to the Romanization, conservative or patriotic Etruscans may have reacted in this way. In such cases, the language of the epitaphs would not correspond to the one used in the society of the time². Conceivably the Latin language first gained ground in official contexts, for instance in dealing with Roman authorities. *Civitates foederatae* and *municipia sine suffragio*, not to speak of franchized communities, must have been more or less regularly in touch with the Romans. Documents of both an official and a private character were certainly exchanged with increasing frequency. The closer the Etruscan towns were tied to Rome, the more important became the Latin language. The effect of the municipal reforms after the Social War certainly implied that the Etruscan language was gradually pushed back to the retreat of private homes. Consequently, the last Etruscan epitaphs may well have been executed at a time when, for all practical purposes, the town in question was a Latin-speaking community.

These considerations regarding the evidence value of the funerary inscriptions enhance the conclusions reached above, viz. that the process of Latinization mapped out by Mr. Kaimio was not a result of compulsion caused by the concession of citizenship or the conferment of the status of *municipium*. The "man in the street", or, rather the Etruscan who did not want to break out of his home environment was not compelled to Latinize his name or to change his traditional way of life or the burial customs of his family on these grounds. We may here, as an instance of Roman indifference to the language employed in unofficial contexts, refer to the *tabula Bantina*. It shows that ethnic minorities translated into their own language, and possibly on their own initiative³, a selection of Roman

¹ KAIMIO, 3. 3 above.

² The pattern of behaviour may have differed greatly from place to place and in different social strata; cf. 3. 3 above.

³ As suggested by H. GALSTERER, 'Die lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae — Eine Bestandsaufnahme', *Chiron*, 1 (1971), 211. Previously M. TORELLI, in ADAMESTEANU, D.-M. TORELLI, 'Il nuovo frammento della tabula Bantina', *AC*, 21 (1969),

laws of some consequence for their everyday life. The *municipium* of Bantia was constituted in 80-60 B. C. according to Torelli¹.

1.3 THE ATTRACTION OF THE *IUS PROVOCATIONIS*

Now, the explanation that the Latinization and the Romanization was a natural, slow and evolutionary process brought about without any special efforts or policy on the part of the Romans is scarcely satisfactory. The Romanization gained momentum through the fact that in a world politically dominated by the Romans, Roman citizenship was becoming an increasingly valuable asset, in most cases less because of the political vote it included than because of the protection, the *ius provocationis*, granted to all Romans².

If we are to believe the inscriptions, and similarly the census returns, which will be dealt with in the sequel, the *ius provocationis* does not seem to have been a very strong incentive with regard to the enrolment as citizens. There is no evidence of a sudden registration *en masse* in newly franchized Etruscan towns; although the *civitas* was granted to *populi* and *civitates*, it would seem that it was left to individuals to decide whether or not they wanted to make use of the opportunity to acquire the Roman citizenship³.

1.4 THE LATINIZATION OF THE NAME FORMS IN ETRURIA

Now, there is a remarkably small difference between the Etruscan towns in the North and in the South with regard to the progress of Latinization⁴.

15 ff., had shown that the Oscan text was of a later date than the Latin one, and probably incised in Rome on a bronze tablet, the text of which was obsolete, and which therefore could have been sold at a bargain.

¹ In ADAMESTEANU-TORELLI, *AC*, 21 (1969). GALSTERER, 193 and n. 10 suggests a slightly earlier date, 80 B. C. or some years later.

² As to the importance of the *ius provocationis*, cf. SHERWIN-WHITE, 127.

³ T. P. WISEMAN, 'The Census in the First Century B. C.', *JRS*, 59 (1969), 60 remarks that after Marius' reform, the censors no longer insisted that every qualified citizen should be enrolled. Though "savage penalties had been inflicted on *incensi* by the early censors", Cic. *Verr.* 1, 104 "shows that by the late Republic they must have been obsolete". The pressure on potential citizens, members of franchized communities, who had never been entered in the census lists, must have been much weaker.

⁴ KAIMIO, 3. 3 above.

The towns in southern Etruria, particularly those located along the main Roman roads, in this case especially the Via Aurelia, must have experienced the vicinity of the Urbs strongly and continuously. It is fair to assume that the need for the protection offered by the *civitas* here was much greater than in the North. At the same time the possibilities of acquiring the individual franchise by means of enrolment during the census were much greater. At least for the Caeretans the distance was of no great consequence. The closer to the capital, the stronger was the pressure exerted by the Roman environment, and consequently the more obvious the tendency towards self-Romanization, a phenomenon noted by Sherwin-White¹ although in a different context.

Is this sufficient to explain the results which emerge from a study of the epitaphs, mainly from an analysis of the name forms? The answer, most likely, is in the positive. Although the Roman name was the mark of citizenship², a name written in the Latin language could by no means always be regarded as such. The Clusine material suggests that the Latin elements crept in gradually in the Etruscan name forms—gradually being used here to mean “in the course of a certain period of time”³ during which the name forms more and more began to resemble the orthodox Roman name forms. This is generally speaking true of the whole of Etruria⁴.

Now, the elements and the composition of the Roman name form was codified by the censors. The *tabula Heracleensis*, which should be referred to the second part of the first century B. C., demonstrates the rigidity of the rules appertaining to the census. The varying modes and degrees of Latinization discernible in the Etruscan towns are incompatible with the enactment of the census, with the registration of Roman citizens and their enrolment in tribes and centuries. Yet, there seems to be a common denominator behind the different evolutionary processes, namely the Roman name form, which would have served not as a yard stick, but as a model. Consequently, in the different Etruscan towns, we find local adaptations of the same rule as expressed in the Roman name form.

¹ 168.

² KAIMIO, p. 161 above.

³ KAIMIO, p. 220 above, suggests “roughly fifty years as a period of transition”.

⁴ KAIMIO, table, p. 187 above.

2. THE LATINIZATION AND THE IMPACT OF THE LOCAL CENSUS

2.1 THE TRADITIONS OF THE LOCAL CENSUS: ROMAN INTERFERENCE EXCEPTIONAL

Local census represents an administrative expedient of long standing in the Roman commonwealth — as a note in Polybius¹ for the year 225 B. C. shows. "The government of each ally state kept its own census of men qualified for active military service"². Such censorial activities were, of course, of little concern to the Roman authorities, although the local census lists may have been dispatched to Rome³. However, other pieces of evidence indicate that the Roman censors at times must have influenced the registration of citizens in allied states. The case of the twelve Latin colonies, which remonstrated against Rome in 209 B. C. and were punished in 204 B. C., belongs to the reiterated topics of the history of the Second Punic War. These colonies were forced to undertake a census in order to show *quantum numero militum, quantum pecunia valerent*⁴ and this should be done *ex formula ab Romanis censoribus data: dari autem placere eandem quam populo Romano*⁵. The lists ought to be dispatched to Rome, where they had to be made public: *deferrique Romam ab iuratis censoribus coloniarum, priusquam magistratu abirent... ut publicis tabulis monumenta extarent*. Pieri⁶ rightly regards these provisions as a kind of precedent to the *tabula Heracleensis*, but concludes that "on a progressivement soumis au même régime toutes les colonies latines et les cités alliées". This can scarcely be correct⁷. There seems to be little justification for Pieri's general conclusion of the gradual extension of this kind of control of the local censuses. Toynbee⁸ correctly emphasizes the fact that the orders of the Roman government were infringements of the sovereign rights of the Latin colonies. In practice they implied a more rigid control of the property evaluations and consequently of the payment

¹ 2, 23, 9.

² A. TOYNBEE, *Hannibal's Legacy* I, Oxford 1965, 426; cf. Plb. 6, 21, 4-5.

³ G. PIERI, *L'histoire du cens jusqu'à la fin de la république romaine*, Publ. de l'Institut de droit romain de l'Université de Paris, 25, Paris 1968, 170.

⁴ Livy 29, 15.

⁵ Livy 29, 37, 7.

⁶ 171.

⁷ Cf. WISEMAN, *JRS*, 59 (1969), 67 f.

⁸ I, 429 f.

of the *tributum*—something tax-payers always and everywhere are likely to resent¹—and of the obligations for military service. They were imposed on the recalcitrant colonies under duress, as punishments. It is hard to conceive the punishments as assuming a permanent character, i. e. the order of the Senate remaining in force after the census of 204 B. C., and after the war, and even more to accept Pieri's conjecture that they were extended to the loyal allies. In addition, as a reform of the censorial organisation, it would have created a complicated system for the purpose of controlling a relatively modest number of Roman citizens domiciled in allied states. The situation was radically changed after the *lex Iulia de civitate Latinis et sociis danda*, although at that time, the abolishment of the *tributum* and the recruitment of the legions among the *proletarii* from the point of view of the Roman State had diminished the need for the registering and keeping a check on the citizens. The census, then, for the individual citizens, had ceased to be a social burden.

The case of the Twelve Colonies should, therefore, be regarded as an exception, a punishment of a temporary nature, which, despite detailed instructions from Rome were, significantly enough, left to be carried out by local magistrates². On the other hand, other evidence of the organization of the local censuses should be studied with particular attention to the possibility that the Social War, or rather the extension of citizenship during and after the war, created a new situation which necessitated new methods of citizen registration³.

In addition the case of Capua presents unusual features. It suggests that at one time the Campanians had been registered locally, that after the reconquest of 212 up to 188 B. C. uncertainty prevailed with regard to the proper procedure, and that after 188 B. C. according to a decree of the Roman Senate, the Romans of Capua were registered in Rome⁴. However, the question of the census of the Campanians constitutes another exception. Capua and the secessionist Campanians were severely punished by the Romans, the corporate personalities of their communities were abolished and Capua did not become a juridical corporate body again till 59 B. C.⁵. Consequently, the *praefecti Capuam Cumas* would have been

¹ We should also note that no Latin colony had paid tribute to Rome previously; cf. E. T. SALMON, *Roman Colonization under the Republic*, London 1969, 183, n. 151.

² SHERWIN-WHITE, 99; SALMON, 90 f.

³ SHERWIN-WHITE, 86, n. 4 stresses BELOCH's observation that the *censores* in *municipia* all come from the communities incorporated before the Social War.

⁴ PIERI, 170, n. 137 with further references.

⁵ TOYNBEE I, 474.

locally responsible for the census in Campania in the censuses of 209/8, 204/3, and 194/3¹. From the census of 189/8 B.C. onwards, the Campanians had to register in Rome². Toynbee³ thinks that the Senate here departed from current practice still wanting to punish the secessionists of the Punic War. Generally speaking, however, this particular problem is unimportant from the point of view of this particular study; according to individual views of censorial practice, it could be maintained either that the Senate was vindictive, or wanted to revert to normality.

These two cases are the only ones known to us of the Roman authorities actively regulating the censuses outside Rome. Both cases present unusual features. Therefore, they cannot be used as proofs of regular interference in local censuses. We have, in fact, evidence showing that a censor, too actively engaged in local matters, was regarded with disapproval⁴. Such activities could be regarded as attempts to build up a personal following of clients⁵.

2. 2 THE LOCAL CENSUS IN ALLIED STATES AND IN CITIZEN COLONIES

When considering the extra-Urban local censuses two different cases should be taken into account; on the one hand, the allied states, which with the passing of time acquired citizenship, and on the other, the Roman citizen colonies.

2.2.1 THE CENSUS OF THE ALLIED STATES

The registration of the citizens in *civitates* allied to Rome was obviously required in order that they might contribute their contingents *ex formula togatorum*⁶. Censorship and census were, however, not peculiar to Rome.

¹ P. A. BRUNT, *Italian Manpower from 225 B.C. to A.D. 14*, Oxford 1971, 20; TOYNBEE I, 457, 475. T. FRANK, 'Roman Census Statistics from 225 to 28 B.C.', *CIPh*, 19 (1924), 330 f., holds that the Campanians were not included in these censuses at all.

² Livy 38, 28, 4.

³ I, 457.

⁴ Flaccus in 174 B.C.: Livy 41, 27, 11, and SHERWIN-WHITE, 67, 80.

⁵ SALMON, 186, n. 181.

⁶ For this cf. TOYNBEE I, Annex IX, 424-437 and BRUNT, Appendix 6, 545-548.

They seem to have been indigenous among the Etruscans¹ and among the Oscan peoples². These institutions must normally have been found in the Etruscan and Oscan communities which received the Roman franchise, as is stressed by Brunt³. We have no reasons to believe that the Romans made any fundamental changes in the existing system. "Neither the grant of the *civitas sine suffragio* nor the subsequent grant of the vote disturbed the local self-government of the communes affected"⁴.

2.2.2 THE CENSUS OF THE CITIZEN COLONIES

The members of the Roman citizen colonies might be expected to have been excused from personal attendance at the census in Rome, particularly when they constituted garrisons in exposed border zones⁵. This must have been the rule in the coastal colonies in Italy, but also, for instance, in Narbo Martius, to mention one colony remote from the capital. A colony founded with the express purpose of defending the frontier by land and by sea could not very well send away all its members *sui iuris* for the census. We must, therefore, assume some sort of local registration⁶: it may well be that the original register including all the colonists of a certain colony was drawn up when the colony was established⁷ and subsequently served as a basis to be supplemented later if the need arose. From the point of view of the Roman census, which was a means of registering those who could serve in the legions, the colonists did not constitute a serious problem; they did garrison duty and were excused from legionary service.

Thus we can expect to find local registration in the allied states and in the Roman citizen colonies. The inscriptions record a high number of censors and *quinquennales* in such communities. Unfortunately our possibilities of dating them are limited. In exceptional cases only, can we discern the development in the individual communities, particularly when the community in question changed status in the course of time.

¹ Cf. H. RIX, *Das etruskische Cognomen*, Wiesbaden 1963, 350, 380 for official control of names.

² Below pp. 450 f.

³ 40.

⁴ BRUNT, 534.

⁵ "They must be on perpetual duty at their post" (TOYNBEE I, 185).

⁶ BRUNT, 40.

⁷ Cf. WISEMAN, *JRS*, 59 (1969), 68.

The sample below exclusively serves to illustrate this diversity, but with preference given to instances of censors of an early date and to communities where, in the Republican period, the local census was in charge of differently named officials. Conclusions regarding the general development should be avoided because local traditions seem to have played an important part in shaping the local administration. In many cases we can see that a local censor is superseded by a *quinquennalis*, but we cannot say how old the office and the title of the censor is, nor when and why they disappeared.

The allied states, subsequently franchized, offer considerable variety. We have a censor at Alatrium¹ in an inscription to be dated to the period 130-90 B. C.; Praeneste, a *civitas foederata* to 90 B. C.² had both a censor³ and a *duumvir quinquennalis*⁴ in the Republican period; Cora, a similar case, correspondingly a censor⁵ and a *quattuorvir quinquennalis*⁶; Copia (Thurii) a censor⁷ and a *duumvir quinquennalis*⁸, and Ferentinum censors of the Sullan age⁹.

Sherwin-White¹⁰ draws attention to the citizen colonies and their tendency to copy the Roman constitution in the Republican period. One instance of this is the appearance of a censor e.g. in Fabrateria Nova¹¹, where the office subsequently disappears in favour of the *duoviri quinquennales*. This censor must be dated after 124 B. C. and before the time when the instructions of the *tabula Heracleensis* were formulated¹². On the other hand, Abellinum, another citizen colony, had censors in the Augustan age¹³.

In other cases, the origin of the title itself may not be certain; hypotheses regarding both its Latin and its Oscan origin can be defended¹⁴. The Italic tradition could be manifest either in the title of the censor

¹ CIL I² 1529.

² SALMON, 50 ff.; cf. 173, nn. 60, 62.

³ CIL I² 2439.

⁴ CIL I² 1464.

⁵ CIL I² 1509.

⁶ CIL I² 1514.

⁷ CIL I² 1694.

⁸ CIL I² 2542.

⁹ CIL I² 1522-1525.

¹⁰ 86.

¹¹ CIL X 5590.

¹² SHERWIN-WHITE, 86, n. 6.

¹³ CIL X 1130, 1134; cf. SHERWIN-WHITE, 86, n. 3.

¹⁴ SHERWIN-WHITE, 122; ERNOUT-MEILLET¹, 112 f.

or in his functions. On the one hand, the title, as it appears in our Latin sources, may be a Latinization of an indigenous Italic title, on the other, the functions resembling those of the Roman censors, may have been labelled in Rome as censorial. However, regardless of the linguistic origin of the word, the duties of these censors and their position in society can be expected, in the course of time, to have been influenced by the corresponding institutions in Rome.

In conclusion, as far as the local censuses are concerned, it could be said,

(1) that a kind of census was carried out in the allied states of Rome, and that they possibly originated in the agreements regulating the co-operation between the two sovereign states, Rome and its ally. The details of these censuses would nevertheless have been worked out in accordance with local requirements.

(2) that the only cases known of direct Roman interference with other communities are to be regarded as punitive (the Twelve Latin colonies, the case of the Campanians).

(3) that in the later Republic there was a tendency to project a copy of Roman institutions on the administration of citizen colonies, but that local censors of this description are no proof of centrally directed censuses.

(+) that municipal censors at times may be local officials whose duties may originate in an indigenous tradition. Their titles may be Latinized versions of the original ones.

2.3 THE CO-ORDINATION OF THE LOCAL CENSUSES AFTER THE GRACCHAN COLONIZATION

Having established the general rule of local census taking at least in the first century B.C., we should now consider how far the local censuses were co-ordinated with the official census taking in Rome. Were the rigid regulations later formulated in the *tabula Heracleensis* in fact applied much earlier? Discussing the census in the light of the *tabula Heracleensis*, Brunt¹ rightly emphasizes that all the clauses of the table need not be Caesarian or novel. The innovations of the table may in reality be only matters of

¹ 38.

detail and drafting¹. For the table as such, the enfranchisement of Heraclea under the *lex Iulia* about 89 B. C. remains a *terminus post quem*²; the date of origin of the single clauses may, however, be earlier.

Now, was there any necessity in the course of the second century B. C. to change the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of the allied states, touched upon above, and to readjust the negative reaction to censorial interference in the large new-type citizen colonies of Potentia and Pisaurum in 174 B. C.³? Was there any reason for a more severe surveillance of the colonies in peninsular Italia? Apparently not till the Gracchan period.

In 177 B. C. the citizen colony of Luna was founded⁴. This implied a cessation of colonization for almost 50 years⁵ due to military and political stability on the peninsula⁶. Simultaneously the Roman expansion in the Mediterranean world was a heavy drain on Italian manpower.

The demographic data of the latter part of the second century B. C. include an unexpected increase of the census returns from 131/0 to 125/4 B. C. by roughly 75,000, although the correctness of the recorded figures is open to some doubt⁷. The alternative manuscript reading would give us a decrease of the population by 25,000, a development which would have been unwarranted, judging from the general political and economic trend of the Gracchan period. The census figures of the latter part of the century indicate a slight decrease in the number of Roman citizens⁸. At the same time the recruitment of the legions posed increasing demands on the population⁹. Under these circumstances the censors responsible for registering all those fit for military service must have done their utmost in order to limit the number of *incensi*. It should also be remembered that

¹ Ibid.

² BRUNT, Appendix 2 on the table of Heraclea, cf. 522.

³ Livy 41, 27, 11.

⁴ Cf. TOYNBEE II, 533 ff.

⁵ The following foundation was probably Auximum in 128 B. C.; cf. SALMON, 112 f., who gives good reasons for not accepting 157 B. C. as the year of foundation, and also, 188, n. 194. BRUNT, 534, inaccurately refers Auximum to the same period as Potentia and Pisaurum, founded in 184 B. C., and Heba, which probably belongs to the Gracchan period: cf. SALMON 188, n. 202.

⁶ SALMON, 112.

⁷ BRUNT, 78.

⁸ Cf. BRUNT, 70, table VI.

⁹ BRUNT's analysis, loc. cit., shows that in 163 B. C. 11,000 served with the legions abroad, in 158 similarly 11,000, in 153 16,500, in 146 55,000, in 141-135-130 27,000 and, finally, in 124 38,500.

the lack of manpower was one of the chief reasons for the Gracchan land reform. Brunt¹ calculates that the Gracchan land commissioners turned 75,000 *proletarii incensi* into *assidui* included in the census figures of 124 B. C.² Organizational and administrative delay explain why the reforms of Tiberius Gracchus did not affect the figures of the preceding census of 131/0 B. C.³

The Gracchan colonization included a great number of viritane settlements. In such cases, and also in cases when new colonies were founded on allied territory, a great many Roman officials and commissioners moved about in search of land suitable for colonization⁴. The commissioners met with strong resistance in the countryside, with questions of treaty-rights and ownership of land at stake. Allied states in many cases seem to have had justified claims on the Roman *ager publicus*. Toynbee⁵ suggests that the interest of the allies "was substantial enough to constitute a formidable obstacle to the allotment of still unallotted *ager publicus*." Thus the Romans were forced to inaugurate a policy of appeasement, or of bargaining. Roman citizenship seems to have been offered to the allies in consideration of their abandoning their opposition in 126/5 B. C.⁶ or as an alternative, if they wished to retain their sovereign independence, the *ius provocacionis*⁷ against the acts of Roman officials. How topical the issue was is shown by Fulvius Flaccus' bill *de civitate sociis danda*, and the revolt of Fregellae in 125 B. C., which broke out as a result of the rejection of the bill⁸. The question was by no means settled when, probably in 124 B. C., a bill was passed granting the Roman citizenship to the annually elected public officers of the Latin states⁹.

In all, there seems to be three factors which explain the sudden increase of the census figures over the period 131/0-125/4, namely

¹ 78.

² BRUNT obviously assumes that the entire increase was due to the Gracchan reforms. This can scarcely be the case, cf. p. 460 below.

³ BRUNT, 79 f.

⁴ For details, cf. TOYNBEE II, 548. Note that this created unrest, regardless of the fact as to what extent the commissioners were subsequently able to carry out their plans.

⁵ II, 549.

⁶ J. GÖHLER, *Rom und Italien*, Breslauer hist. Forsch., 13, Breslau 1939, 132 and further TOYNBEE II, 549, n. 2.

⁷ This right seems to have been added to the *ius Latii* as suggested by a fragment of the *lex Acilia* of 123 B. C., cf. SHERWIN-WHITE, 105, n. 4.

⁸ For a more detailed discussion, cf. RUOFF, p. 71 above.

⁹ Cf. G. TIBILETTI, 'La politica delle colonie e città latine nella guerra sociale', *RendIstLomb*, 86 (1953), 58.

(1) that a great number of *incensi* received virginal allotments of land and that they were duly registered by the censors. Similarly, the foundation of citizen colonies increased the number of *assidui*.

(2) that the enforcement of the Gracchan reform increased the number of citizens of franchized communities, who had earlier omitted to make use of their right to be registered as Roman citizens, but now, threatened, or at least disturbed by the land commissioners, took recourse to their constitutional rights and to the indemnity of Roman citizenship.

(3) that the wide distribution of the Gracchan colonists increased the demand on the efficiency of the local census. It is possible that the expediency of *absens censori*¹ was tried for the first time in this context. We should remember that the recruitment of the Roman army was jeopardized and that one of the most important functions of the censors was to make an inventory of the available manpower; only in 107 B. C. did Marius' reform create an entirely new situation.

Finally, it should be stressed that the extending of the *ius adipiscendi c. R. per magistratum* created a new category of citizens residing in allied states. Registration at the census was a pre-requisite for their newly won privileges. They cannot have been included in the 125/4 B. C. census, but their existence and their personal interests required a local census which corresponded to the demands of the censors in Rome.

2.4 THE GRACCHAN ERA AND THE LANGUAGE SHIFT

We have now seen that the citizen colonies as well as the allied states, and the latter also after having been franchized, knew and employed a census institution. We have further seen that the Roman census figures rose comparatively steeply in 125/4 B. C., although we cannot say whether or not they include returns of the local censuses also. In addition, we have noted that the political situation in the Gracchan age was likely (a) to demand a more efficient registration of citizens in the countryside; they were unable to travel to Rome for the census, and (b) to make citizens of franchized communities utilize their right to register with the Roman censors in greater numbers than earlier.

¹ WISEMAN, *JRS*, 59 (1969), 61.

2.4.1 THE EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE OF A GRADUAL CHANGE

Confronting these conclusions regarding the local censuses on the one hand with, on the other, both Mrs. Ruoff's assertion that at least some of the most important Etruscan towns were franchized before the Social War¹, and Mr. Kaimio's dating of the beginning of the language shift as mirrored in the epitaphs², we note that the impact of unrest in Italy caused by the Gracchan land commissioners precedes the language shift roughly by a generation³. Taking into account the fact that, normally, some time passes between the time when the Etruscans assumed a Latin name, and the date when this name appeared in an epitaph, it seems to me that the evidence of the beginning of the language shift in Etruria chronologically coincides well with the upheaval of the Gracchan period.

This coincidence does not, however, imply that we have established the causal relationship between these two phenomena, though the probability of a connexion exists.

The bulk of our epigraphical material shows the Latinization of name forms. At the census, citizens were basically registered according to their names. If the census registration required specific name forms, for instance in accordance with the clauses of the *tabula Heracleensis*, the Latinized name should be expected to follow the established pattern. The picture drawn by the analysis of the Latin epitaphs of the necropoleis of Etruria, is not compatible with a rigid application of exactly formulated demands; there is no sudden change from Etruscan usage to Roman. On the contrary, the Latinization process has proved to have been slow, advancing by degrees⁴.

¹ Veii, Caere, Volsinii, Arretium, Tarquinii and Faesulae together with Capena and Faleri, cf. pp. 40-56 above.

² pp. 220-221 above.

³ It is, of course, impossible to generalize for all the Etruscan territory. The closer to Rome an Etruscan community was located, the greater the influence of the capital and its officials, and the swifter the Latinization. The pattern of the development in northern Etruria is definitely different from the one in the South. We should further remember that "the beginning of the Latinization" in actual fact means "the emergence of Latin elements in the epitaphs". With this in mind we may note that Mr. KAIMIO indicates the beginning of the process, for Caere at the end of the second century B.C., for Tarquinii and Tuscania in the late second and early first century B.C., for Ferentium, Volsinii, Vulci, Clusium, Perugia and Arretium in the first century, and in addition emphasizes that the language shift was nowhere effectuated in a few years: "more probably it took about two generations to complete".

⁴ KAIMIO, p. 187 above, table.

2.4.2 THE PALEOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE OF A GRADUAL CHANGE

Mrs. Michelsen's study of the paleography confirms the impressions afforded by the linguistic investigation, although Clusium and Perugia are the only towns to yield a material sufficiently rich for an analysis of the interference phenomena as far as the script is concerned.

Of the letter forms examined above¹ A was the first to be Latinized at Clusium, probably very soon after the reversal of the direction of the script. A single instance of interference concerning this letter remains². The letter E came next; we encounter the Etruscan character in the groups (I) and (II A)³ nine times, generally in inscriptions employing other Etruscan characters as well. Subsequently, the Etruscan letters T (13 cases) and S (24 cases) seem to have disappeared. These too occur, as a rule, in conjunction with other Etruscan characters. On the other hand, a great number of inscriptions showing these letters in their Latin versions, comprises Etruscan forms of other letters. The Etruscan letters L and, above all, P are the most long-lived in the epitaphs. The former appears in every third inscription, the latter in two inscriptions out of five. It can be said with a high degree of certainty that an inscription containing the letter P in its Latin form does not comprise any Etruscan characters at all. We should further stress that of 122 Clusine inscriptions in Latin studied by Mrs. Michelsen, 61, i. e. fifty per cent, comprise at least one Etruscan character⁴.

Certain features of the Etruscan influence on the Latin letter forms are easy to explain, but in other cases the internal order of the disappearance of the Etruscan letters is inexplicable. The Etruscan P obviously survives for so long because in Latin inscriptions, too, the P with an open loop is fairly common up to the end of the Republic. In Etruria however, this form of P should be regarded as due to Etruscan influence. This is shown by the fact that the relation of the figures in the (a) and (b) columns of the table⁵ is a proper fraction, i. e. the character with the open loop has survived the other Etruscan letters, but the variety

¹ pp. 249 ff.

² p. 259.

³ p. 259 above.

⁴ In the group (II A), the material of which was formed by the drawings of CIE, the number of corresponding inscriptions was comparatively small, 51 out of 149. This may be due to Mrs. MICHELSEN's caution in accepting the value of the evidence contained in the copies.

⁵ p. 154 above.

with the closed loop only rarely appears together with the Etruscan characters of other letters.

The comparatively rapid disappearance of the Etruscan forms of T and E can apparently be explained as a technical solution caused by the reversal of the direction of the script. A right-handed stone-cutter was able to cut, with considerable ease, strokes running obliquely downwards from right to left when the script ran *sinistrorsum*, but this was changed when the direction of the script was reversed. At this juncture, the horizontal transversal rapidly superseded their oblique Etruscan counterparts¹.

2.4.3 ONOMASTIC INTERFERENCE AT PERUSIA

Reverting to the study of the language and reassuming some of the pertinent conclusions of Mr. Kaimio, we may note the interesting fact that at Perugia² we find numerous instances of interference in the field of onomastics, whereas interference phenomena in the purely linguistic field are restricted to Clusium. The Perusine epitaphs give the overall picture of certain purely Latin names on Etruscan monuments in inscriptions with instances of interference, point to the probability that the Latin names had been adopted with the express purpose of acquiring Roman citizenship³.

2.4.4 THE *Liberti* OF CLUSIUM

At Clusium, the Etruscan town and the Roman colony, which has yielded the richest crop of inscriptions, the language shift was shown to

¹ The early disappearance of the Etruscan A may depend on the fact that at the same time new forms of the letter, probably developed by the Romans, were introduced (Λ, Α and Δ). On the other hand, it is hard to explain why S and above all L retained their Etruscan forms for so long. The use of the angular S may be due to technical circumstances; the Etruscan character was easier to cut into tiles with a *stilus*. In contrast, the italicized variety is more common on the cinerary urns.

The Perusine material is too sparse to allow us to draw any definite conclusions. The Etruscan P disappears as the last, A as the first letter. The Etruscan S is almost as infrequent in the Latin inscriptions as A. This suggests that the survival of the angular S at Clusium is due to the technique of inscription or incision.

² And elsewhere, cf. p. 209 above.

³ KAIMIO, p. 212.

⁴ pp. 174, 178, 213 above.

proceed gradually, though at times, within single families and tombs, in an apparently irrational way¹. The picture of the over-all development, however, shows the influence of Rome first in the change of the alphabet, then in the linguistic Latinization (obviously a pre-requisite for making, say, a name intelligible for the Romans), and finally, in the onomastic Romanization². Mr. Kaimio notes that the Clusine freedmen in many cases employ the old individual name as a *cognomen*, a usage introduced in Rome round about 100 B.C.³. However, the very existence of *liberti* using the Latin name forms demonstrates the impact of the Roman census⁴. The freedmen of an unenfranchized non-Roman followed his patron's name and citizenship⁵. In a community not yet franchized the *libertus* must have obtained his liberty by way of registration with the local authorities. In franchized communities a *libertus* of a Roman citizen was himself *ipso facto* a Roman citizen⁶. In all the formal procedures of *manumissio*, i. e. *manumissio vindicta*, *manumissio censu* and *manumissio testamento*, *libertas* and *civitas* were closely connected⁷ and the participation of the state necessary⁸. Thus, it is a fair inference that censorial regulations exerted a strong influence on the name forms of the *liberti* entered in the official lists⁹. This tallies well with the general picture of the background of the Latinization of Clusium¹⁰. It should be added that the *liberti* are of particular interest because their Latinization cannot have been due to the Roman census; they cannot as a rule have been expected to travel to Rome for the registration. Politically, they would have gained little as long as the urban tribes were the only ones accessible to them, and

¹ Cf. KAIMIO, pp. 206-210.

² p. 208 above.

³ This does not automatically mean that the Clusine usage was later or, at any rate, noticeably later than at Rome, if in both cases it can be traced back to instructions or regulations issued by the censors, i. e. to a common source.

⁴ These freedmen have nothing to do with the Roman colony at Clusium as Mr. KAIMIO's analysis of the name forms shows, cf. 2. 2. 1. 5 above.

⁵ S. TREGGIARI, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic*, Oxford 1969, 273, Appendix 8: "The Position of Freedmen in the Italian Communities which had not Acquired the Roman Franchise".

⁶ "servos... persaepe libertate, id est civitate, publice donari videmus", Cic. *Balb.* 24: cf. *Caec.* 96 and also TREGGIARI, 37.

⁷ TREGGIARI, 20.

⁸ The informal *manumissio inter amicos*, which left the manumitted legally a slave, is a comparatively late phenomenon of little consequence in this context, cf. TREGGIARI, 29 f.

⁹ For registration of freedmen, cf. TREGGIARI, 41.

¹⁰ Cf. KAIMIO, p. 210.

economically such a journey would have put a strain on their meagre purse. The Latinization of the *liberti* can therefore be assumed to have reflected the impact of the local census.

2.4.5 THE CASE OF FERENTUM AND THE CONSERVATION OF THE FEMALE *Praenomen* AT CAERE

Two more cases can be adduced to show the influence of the census on the Latinization process. Ferentium with a dated inscription of 69 B.C. of the *gens Salvia*, illustrates the Latinization of language and name forms while otherwise adhering to the Etruscan traditions¹. Caere, finally—in many respects an exception—has preserved a number of inscriptions recording the female *praenomen*². This particular feature characteristic of Etruscan nomenclature was not affected by censorial regulations and was therefore able to survive³.

2.5 START OF THE CO-ORDINATION OF LOCAL CENSUSES DURING THE GRACCHAN PERIOD

Summing up the arguments concerning the local census we can say that the census institution had its roots deep in the Italic tradition. States

¹ KAIMIO, p. 203 above.

² KAIMIO, pp. 188 f., 195 f. above.

³ We have a corresponding case at Ateste in Cisalpine Gaul, where the traces of Venetian name forms in inscriptions recording male persons disappear comparatively early whereas the female name forms adhere to local linguistic usage, cf. J. UNTERMANN, *Die venetischen Personennamen*, Wiesbaden 1961, 59. The language shift at Ateste can be referred to the latter part of the first century B.C.: the final texts in the Venetian alphabet belong to the middle of the century (UNTERMANN, 3). The language shift, therefore, appears to commence after the concession of the *ius Latii* to Cisalpine Gaul after the Social War (G. E. F. CHILVER, *Cisalpine Gaul*, Oxford 1941, 7 f.). For the Cisalpine towns it was important that the *ius Latii* included the right to acquire Roman citizenship *per magistratum*, cf. Asconius, in *Pisonianam*, 2-3: "Pompeius enim veteribus incolis... ius dedit Latii, ut possent habere ius quod ceterae Latinae coloniae, id est ut petendo magistratus civitatem Romanam adipiscerentur". The full franchise was granted to the Cisalpine towns in 49 B.C. through the *lex Roscia* (CHILVER, loc. cit.). This suggests, as has been stressed above, that the local census, co-ordinated with the census in Rome, must have been established in order to humour the local aristocracy, whose loyalty was important to the Roman generals using the *civitas* as a means of increasing their own *clientela*. The date of the language shift at Ateste shows that the *ius Latii* (and not the full *civitas* of 49 B.C.) and the local census were the point of departure of the Latinization of Ateste.

allied with Rome carried out the registration of their citizens in accordance with their sovereign rights¹. Roman interference was exceptional. The allies may well have forwarded certain data to the Roman authorities according to individual clauses in single agreements between Rome and the allied states. We have, however, no means of determining how far the requirements of Rome, which should be considered against the background of the *formula togatorum*, were likely to influence the modelling of the local censuses, and possibly assisting in streamlining them. On the other hand, when the process of Latinization starts, the material from the single towns suggests that they had been free to work out the details in accordance with local requirements.

Studying the initial phases of the Latinization in the different towns of Etruria we could discern two features common to most of the cases, namely

(1) that certain features of the male name forms seem to have been affected at an earlier stage of the Latinization than the corresponding parts of the female name forms, and

(2) that excepting Caere, a close neighbour to Rome, and Volaterrae, the northernmost town of Etruria proper, all the Etruscan towns seem to have been Latinized in roughly the same period, namely the first century B. C. with the beginning of the century as a point of departure. Caere precedes the other towns but little, Volaterrae is insignificantly later.

Behind these two phenomena we could, it seems, discover the economic and social upheaval of the Gracchan period, caused by the land reform or by the threat it constituted to communities and individuals. The extension of the citizenship *per magistratum* to the holders of *ius Latii* on the one hand, and the attraction of the citizenship as a protection against the arbitrariness of Roman officials on the other, together with the settlement of Gracchan colonists increased the need of and the demands on the local censuses, which must have been charged with the duty of supplying Rome with the necessary demographic data. At this juncture, the co-ordination of the local censuses cannot as yet have been very strict if we are to trust the epigraphic material, although it must have given an impetus to the Latinization of the name forms.

¹ Cf. W. DAHLHEIM, *Struktur und Entwicklung des römischen Völkerrechts*, Vestigia 8, München 1968, 118.

3. THE CENSUS AND THE WAY TO AN INTEGRATION OF ALL ITALY

3.1 THE PROGRAMME OF INTEGRATION ACCORDING TO THE *TABULA HERACLEENSIS*

In the course of the first century, which for the majority of the Etruscan towns was a period of transition from Etruscan to Latin, a programme of integration of the local censuses with the Roman census was worked out. The details are known through the clauses of the *tabula Heracleensis*, or rather, the part of it which has frequently been identified with certain provisions of the *lex Iulia municipalis*¹. This document expressly prescribes what component parts the official name forms should comprise. The dates appertaining to the name form and required by the *lex* were *nomina praenomina patres aut patronos tribus cognomina*². The law further stated that the census in *municipia*, *coloniae* and *praefecturae* should be carried out *ex formula census quae Romae ab eo, qui tum censum populi acturus erit proposita erit*³. The local registers should be dispatched to be censors in Rome over 60 days before the census was completed⁴.

The aim of these provisions must have been to standardize the census procedure throughout Italy, and to facilitate the increasingly burdensome task of the censors. At the same time, the instructions regarding the name forms in addition to the control exerted by the central authorities in Rome, were apt to unify the nomenclature all over the peninsula.

The part of the *tabula Heracleensis*, which deals with the census, seems to be the youngest of the legal fragments contained in the tablet. It can very likely be dated to some time shortly after Caesar's assassination⁵. The words *cum censor aliusve quis mag(istratus) Romae populi censum aget*⁶, it would seem, have correctly been taken as reference to Caesar's *censoria potestas*⁷

¹ *CIL* I² 593, ll. 142-158.

² l. 146.

³ ll. 147-148.

⁴ ll. 149-151.

⁵ Cf. E. SCHÖNBAUER, 'Die Tafeln von Heraklea in neuer Beleuchtung', *Anzeiger der öst. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 89 (1952), 131 f.

⁶ ll. 143-144.

⁷ Cf. E. MUTTELSEE, *Untersuchungen über die Lex Iulia Municipalis*, Freiburg, 1913, 15 with reference to VON SAVIGNY, *Vermischte Schriften* III, 411; in contrast BRUNT, 522, holds that "the census section has no clear connection with the time of Caesar" (cf. also 104, n. 3 and, in addition, 42, where he takes the Caesarian date for granted without denying "that local registration was practised

in 46 B. C. The reorganization of the census suggested by the *tabula Heraclensis* would therefore originate in the middle of the long period of 41 years without any census at all (70/69 B. C. – 29/28 B. C.). The text itself does not tell us whether the stipulations of the text ever became effective.

There is no doubt that the *lex Iulia*, or the provisions of the *tabula Heraclensis* if rigorously applied in practice would have exerted a profound influence on the name forms of the Roman citizens of all *municipia*, *coloniae* and *praefecturae*. We should, therefore, examine the problem of what actually was done, and when, in order to make the Italians really partake of the privileges inherent in the Roman citizenship during the first century B. C. and pay special attention to the steps and measures taken in order to incorporate new citizens into the Roman body politic. This incorporation was identical with the census.

3.2 THE FRANCHISE OF THE ITALIANS: A POLITICAL ISSUE

The question of extending Roman citizenship to the Roman allies in Italy, is one of the most important political issues of the first century B. C. It was fought on two levels, at first making part of the foreign policy of the Senate, i. e. the senatorial policy regarding the world at large, and then becoming the focal point in the struggle between the opposing factions of the Senate. The former aspect is brought to a head by the Social War, the latter is illustrated by the efforts of the contending senatorial parties to enlist or neutralize the political power of the Italians.

The key to the understanding of the nature of senatorial politics is the *clientela* institution. "All the great noble houses had great numbers of clients in their service. Crassus and Pompey each had a band so large that he could raise an army in Sulla's service"¹. The ties of *clientela* crossed geo-

well before Caesar") and that nothing in the contents can be shown to be essentially novel. It is easy to agree with BRUNT about the inconclusiveness of the chronological references contained in the five sections of the *tabula*. His second point, if not proved, will be at least supported by the subsequent discussion of the 70/69 B. C. census, a fact which in its turn speaks in favour of SCHÖNBAUER's suggestion (*Anzeiger*, 89 (1952), 131) that the law texts originally were conceived in the period of conservative politics after the death of Sulla. With regard to BRUNT's first point, we have to give him the benefit of the doubt because the connexion is not clear; even so, in my opinion, the reference to the townships in *Italia* certainly reflects Caesar's political intentions much better than any preceding Roman politician's (cf. p. 476 below).

¹ L. ROSS TAYLOR, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar*, Sather Classical Lectures 22, 44.

graphical boundaries. "The client class went far beyond the bounds of the city. It included inhabitants of towns, and in fact whole regions, over which nobles assumed patronage because they or their ancestors had conquered them in war, or aided them in obtaining citizenship or other advantages"¹. It is, as Lily Ross Taylor remarks² quite clear that extension of citizenship was a favourite method of adding to one's clients. In the first decade of the first century B.C., on the threshold of the Social War, we have an extraordinary document showing the enthusiasm created by the tribune Marcus Livius Drusus' attempt to enfranchise all the Italians, namely the oath of fealty that the Italians took in Drusus' name³. The following passage of the oath is very significant: "If I become a citizen by the law of Drusus, I shall consider Rome my country and Drusus my greatest benefactor. This oath I will transmit to as many citizens as I can"⁴. Significantly, the murder of Drusus gave the impetus to the outbreak of the Social War⁵.

3.2.1 THE CONCESSIONS OF THE SOCIAL WAR AND THE INCOMPLETE CENSUSES OF THE POST-WAR YEARS

The concessions made to the Italians during the war were certainly not preconceived parts of a definite plan to regulate the position of the former allies in the Roman commonwealth, but *in casu* solutions, at times based on decisions of commanding generals directing the campaigns⁶. Consequently, the steps taken in order to pacify the adversaries of the Republic do not form a consistent pattern, as a brief summary of the decrees and the decisions made shows.

(1) In 90 B.C., the consul Iulius Caesar proposed a bill passed by the Senate conferring Roman citizenship on all the Latins⁷ and on all

¹ Ibid.

² *PP*, 45.

³ Cf. ROSS TAYLOR, *PP*, 46 and the discussion concerning the authenticity of the incident, 198, n. 67, and in A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, *Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats*, Abh. Bayer. Ak. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Abt., N. F. 15 (1937), 27 ff.

⁴ Diod. 37, 11, translation according to F. R. WALTON.

⁵ Cf. Mrs. RUOFF's comments above, p. 77.

⁶ SHERWIN-WHITE, 131 ff.

⁷ "Ipsa denique Iulia, qua lege civitas est sociis et Latinis data, qui fundi populi facti non essent civitatem non haberent", Cic. *Balb.* 21. The *lex Iulia*, passed late in 90 B.C., was probably preceded by a *lex Calpurnia* (cf. HARRIS, 230). Both laws can be regarded as "hasty war measures designed in the first place to reduce the number of the insurgents" (SHERWIN-WHITE, 133).

the allies who did not take part in the uprising, or had surrendered in time¹.

(2) In the following year, 89 B.C., the tribunes of the plebs M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo proposed a bill, which permitted all the citizens of allied communities domiciled in Italy when the bill was approved, to obtain Roman citizenship "si intra LX diebus apud praetorem essent professi"². These stipulations apparently regarded as exclusive citizens of Italian communities residing in Rome³; otherwise it would have been unrealistic to ask those concerned to register with the praetor within sixty days. Obviously this registration was to be completed before the conclusion of the census, i.e. before the *lustrum* was performed⁴. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that this legislation was not intended to promote the enfranchisement of the Italians decisively, but to create a false impression as to the aims of Roman policy⁵.

(3) In the year 87 B.C., the Senate granted Roman citizenship to all these who had surrendered in the Social War⁶.

Censors were elected in 89 B.C. to make the legal provisions effective, i.e. to perform the census and to register those Italians who wanted to acquire citizenship. As Pieri has pointed out⁷, the fact that censors were elected immediately after the *lex Iulia de civitate* had been approved of, and that one of the censors was the sponsor of the law, demonstrates both the connexion between the law and the census, and that the law concerning citizenship required registration of the new citizens to become effective (from the new citizens' point of view). It is, in fact, noteworthy that the political struggle in Rome after the appeasement as expressed in formal concessions, focussed on the census. In plain language, the issue of the day was: how should the promises of war times be kept?

The census of the year 89 B.C. became an empty gesture⁸ as was to be expected considering the conditions existing in Italy. The decision of

¹ Velleius 2, 16, 4 "recipiendū in civitatē... qui arma aut non ceperant aut deposuerunt maturius". This is a general reference to all the measures taken in conjunction with the war.

² Cic. *Arch.* 4, 7.

³ SHERWIN-WHITE, 132 f.; cf. also PIERI, 163, n. 99.

⁴ Cf. TIBILETTI, 117 f., particularly n. 90.

⁵ TIBILETTI, loc. cit.

⁶ Livy *Per.* 80 "Italicis populis a senatu civitas data est".

⁷ 164.

⁸ Cic. *Arch.* 5, 11 "Iulio et Crasso nullam populi partem esse censam", TIBILETTI, 119 regards it as fictitious: "it never took place, but was carried out in form".

87 B. C. to extend the enfranchisement *Italicis populis*, providing the Italians with an opportunity to obtain citizenship by request, similarly presupposed a new census without delay. The censors were appointed in 86 B. C. and they performed the *lustrum* in 84 B. C.¹ 463,000 citizens were registered. Livy records² that the Senate confirmed the results of the census: "novis civibus senatus consulto suffragium datum est"³.

The Latinization of Etruria is normally regarded as the outcome of the Social War⁴. This view can scarcely be correct. I have tried to point out above that there is no automatic connexion between the concession of civil rights to a town and the Latinization of its population. Several Etruscan towns had in fact been franchized before the Social War; the Latinization seems in fact to have commenced at least at Caere, Tarquinii and Tuscania before the war without our being able to establish a connexion between the concession of citizenship and the start of the Latinization⁵. The case of Caere positively shows that such a relationship did not exist.

However, in the case of those Etruscan towns which have yielded the richest epigraphical material (above all Clusium), the *lex Iulia de civitate sociis danda* and the census obviously play an important part with regard to the language shift. Nevertheless, it must still have been possible for individual towns to reach independent decisions concerning the application of the clauses of the law. This is clearly shown by a comparison of the different patterns of Latinization in Etruria. Arretium and Volaterrae, the latter possibly, the former certainly franchized before the Social War⁶, and both after the war punished by Sulla, illustrate that the census was in no case an obstacle to the survival of the Etruscan language. At Arretium three Etrusco-Latin bilingual inscriptions have been preserved, the earliest of which can be dated to the year 40 B. C.⁷. Contemporaneously, there is a strong Latin tradition in the town, evident in the inscribed stamps⁸ which should be dated to the later part of the first century B. C. at the earliest. Again, the tenacity of the Etruscan language

¹ TIBILETTI, 121, n. 102.

² *Per.* 84.

³ Mrs. RUOFF, p. 80 regards this as a decision for placing the new Italians in the rural tribes.

⁴ Cf. KAIMIO, p. 226 above.

⁵ For the three towns mentioned, cf. KAIMIO, pp. 195, 199 and 200 f. above, and his conclusions, pp. 217 f.

⁶ RUOFF, pp. 50 ff., 56 ff. above.

⁷ KAIMIO, p. 213 above.

⁸ *Ibid.*

at Volaterrae has been demonstrated by Mrs. Nielsen's chronology of the cinerary urns¹.

Now no connexion can be found between the 86/84 B. C. census and the Latinization of Etruria, the census figures being exceptionally low² if we consider that citizenship had been extended *Italicis populis*.

The explanations for this fact differ³. That the census was taken and the *lustrum* performed is beyond doubt, likewise that the registration could in no case have comprised all Roman citizens or all those entitled to Roman citizenship; the political division of Italy prevented this. On the other hand, there is no conclusive proof that the figure 463,000 appertains to the census of 86/84 B. C., although, as compared with the figures of 115 B. C. (alternatively 125 B. C.) and 70/69 B. C. it very much corresponds to what would have been expected considering the circumstances. We should remember that the census 86/84 B. C. was a political measure taken in order to pacify the Italians. This is confirmed by the exceptional and, it would seem, formally superfluous decree of the Senate to concede the vote to the new citizens.

3.2.2 POMPEY'S CENSUS OF 70/69 B. C.

The census of 86/84 B. C. can be said to have been the fulfilment of the promises given to the Italians, but for the reasons stated above, it did not achieve its maximum. Regardless of the physical obstacles limiting the activity of the censors, we may also be assured that the censors, both

¹ pp. 387-389 above.

² Cf. PIERI, 164 ff.

³ If the census covered a limited field only, the limitations could have been either geographical - Italy south of the line Ancona-Capua being controlled by the Sullans, and consequently not willing to accept the magistrates of Rome, cf. PIERI, 166 - or social ("les citoyens plus modestes, dont le vote dans l'assemblée centuriate comptait peu, n'auraient alors pas éprouvé le besoin de faire le voyage à Rome pour s'y faire recenser", PIERI, loc. cit.). CARCOPINO's refusal to accept the figures as an outcome of a regular census ("Sur un passage de la chronique de Saint-Jérôme", *Mélanges Fr. Martroye*, Paris 1940, 73-79) represents an ingenious solution (the figure recorded by Hier. *Chron.*, *Abr.* 1932, "Descriptione Romae facta inventa sunt hominum CCCCLXIII milia" who contrary to his own usage does not speak of *census* + *civium*, would refer to the population of the Urbs. The figure should be considered in conjunction with the figure of 57 B. C., 486,000, regarding the Romans subject to the *cura annonae*. For the difficulty of reconciling the conflicting data of our sources, cf. also WISEMAN, *JRS*, 59 (1969), 63 f.), hard both to accept and to exclude or refute.

supporters of Cinna, used the opportunity offered by the census to promote the interest of the *populares*¹. Sulla, the dictator, when repealing a part of Cinna's legislation, may have reacted adversely to the recently performed *lustrum*². At any rate, he reacted strongly to the whole censorial institution, and suspended the office of the censor³. After Sulla's abdication and death, the pendulum swung back, but fairly slowly, with the *optimates* jealously guarding their privileged position, and their control of the state. In 70 B. C., however, the young successful general Gnaeus Pompeius with an army of his own in the background, forced the Senate to suspend the Sullan laws. He also had himself elected to the consulship although he had refused to make a senatorial career and, anyway, was too young for this office. As consul in this year he restored the office of the censor and "brought about the election of two of his henchmen as censors"⁴.

Pompey, in the same way as his father, possessed large estates and enjoyed wide influence in Picenum⁵. He had in the past seen how important to a politician the support of the Italians could be. There were not only the local nobles who, endowed with Roman citizenship, could influence the voting in the *prima classis*, but also those men of slender means who "have only one way of earning favors from our order or of paying us back and that is by helping us and following us about in our campaigns for office"⁶. He could, therefore, very well understand the *populares*' demand for a new census⁷. It goes without saying that the outcome of this census would be in favour of the Italians, and the figures corroborate that this was the case. 910,000⁸ were registered. This time it was most certain that many who during the previous censuses had been prevented from registering, were able to get attributed to tribes and classified according to centuries, thereby being admitted to the political vote and acknowledgement of their citizenship.

¹ TIBILETTI, 120 f.

² TIBILETTI, 121 f., who notes that "the *censoria potestas* certainly formed part of the unlimited powers; hence it is natural to think that he consecrated and made the new (citizen) lists definite with a *lustrum*".

³ ROSS TAYLOR, *PP*, 52; T. FRANK, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome I. Rome and Italy of the Republic*, Baltimore 1933, 255; H. LAST in *CAH* IX, 300.

⁴ ROSS TAYLOR, *PP*, 52; cf. also R. SYME, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford 1939, 66.

⁵ SYME, 28 f.; ROSS TAYLOR, *PP*, 45.

⁶ Cic. *Mur.* 71-72; cf. ROSS TAYLOR, *PP*, 42.

⁷ Cf. Cic. *Div. in Caec.* 8, delivered in January, 70 B. C.

⁸ 900,000 according to Livy *Per.* 98.

For the Romans proper, the members of old senatorial *gentes* and the inhabitants of the Urbs, the enormous increase of political voters, as compared with the figure of 84 B.C. (if we accept it as genuine) must have been a shock although the *optimates* could have had little reason to expect anything auspicious from two plebeian censors, both of them supporters of Pompey¹.

3.2.3 THE AFTERMATH OF POMPEY'S CENSUS: REPETITION UNDESIRABLE

The outcome of the census denotes that the political significance of the Italian element, i. e. of the non-Urban voters, increased considerably. This seems to have influenced the political life in the capital. Wiseman² has drawn attention to the rush of legislation of the sixties showing that *ambitus* and bribery was a particularly acute problem at that time; the different political groups tried to find supporters among the new citizens³. Again, the canvassing of the Italians suggests that many of them belonged to politically influential groups of the local municipal societies. To them the political vote could have been an instrument of power; they would probably be referred to the first class of citizens⁴, the one casting its votes first⁵.

The census employed as a political weapon was amply illustrated in 70/69 B.C. The increasing opposition to the man, Pompey, who had made the registration of citizens serve his own political ends, ruined the attempts to renew the census after the customary interval of five years, in 65 B.C. The censors were Q. Lutatius Catulus of a plebeian *gens*, but with family relations which made him a member of the *optimates*, and

¹ J. SUOLAHTI, *The Roman Censors. A Study on Social Structure*, Annales Acad. Scient. Fenn. B. 117, Helsinki 1963, 463; the censors removed 64 members of the Senate, Livy *Per.* 98.

² *JRS*, 59 (1969), 66.

³ TOYNBEE has observed that on two occasions the addition of new tribes to the *ager Romanus* was followed by laws on bribery, probably because politicians in an unseemly manner started courting the new citizens, cf. TOYNBEE I, 488, n. 9 and WISEMAN, *JRS*, 59 (1969), 67.

⁴ 46 L. ROSS TAYLOR, *The Roman Voting Assemblies*, 105, and PIERI, 166.

⁵ We may here recall that the Italians were strongly opposed to the provisions of the *lex Iulia de civitate* of 90 B.C., that they should all be referred to the new tribes to be constituted (cf. RUOFF, pp. 77 ff. above), the reason for their attitude being that in the *comitia tributa* they would have cast their votes after the 35 old tribes, and consequently in vain, cf. PIERI, 164.

M. Licinius Crassus of an old senatorial *gens*¹. Crassus wanted to extend the citizenship to the Transpadanes, obviously in order to increase his own adherents². Catulus opposed this extension, and consequently the censors could not reach agreement, nor perform the *lustrum*³.

The following year a new attempt was made with L. Aurelius Cotta as one of the censors⁴. Vetoed by the tribunes of the plebs they resigned without accomplishing anything. The disagreement of the censors and the tribunes most probably had a political background, although the details are unknown⁵. The censorial college of 61 B.C. was very similar to the previous one⁶; they did not complete the census—although preparations were far advanced⁷.

In 55 B.C. with Pompey and Crassus as consuls and with their veterans in the background, the patrician, M. Valerius Messalla Niger and the plebeian, P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus were elected censors. This is the year after the meeting of Luca, which had confirmed the co-operation between Pompey, Crassus and Caesar. The choice of censors must represent an agreement between the three in Luca⁸; therefore the fact that they did not accomplish the census seems inexplicable. There must have developed a rift in the triumviral camp whereby conflicting allegiances could have forced the censors to resign without having completed their task.

Five years later, when the relations between Pompey and Caesar were very close to the breaking point, the endeavour to carry out the census was repeated. The consuls for the year, L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus and C. Claudius Marcellus, represented different camps⁹, and so did the censors. Ap. Claudius Pulcher, the patrician, was the father-in-law of Pompey's eldest

¹ Cf. SUOLAHTI, 464–471.

² ROSS TAYLOR, *PP*, 122.

³ TIBILETTI, 105, n. 35.

⁴ SUOLAHTI, 474, who deduces that the other was Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livinianus.

⁵ Cf. Dio 37, 9, 4. The dispute regarded the admission of the Transpadanes to the citizenship.

⁶ The censors are not known for certain.

⁷ SUOLAHTI, 476, and TIBILETTI, 105, n. 37. For the political tension in Rome at that time, after Pompey's return to the capital, cf. SYME, 33.

⁸ It is hard to agree with SUOLAHTI's roundabout judgement, 482 f., that "Niger possibly owed his election to the service he had rendered to Pompey in the consular election, while Servilius owed it to his great popularity". Both censors seem to have been connected with Caesar; for Servilius, cf. SYME, 64, n. 5, and ROSS TAYLOR, *PP*, 224, n. 23; for Messalla, *ibid.*, 226, n. 54.

⁹ SYME, 66.

son, L. Calpurnius Piso was Caesar's father-in-law. It is difficult to believe that they would have been able to reach an agreement with regard to the census proper as, somewhat surprisingly, they did with the *lectio*¹, if the Civil War had not intervened. At this juncture, Caesar seems to have contemplated the incorporation of the Transpadanes with the citizen body² in order to increase his personal political backing. Pompey could not be expected to approve of these plans.

With Caesar supreme and attending to some duties of the censors in person after 49 B. C., the censors and the censorship became superfluous. In 46 B. C. he assumed the *ensoria potestas*. He may have carried out the census, although without performing the *lustrum*³. The extension of the civil rights to the Transpadanes in 49 B. C.⁴ must surely have induced Caesar to take steps towards a revision of the citizen lists, and the registration of the new citizens. From this point of view, the concession of citizenship did not take full effect until the enrolment had been carried out, and the Transpadanes were able to exercise their potential political power.

Two years after the assassination of the dictator, a year after the proscriptions, and in the year of the defeat of the Liberators at Philippi, the political situation demanded new censors. Obviously a revision of the senatorial list was urgently required. Two reliable supporters of the new triumvirs were elected in 42 B. C., the uncle of Antony, the triumvir, C. Antonius Hybrida, and the patrician P. Sulpicius Rufus, later probably married to a relative of Caesar's⁵. They saw to it that followers of the triumvirs were admitted to the Senate in sufficient numbers. Thus, they raised the membership of this body to over a thousand. This must, in the eyes of the collegiate rulers of the Roman world, have been regarded as their main task. They did not complete the census or perform the *lustrum*, which would have been impossible in the prevailing circumstances.

Subsequently, as far as we know, no effort was made to codify or to revise the citizen register until Octavian in 29 B. C. assumed consular powers. He performed the *lustrum* the following year, and thus confirmed the first census in 41 years, registering a total of 4,063,000 Roman citizens.

¹ SUOLAHTI, 488.

² SCHÖNBAUER, *Anzeiger*, 89 (1952), 114; cf. also ROSS TAYLOR, *PP*, 154.

³ Cf. TIBILETTI, 125.

⁴ Dio 21, 36; cf. SCHÖNBAUER, *Anzeiger*, 89 (1952), 114.

⁵ SUOLAHTI, 494.

3.3 THE CENSUS OF 70/69 B. C.: INCOMPLETE STATE OF THE INTEGRATION OF THE PENINSULA

The *tabula Heracleensis* and its clauses aiming at an integration of the enrolment of citizens in *Italia* were the point of departure of the preceding account for the struggle for Italy. This struggle developed into a fight for the political franchise of the Italians dependent on the endeavour of diverse Roman political groups and individual politicians to gain supporters and power. The *Italia* of the *tabula Heracleensis* refers to the age of Caesar, or more properly, to Caesar's political aspirations after 49 B. C., when the notion was created with reference to Cisalpine Gaul, too.

The date of this notion and of the table¹ does not exclude the possibility² that many of the clauses could be much older than the table itself.

The stipulations of the *tabula Heracleensis*, if rigorously applied in all the *municipia*, *coloniae* and *praefecturae* of *Italia*, would indubitably have unified the name forms, at least the male ones, within a very short span of time. The impact of the unifying clauses could be estimated to have been considerable because absence at the census must have been penalized regardless of where the enrolment took place³. The question of how far individual members of franchized communities, despite the rigid clauses of the *tabula Heracleensis*, were free to decide whether or not they wanted to accept the civil rights offered by the Romans, is not easily answered. The problem will be discussed below⁴.

At the 89 and 86/84 B. C. censuses the unifying stipulations of the *tabula* do not seem to have been in force⁵, i. e. they are in fact of a later date. What about the census of 70/69 B. C.?

Pompey's census was discussed above in terms of the political development. In this context we should evaluate the demographic implications of the census. The high figure 910,000 (as compared with the figures of the

¹ Cf. 7. 3. 1 above.

² As stressed by BRUNT, 38, 522.

³ For the consequences of omission to attend census, cf. Gaius 1, 159-163 with reference to the early Republic; Cic. *Caec.* 99 shows that the old laws were still observed in the first century B. C. (cf. further E. LEVY, 'Libertas und Civitas', ZSS, 76 (1961), *Rom. Abt.*, 160-166), *Att.* 1, 18, 8 that absence at census could be penalized in the late Republic, cf. WISEMAN, *JRS.* 59 (1969), 69.

⁴ pp. 485 ff.

⁵ Cf. 7. 3. 2. 3 above.

preceding censuses) can be explained with reference to several concurring circumstances. It was the result of single-minded political canvassing, aiming at nullifying the suspension of the census carried out by Sulla in order to promote the interests of the Senate¹. It was carried out by systematically rallying the Italians to the Pompeian cause². The figure doubtless comprises a considerable number of colonists³. Sulla's decision to expropriate land for his new colonies, selecting towns which had been on the losing side⁴ may have increased the sense of lawlessness among the non-Romans and consequently their inclination to seek refuge in the *ius provocationis*—regardless of the fact that Sullan policy struck at Roman citizens, too, if need be. Brunt suggests⁵ that Sulla intended to make the colonists settle on expropriated allotments in order to rule over the old inhabitants who, lacking Roman citizenship, could have shared local rights with the veterans. After Sulla this would have been one reason for the inhabitants of franchized towns to register at census. The extent of the Sullan colonization is in doubt. Appian's figure of 120,000 veterans to be settled has been regarded as "a paper figure for the complement of the 23 legions to whom lands were apportioned"⁶. A more cautious calculation gives 100,000⁷. Krawczuk considers that the effects of the Sullan colonization were probably smaller than what has usually been assumed. Some of the colonies were never founded (e.g. Volaterrae), others seem to have perished not later than in conjunction with the Catilinarian conspiracy. This would justify a still lower figure. On somewhat different grounds, Brunt⁸ arrives at the conclusion that 80,000 colonists would have been a maximum. However, these 120,000—80,000 colonists would have been included in the Pompeian census returns.

The reliability of the figure 910,000 (900,000) has been subject to many arguments, but I cannot see why it would be impossible or unlikely for the number of adult male Roman citizens to redouble in the 45 years

¹ FRANK, *ESAR* 1, 225.

² As to Pompey's efforts to expand his *clientela*, cf. above p. 467.

³ Now, as in Gracchan times the colonization must have affected the census returns in two ways, cf. above 7. 2. 3.

⁴ Cf. BRUNT's comments, 305, to Appian's *B. C.* 1, 94-104; further SALMON, 130.

⁵ 306.

⁶ BRUNT, 305.

⁷ Cf. A. KRAWCZUK, *Kolonizacja sullañska*, Polska Akademia Nauk, Kraków, Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych 4, 1960, summary, 89 f.

⁸ Loc. cit.

from 115 to 70 B.C., considering the political development in Italy in these years¹.

In particular, Cicero's words about the great crowds present in Rome in 70/69 B.C. "comitiorum ludorum censendique causa"² has been regarded as proof that the census after the Social War had regularly been taken in Rome "and had enrolled only those who chose to make the sacrifice of time and effort to go there to register"³. I find this explanation impossible to accept⁴ and believe it to be due to a misunderstanding of Cicero's words. The census in this passing reference to the crowd in Rome does not specifically stress the census; such a negligence would have been impossible if within a short span of time close to a million male citizens had been present for registration in Rome, and, in addition, lodged and fed, more than 50 per cent of them ex-allies⁵, and, consequently, strangers in the capital. Clearly any taking of the census compelled citizens living in the outskirts of the city to come to Rome for enrolment. This would have increased the crowds in the streets. But if we reject the idea of registration by personal attendance in Rome for all Roman citizens, and I think we are forced to do so, the increased number of registered citizens is explicable solely in the light of a system of reports to be delivered to the censors in Rome. Such a system is in fact outlined in the *tabula Heracleensis*⁶ "eosque libros (sc. those containing the returns of the local census) per legatos, quos maior pars decurionum conscriptorum adeam rem legarei mitte censuerint". These delegations from single communities from

¹ FRANK, *ESAR* I, 315 maintains that "the figures for 115 and for 28 belong to full and accurate censuses; the others (i.e. the figures for 85 and 69) do not". His refusal to accept the figures for 69 is based on the one hand on the comparison with Octavian's census of 28 B.C., on the other, on two incidental references in Cicero (*Verr.* 1, 54 and *Arch.* 11) which show that the citizens were apparently compelled to journey to Rome if they wished to be enrolled; cf. also FRANK, *CIPh.* 19 (1924), 337. The number of actual and prospective citizens in 90 B.C. would therefore probably have been about 2,000,000 (loc. cit). The subsequent discussion concerning the significance of the figure 910,000 has been focussed on these two points.

² *Verr.* 1, 54.

³ FRANK, *CIPh.* 19 (1924), 334; cf. recently in support of this view WISEMAN, *JRS.* 59 (1969), 68.

⁴ As does BRUNT, 98 f. with many convincing arguments.

⁵ Cf. BRUNT's estimate, 97, table VIII.

⁶ ll. 149-150.

all over Italy would certainly have been conspicuous¹ (according to the *tabula Heracleensis* they should all arrive in Rome before the expiry of the *censura*, and consequently be present in Rome at the same time); they would comprise local nobles with their trains longing to be seen, to participate in public and social life (*ludi* and *comitia*). It is much more probable that Cicero refers to them than to hundreds of thousands of ex-allies, who would have been a serious threat to law and order in the capital.

We cannot say how far the clauses of the *tabula Heracleensis* are an adaptation of a system employed in 70/69 B.C., or earlier. Alternatively the *tabula* may represent a complete reorganization of the earlier system of enrolment. Nevertheless it is quite clear that a census involving close to a million citizens to be registered, without some kind of reporting to the censors in Rome, would have been impossible. Here we seem to find a satisfactory explanation of Cicero's words in his speech against Verres.

To sum up: the above considerations suggest that there was a fairly well developed system of local census integrated with the census in Rome, in 70/69 B.C. We may well, with Brunt² suppose "that Rome gave 'full faith and credit' to the local census records". On the other hand, it does not follow that the co-ordination of the different local censuses, and the instructions given to the various *municipia coloniae praefecturae* were as detailed as they later were in the *tabula Heracleensis*. Here the funerary inscriptions of Etruria provide us with a check-point. At Clusium, where they flow most abundantly, they suggest that there was no rigorous unification affecting the name forms about the middle of the first century B.C., or slightly later. The stipulations regulating the 70/69 B.C. census do not, therefore, seem to have influenced the process of Latinization decisively. On the other hand, it is clear that Latinization gains momentum when the number of Italians, utilizing the opportunities to obtain Roman citizenship, rises steeply. A corollary to these conclusions is that we should regard Sulla's colonization as a promoter of the Romanization of Etruria³ circum-

¹ According to the *tabula Heracleensis* they should arrive in Rome before the expiry of the *censura*, and consequently be present in Rome at the same time.

² 92.

³ Cf. SALMON, 131.

4. OCTAVIAN'S CENSUS OF 29/28 B.C. AND ITS AIMS

The *Res Gestae*¹ show that Octavian carried out the census in his sixth consulship when Marcus Agrippa was his colleague, and performed the *lustrum*. This paragraph allows for the deduction that Octavian assumed the *ensoria potestas* the preceding year considering that eighteen months had normally been allotted for the censorial duties². "Quo lustro civium Romanorum censa sunt capita quadragiens centum millia et sexaginta tria millia"³. The number of Roman citizens registered had consequently risen from 910,000 to 4,063,000 in 41 years.

The quadrupling (and more) of the census figures has been explained in many different ways, above all because scholars have found it very hard to accept a corresponding increase of the population in these 41 years. So Frank, to mention one instance, resorted to the expedient of declaring the census of 70/69 B. C. incomplete⁴, whereas others⁵ suggest that the entire basis of the census was changed so as to comprise women and children in addition to adult males.

The interpretation of the census figures is of considerable interest for our understanding of the process of the Romanization of Etruria, which seems to reach completion in, or shortly after, the reign of Augustus. It has on the preceding pages been possible to demonstrate the connexions between the local censuses and the varying degrees of the process of Latinization. We should, therefore, here continue by considering the impact of Octavian's census on the Romanization of Italy.

Frank thought that a major factor contributing to the high returns of Octavian's census was the inclusion of Cisalpine Gaul with Italy, when its status of province was abolished in 42 B. C.⁶. He actually calculated that 1/3 of the Italic population lived in Cisalpina, and that the male adults of this part of Italy were about 1 million⁷.

¹ 8.

² PIERI, 185 f.

³ *Res Gestae* 8.

⁴ *ESAR* I, 315.

⁵ K. J. BELOCH, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, Leipzig 1886, 436 and, most recently, BRUNT, 120 and *passim*.

⁶ CHILVER, 9; BRUNT, 167.

⁷ *ESAR* I, 315.

Now Frank seems to have exaggerated the populousness of Cisalpine Gaul¹; even if the figures had been correct, they could not account alone for the steep rise in the census figures. There must have been other reasons as well, and it is suggested here that the census procedure adopted by Octavian is one of the main reasons for the increase in the census returns.

It is reasonable to expect that the census was carried out in accordance with the provisions of the *tabula Heracleensis*. The reorganization of the census was a part of Caesar's heritage, which was codified as a part of the *acta Caesaris* in a *lex Antonia de actis Caesaris confirmandis* of 44 B.C.² Certainly we cannot expect Octavian to have adopted these principles in practice solely out of *pietas*, out of veneration for the memory of his adoptive father; the character of the *lex Antonia de actis Caesaris* which concerned also plans and designs, left the interpretation of the intentions of the assassinated dictator at the discretion of his heirs. Had the system outlined by the *tabula Heracleensis* been contrary to the interests of Octavian, it is evident that he would have discarded it or interpreted it in an appropriate way.

Behind the revisions of the censorial practice outlined in the *tabula Heracleensis* there is discernible Caesar's political idea of a unified Italy³, which would on the one hand form a stable basis for the Roman commonwealth, on the other, guarantee that the Italian stock in the Roman citizen body outnumbered or politically neutralized the earlier dominating population of the Urbs and, at the same time, gave him a host of followers. Octavian's aims were identical with those of Divus Iulius in this respect; the incorporation of Cisalpine Gaul with Italy demonstrates that he acted speedily and with purpose when carrying out his plans.

¹ Cf. BRUNT in his chapter on the population of Cisalpine Gaul, 166-203, and the section on the population in the first century B.C., 198-203.

² A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, 'Die Tafel von Heraclea', ZSS, 43 (1922), *Rom. Abt.*, 45 f., and in greater detail his section V "Die rechtliche Anerkennung der Acta Caesaris nach dessen Tod", 129-145; for the *lex Antonia*, cf. also G. ROTONDI, *Leges publicae populi Romani*, Hildesheim 1962, 429 f.; with regard to the confirmation of the *acta Caesaris* also, of June 3, 44 B.C. the *plebiscitum de Caesaris actis cognoscendis cum consilio*, ROTONDI, 432 f., by VON PREMIERSTEIN obviously identified with the *lex Antonia*, and finally, the *lex Vibia de actis Caesaris confirmandis* of 43 B.C., ROTONDI, 434: "Proposta ex auctoritate senatus dal console C. Vibius Pansa ai comizi centuriati, in sostituzione della abrogata *Lex Antonia de actis Caesaris confirmandis*".

³ I. 142: "quae municipia, coloniae, praefecturae c(ivium) R(omanorum) in Italia sunt erunt".

It would, therefore, seem that a combination of piety towards Divus Iulius¹ and a carefully thought-out political strategy caused Octavian to try out the provisions of the *tabula Heracleensis* in his first census.

Wiseman² emphasizes that the census of 29/28 B. C. and the concluding *lustrum* was a necessary pre-requisite of the reconstitution of the *res publica* to be undertaken in 27 B. C. Considering the deeper meaning of the *lustratio*, this is a very appropriate remark. We may, therefore, rest assured that whatever was the subsequent development of the census, Octavian's first census was carried out according to custom, although it was rendered more efficient by the expedient of local registration "ex formula census, quae Romae ab eo, qui tum censum populi acturus erit, proposita erit". When Octavian emphasizes that the himself "legibus novis] m[e auctore] latis m[ulta e]xempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro [saccul]o red[uxi]..."³, he sought to demonstrate that his policy aimed at guaranteeing a continuous and organic development because of his reverence for the traditional institutions of the Roman State⁴.

The psychological and political probability is that Octavian in the census of 29/28 B. C. did not fundamentally deviate from the provisions laid down in the *tabula Heracleensis* in order to cover the vast number of Roman citizens living outside easy reach of the capital. This does not exclude some modifications of the *formula census* of Caesar, but we have no means of establishing their extent and character except by considering the impact of the census such as it appears in the epitaphs of Italy, i. e., in our particular case, in Etruria.

4.1 THE LANGUAGE SHIFT AT VOLATERRAE UNDER AUGUSTUS

The language shift at Volaterrae started later than in any other town in Etruria according to the funerary inscriptions. The typological classification of the Volaterran cinerary urns has provided us possibilities of establishing certain chronological limits for a number of inscribed lids. All the relevant

¹ Not unseemly in the year of the inauguration of the temple of the Divus Iulius in 29 B. C.

² WISEMAN, *JRS*, 59 (1969), 71.

³ *Res Gestae* 8.

⁴ Cf. SYME, 321-325 for the notion of the restoration of the Republic.

Latin inscriptions can be placed within clearly defined and dated typological groups.

Generally speaking, a Romanizing artistic trend begins to be discernible about 100 B. C.¹ when it succeeds the Hellenistic influence prevailing in the preceding centuries. This happens roughly at the same time as Latinization in other Etruscan towns². The cinerary urns characterized by their Romanizing style have been subdivided in the following way by Mrs. Nielsen³:

The Roman Style Phase about 100 B. C.—A. D. 20/50

- (1) The Transitional Group, about 100-80 B. C.
- (2) The Idealizing Group, about 80/60-30 B. C.
- (3) Some Isolated Lid Sculptures, about 80/60-30 B. C.
- (4) The Book-Scroll Group, about 50/40-20/10 B. C.
- (5) The Caecina Selcia Group, about 50/30-10 B. C.
- (6) The Diptych Group, about 20 B. C.—A. D. 10/20
- (7) Two Figures Lying on their Stomachs, A. D. 20/50.

Mrs. Nielsen concludes by stating that there is at least one lid sculpture⁴ which with reference to the female hair dress should be referred to the period A. D. 20/50, and that "no lid sculptures made in the Etruscan tradition can be dated later than that"⁵.

The inventory of the inscriptions⁶ shows that prior to the Roman Style Phase only two out of about 136 lid sculptures were inscribed. In the subdivision of the Roman Style Phase the number of the lid sculptures and the number of Etruscan and Latin inscriptions respectively, was as indicated in the table which follows⁷.

¹ NIELSEN, pp. 300, 380 ff.

² As to the date, cf. KAIMIO, pp. 220-221 above.

³ 5. 3. 1.

⁴ Volterra 241, cf. pp. 377 f.

⁵ NIELSEN, p. 382.

⁶ NIELSEN, pp. 397 f.: Index of Inscriptions.

⁷ I record the group numbers in the same way as above; the Latin epitaphs are recorded in NIELSEN, p. 387 n. 1. We may add that an altar-shaped cinerary urn was found in the Caecina tomb in 1739. The urn was inscribed in Latin (*CIE* 18, *CIL* XI¹ 1763 Volterra, cf. NIELSEN, p. 320 above).

	No. of lids	Etr. inscriptions	Latin inscriptions
(1)	10	1	—
(2)	c. 250	65	1
(3)	4	—	—
(4)	50	13	7
(5)	11	6	1
(6)	29	13	1
	c. 354	98	10

It is not easy to be more specific with regard to the dates of single Latin inscriptions. The earliest Latin inscription¹ has to be referred to the period 80/60-30 B. C., eight epitaphs to the period 50/30-10 B. C., and one, finally, to the time 20 B. C.-A. D. 10/20. Nevertheless, the table reveals that the Etruscan inscriptions dominated strongly in the later groups also (4-6), with 9 Latin inscriptions against 32 Etruscan ones. The latest datable urn lid which can be given a fixed *terminus post quem*² shows the female hair dress used by Livia after the death of Augustus. The inscription³ is in Etruscan¹.

Summing up, we can say that Latin was introduced comparatively late in the epitaphs of Volaterrae, that the foreign language gains ground but slowly and that Etruscan was employed in the early Empire, it would seem, as late as in the reign of Tiberius, up to the time when the local Etruscan burial customs were discontinued.

4.2 THE POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF THE VOLATERRANS TOWARDS ROME

The conservatism of the Volaterrans as reflected in the Etruscan epitaphs is remarkable. It seems to be stronger than in other towns in the north of Etruria although, admittedly, the cemeteries of those towns have not supplied us with epitaphs datable with the same degree of certainty. This conserva-

¹ *CIL* XI¹ 174 on the urn Volterra 177.

² No. 24 in the Diptych Group, cf. NIELSEN, p. 373.

³ *CIE* 109.

⁴ Mrs. NIELSEN, loc. cit., does not exclude the possibility that the lid sculpture could be slightly earlier than this hair-dress of Livia.

tism on the part of the local immobile population (in contrast, for instance, to the mobile and largely Romanized Caecinae), may well be interpreted as a protest or simply as a refusal to surrender national identity. The vicissitudes of the town in the first century B. C. discussed in different contexts above¹ seem to be a sufficient explanation of this attitude towards the Romans and their language. For the sake of clarity I venture to repeat the main points.

A possible *municipium* before the Social War², the town was reduced by Sulla to the state of Ariminum³, which seems to have equalled *ius Latii*⁴. There is no certainty about the time when the full franchise was regained, although Cicero in his speech *pro Caecina* may have succeeded in persuading the censors to register Aulus Caecina in the 70/69 B. C. census⁵.

Sulla made the whole territory of Volaterrae public land, but the colony planned was never founded. This did not imply that the inhabitants and the landowners of the pre-war time were freed from anxiety and uncertainty. Cicero defended the Volaterran lands against the bill of Flavius in 59 B. C.⁶. Not even Caesar seems to have settled the question of ownership despite Cicero's assertion to the contrary⁷; it may well be that Cicero's appeal to Q. Valerius Orca was in vain and that at least some land was found for Caesar's veterans at Volaterrae⁸.

The conclusions as regards the reluctant Romanization of the Etruscans was based on the evidence of the epitaphs. Are we able to gauge how far they represent Volaterran society?

¹ NIELSEN, p. 387 ff.; HOHTI, pp. 410-413.

² RUOFF, pp. 56 f.

³ HOHTI, 6. 2.

⁴ SHERWIN-WHITE, 96 ff.; KRAWCZUK, summary, 89, notes that "Sulla accorda (sc. the town) l'indigénat latin de la plus haute catégorie, c'est-à-dire *ius XII coloniarum*".

⁵ HARRIS, 282 f., suggests that the censors in this census generally "accepted the registration of the Volaterrani and probably of the Arretines and any others who had suffered under the *lex Cornelia*". True enough, this would have been in keeping with Pompey's general policy, but it seems to me that the evidence of the *pro Caecina* is far too feeble a support for the annulment of the *lex Cornelia* (BRUNT, 306 says that the deprivation of the citizenship at Arretium and Volaterrae was mysteriously annulled by the courts, with reference to *Caec. 97* and *dom. 79*). It was certainly easier to plead successfully the case of the *domi nobiles*, the support of which was politically important to Cicero, than that of whole communities.

⁶ *fam.* 13.4; cf. BRUNT, 306, n. 1 and 313.

⁷ HOHTI above; cf. *Cic. fam.* 13, 4 and BRUNT, 313, 323.

⁸ Cf. BORMANN, *CIL* XI, p. 325.

Generally speaking we are justified in ascribing them to the upper strata of the local society. Burials in stately family tombs in elaborately worked cinerary urns was certainly the privilege of the *domi nobiles*—for economic reasons. The tombs of the Caecinae of Volaterrae, of the Volumini and Rufi at Perugia correspond to those described by Thimme in his study of the Clusine genealogies. For the Caecinae, the tombs of which have yielded so many cinerary urns, the connexions with the Etruscan as well as with the Roman aristocracy are well established¹. The land-owning class most certainly belonged to this group, which must have resented the expropriation of territory and the uncertainty with regard to the future most acutely. The landowners, regardless of the size of their landed property, must have felt that they were dependent on Roman charity. Hence the refusal to yield to Romanism.

We may compare the development at Volaterrae with the situation at Arretium² and Clusium. The former town was punished by Sulla by depriving its inhabitants of citizenship. In addition the territory was expropriated and used for the settlement of colonists³. Now for Arretium the inscriptions illustrating the process are very scarce⁴. There are three Etrusco-Latin bilinguals, the earliest of which can be dated 40 B. C. "There were some people at Arretium which understood Etruscan and knew the old name system perhaps as late as the early Empire", Mr. Kaimio concludes⁵. Accordingly, there is a considerable difference between Volaterrae and Arretium.

The Clusine material provides a useful check-point because cinerary urns of the same type as those used at Volaterrae supply a high percentage

¹ HOUTI, pp. 414 ff.

² Cf. RUOFF, pp. 50 f.

³ The *Arretini Fidentiores* of Pliny according to BRUNT, 306. Nevertheless, Cicero (*Att.* I, 19, 4), speaking about "Volaterranos et Arretinos quorum agrum Sulla publicarat neque diviserat" confirms that the two towns were more or less in the same position. When debating the vicissitudes of Volaterrae and Arretium, Mrs. RUOFF recorded that Miss L. BANTI once in a discussion had questioned the correctness of using this passage as evidence for the Roman treatment of Arretium. The most important Mss. in fact contain *arteminos*, *Arretinos* thus being an emendation (Augustinus), cf. SHACKLETON-BAILEY's edition, I (Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 3, Cambridge 1965), 180. The consensus of scholars has, however, accepted the emendation and I have to profess my inability to suggest a plausible alternative. Nevertheless, the doubts with regard to *Arretinos* persist.

⁴ KAIMIO, 3, 2, 9, pp. 214 f. above.

⁵ Loc. cit.

of the inscriptions. The urns of the leading families were richly decorated, whereas the urns of the "middle class", of professional people, were, as a rule, plain. The latter kind of urns as well as inscriptions mentioning different professions was absent at Volaterrae.

There is no easy and obvious explanation for the different pattern of behaviour at Volaterrae, Arretium and Clusium. A detailed comparison between Volaterrae and Clusium is made impossible by the fact that the Volaterran middle class is not in evidence in the epithaphs; the only unequivocal result of a comparison of these two is that the Clusine upper class is becoming Latinized earlier than their counterpart at Volaterrae, though aristocratic tombs are rare¹ and the classified urn groups few².

The above linguistic study has pointed out a basic resemblance between the inscriptions of Arretium and Volaterrae—in both towns the Latin names mostly occur on monuments of clearly Roman character³—although there is a difference in time between the beginning of the language shift in the two towns. Considering the similarity of the vicissitudes of these towns after the Social War, this is surprising. The explanation may be found in colonization, which to some extent (the *Arretini Fidentiores*) seems to have been carried out at Arretium at some date despite Cicero's words⁴, and the growing economic importance of the Arretine potteries. Wiseman⁵ has drawn the attention to the potteries of Vibienus and Rufrenus, two senators and contemporaries of Cicero, probably of Arretine origin, and suggested⁶ that C. Vibienus was one of the Arretine landowners defended by Cicero in 60 B. C. when he succeeded "to allow the people of Volaterrae and Arretium to retain in their holding their land which Sulla had made public land, but had not distributed"⁷.

Financial interests were at stake at Arretium, and a study of the pre-Arretine and early (plain) Arretine ceramics suggests that the industry was owned by Romans or Latinized Etruscans⁸. Thus the growth of the

¹ KAIMIO, p. 207.

² KAIMIO, p. 206.

³ KAIMIO, p. 225.

⁴ *Att.* I, 19, 4.

⁵ *Mnemosyne*, 16 (1963), 275-283.

⁶ 281.

⁷ *Att.* I, 19, 4, quoted according to the Loeb translation.

⁸ CHR. GOURDINEAU, *La céramique Arretine lisse*, *MEFR*, Suppl. 6, Paris 1968, 332 shows that the inscribed pre-Arretine stamps employ Latin letters. This kind of ceramics was born around the middle of the first century B. C. (335). It succeeds, and partly overlaps with the black-glazed Etrusco-Campanian ceramics, which continue to be produced until the end of the century and which also

Arretine industry may decisively have speeded up the process of Latinization in contrast to the corresponding development of Volaterrae. The Volaterrans, in comparison, appear almost abandoned, although Roman monumental buildings erected in their town towards the end of the last century B. C.¹ are proof to the contrary². After the Sullan war Volaterrae was deprived of the full franchise and probably reduced to Latin status³. The reduced civil rights released neither feelings of enthusiasm nor a Latinizing wave in the Etruscan town, whereas in Venetia it appears that the *ius Latii* and the possibilities of obtaining the citizenship *per magistratum* gave an impact to Latinization⁴. This goes to show that the legal or juridical status of a community is not necessarily the decisive factor in the process of Latinization. The inner motivation of a society, its wish to identify itself with the Romans obviously was, or could have been, more important.

When Latinization finally starts at Volaterrae we can see that the Etruscan traditions do not survive for long. Romanization follows suit soon after, under Augustus. The reasons for this seem to be Augustus' policy of unifying Italy. As far as this policy is reflected in our material, it can be explained in terms of the census of 29/28 B. C.

4.3 THE CENSUS FIGURES OF 29/28 B. C.

In the *Res Gestae* Augustus records the outcome of the census of 29/28 B. C. as 4,063,000 *civium capita*. Nevertheless scholars disagree with regard to the significance of these figures. I should like to emphasize at once that the figures, in my opinion, stand for male adult Roman citizens (and not for all Romans, women and children included). Further, I maintain that these figures are comparable with the outcome of the 70/69 B. C. census. In this respect my views differ from the two conceptions which have hitherto dominated scholarly discussion concerning the demography of the Roman Republic. Beloch, whose main points have recently been sup-

employ similar stamps, some of them inscribed with combinations of letters similar to those found on the plain Arretine ware. Etruscan letters or words have been found on Etrusco-Campanian ceramics, but they are of earlier date, *ibid.*, 333, n. 4.

¹ Cf. HARRIS, 314 f.

² We may compare the development at Volaterrae with the corresponding one in Venetia. The Venetians were endowed with the *ius Latii* through the agency of Pompey and subsequently, in 49 B. C., with *civitas* (7. 2. 4 above, cf. p. 459, n. 3).

³ Cf. HOHTI, pp. 411 f. above.

⁴ Above, p. 459.

ported by P. A. Brunt's impressive and imaginative research, represents one line of thought and Tenney Frank another.

Now, the comparison of the 29/28 B. C. census figures with the figures of the preceding and the subsequent census constitutes one of the crucial points for the understanding of the implications of the figure 4,063,000. Frank maintains that the figures of 70/69 and 29/28 record adult males and regards the figures of the latter census as correct because the census was taken at a time when no political disturbances could impede its reliability. Although he believes in a considerable increase of the population after the Social War, he finds it hard to accept a quadrupling of the population in 40 years. Consequently, he cannot regard the 70/69 census figures as correct.

Brunt's point of departure is that the 70/69 figures on the whole record the adult male citizens correctly. In a series of detailed studies, which seem to cover all possible aspects of the demographic development, Brunt demonstrates that Frank's theories concerning an increase of the population in the last pre-Christian century is fallacious; we have no reason to doubt the correctness of his conclusions on this point. Consequently, Brunt arrives at the general conclusion that the 29/28 census figures, the reliability of which must be accepted, are incompatible with the 70/69 figures. Thus Brunt is forced to reassume Beloch's theory that Octavian's census recorded men, women and children (but not infants) and not male adults alone.

With Brunt's recent contribution to the demographic discussion in mind, it is surely superfluous to repeat all the pertinent arguments in order to show the logic of his conclusion that there can scarcely have been any natural increase of the Roman population in the years 70/69 to 29/28 B. C. On the other hand, I cannot agree that the inference Brunt draws from his conclusion is inevitable, or that it is the only possible one. I do not believe that the censuses of 70/69 and 29/28 were taken according to fundamentally different principles¹.

Any consideration of the significance of the census figures has to depart from the fact that *Res Gestae*² record the formula "civium Romanorum censa sunt capita tot"³. This is the old formula for expressing the results of the census. From the methodological point of view we have to accept its meaning to be unaltered unless special circumstances speak in favour of a different interpretation⁴.

¹ Cf. p. 477, above.

² 8.

³ Noted by BRUNT, 114 with reference to the *Fasti Ostienses* also.

⁴ Cf. FRANK, *CIPh*, 19 (1924), 338.

Beloch and Brunt, however, consider the quadrupling of the census figures as a serious difficulty because the increase of the registered population took place in a period, after the Social War, when all Italy was franchized and the only addition to the Roman body politic ought to have been Cisalpine Gaul. They both opine that once a community has been endowed with the *civitas* all of its citizens are registered as Roman citizens in the census. Brunt supports his view by showing how the local census worked.

Now, I find it very hard to approve of his supposition that the extension of the citizenship to a certain community automatically implied a registration of all its citizens. Regardless of the risk of repeating arguments presented above, it has to be emphasized that such a practice would have presupposed a system of central registration, in Rome, of all citizens. Again, this would have required detailed and rigorous instructions with regard to the name forms to be registered, and consequently universally accepted and uniformly applied instructions for all the local officials responsible for the censuses. The studies of the Latin inscriptions of Etruria suggest that such a uniformity did not exist—at least there—before 29/28 B. C.

5. REGISTRATION OF EXTRA-URBAN POTENTIAL CITIZENS

The most valuable and the most jealously guarded properties of Roman citizenship were the *ius suffragii* and the *ius honorum*. Single citizens of non-Urban communities cannot possibly have acquired these rights without being registered in Rome, where they were to make use of their prerogatives. On the other hand, for mass-enrollment we have earlier accepted¹ the possibility of registration by way of local census registers, thus excluding the necessity of personal attendance at the census in Rome; at the same time, however, it was apparent that the co-ordination of the local censuses, at least not during the 70/69 census, was not as detailed as the one later established by the *tabula Heracleensis*².

The *tabula Heracleensis* presupposes that all those registered use the Roman name form. The extension of the stipulations regarding the census in Rome to the entire peninsula also implies that absence from local registration would have been punishable³. It is obvious that such a system must

¹ Cf. p. 446, above.

² Cf. p. 473, above.

³ Cf. above, p. 471, n. 3.

have affected all the non-Latin communities which were within the sphere of action of the law. The local varieties of the processes of Latinization of Etruria imply that the censuses of 89, 86/84, and 70/69¹ did not influence the Latinization so decisively as to determine its course and certain of its external aspects. Only when the census is carried out everywhere according to the same stipulations (such as those of the *tabula Heracleensis*) can it be maintained that the citizens of the enfranchized communities really use, or are compelled to use, the possibilities of being registered as Roman citizens².

If we are to accept this explanation, we should be able to answer the following questions:

(1) How were the citizens of the various Italian communities registered if there was a local census but if no universally valid instructions were issued by the central authority?

(2) Why do the Romans prior to Caesar seem to have been but little interested in mass registration of Italians? (The *tabula Heracleensis* suggests that Caesar adopted a different policy in this respect.)

(3) What is the explanation for the lack of interest towards mass registration of citizens which, if the above supposition be true, would characterize the Italian communities?

(1) The enrolment of extra-Urban citizens seems to have been of relatively modest proportions until the time of the Gracchi³. It is only at that juncture that the increasing number of citizens of franchized communities looking for the protection of the Roman citizenship⁴ brings home the need for a local census which would also serve the registration of citizens in Rome. The majority of those interested in the *civitas* most certainly belonged to the propertied class, frequently, we may presume, familiar with the Roman way of life.

¹ Cf. pp. 471 f., 474 above.

² BRUNT, 92, maintains that "it appears certain that the assignation of a community to a particular tribe (referring to Cic. *Balb.* 21) meant that all its citizens thereby became voting members of that tribe". I would like to add: if they wanted to register as Roman citizens. Most certainly many omitted to do so.

³ Cf. p. 451, above.

⁴ The *ius provocationis* may have been sufficient in many cases, cf. p. 452, above.

The Social War changed the situation in many respects. With regard to the censuses of 89 and 86/84 B. C. the Romans had to face the political necessity of letting the existing local census systems take care of the basic enrolment of new citizens and forward the reports to Rome. Yet these were not complete censuses. Only in 70/69 B. C., when Pompey's propaganda succeeded in convincing great numbers of new supporters of the benefit of enrolling as citizens is it possible to speak of a complete census. Completeness in this case refers to the simple fact that all citizens of franchized communities who wanted to register were able to do so. The remarkable increase of the number of enrolments must have shown¹ that with regard to the future censuses, detailed instructions for the local authorities were sorely needed. Later on the *tabula Heracleensis* illustrates one way of solving this technical and administrative problem. In this context it should be pointed out that the fact that no census was concluded between 69 and 28 B. C. does not necessarily mean that the normalizing effects of the census institution was in abeyance during the intervening 41 years. It has to be assumed that prior to each census taking instructions concerning the registration of citizens were issued to the *municipia* and the *coloniae* of Italy. Locally the registration may well have been carried out according to the instructions, although the censors in Rome subsequently were forced to resign without having performed the *lustrum*.

(2) We have no reasons to believe that the Romans were particularly interested in mass registration of the citizens of franchized communities, despite their lack of manpower until Marius' reform of the recruitment of the army. The senatorial nobility was interested in political support; the local aristocracies of Italy were able to supply it. To give the lower classes the protection of Roman citizenship against local oppression would most certainly have created a conflict between the Roman nobles and their Italian counterparts. The situation was changed only under Caesar and Augustus.

(3) Marius' army reform is generally thought to have eliminated the burden of compulsory military service, regarded previously and particularly by the majority of the non-Urban Roman citizens as the adverse side of the *civitas*. The Social War created a new political situation in Italy, but it did not imply the return of internal peace, nor did it revive the confi-

¹ As suggested by the Clusine onomastics, cf. KAIMIO, p. 209 above.

dence in Roman politics. It is hard to see why, at this juncture, the Italians would have rushed to get registered as Roman citizens¹. The lower classes without political importance must have been subject to continuous pressure during the last decades of the Republic owing to the fact that the local nobilities were tempted to, or forced to take sides in the feuds shattering and devastating the peninsula till the final victory of Octavian². Only under Octavian, at the census of 29/28, when Italy had been able to enjoy the blessings of peace during twelve years after the *bellum Perusinum*, and when the victory of Actium had shown Octavian to be the indisputed master of the Roman world, only then in the face of the new policy of unification did Italians give up their resistance to incorporation into the Roman body politic.

It seems to me that we here have found a natural explanation of the fact that the Romans before Caesar had little reason to organize a census that would have enrolled all the citizens of the franchized communities. Moreover, it is probable that, in numerous cases, such Italians consciously failed or refused to register because of the political situation in Italy, which fundamentally remained unchanged until the end of the *bellum Perusinum*. This implies that the not as yet centrally directed local censuses served the need of the Roman authorities well, at least until the census of 70/69 B. C.

Our next task is to check Brunt's calculations regarding the demographic development in Italy. My point of departure is that the enumerations of the 70/69 and 29/28 censuses are substantially correct, and further that in both cases the figures indicate male adults. Consequently they are directly comparable with one another. Thus they show that the number of registered male Roman citizens had more than quadrupled in the intervening 41 years, the figure rising from 910,000 to 4,063,000.

¹ In an admirable chapter on Conscription (391-415) BRUNT i. a. shows that a great deal of compulsion was needed for recruiting the large armies of the last century of the Republic, from 90 to 41 B. C. (cf. particularly 408 ff.); most soldiers were in fact still conscripts. The levies raised by *dilectus* or *conscriptio* all implied coercion (cf. BRUNT, Appendix 20 "The Meaning of the Term 'Dilectus'", 635-638).

² The social cleavage in the towns of Etruria, noted by S. MAZZARINO, 'Sociologia del mondo etrusco e problemi della tarda etruscità', *Historia*, 6 (1957), 113 and recently stressed by HARRIS (221 ff.) suggests that the lower orders in Etruria, oppressed by local nobles and Romans alike, were not interested in Roman citizenship.

6. THE DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT FROM 70/69 TO 29/28 B.C.

It was assumed earlier that at the censuses prior to 29/28 B. C. a number of *cives* of enfranchized communities were not registered. However, the instructions issued in conjunction with Octavian's first census¹ made it impossible or even dangerous to refuse to be registered². My next task is to calculate the number of Italians who had earlier refused to register as Roman citizens but who now, owing to the steps and measures taken by Octavian, were incorporated into the Roman body politic at the time of the 29/28 census. Also, I have to clarify how plausible such a development appears to be in the light of the available data. The census figures for 70/69 and 29/28 constitute my point of departure.

Clearly all demographic calculations regarding ancient Rome are highly uncertain. Frank³ calculated that the total population of Italy in 28 B. C. comprised 14 millions, four millions of which were slaves. Frank presupposes a considerable increase of the Italian population from 85 B. C. to 28 B. C. (from 1,500,000 to 4,063,000 male adults) whereas Brunt believes in a stagnation which implies⁴ that "the citizen population of Italy" in 28 B. C. and A. D. 14 "was probably no larger than the free population of 225 B. C."⁵, i. e. about 3,000,000 excluding Cisalpina. "Persons of citizen status, *excluding infants*, i. e. children under one year, probably numbered about 5,000,000 in 28 B. C. and about 6,200,000 in A. D. 14." Of these, according to Brunt, under 1,000,000 were living abroad in 28 B. C., and nearly 1,900,000 in A. D. 14. The number of slaves could be put at about 3,000,000 out of a total population of no more than 7,500,000, Cisalpina included⁶. Thus Brunt, relying to some extent on Beloch⁷ calculates that the population of Italy was about 50 per cent. of

¹ Probably largely copied on the *tabula Heracleensis*.

² Cf. pp. 471, n. 3, and 486, above. I do not believe that such a refusal to comply with the pertinent instructions should be regarded as a case comparable with the *evasio* mentioned by BRUNT (115). Such *evasiones* were punishable refusals by previously registered persons to attend the census.

³ *ESAR* I, 315.

⁴ 121.

⁵ According to the figures given by Polybius (2, 24): cf. also A. AFZELIUS, *Die römische Eroberung Italiens (340-264 v. Chr.)*, Acta Jutlandica, Aarsskrift for Aarhus Universitet, 14, 3 (1942), 98 f.

⁶ BRUNT, 124.

⁷ Cf. BRUNT, 125 f.

the figures given by Frank. According to him, the free male population at Octavian's first census was 1,422,000, corresponding to 35 per cent of the entire population, and in reality, considering a correction amounting to 20-25 per cent of the census figures, 1,706,000-1,777,000¹.

Comparing the calculations of Frank and Brunt we find:

	Frank	Brunt
Adult male citizens	4,063,000	1,422,000 ³
Total free Italian population	12,000,000 ²	4,063,000 ⁴
Citizens abroad	2,000,000	1,000,000
Slaves in Italy	4,000,000	3,000,000

Both scholars accept a certain development in the fifty years preceding Octavian's first census. According to Frank the sum for 28 B. C. consisted of the following components:

Male adult citizens in 70 B. C. ⁵	1,800,000
Transpadanes ⁶ (franchized in 49 B. C.)	1,000,000
Increase of population ⁷ , colonization, inclusive of manumissions, which may have amounted to 500,000 ⁸	1,200,000

¹ BRUNT, 117.

² As a result of a deduction based on the census figures. Considering the possible margin of error of 20-25 per cent, the corrected figures would be 1,706,000 - 1,777,000.

³ FRANK, *ESAR* I, 315, calculates, in accordance with Dionysius 9, 25, 2 that to one male adult corresponded three women and children, cf. *CIPh*, 19 (1924), 340: "In his (i. e. Dionysius') day the census was taken scientifically, the women and children recorded on subsidiary lists, and the number of slaves appeared on the property list. Hence the total population is known".

⁴ BRUNT excludes infants.

⁵ As interpolated from the figures of 85 B. C., i. e. 1,500,000 (loc. cit.) considering an annual increase of 1.3 per cent (as noted by BRUNT, 103).

⁶ FRANK, *CIPh*, 19 (1924), 339 (sheer guesswork according to BRUNT, 100).

⁷ *CIPh*, 19 (1924), 339 f. FRANK calculates with an annual increase of 0.5 per cent in the years 90-28 B. C., i. e. close to one million in all. In the years 70-28 B. C. this increase would amount to 700,000, and make the manumissions account for the remainder of the total of 1,200,000.

⁸ *ESAR* I, 315; cf. BRUNT, 100 ff.

Brunt calculates the demographic development from 70/69 to 29/28 B. C. in the following way (considering his minimum and maximum estimates):

	minima	maxima
Free male adults 70/69	910,000	910,000
Citizens overseas	120,000 ¹	200,000 ²
Transpadanes	300,000	1,000,000 ³
Manumitted	150,000	500,000 ⁴
Male adult citizens 29/28	1,480,000	2,610,000

There is no need to specify in detail the uncertainties of the calculations both of Frank and Brunt. I have stressed above that Frank's disqualification of the 70/69 census figures cannot be correct. Correspondingly, it is clear that Brunt unconsciously seems to prefer the lower estimates, for instance for the Transpadane population; he suggests 300,000 adult males⁵ but admits⁶ that "our only course is to make an estimate that best fits the census data. Since we must adopt Beloch's view of the Augustan figures. . . ." Thus we can see that he is looking for an explanation which fits into his point of departure. On the other hand, Brunt's painstaking analysis of a number of factors affecting the demographic development⁷ has clearly shown that Frank's optimistic view of the increase of the Italic population is unfounded.

¹ This corresponds on the whole to BRUNT's estimate (117) of the male citizens of new *municipia* and *coloniae*, 110,000 with the addition of 30,000 new citizens in the army. It should be noted that almost 70,000 serving in the army 70/69 were not included in the census figures of that year.

² 101, cf. Chapter XV.

³ Cf. 198.

⁴ BRUNT shows (Appendix 7, 549 f.) that FRANK's point of departure, his deduction from the amount of money found in the *aerarium* in 49 B. C., is fallacious, and cannot be used as a base for the calculations of the number of manumissions. Nevertheless, without any substantial proofs, he gives 500,000 as an alternative to his tentative figure of 150,000 (102).

⁵ 117.

⁶ 202.

⁷ See, for instance, the sections of the Chapter XI, 131-155 on Reproductivity in Ancient Italy; Expectation of Life; Nuptiality; The Limitation of Families; Fertility of Freedmen and Freedwomen; Modes of Family Limitation; Emigration.

If we now try to reconcile Brunt's calculations with the assumption that the census figures of 29/28 B. C. represent adult male citizens, we are faced, considering the two extremes mentioned above, with an unaccounted-for figure of considerable magnitude, namely

$$\begin{array}{rcl} 4,063,000 & - & 1,480,000 = 2,573,000 \\ & & 2,610,000 = 1,453,000 \end{array}$$

The discrepancy would according to the views expressed above be explained by the registration of non-Urban citizens who hitherto had refused to accept the blessings of Roman citizenship.

7. THE BASIS OF CALCULATIONS: THE POPULATION OF 225 B. C. AS COMPARED WITH THE CENSUS FIGURES OF 70/69 B. C.

Brunt tries to show that the population of Italy remained more or less on the same level from 225 B. C. to 70/69 B. C.¹ Against 940,000 male adults in 225 stand 981,000 in 69, including 70,000 soldiers overseas who were not registered. In addition Brunt reckons with 20-25 per cent *incensi* in 69 B. C. among the ex-allies (and somewhat less among the Romans), the total number of those not registered being about 175,000.

"Scrutiny of the data Polybius provides (i. e. for 225 B. C.) can thus yield only a plausible hypothesis. At best we do no more than venture to conclude that the free population of Italy, including Greeks and Brutians, lay between 3 and 3½ millions, and that the total population (including slaves) may easily have approached or exceeded 4 millions... These provisional results must be judged by their coherence with whatever seems the most likely view of later demographic developments"².

Now the Polybian figures³ seem to record the troops which the Roman allies *ex formula togatorum* put at the disposal of the Romans if the need arose. They do not represent population statistics or all of those fit to carry arms. Scholars generally agree that the figures refer to *iuniores*⁴ and represent the minimum number of troops required by the treaty with

¹ 50, 97; see also AFZELIUS, 108 f., 115.

² 60.

³ 2, 24.

⁴ Cf. BRUNT, 57 f., AFZELIUS, 98 f. in accordance with BELOCH, 354.

the Romans¹. Afzelius² assumes that the original figures were rounded off twice and lowered by approximately 10 per cent each time. Consequently, we get the exact number of the *iuniores* of the allies by increasing the figures recorded by Polybius by 20 per cent. Using a formula based on a study of the demographic conditions in Italy in 1931, Afzelius calculates the number of the *seniores* of each allied state, and also the number of boys and of persons of the female sex, i.e. the entire free population³.

Now two points seem to speak against these formulas and arithmetical calculations. In order to be correct they would presuppose

(1) that the allied states showed a considerable degree of loyalty towards the Romans. The allies faithfully reported the number of their *iuniores* (rounding off the figure by about 10 per cent) and then the Romans generously reduced the numbers by 10 more per cent. I find it very hard to believe in the existence of such ideal co-operation, all the more so as scholars agree that these *formulae togatorum* were based on *foedera iniqua*⁴. I would not hesitate to describe them as mutually codified dictates. If a *foedus iniquum* has to have any significance at all from the point of view of the weaker party, it must comprise a protective clause, a kind of guarantee. Otherwise the Romans would have been able to paralyse their ally entirely by requisitioning all his troops also for campaigns, which were of no direct concern of the ally in question. Consequently it is logical to regard the figures determined by the *formula togatorum* as *maxima*, as resultants of a bargaining process. It is clear that the allies must have tried to lower their contingents of troops as much as possible. Therefore it seems quite natural that the *foedera aequa*, concluded when Rome was on equal footing with the allied state, would not have comprised any stipulations regarding auxiliary forces *ex formula togatorum*. Thus two points suggest that the Polybian figures are too low: (a) the fact that the individual figures should be regarded as *maxima*⁵,

¹ AFZELIUS, loc. cit.; BELOCH, 367 and BRUNT, Appendix 6. *Formula Togatorum*, 545-548, who argues against TOYNBEE's view (cf. TOYNBEE I, Annex IX, The Formula Togatorum, 424-437) of the figures as *maxima*.

² 100.

³ BRUNT, 56 ff., on the whole agrees with AFZELIUS despite certain adjustments of his figures suggested by methodological considerations.

⁴ TOYNBEE I, 424 f. appears to have a higher sense of political realities on this point. He excludes those allies who had concluded *foedera aequa* with the Romans from the calculations based on the Polybian figures.

⁵ As *maxima* they could represent different degrees of bargaining with regard to the Roman desiderata; they may, for instance, stand for 50 per cent of the *iuniores*.

and (b) the fact that the allies with *foedera aequa* very likely were not included in the figures.

(2) that the allied accounted for their manpower even more scrupulously than the Romans themselves. All the *proletarii* in Rome were registered in the last *centuria*. They were enlisted in the army in exceptional cases only, until the reform of Marius. The auxiliary troops formed *ex formula togatorum* had to be fully equipped and ready for action¹. It is scarcely conceivable that the Romans would have accepted any poorly equipped rabble if of sufficient strength numerically, as a fulfilment of the treaty obligations imposed on the allied state by the treaty. I suggest that at least before the Hannibalic war, the *proletarii* of the allies were excluded from the estimates concerning the allied manpower. All the numerical calculations based on the Polybian figures should therefore, in addition to their being regarded as *maxima*, be supplemented by an uncertain number of *proletarii*. De Sanctis in *Storia dei Romani*² declares that the *proletarii* and certain other groups of citizens could not have been included in the allied contingents³, the proletarians because they could not have been relied upon during the Gallic war. I believe that we have to exclude them from our numerical calculations for the general reasons suggested above, and in addition because the lower orders in Etruria, as illustrated by the case of Volsinii⁴, in many cases were hostile to the Romans and could therefore scarcely be trusted as allied soldiers.

The above considerations indicate that the Polybian figures could be very much misleading, and much too low without our being able to assess the margin of error. Cicero in a wellknown passage⁵ records that the *proletarii* of Rome numerically were the dominating component of the free population of the Urbs, but this is valid for his time only, when the general process of urbanization had considerably increased the population of Rome. Clearly we cannot apply this statement directly to preceding periods or to small allied city states of Italy. Nevertheless, it is feasible that the *proletarii* constituted a fairly high percentage of the population.

Projecting our conclusions on the comparison of the population figures of the years 225 and 70/69 B. C. and accepting the fairly well established

¹ Cf. Livy, 27, 10, 3.

² 3: 1², 321.

³ BRUNT, 58 f. does not approve of this view.

⁴ Cf. RUOFF, pp. 47 ff. above, and further, HARRIS, 116 ff. with regard to the merciless suppression of the rebellion in 264 B. C.

⁵ *Rep.* 2, 40.

view that the free population of Italy on the whole remained numerically on the same level during the 145 intervening years, we find that behind the figures of the 70/69 B. C. census must be hidden a numerous free population not recorded anywhere in the Roman registers. This population was caught by the reformed census system of Octavian, which in 29/28 B. C. registered 4,063,000 adult male citizens. The size of the previously uncoun ted population may seem surprisingly large (1.5-2.5 million if we are to trust Brunt's calculations referred to above). On the other hand, the modest size of the population of Italy, the conqueror of the Mediterranean world, would have been equally surprising if Brunt's and, above all, Beloch's calculations be trusted. At any rate, I find it possible to explain the quadrupling of the number of male adult citizens¹ with reference to the probability that a considerable part of the Romans enlisted as citizens for the first time in 29/28 B. C. were Italians, who previously had refused or simply omitted to be registered at the census and thus to acquire the citizenship legally within their reach.

Leaving population statistics aside, we should now consider why Octavian's first census was so much more effective than all the preceding ones. One reason has been mentioned in passing: twelve years after the *bellum Perusinum*, when one man was unchallenged master of the world, the risks of registering, the risks of being in view, the risks of being discovered possibly as belonging, by chance, to the wrong side in the Italy of internal feuds, had ceased to be a reality of everyday life. On the other hand, Octavian's census should also be regarded as an outcome of the new master's conscious policy of unifying all Italy, in concordance with the political aspirations of Caesar. The new and enlarged *Italia* was going to be the basis of a new ruling class, which, connected with Octavian-Augustus by ties of personal loyalty, was to counterbalance the Urban aristocracy. Regarded in this light, the Romanization of Italy assumes the character of a political programme of considerable importance².

Romanization was carried out with recourse to a system of social and political control. The instructions regarding the census were but a part of this controlling machinery. In what follows, we shall therefore discuss the policy of Romanization as one facet of the general policy of Augustus.

¹ The increase of their numbers from 910,000 in 70/69 to 4,063,000 in 29/28 B. C.

² I cannot agree with SALMON (144) "Conscious romanization may not have been his (i. e. Augustus') deliberate, much less his principal aim, but romanization was his undoubted achievement", at least not as far as Augustus' political intentions are concerned.

8. ROMANIZATION: A POLITICAL EXPEDIENT UNDER AUGUSTUS

Different studies carried out within the frame-work of this volume have indicated that according to the epitaphs, the Latinization of Etruria starts towards the end of the second and in the early first century B. C., Volaterrae¹ being an exception². In this context, however, it should be noted that our studies were concerned with a particular kind of material, with monuments generally speaking belonging to the domestic sphere. As such they give no indication of whether, and possibly, to what extent, Latin was spoken in Etruria at the time when the monuments in question were erected.

The Romanization follows in the wake of the Latinization. This more recent change implies in this context and according to the criteria employed in these studies that for their own burial grounds and burial customs the Etruscan substitute Roman ones. This concludes the long process of Romanization in Etruria as well as, *mutatis mutandis*, in all of Italy during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius³.

As emphasized above⁴, Romanization constituted one of the means employed to unite and unify Italy. The Romans cannot be regarded as nationalists in the modern sense of the word⁵ since *populus Romanus* from the very beginning was a political and not an ethnic concept. Therefore, Romanization was never a process of conscious or even systematic denationalization⁶, although it could be said that "die freiwillige Übernahme des römischen Lebensstils war jedoch immer äusserst erwünscht"⁷.

The political aims of Romanization can be found on a different level. Caesar had with artful singlemindedness developed the experience of the political leaders of the earlier generations: to engage the Italians in the

¹ Discussed above, pp. 220 f.

² The finds of Asciano, located not very far from Volaterrae, appear to correspond closely to those of Volaterrae. They should probably be referred to a *villa rustica*. For Asciano, cf. above p. 218 and HARRIS, 179 f., 314 f.

³ Cf. pp. 22 ff., 26 above.

⁴ p. 229.

⁵ Cf. KAIMIO, p. 100 above.

⁶ FR. VITTINGHOFF, *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus*, Akad. Wiss. u. Lit. (Mainz), Abh. der Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl., 1951, 14, 9.

⁷ Ibid.

struggle for power in Rome. He brought new men from across the Po and even from across the Alps to serve the commonwealth, but they were all under personal obligations to him personally for their advancement¹. But Caesar went further and "attempted to bind to himself in a kind of superclientela all the senators and citizens alike"². The Senate legislated that all citizens should take an oath³ to his Genius, and Lily Ross Taylor⁴ notes that the pertinent passages in Suetonius⁵ and Appian⁶ indicate that everyone took it, although there was not time before Caesar's death to administer the oath universally. The oath was "much like the oath the Italians took to Livius Drusus⁷, and also like the oaths of allegiance later taken to the emperors... By this oath, actually taken or to be taken by all Romans, Caesar was accepted as the patron or rather the *pater* of the the whole state and the old relationship of *fides*, the tie that bound patron and client or father and son, united him with all the citizens"⁸.

Augustus realized the importance of creating such a relationship between the political leader and the population, and although he maintains that *tota Italia, sua sponte* "took an oath of allegiance to me and demanded me as its leader in the war that I won at Actium"⁹, Ross Taylor¹⁰ is certainly correct in assuming that "there were doubtless efficient gauleiters to whip up the 'spontaneity'"¹¹.

¹ ROSS TAYLOR, *PP*, 174.

² *Ibid.*, cf. also 197, n. 41.

³ VON PREMIERSTEIN's *Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats* is of fundamental importance for the understanding of the new kind of relationship between the political leadership and the population as reflected in the oath of allegiance and in the titles such as *parens* or *pater patriae*. L. ROSS TAYLOR, quoted in several instances in the text, expressly acknowledges her indebtedness to the German scholar (*PP*, 174).

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Iul.* 84, 2; 85.

⁶ *BC* 2, 124; 137; 139; 145.

⁷ For which, cf. above p. 463, and RUOFF, pp. 72 ff. - PREMIERSTEIN, 29 f., in his discussion of the authenticity of Diodorus' account of this oath (37,11) notes that even if the entire incident were to be regarded as spurious, it would be highly significant "für die in der endenden Republik den Parteiführern von ihren Gefolgschaften geschworenen Eide". Otherwise, a forgery would have been meaningless.

⁸ *PP*, 174 f.

⁹ *Res Gestae* 25.

¹⁰ *PP*, 177.

¹¹ For the importance of the oath in general, see SYME, 284 f., 288 f. and PREMIERSTEIN, "Die Gefolgschaftseide für die Parteiführer der ausgehenden Republik", 26-32, and "Der Treueid für den Diktator Cäsar vom Jahre 44 v. Chr.", 32-36.

In addition to associating to him personally *tota Italia* by a solemn oath, Augustus carried out the Caesarian programme, when in 2 B. C. he was named *pater patriae*. In a brilliant analysis of Augustus' acceptance of this title or rather, as shown by Suetonius¹, of this *cognomen*, A. Alföldi² regards it as a real Augustan masterpiece of political cunning and staging. He points out its main features with reference to the pertinent texts³. The three first of these are of a certain relevance to us in this context, namely, (1) the initiative taken by the people with emphasis on the totality of the population, (2) the consensus of the plebs with the higher strata of the population, and (3) the free will of the citizens in taking the decision.

The properties of the *cognomen pater patriae*⁴ are in fact those "einer Herrscherbezeichnung, eines kaiserlichen Monopols"⁵. The character of the *patria potestas* implies supreme command and consequently nullifies the voluntary subordination⁶ suggested by the ceremony. Subsequently, the *cognomen patris patriae* becomes an important factor in the legal theory of the Principate, and an instrument of absolutism⁷.

The two incidents, on the one hand the administering of the oath to Octavian and, on the other the conferring of the name of *pater patriae* on Augustus, besides showing the first *princeps* as a master of political tactics, prove that he really paid heed to the masses of the population and not to the nobles only. This is, then, in a way a support of the views expressed with regard to Octavian's first census⁸.

After the victory of Actium political propaganda depicted the war as a national Italian war, as "a spontaneous and patriotic movement"⁹. The propaganda served a twofold purpose. On the one hand, it emphasized the role of Augustus as the *dux* and saviour of all Italy in a moment of terrible danger; on the other, it exalted the *Itala virtus* "ingrained in the Sabines of old and in Etruria, when Etruria was martial"¹⁰. It is true that this latter moment indirectly implied also boasting of Roman valour

¹ *Aug.* 58, 1.

² *Der Vater des Vaterlandes im römischen Denken*, 93-97.

³ *Res Gestae* 35; *Suet. Aug.* 58, 1-2; *Fasti Praenestini*, and *Ovid. Fast.* 2, 127 f.

⁴ Which represents a higher degree of the honorary title of *parens patriae* accorded to Caesar; cf. *PREMERSTEIN*, 167 ff.

⁵ ALFÖLDI, 97.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁸ Cf. p. 476, above.

⁹ *SYME*, 440.

¹⁰ *SYME*, 449; cf. *Verg. Georg.* 2, 532 ff., and also 2, 167 ff.

because Rome had, after all, conquered Italy; nevertheless, the most important message was addressed to all the ethnic groups of Italy which now, united as a nation, had carried the day at Actium.

The oath of allegiance, a political expedient conceived by Caesar, and fully exploited by Augustus, required a political organization in order to be translated into terms of political reality. "Efficient gauleiters to whip up the 'spontaneity'" to quote L. Ross Taylor once more, cannot have been sufficient. To administer the oath to all Italians presupposes a control of the population, possibly not very different from the machinery later actuated for the purposes of the census.

In fact, we can see in many different contexts that rule by Augustus was based on rigid controls¹ and registrations of different kind. Pliny² records some of the work done by Augustus "urbesque (sc. Italiae) enumerabimus, quae in re praefari necessarium est auctorem nos divum Augustum secuturos discriptionemque ab eo factam Italiae totius in regiones XI..." It would seem that Augustus both listed the towns of the Italian tribes and divided Italy into eleven regions³. Again, Augustus' list is a geographical inventory containing a list of the towns in the individual parts of the Roman Empire, in the provinces as well as Italy, as suggested by Thomsen⁴, who in agreement with previous researchers notes that the lists are connected with the Roman census⁵. Obviously we can go a step further and regard them as based on the Roman census⁶.

The division of Italy into regions, also mentioned by Pliny, cannot be dated with certainty. The regions were no doubt to a great extent used as geographical units in the administration of Italy⁷. Thomsen has emphasized the likelihood that they were created about A. D. 6 when the *vicesima hereditatum* was introduced⁸. This Augustan reform appears to be yet another example of the connexion of the census, or rather, of the registration implying control, and the efficiency of the Augustan administration.

¹ Apart from the supervisions carried out by various officials, Augustus' programme of colonization may have been an efficient physical control of the activities of the Italian tribes; cf. HARRIS, 313 f.

² *NH* 3, 46.

³ R. THOMSEN, *The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasion. Classica et Mediaevalia*. Dissertationes 4, København 1947, 32.

⁴ 33.

⁵ The lists have in fact been named *tabulae censoriae*. They may represent the statistics of the Empire; cf. THOMSEN, 34.

⁶ THOMSEN, 42, 45.

⁷ THOMSEN, 311.

⁸ 29; cf. also 150 ff., 178 f.

Dio¹ records that Augustus in A. D. 4 decided to register all Italians who had a fortune of over 200,000 sesterces. Brunt² regards it as a probable preparation for the introduction of the new tax³.

The registration of A. D. 4 is one proof of the fact that censuses under Augustus could be of different kinds and serve different purposes. We may add to those mentioned above the provincial censuses⁴, which were mainly employed with regard to taxation. We know today that Roman registration by birth according to Egyptian papyri was established by Augustus in the *lex Aelia Sentia* of A. D. 4 and by the *lex Papia Poppaea* of A. D. 9⁵ although we do not know how rapidly the employment of the *commentarii civitate Romana donatorum* was instituted in the provinces of the Empire.

We have demonstrated above that the unification of Italy was a crucial point in the political programme of Augustus, and as such a direct continuation of the policy of Caesar. To be realized it required uniformity, i. e. in our case Romanization. The traditional Roman census offered a means of carrying these plans into effect. It is natural to assume that Octavian, using the Caesarian stipulations of the *tabula Heracleensis* as a point of departure, modified the forms of the census taking so as to meet his particular requirements.

The census, however, was also of considerable importance for the policy of Octavian in other respects. It could be regarded as a corner-stone for the system of controls based on exact information regarding the Roman commonwealth, which the first princeps gradually developed. This is one additional item of support for our supposition above that the census of 29/28 B. C. was taken with all possible care and thoroughness — to the extent that the numerous *incensi* of the Italian tribes finally were eliminated⁶. It would make no wonder if the outcome of this census would have been one of the reasons for Augustus' *cura legum et morum*⁷ and for his legislation aimed to rectify the prevailing demographic trend in Rome and in Italy.

¹ 55, 13, 4.

² 115.

³ THOMSEN suggests that the districts of tax-collection were formed on the basis of the regions (150).

⁴ As different from the census of the Roman citizens in the provinces, cf. H. BRAUNERT, 'Der römische Provinzialzensus und der Schätzungsbericht des Lukas-Evangeliums', *Historia*, 6 (1957), 197-200.

⁵ F. SCHULZ, 'Roman Registers of Births and Birth Certificates', *JRS*, 32 (1942) and 33 (1943); cf. *JRS*, 32 (1942), 80.

⁶ For this, cf. also p. 495, above.

⁷ *Res Gestae* 6.

9. THE ROMANIZED ETRUSCANS: AN EPILOGUE

With the Pax Romana established in Italy both because of, and followed by Augustan propaganda, the consequences of the emphasis on the virtues of the old days and also on the *Itala virtus* become apparent¹. The political controversies of yesterday are forgotten. Unified Italy remembers the individual components of the struggle of the day before yesterday, the components which had all been integrated in the vast and mighty Roman commonwealth.

The initiative is, of course, Roman. The Augustan poets play an important part in showing the way², but in addition definite steps were taken in order to increase the selfconsciousness of the integrated peoples. Such a policy was not dangerous any more. The antiquarian pursuits of Augustus, demonstrated by *Res Gestae* also, most certainly had political implications. We are probably justified in saying with Syme³ that the newborn Italo-Roman nationalism, coming to a head in the myth of Actium, also had religious aspects. This is shown by the revival of old cults and of the old colleges of priests⁴, an intrinsic part of the general policy of the early Principate.

In Etruria the political traditions are brought to new life, but at the same time their course is diverted into religious channels. The Etruscan League is resuscitated, but as an exclusively religious association. There had been a *zilath mexl rasnas* at the head of the League⁵. At the head of the new league stood annually elected *aediles*, from the time of Hadrian a *praetor Etruriae*, the emperor himself being the first holder of this office.

The date of the revival of the League is in doubt. It has been connected with Augustus' division of Italy into regions because the seventh region

¹ Cf. *Res Gestae* 8: "m[ulta] e[x]empla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro [saeculo] red[uxi] et ipse[m] multarum rer[um] exe[m]pla imitanda pos[teris] tradidi".

² Cf. J. GAGÉ, 'Les Étrusques dans l'Énéide', *MEFR*, 1929, 141 ff. conjecturing Vergil's and Augustus' way of thinking; G. DUMÉZIL, 'Grandeur et décadence des Étrusques chez les poètes Augustéens. Propertiana II', *Latomus*, 10 (1951), 293-296; B. LIOU, *Praetores Etruriae XV populorum*. (Étude d'épigraphie). Collection Latomus, 106, 86.

³ 448.

⁴ *Res Gestae* 7.

⁵ LIOU, 94 f.; the last one known is from the second century B. C. At that time the League was of no consequence politically.

was made to coincide with the territory of Etruria¹. This would certainly have been consonant with the general policy of Augustus². There are, however, also reasons for referring the renaissance of the Etruscan league to the reign of Claudius³, who was particularly interested in things Etruscan⁴. His reformist activities in this field are recorded by Suetonius⁵. Claudius had revived or reorganized the old order of *haruspices*⁶, and there is a certain analogy between this reorganization and the reconstruction of the League of the Etruscan cities⁷.

The emperors of the early Principate, or at any rate, some of them, seemed to pursue a conservative policy with regard to Etruria and the Etruscans once unified Italy was safely under control. How did the Etruscans react to the imperial patronage?

The new antiquarian traditions created by Augustus, by Claudius, and by Hadrian, appear to have met with the approval of the Etruscans and their local nobilities. Suffice it to record a few points in support of this view.

Roman officials of Etruscan origin or ancestry settling down in their native city, accepting honorary appointments as *aediles* or *praetores Etruriae* and in many cases thereby crowning a distinguished career in the service of the Empire⁸, prove that the reforms were approved of. Moreover, a Caeretan relief⁹ referred to the reign of Claudius¹⁰ shows the *populi Etruriae* offering their thanks to the emperor for the revival of the League¹¹. Their attitude would not have been very different from the one of the Sabines or the Samnites¹².

¹ Cf. E. BORMANN, 'Der Städtebund Etruriens', *ArchEpigrMittÖst.-Ungarn*, 11 (1887), 118 ff., and LIOU, 92.

² LIOU, 86, 95.

³ H. H. SCULLARD, *The Etruscan Cities and Rome*, London 1967, 282 f.

⁴ Cf. LIOU, 95 f.; HARRIS, 27-30.

⁵ *Claud.* 22, 1.

⁶ J. HEURGON, *Daily Life of the Etruscans*, London 1964, 233 ff., with reference to his earlier study 'Tarquinius Priscus et l'organisation de l'ordre des haruspices sous l'empereur Claude', *Latomus*, 12 (1953), 402-415.

⁷ LIOU, 95.

⁸ LIOU's conspectus of the *praetores Etruriae*, 79, and of the *aediles*, 81.

⁹ Illustrated by LIOU, Pl. XI.

¹⁰ Cf. LIOU, 96 with reference to L. CANINA's publication of 1840. The relief was the point of departure of BORMANN's study, mentioned above; cf. BORMANN, 104, and it was commented upon by GAGÉ also, 144.

¹¹ An interpretation proposed by SCULLARD, 283 f., and accepted by LIOU.

¹² G. DEVOTO, 'La romanisation de l'Italie médiane', *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, 3 (1956), 459 f., discussing the reaction to the Romanization in the Osco-Umbrian

Of approximately the same date as the relief are the *elogia Tarquiniensia*¹, which testify to the endeavours of Roman families of Etruscan origin to revive the glorious past of their native country². Seen against this background it is quite remarkable that the Etruscan language fell into disuse and was forgotten³, although this fact should be regarded as a highly significant indication of the success of the Augustan Romanization of Etruria.

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regions, remarks: "Les citoyens des terres sabinnes ou du Samnium, tout en parlant latin, tout en étant citoyens romains, tout en acceptant plus tard le christianisme, gardent les caractéristiques spirituelles ancestrales, des usages juridiques et économiques qui ont survécu".

¹ Cf. HARRIS, 28 n. 5 with bibliography; LIOU, 84, n. 6.

² Regarded in this light, it is of no consequence whether or not the historical statements of the *elogia* are authentic.

³ I agree with HARRIS, 183 f. that MAZZARINO, 98 f., cf. also 120, has not succeeded in demonstrating that Gellius (*Noct. Att.* 11, 7, 4) would be *proof of the survival* of Etruscan as a living language in the time of Marcus Aurelius or even later. Gellius may have referred to some unintelligible religious formula still used by the haruspices. The *agrestis sermo* of Etruria may well have preserved a number of words and expressions alien to the literary *élite*, but this does not prove that "l'etruscità linguistica si conservò... fino al 2° secolo d. C.". With regard to the extinction of Etruscan in urban culture, there is no disagreement.

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