

THE RELIGION
OF
THE ETRUSCANS

EDITED BY *Nancy Thomson de Grummond* AND *Erika Simon*

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Nancy Thomson de Grummond

and

Erika Simon,

Editors



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EDITORS' NOTE

In *The Religion of the Etruscans* the abbreviations of journals and series as well as of basic reference works in classical studies are those used by the *American Journal of Archaeology* and listed in *AJA* 104 (2000), 10–24. An updated version is on the website: http://www.ajaonline.org/shared/s_info_contrib_7.html.

A glossary of technical terms and words that may be otherwise unfamiliar to the reader is provided at the back of this book. Words that are included in the glossary are regularly marked with an asterisk in the text the first time the term is used in a particular chapter (e.g., *templum**). There is also a glossary of the most important Etruscan gods by Erika Simon in Chapter IV.

The spellings used for the names of the gods in Chapter IV are used as much as possible throughout the book. Etruscan orthography, however, was by no means consistent, and references may be made to inscriptions in which a name has an alternate spelling. A different kind of problem arises for nomenclature because we do not know the names in Etruscan of many of the archaeological sites mentioned in this book. Many scholars use a blend of modern Italian, ancient Roman (i.e., Latin), and occasionally, Etruscan, names for Etruscan cities and other sites, and this book is no exception.

Maps showing the major Etruscan cities and mountains may be found on page 124. As much as possible we have

attempted to use ancient names; these are mainly Roman. Thus we refer to Caere, Populonia, Veii, Vetulonia, and Vulci, in accordance with established custom, and also the less common forms of Tarquinii and Volaterrae. The names Cerveteri, Tarquinia, and Volterra are used to refer to the modern cities with those names. Some scholars refer to Orvieto as the ancient Volsinii and to Bologna as Felsina. When no ancient name is known or agreed upon, we use the modern Italian name. For the names of tombs, we have opted for translating the many Italian names into English as a policy that will help make the vocabulary of Etruscan scholarship more readily accessible to students and to others who may be beginning the study of the Etruscans.

The appendices provide a Greek text and an English translation of the Etruscan Brontoscopic Calendar, as well as key original texts in Latin and Greek, with English translations.

The standard chronology of the periods of Etruscan culture is as follows:

Iron Age/Villanovan—1000/900–750/700 BCE

Orientalizing—750/700–600 BCE

Archaic—600–475/450 BCE

“Classical”—475/450–300 BCE

Hellenistic—300 BCE–first century BCE

For dates of Latin and Greek authors and of selected texts, see the appropriate entries in the index.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following works are so frequently used throughout the book that it seemed appropriate to give abbreviations to them:

ANRW = *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*,
ed. H. Temporini. Berlin, 1972-.

CIE = *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*.

CSE = *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*.

Dizionario = *Dizionario della Civiltà Etrusca*,
ed. M. Cristofani. Florence, 1985.

EHCA = *An Encyclopedia of the History of Classical
Archaeology*, ed. N. T. de Grummond. 2 vols.
Westport, 1996.

ES = *Etruskische Spiegel*, ed. E. Gerhard, G. Körte, and
A. Klügmann. 5 vols. Berlin, 1840-1897.

ET = H. Rix, *Etruskische Texte*. 2 vols. Tübingen, 1991.

Etruscan Painting = S. Steingräber, *Etruscan Painting:
Catalogue Raisonné of Etruscan Wall Paintings*,
ed. D. Ridgway and F. R. Ridgway. New York, 1986.

LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*

LPRH = *Les Étrusques, les plus religieux des hommes: État
de la recherche sur la religion étrusque. Actes du colloque
international Grand Palais 17-19.11.1992*, ed. D. Briquel
and F. Gaultier. Paris, 1997.

Rasenna = *Rasenna: Storia e civiltà degli etruschi*,
ed. M. Pallottino et al. Milan, 1986.

ThLE = *Thesaurus Linguae Etruscae*, ed. M. Pandolfini
Angeletti. Rome, 1978-.

TLE = *Testimonia Linguae Etruscae*, ed. M. Pallottino.
2nd ed. Florence, 1968.

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PREFACE

W. Jeffrey Tatum

During the spring term of 1999, the Department of Classics at The Florida State University organized and hosted a conference, the title of which was “The Religion of the Etruscans,” in honor of Erika Simon, who was in that year the Langford Eminent Scholar in Classics. The Eminent Scholar’s chair and the expenses of the conference were made possible by funding from the George and Marian Langford Family Endowment in Classics. The smooth running of the conference was owed to the congeniality of the participants and to the industry of several individuals: Susan Stetson, the department’s office manager; Kimberley Christensen, Harry Neilson, and Sarah Stinson, graduate students in the department; and Nancy de Grummond and Leon Golden, who were the faculty coordinators of the conference.

It is difficult to imagine a more important, or more formidable, subject than Etruscan religion. Readers of this collection will not need telling that the Etruscans were without question the pivotal people of central Italy during the Archaic period or that their effect on later Italian culture, owing to their influence on Roman civilization, was considerable, if not yet quite completely sorted out to everyone’s satisfaction. The religion of any society is crucial to its proper apprehension. All the more so for a nation that, as Livy put it, was “more than any other dedicated to religion, the more as they excelled in practicing it” (Livy 5.1.6; cf. Appendix B: Selected Latin and Greek Literary Sources on Etruscan Religion, Source no. 1.1). The significance of this remark is underscored by the fact that, from the perspective of the Greeks, the Romans themselves were quite exceptional in their scrupulous religiosity, a quality that Polybius deemed one of the strengths of the Roman constitution. Etruscan religion can hardly be said to be an unexplored topic, though it is far too little discussed in Anglophone scholarship, a state of affairs this collection will go a long way toward correcting. The extent to which past examinations of Etruscan religion have resulted in infallible conclusions, on the other hand, must remain an arguable matter.

The impediments to the recuperation of any alien religion are several and severe, and this must especially be so for an extinct tradition. Which means that the study of any ancient religion demands an inordinately high degree of methodological self-consciousness, a resistance to neat and easy conclusions that must be reinforced even more when the information for that tradition tends to derive from material evidence and from secondary sources scattered over a considerable period of history, which is the state of affairs that obtains for the study of Etruscan religion. Indeed, it is fair to say that the problematic nature of all literary sources for Etruscan culture constitutes the principal difficulty confronting Etruscan studies, a difficulty that is sometimes finessed by a perhaps too ready recourse to speculation or at least a recourse to speculation that is too ready to carry conviction among minds of an Anglo-Saxon bent.

The study of Roman religion can be illuminating in this regard. The Late Republic supplies an abundance of written sources—historical, philosophical, oratorical, and literary—for the religious practices and the religious mentalities of the Roman elite. Ample material exists from a variety of genres, all originating in a well-defined and reasonably well understood milieu. Yet only in the past twenty years have students of Roman religion succeeded in recognizing the Christianizing assumptions that have colored their interpretation of these sources, an important step forward. One may still insist, however, that scholars have to too large an extent tended to swap their Christian framework for an anthropological one, by which I mean the anthropology of the 1970s and not of the 1990s (or of the current decade), which is far from the same thing.¹

Still, the current state of affairs is a healthy agnosticism or at the very least a sane confusion. To take only one instance, it would be a rash scholar these days who, after reading Beard or Schofield, claimed to know exactly what were Cicero’s views on divination.² Moreover, it is becoming increasingly clear that we must be more careful in our atten-

tion to the plurality of voices that speak to us from the past, not least because, even on fundamental issues such as augural law, Romans of the elite classes held strongly conflicting opinions, none of which can legitimately or meaningfully be discarded as “wrong.”³ In sum, the recuperation of Roman religiosity in the Late Republic, a period of extraordinarily rich documentation, remains elusive and challenging, to say the very least. How much harder, then, is the recuperation of Etruscan religion.

And how suggestive, though inconclusive, are our sources! Let me avoid becoming bogged down in distinguishing Etruscan from Hellenic patterns of worship and of religious representation and turn directly to Etruscan divination. Though we enjoy an abundance of references to the *Etrusca disciplina** and its practitioners, whom the Romans called *haruspices*,* we are confronted by difficulties at every turn. In the middle of the second century, the elder Cato wondered how a *haruspex* could pass a colleague on the street without giving him a wink (Cicero, *De div.* 2.52). At about the same time, Ti. Gracchus, the consul of 177, spurned the instructions of the *haruspices* by sneering, “Who are you Etruscan barbarians to know the Roman constitution?” (Cicero, *ND* 2.11). Yet these events transpired, if Cicero is honest in recounting them, at the very time when Polybius was informing the Greek world of the Romans’ punctiliousness in all matters religious, an attitude he described as their “fear of the gods.” The apparent contrast matters.

By the end of the century, however, the consultation of Etruscan *haruspices* had been assimilated to the mechanisms of civic religion: the Senate could consult the *haruspices* through the mediation of the *Decimviri* (later the *Quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, the college that also consulted the foreign Sibylline books. In this regard, Etruscan religion was treated by the Romans little differently from Greek religion, which, as Denis Feeney has made clear, the Romans appropriated sometimes without comment and without historical memory but sometimes through “elaborate and self-conscious mechanisms for preserving a sense of distance and difference from the Greek element in their religious life.”⁴ Indeed, it was by carefully maintaining Greek, and Etruscan, religion as simultaneously integral and marginal that the Romans made it *Roman*, all of which highlights an approach to religion that must render all Roman practices, and all Roman references to Etruscan religion, an interpretive challenge of the highest order.

Inscriptions are hardly more straightforward. Though we possess an inventory of Tarquinian *haruspices*, it is by no means clear that we have to do with anything more than

a local organization, despite the more powerful claims that have been made for this information. We do not even know if there was a formal *ordo* during Cicero’s day.⁵ The orator’s serious attempt to interpret the most famous of all haruspic responses in the speech *De haruspicum responso* tells us next to nothing about its authors. Nor does Cicero denigrate the importance of the *responsum* itself, the proper interpretation of which was deemed by the whole of the Roman elite to be a matter of vital concern. Indeed, Cicero’s enemy, Clodius Pulcher, was endeavoring to exploit this *responsum* so as to overturn nothing less than a previous decision of the pontifical college and a decree of the Senate pertaining to (Roman) religion, strong evidence of the value placed by the Roman elite in the *Etrusca disciplina*.⁶ No surprise, then, that Late Republican antiquarians, some with Etruscan credentials, endeavored to provide accounts of Etruscan religion. Let us hope they were more successful than Varro in avoiding the Hellenizing and philosophical influences that permeated the intellectual life of the time.

The status of the *haruspices*, high in the first century BCE, continued to rise. The emperor Claudius established a formal *collegium*, which he removed to the supervision of the pontiffs. As is well known, it was also the opinion of his attending *haruspices*, whether members of a state *collegium* or not we cannot say, that inspired Diocletian’s distaste and distrust for Christianity. Even the *haruspices*, however, could not withstand the grey-eyed Galilean: Constantine crushed Maxentius despite their advice, and, the support of Julian notwithstanding, the *disciplina* was outlawed at the end of the fourth century by Theodosius. Even the Christians were impressed: Arnobius, in an expression that does his Latin little credit, described Etruria as *genetrix et mater superstitionum* (*Adv. nat.* 7.26; Appendix B, Source no. 1.2). Much, then, can be said about the *haruspices*, and much else about Etruscan religious practices circulating in Roman writings. But the provenance of this material ought at least to give one pause, and the dangers of selecting information from various periods of Roman history ought to be too evident to require comment.

All of which is to say that the contributors to this volume were faced with a task as daunting as it is important. I think it is fair to say, however, that their efforts show a good measure of success. Whatever the weaknesses of modern times, we are, thankfully, no longer at the mercy of the shapes and the patterns of entrails. “Diligence is the mother of good fortune,” as Cervantes put it, and, in the absence of a visitation by Vegoia (cf. Source no. 11.1), diligence and good fortune must remain essential elements in the endeavor to recover the nature of the Etruscans’ beliefs and practices.

NOTES

1. A brief selection of recent and fundamental work (with further literature): Beard 1994; Beard, North, and Price 1998; Liebeschuetz, 1979; Linderski 1997; North 2000; Price 1984.
2. Beard 1986; Schofield, 1986, 47–65.
3. Tatum 1999b.
4. Feeney 1998, 26.
5. Rawson 1991, 302–303.
6. Discussion of this episode: Tatum 1999a, 215–219.

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INTRODUCTION: THE HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF ETRUSCAN RELIGION

Nancy Thomson de Grummond

“Religion is in fact the best known facet of the Etruscan civilization.”¹ In making this statement, Massimo Pallottino noted that very many of the archaeological remains of the Etruscans and the literary sources about the Etruscans in Latin and Greek have a connection, in one way or another, with religion. The well-known statement of Livy describing the Etruscans as being the nation most devoted to religion, excelling others in their knowledge of religious practices (5.1.6; see Appendix B, Source no. 1.1), provides evidence that the ancients also recognized the pervasiveness of religion in Etruscan civilization.

It is a little odd, given the acknowledged importance of this subject, that there are relatively few general, sustained accounts of Etruscan religion, and there is as yet none today in the English language. It is also surprising that there does not seem to exist a critical review of the history of the study of Etruscan religion, which might help to evaluate the original sources and frame the problems and methodology for current study of the topic. In this introduction we shall consider the latter subject—the history of scholarship on Etruscan religion—and at the end attempt to show how this particular book relates to the former topic: the need for a comprehensive treatment in English. Here and throughout the book, there will be an emphasis on the evidence from written sources, and accordingly, frequent reference will be made to a special feature of this volume, the appendix on Selected Latin and Greek Literary Sources on Etruscan Religion (Appendix B).

In antiquity the study of and theorizing about Etruscan religion was already well developed, with scholarship that we may distribute into three main categories: canoni-

cal texts, philosophical treatises, and historical/antiquarian writings.

THE CANONICAL TEXTS

There were studies of the many different Etruscan texts having to do with the *Etrusca disciplina*,* that body of original Etruscan religious literature describing the cosmos and the Underworld, as well as prescribing various rituals and ways to interpret and act upon messages from the gods. The names of the texts that have survived include the *Libri rituales*, *Libri fatales*, *Libri de fulguratura* (“on lightning”) and *Libri Acheruntici* (concerning Acheron, i.e., the Underworld), as well as books named after the two principal Etruscan prophets, who were called Tages and Vegoia in Latin: *Libri Tagetici* and *Libri Vegoici*. Both Etruscans and Romans were involved in this study, which included translating and interpreting the old texts and teaching them to appropriate individuals. The practitioners of this type of study perhaps relate to their material in a manner similar to that of the Jewish and Early Christian scholars who studied, taught, and commented on their religious literature.

Unfortunately, we know so little of these writings and teachings that we are unable to discern what, if any, may have been their theological concerns or what debates may have enlivened their encounters.² Further, it is a perennial frustration in studies of Etruscan religion that little about Etruscan prophetic or priestly texts can be confidently traced back earlier than the first century BCE, when in fact Etruscan civilization had become fully submerged in the dominant Roman culture.

Among the names that have survived are individuals who lived in the first century BCE, such as Aulus Caecina from Volaterrae, friend of Cicero, who wrote *De Etrusca disciplina*, a publication that has been described as a “major event” in the intellectual life of the Late Republic;³ the admired and erudite Nigidius Figulus, who composed books on dreams, private augury, and divining from entrails, and a brontosopic calendar (the latter surviving in a Greek translation; see Appendix A for the text and a full account of Figulus); and Tarquinius Priscus,⁴ friend of Varro, known to have written an *Ostentarium Tuscum*, a translation of an Etruscan work on prodigies and signs, as well as a book on prognosticating from trees. Tarquinius also produced a translation of the cosmic prophecies of the nymph Vegeia, a fragment of which has survived (Appendix B, Source no. 11.1).⁵ Another figure in this category is Cornelius Labeo, whose date is unknown but who seems to have written translations and commentaries, in fifteen books, on the prophecies of Vegeia and Tages.⁶

Also in this category are the many shadowy figures who are mentioned as being consulted for advice by the Romans, the soothsaying priests or *haruspices*,* as for example, Umbrius Melior, described as “most skilled,” the Early Imperial soothsayer of Galba.⁷ Sulla had his *haruspex* Postumius, and the famous Spurinna tried to warn Caesar about the Ides of March.⁸ There must have been many more Romanized Etruscans involved in these pursuits (there are a few more such figures whose names alone have come down to us), for we know that as a general principle, the Romans thought the Etruscan teachings to be so important that they had a practice of sending their sons to Etruria to study this ancient lore.⁹

PHILOSOPHICAL TEXTS

The foregoing individuals we have mentioned may be recognized as real practitioners of Etruscan or Etruscan-style religion, and as such they had their own bias. Our second division is related, but it manifests a different approach: intellectuals with a concern for philosophy. There is no more significant surviving text for the study of Etruscan religious practice than the treatise on divination by Cicero, written around the time of the death of Caesar, ca. 44 BCE. In *De divinatione* Cicero presents a vivid debate on the reliability of divination in its various manifestations, with the principal interlocutors represented as his brother Quintus and himself.¹⁰ The evidence presented on both sides is all the more interesting because Cicero had intimate knowledge of

the subject from his own experiences as an augur of state religion.

This first-century Roman debate is of course sophisticated and probably shows some thought patterns well beyond any present in Etruscan religious teaching. Quintus Cicero supports credence in divination from the standpoint of Stoic philosophy, and Marcus Cicero, while rejecting actual faith in divination, in the end admits the importance of traditional rites and ceremonies solely for political aims. He has great contempt for most divinatory practices and heaps scorn upon, for example, the important Etruscan revelation myth of the prophetic child Tages.¹¹ What is most important in the treatise for our purposes is the abundant evidence about the principal Etruscan methods of divining, by reading of entrails and by interpretation of lightning (cf. Appendix B, Section VIII.1). When we can sort these out from Roman interpolation, we have some of the most meaningful reports from antiquity on Etruscan practices.

The treatise of Seneca, *Quaestiones naturales*, written shortly before his death in 65 CE, also promotes philosophy but is fascinating for its sympathetic presentation of the point of view of Etruscan priests. We have a clear statement of the contrast of thought between the two sides, in the famous declaration that “this is the difference between us [philosophers] and the Etruscans, who have consummate skill in interpreting lightning: we think that because clouds collide, lightning is emitted; but they think the clouds collide in order that lightning may be emitted” (Appendix B, Source no. VIII.1). In fact, we know little about the Etruscan studies of the natural sciences, but the passage in Seneca tends to confirm suspicions that their observation of natural phenomena was carried out with religious premises and conclusions.

HISTORICAL/ANTIQUARIAN TEXTS

A third and rather different brand of scholarship is that of the historians, philologists, and antiquarians. Livy (d. 12 or 17 CE) transmitted a great deal of information in his narratives of Roman/Etruscan politics and war, such as in his frequent references to the Etruscan federal sanctuary of the shrine of Voltumna (3.23.5, 25.7, 61.2; 5.17.6; 6.2.2). Verrius Flaccus, the tutor of the grandsons of Augustus, wrote a treatise on Etruscan matters (*Libri rerum Etruscarum*) that has not survived, but we do have some of his observations as preserved in the epitome by Festus of his *De significatu verborum*, which contained rare and obsolete words and accompanying archaic antiquarian lore. Vitruvius, a practicing

architect of the time of Augustus, has left a precise account of the theoretical and practical aspects of building and locating an Etruscan temple (*De architectura* 1.7.1–2, 4.7; Appendix B, Source nos. v.2, v.3).

The pure antiquarians are especially useful. They were intrigued with the past and recorded information objectively about Etruscan religion out of curiosity. A great variety of Etruscan topics was treated by the most learned of all Romans, Varro (116–27 BCE), ranging from the practice of sacrificing a pig for a ritual pact (*De re rustica* 2.4.9), to the Etruscan rite for laying out a city (*Etruscus ritus**; *De lingua Latina* 5.143; see Appendix B, Source no. iv.2). He wrote a treatise on human and divine matters of antiquity (i.e., what was ancient at that time, 47 BCE), the loss of which is most unfortunate. It contained fascinating material on the lore of lightning, such as that other gods beside Jupiter, for example, Minerva and Juno, were allowed to throw lightning bolts (Appendix B, Source no. viii.7). It was Varro who provided the famous and precious reference to Vertumnus as the “chief god of Etruria” (*De lingua Latina* 5.46; Appendix B, Source no. vi.3).

He was of course frequently quoted by other antiquarians, such as Pliny the Elder (d. 79 CE), who drew from him information about the decoration of Etruscan shrines, in his book on painting and modeling sculpture (*HN* 35.154), and about the tomb of Porsena, in his section on building stones and architecture (*HN* 36.91; Appendix B, Source no. v.5). Pliny included a good bit of Etruscan material in his encyclopedic *Historia Naturalis* as part of his goal of being compendious, and in this way he preserved many interesting fragments of information from various sources, such as lore about signs from the birds in his sections on zoology; he refers to an illustrated Etruscan treatise (*HN* 10.28, 30, 33, 35–49).

Among the antiquarians we may also classify selected Latin poets who drew on early Roman and Etruscan antiquities for one reason or another, during that period of the first century BCE when we detect so much other activity regarding Etruscan religion. Vergil, exposed to Etruscan culture in his native Mantua, has left us his stirring description of the warrior priest from Pisa, Asilas, skilled in the interpretation of all the signs from the gods, embracing entrails, the stars, birds, and lightning (*Aeneid* 10.246–254).

No text from the Romans is more important for studying Etruscan divinity than the poem of Propertius of Perugia about the statue of Vertumnus set up in Rome (4.2; Appendix B, Source no. vi.1). It expresses vividly the Etruscan tendency to be vague or ambivalent about the gender and other characteristics of a particular deity.

Ovid, too, has related the myth of Vertumnus, and interestingly has the god change sex to appear as an old woman in the story of the courtship of Pomona (*Meta.* 14.623–771; see Appendix B, Source no. vi.2). His calendar in the *Fasti*, replete with lore of early religion in Rome, is relevant but must be used with caution, both because the poet is sometimes inaccurate in his citations (and he does not tell his sources) and because the material on the Etruscans is certainly colored by the Roman context. Of course, all the poetic literature—of Vergil, Propertius, Ovid, and others—must be read critically as just that, rich in allusions, sometimes created for the occasion by the poet and not necessarily reflecting Etruscan belief or practice.

After this, we can note a crowd of later Roman polymaths who took an interest in Etruscan culture, probably most often using some of the writers we have already cited. Festus (second century CE), as noted, prepared an epitome of Verrius Flaccus, and this was in turn epitomized by Paulus Diaconus in the eighth century. The grammarian Censorinus (third century CE) wrote on a wide range of topics such as the origin of human life and time (Appendix B, Source no. iii.6). The indefatigable and generally trustworthy Servius (fourth century CE)¹² has left an abundance of observations on the Etruscans in his commentary on Vergil’s works. He took a great interest in augural lore, and though he did not always refer directly to the Etruscans, his comments are useful in augmenting our knowledge of this important branch of Etruscan religious praxis.¹³ Macrobius (probably fifth century CE), whose *Saturnalia* is a potpourri of antiquarian, scientific, and especially philological lore, provides in his dilettante’s way little nuggets of Etruscan information, for example, on the use of the sacred bronze plow in founding a city (*Sat.* 5.19.13 [Appendix B, Source no. iv.5]) or on the good omen seen in the wool of sheep when it was naturally tinted purple or golden (*Sat.* 3.7.2 [Appendix B, Source no. iv.6]). Finally, we may include in this group Arnobius, a rhetorician and Christian convert living in Africa in the late fourth and early fifth century CE, who assembled his text intelligently from other sources, as shown by his passage quoting Varro on the group gods such as the Penates recognized by the Etruscans (*Adv. nat.*, 3.40 [Appendix B, Source no. ix.3]).

An absolutely singular case is that of Martianus Capella. He, too, flourished in the atmosphere of North Africa in the fifth century, leaving as his chief work a compendious pedantic allegory on the marriage of Mercury and Philology (*De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*).¹⁴ Regarded as eccentric, tedious, and superficial in its discourse on the seven liberal

arts, the text of Martianus is nonetheless of the greatest importance for Etruscan studies. It contains the single most significant text in Latin for understanding the Etruscan pantheon and cosmos (1.45–61; Appendix B, Source no. III.4). Martianus sets the stage for the wedding of Mercury and Philology by sending out invitations to gods all around the sky, and he depicts them as inhabiting sixteen main divisions.

Scholars are united in regarding this number as a clue that Martianus was following the Etruscan system of dividing the sky (cf. Cicero, *De div.* 2.18.42, Appendix B, Source no. III.3), and have found that the scheme agrees in some striking details with that other famous document of the Etruscan cosmos, the bronze model of a sheep's liver found near Piacenza (see Fig. 11.2).¹⁵ The use of deities who may be readily equated with well-known Etruscan gods, along with divinities who are completely obscure in Roman religion, suggests that we may indeed have here a reflection of an original Etruscan doctrine.

The antiquarian trend continues in the Middle Ages in isolated instances, such as the writings of the Byzantine scholar Johannes Lydus, who taught Latin philosophy and championed that language in sixth-century Constantinople. It is he who recorded the thunder calendar of Nigidius Figulus (Appendix A; note the discussion of the career and writings of Lydus there). In addition, he left a quite lengthy discussion of Tages (*De ostentis*, 2.6.B; Appendix B, Source no. II.5). The texts that had come to be associated with the name of Tages continued to be of interest long after Etruscan and Roman religion were no longer operative. Isidore of Seville also mentions Tages (*Etymol.* 8.9.34–35, seventh century). The encyclopedic text, the *Suda*, has left a strange account of creation, undoubtedly affected by biblical precedents, attributed to the Etruscans (tenth century; Appendix B, Source no. III.5).

The Etruscans were largely forgotten during the medieval centuries. When interest in them was reborn during the Renaissance in the former Etruscan territories,¹⁶ it was some time before their religion became a focus of study. That famous old fraud Annio da Viterbo (d. 1502) was interested in the mythology of Etruria, but he had as distorted a view of the gods¹⁷ as he had of the Etruscan language, which he translated quite wrongly. In the seventeenth century, the Scotsman Thomas Dempster,¹⁸ serving as a law professor in Pisa, pioneered serious research on the Etruscans with his treatise *De Etruria regali libri septem* ("Seven Books on Etruria of the Kings"). A section near the beginning was devoted to Etruscan religion, drawing on various texts he had available. The work was not published until over

a century later and thus had little impact until the following century.

In spite of the veritable mania for the Etruscans (*Etruscheria*) of the eighteenth century,¹⁹ few yet took an interest in the topic of religion. The Accademia Etrusca,²⁰ founded at Cortona in 1726, met regularly and heard papers and reports, but its members and other contemporary scholars seem to have been more interested in Etruscan architecture and material antiquities, along with the Etruscan language.²¹ Their studies often embraced Roman archaeology, and of some interest for our theme is a treatise on the origins and development of shrines in the ancient world, based on Roman numismatics especially, presented by the academician Filippo Venuti and published in 1738 among the *Saggi di dissertazioni* of the Accademia Etrusca.²² A remarkable study of "Etruscan philosophy" by Giovanni Maria Lampredi, a young priest and tutor in Florence, also belongs to this period. *Saggio sopra la filosofia degli antichi Etruschi* (1756) drawing on Seneca especially, argues that the Etruscans had an "emanative system" for the cosmos tied to Pythagoreanism and Stoicism. Lampredi went to some pains to explain the contradiction he perceived between Seneca and the account in the *Suda*.²³

In the nineteenth century, as part of the scientific trend manifest in various branches of Etruscan studies,²⁴ we find the first extended consideration of Etruscan religion based on a rigorously critical assemblage of texts. The great classic handbook on the Etruscans, *Die Etrusker*, published by Karl Otfried Müller (1828) and significantly augmented by Wilhelm Deecke (1877), devoted Book 3 to a lengthy survey of Etruscan gods and spirits, the *Etrusca disciplina*, and the various branches of divination.

Following this product of German scholarship came the basic formulation of the various categories of the *disciplina* by the Swede Carl O. Thulin (1871–1921). His two essays on lightning (1905) and haruspicy (1906) and a third on the ritual books and the *haruspices* in Rome (1909) were gathered together as *Die Etruskische Disciplin* (Darmstadt, 1968). The works of Müller and Deecke and of Thulin are almost exclusively philological and historical and thus do not take into account the vast amount of archaeological material with bearing on the subject of Etruscan religion. Nor does either contain very much evidence derived from the study of the Etruscan language, which was still a pioneer discipline in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Nevertheless, Thulin did utilize the bronze liver found near Piacenza in 1877 (see Fig. 11.2),²⁵ though his listings of the inscriptions were very rudimentary. Moreover, Deecke,

who was quite interested in the Etruscan language, drew upon the evidence of Etruscan mirrors, using the volumes of Gerhard's corpus of *Etruskische Spiegel*,²⁶ a rich repository of representations of gods identifiable by their names labeled in Etruscan or else recognizable by their resemblance to Greek or Roman gods (e.g., see Figs. 11.8, 11, 16–19). Of great significance in this period for the study of original Etruscan texts was the recognition and publication (1892) of the astonishing linen book, an Etruscan ritual calendar, found reused as bandages for a mummy deposited in the National Museum of Zagreb (see Fig. 11.1).²⁷

THE STUDY OF ETRUSCAN RELIGION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the twentieth century, development in the study of Etruscan religion was not linear, but some trends and certainly major developments may be detected. In 1984, Pallottino summed up the scholarship by listing the chief researchers on the topic: almost all of the literature was in German, Italian, or French.²⁸ A further and excellent guide to this literature was provided by the "nota bibliografica" of Mario Torelli, written for his chapter on Etruscan religion in the massive *summa* of Etruscan studies, *Rasenna* (1986).²⁹ Historians of religion may be noted, such as Carl Clemen, who wrote the first true monograph on this topic, *Die Religion der Etrusker* (Bonn 1936). A series of articles in *Studi e Materiali di Storia della Religione* (4, 1928 and 5, 1929) featured articles by a number of different experts on ancient religion (Clemen, H. J. Rose, C. C. Van Essen, H. M. R. Leopold, Franz Messerschmidt), including such topics as the relationship between Etruscan and Greek and Roman religion. Stefan Weinstock published a series of seminal articles, including his masterful study of the text of Martianus Capella and a basic study of the books on lightning,³⁰ based on his careful scrutiny of the texts and intimate knowledge of the comparative religious material from the Near East.

Missing from the bibliographies of Pallottino and Torelli but worth mentioning here is the study by the comparatist Georges Dumézil, originally published in French (1966) and then translated into English as "The Religion of the Etruscans," a lengthy appendix to his *Archaic Roman Religion*.³¹ At the time, the book introduced a novel attitude toward the Etruscans, rather contemptuously removing them from forming background to Roman religion and placing them at the end of his study. Dumézil was eager to prove that Roman religion conformed to an Indo-European scheme and found the Etruscans inconvenient for his theory.³² A useful contri-

bution to the study of sources was the *Fonti di storia etrusca* compiled by Giulio Buonamici, translations of various basic Greek and Latin texts, with a fairly full section on religion.³³

The greatest advances were being made by scholars who were strong philologists, especially those who were on the front lines in the study of the Etruscan language. Pallottino himself, Jacques Heurgon, and in particular Ambros J. Pfiffig brought to bear the ever-increasing scientific advances in the study of the language. In addition, they placed, for the first time, appropriate emphasis on the insertion of material culture into the dialogue.

The best general account in English to date, albeit brief, is that of Pallottino (1975, ch. 7). Likewise, his articles in the encyclopedic *Roman and European Mythologies*³⁴ are all basic authoritative accounts. Pfiffig's *Religio etrusca* (1975) remains the only lengthy, systematic exposition of Etruscan religion that takes into account Greek and Roman literary sources, the Etruscan language, and the archaeological evidence.³⁵ His bibliography was exhaustive (369 items).

The basic integrated methodology of Pallottino and Pfiffig has become standard today, and those who seek to be effective in the study of religion need global knowledge of the field of Etruscan studies. The latest generation of Italian scholars exemplifies well this ideal: Mario Torelli, Mauro Cristofani, Adriano Maggiani, Francesco Roncalli, and Giovanni Colonna. But the international character of Etruscan religious studies today was clearly evident in the conference organized in Paris in 1992 by Françoise Gaultier and Dominique Briquel, *Les Plus religieux des hommes: État de la recherche sur la religion étrusque* ("The Most Religious of Men: The State of Research on Etruscan Religion"), which included sessions on iconography, the pantheon, comparative religion, cults and rituals, and the relationship between Etruscan civilization and religion. The resulting publication (Paris, 1997) has a brief preface that sums up the "state of research." In combination with use of the most current archaeological discoveries, we see light shed on an increased chronological arc (the earliest periods of the Villanovan and Orientalizing phases are now clearer), and scholars are investigating the ties of the Etruscans with external cultures: Italic, Greek, and Oriental. For the rest, the reader may deduce the state of the field from the manifold articles; twenty-two scholars of international status published their latest insights there, all translated into French. Not one native speaker of English was on the program.

As of the year 2005 there still does not exist a substantial general account of the Etruscan religion in the English language. To fill this lacuna, the present volume of *The Reli-*

gion of the Etruscans was planned as a handbook, intended to be used as an introduction to the subject, but with sufficient scholarly apparatus to be of interest and use to more advanced students and scholars as well. The chapters of the book are based largely on papers given in 1999 at the Sixth Annual Langford Conference of the Department of Classics at Florida State University. Erika Simon, in her capacity as the Langford Family Eminent Scholar of Classics for the year 1999, selected the participants for the conference from leading scholars in the field of Etruscan studies. With coordinator Nancy de Grummond, Prof. Simon requested that the presenters give a general introduction to their individual subjects and include as well some of their own latest front-line research in the field. The participants fulfilled their assignments admirably and, after lively discussions and ideas for further additions to the book, proceeded to do a formal written version of their papers, taking into account the contributions of others.

The table of contents for *The Religion of the Etruscans* reveals the range of topics. The aim is to be systematic and comprehensive. The chapter by Larissa Bonfante lays out the most important surviving Etruscan inscriptions and explains how they are relevant for Etruscan religion, including points from her latest research relating inscriptions to religious iconography. The next chapter, by Nancy de Grummond, presents information on the sacred books of the Etruscan prophets and the activities of priests in divining the will of the gods; her work on Etruscan mirrors has brought up some new ideas about the Etruscan rituals of prophecy. Erika Simon discusses her concept of the “harmonious” pantheon of gods, pointing out how much cooperation and friendship there was among Etruscan deities and how versatile individual gods were, especially in regard to their ability to come and go from the Underworld to the upper sphere.

Her chapter concludes with an alphabetical listing of the most significant Etruscan gods and brief characterizations of them.

Next, Ingrid Krauskopf gives a full survey of concepts of the Underworld and the intriguing demons inhabiting that part of the cosmos. Jean MacIntosh Turfa reviews the fascinating range of votive objects found in Etruscan sanctuaries and sacred areas, providing a most useful site-by-site summary of votive deposits of Etruria. Ingrid Edlund-Berry then discusses the delineation of space and boundaries in the cosmos, including some of her own original conclusions about the nature of Etruscan federal sanctuaries. The text concludes with a chapter on altars, shrines and temples, in which Giovanni Colonna provides a thorough overview and includes considerable detail about his own latest discoveries at Pyrgi and the nature of worship as revealed by offerings to the gods. His information about turf altars at Pyrgi, used in popular religion as opposed to the state patronage of grand temples, is integrated into the study of Etruscan religion for the first time here and provides a window on the ordinary, pious Etruscan people who sought to live in harmony with the gods. Every chapter has its own bibliography, so that the reader may follow up the scholarship on each particular topic.

We hope that the many illustrations for the book will provide an album of primary material. A parallel special feature of the work lies in the appendices of Greek and Latin texts, with English translations, that provide written primary source material for the study of Etruscan religion. Appendix C, a concordance of Etruscan inscriptions, helps the reader find all the references within the book that refer to a particular inscription. A glossary furnishes definitions of key terms.

NOTES

1. Pallottino 1975, 138.
2. Cicero provides a notable exception to this generalization, but he is to be classified with the philosophers. See below, p. 2.
3. Cicero, *Ad fam.* 6.5–9; Pliny, *HN* 2; Seneca, *QN* 2.3.9); Schofield 1986, 49 (quoting E. Rawson).
4. For a collection of Latin passages relevant to Tarquinius Priscus, see Thulin 1909, 22–29. There were other, later Tarquintii, from whom it is not always easy to distinguish the Late Republican figure.
5. For a full discussion of Vegoia, see below, pp. 30–31.
6. On Labeo, see Müller and Deecke 1877. For a full discussion of Tages, see below, pp. 27–30.
7. Pliny, *HN* 10.6.19, describes him as *haruspicum in nostro aevo peritissimus* (“the most skilled haruspex of our time”).

8. Cicero, *De div.* 1.52.119; Suetonius, *Caesar* 81.
9. Johannes Lydus, *De ostentis*, 2.6.B, mentions as authors and translators Capito “the priest,” Fonteius, and Apuleius Vicellius, but we know only the names. On the education of Romans in Etruria, cf. Heurgon 1964, 231, who argued that the literary tradition was scrambled in antiquity and that it was only young Etruscans who were sent to study the *Etrusca disciplina*. Valerius Maximus 1.1 (Appendix B, Source no. 1V.9) states that Roman noble youths were thus educated, but passages in Cicero support Heurgon’s idea: *De leg.* 2.21, *De div.* 1.92; Appendix B, Source no. 1V.8. Cf. Livy 9.36.3, on the sending of Roman boys to Etruria to be educated.
10. Beard 1986; Schofield 1986.

11. Providing along the way some very worthwhile detail on the myth; told in full below, p. 27.
12. Perhaps augmented by a later commentator, the so-called Danielis; certainly drawing extensively on earlier authors, such as Aelius Donatus.
13. Festus also preserved many short observations in this area. See the collection of texts in Regell 1882.
14. *Martianus Capella* 1977; Ramelli 2001.
15. See van der Meer 1987 and the discussion by Bonfante below, pp. 10–11. For a detailed discussion of Martianus Capella, see de Grummond, forthcoming, ch. III, “Creation, Time and the Universe.”
16. For the following section, see the account in de Grummond 1986.
17. For Annio, founders of the Etruscans included biblical figures along with Isis and Osiris, Ajax, Electra and Tyrrhenus, see de Grummond 1986, 28. See also N. T. de Grummond, “Annio da Viterbo,” *EHCA* 1996, 1, 48–49.
18. C. Sowder, “Sir Thomas Dempster,” in *EHCA* 1996, 1, 357–358.
19. N. de Grummond “Etruscheria,” in *EHCA* 1996, 1, 410.
20. N. de Grummond, “Accademia Etrusca,” in *EHCA* 1996, 1, 3–5.
21. For listings of books published in the early centuries of Etruscan studies, see esp. Barocchi and Gallo 1985–1986, 195–196, and *Les Étrusques et l’Europe* 1992, 489–490.
22. Venuti’s *Dissertazione sopra i tempietti degli antichi* was followed by a treatise on the temple of Janus in Rome (1740). See Barocchi and Gallo 1985, 154–156.
23. It is impossible to say if any Etruscans outside Rome had real knowledge of Greek philosophical systems. What is interesting about Lampredi’s attempt is that he has used the basic texts critically

and, in the end, describes an Etruscan cosmos not so different from that envisioned by Pallottino (1975, 140): the vague evidence “seems to point toward an original belief in some divine entity dominating the world through a number of varied, occasional manifestations which later became personified into gods.”

24. F. Delpino, “L’âge du positivisme,” *Les Étrusques et l’Europe*, 1992, 340–347; de Grummond 1986, 41–43. See also N. T. de Grummond, “Etruscan Tombs,” in *EHCA* 1996, 1, 406–410; Pallottino 1975, 26–27.
25. On the liver, see his monograph, Thulin 1906.
26. *ES*; volumes 1 through 4 were issued by 1867. The fifth and final volume, edited by Klügmann and Körte, appeared in 1897.
27. Krall 1892; Roncalli 1985, 19.
28. Pallottino 1984, 323, lists C. Thulin, G. Herbig, R. Pettazzoni, C. Clemen, G. Furlani, C. C. Van Essen, H. M. R. Leopold, B. Nogara, G. Q. Giglioli, A. Grenier, R. Herbig, S. Weinstock, J. Heurgon, R. Bloch, and A. J. Pfiffig.
29. *Rasenna*, 159–237; bibliographical note, 234–237.
30. Weinstock 1932; Weinstock 1946.
31. Dumézil 1970, 625–696.
32. For a modern critique of Dumézil’s theory, see Beard, North, and Price 1998, vol. 1, 14–16.
33. Buonamici 1939, 297–351.
34. Bonnefoy and Doniger 1992, 25–45; articles on Etruscan demonology, Etruscan and Italic divination, *Etrusca disciplina*, and other topics.
35. The recent book by J.-R. Jannot (1998) is much better illustrated than Pfiffig and constitutes a very useful album of pictures. Philologically, the book is insufficiently critical. At the time of this writing, an English translation of this work, *Religion in Ancient Etruria*, has been announced by the University of Wisconsin Press.

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ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTIONS AND ETRUSCAN RELIGION

Larissa Bonfante

We have no Etruscan literature, no epic poems, no religious or philosophical texts. We learn about Etruscan life and civilization—including language and religion, the two basic aspects of a people’s identity—from the remains of their cities and cemeteries. These include highly important evidence from their inscriptions, written in their own peculiar language, that reveal much about their religious rituals and beliefs.

These inscriptions are so central to the study of Etruscan religion that they will naturally be referred to frequently throughout the book. In this chapter we present an overview of this source material, including a list of the most important inscriptions and a survey of some of the intriguing religious themes that have emerged in recent studies. We shall make frequent reference to the new standard collection of Etruscan inscriptions, Helmut Rix’s *Etruskische Texte (ET)*,¹ and include Rix’s numbers for all inscriptions possible. By consulting the index of inscriptions in Appendix C, below, the reader can locate references to other discussions of particular inscriptions throughout the book.

Rix gives a revised count for the total number of Etruscan inscriptions that have come down to us. Taking into account duplicate publications of the same inscription, counting each coin legend once—and not counting the glosses, which give us Etruscan words explained in Latin or Greek texts but which are not inscriptions—the author comes to a total of fewer than 10,000 inscriptions (some 8,600, to be precise, though a good many more have been discovered in the years since *ET* appeared).² These range in date from the seventh to the first century BCE. There are some 75 inscriptions from the seventh century, a very respectable quan-

tity, even when compared to the 500 or so Greek inscriptions of the Archaic period (from a far wider geographical area).³

Any boundaries we set between religious and nonreligious areas of Etruscan civilization are artificial at any time, but this is especially true in the early period. Giovanni Colonna has pointed out the sacral and aristocratic character of writing in the Orientalizing and Archaic periods.⁴ Indeed, some of the earliest and most intriguing archaic inscriptions are found in rich tombs of southern Etruria. Many present the sequence of the Greek alphabet, evidently a sign of status, adopted from the Euboean Greeks of Pithekoussai.⁵ This alphabet was in time adapted to the Etruscan language, with a few changes indicating geographical or chronological differences, and was then passed on to various peoples of Italy and Europe (such as the Latins, Umbrians, and Gauls).⁶

All the inscriptions can be read, and so they need not be “deciphered.” Not all can be understood, however, partly because of the nature of the language, which is not Indo-European and is different from any known language, ancient and modern; and partly because of the nature of the evidence, which is fragmentary. Yet they reveal much about Etruscan religion. Four types of Etruscan inscriptions—ritual, legal, funerary, and votive—deal with religious rituals and the gods. Other inscriptions deal with myth, notably those on Etruscan mirrors, which illustrate stories of Greek and Etruscan mythological figures and which are, as Ambros Pfiffig called them, “picture bilinguals.”⁷

Most of the nine thousand or so Etruscan inscriptions are brief, consisting of only a few words: they are epitaphs or dedications, recording the names of the deceased, the donor,



11.1. Zagreb mummy wrappings. 150–100 BCE. Zagreb, National Museum. (After Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, fig. 57.)

the god to whom the object is dedicated, or the mythological character depicted. The longer texts are technical, religious, and ritual, confirming the reputation of the Etruscans as being skillful in dealing with the gods, and related to the various books of the *Etrusca disciplina*.^{*} Many of these longer inscriptions have been the objects of recent studies.⁸ Let us briefly survey them here and then follow with some of the more revealing short inscriptions.

THE LONGER INSCRIPTIONS

Zagreb Mummy Wrappings

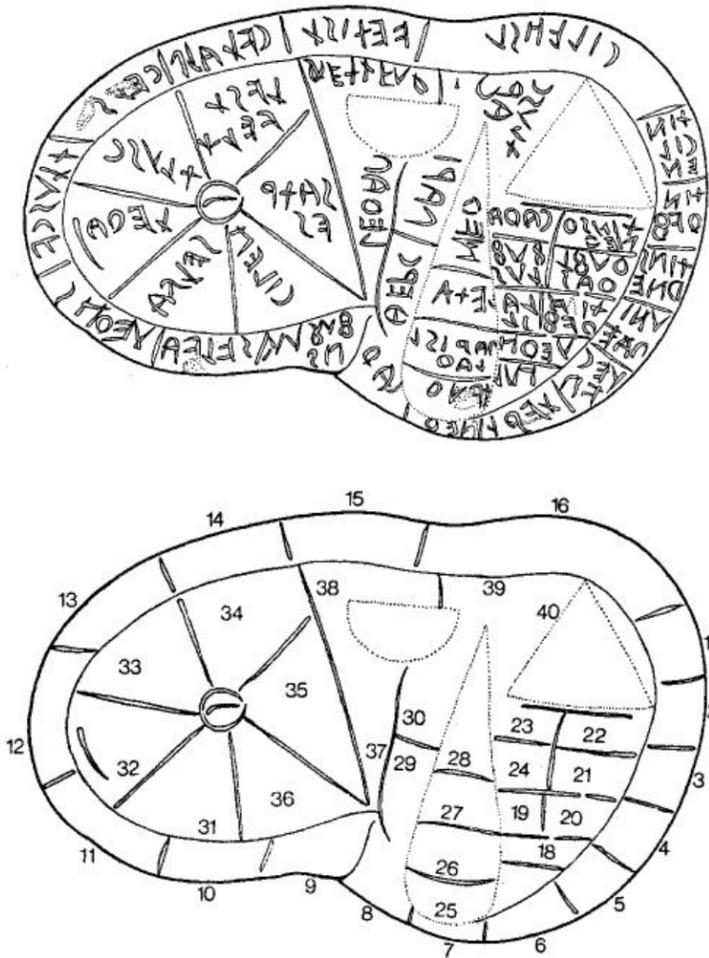
The longest and most exotic Etruscan text that survives is not, properly speaking, an inscription. It is a religious text of the Hellenistic period, originally a sacred linen book, parts of which were preserved by being used as wrappings on an Egyptian mummy (*ET*, LL; Fig. 11.1).⁹ The original book, which was cut up into bandages, is of a type referred to in Roman historical sources as a *liber linteus*, a linen book, often illustrated on Etruscan funerary statues as the attribute of a priest. In 1985 Francesco Roncalli had the wrappings restored—they were spotted and damaged by blood and the unguents used for mummification—and photographed in a specialized laboratory in Switzerland. Roncalli, having worked at the Vatican, was familiar with religious texts and was able to add new readings as well as to reconstruct the original form of the book by following the folds of the cloth and the red guidelines for the text. Rubrics in red ink (cinnabar) indicated how it was used as a liturgical text, like

some modern Catholic missals. The neatly inked text, with some twelve hundred words laid out in twelve vertical columns, contains a liturgical calendar of sacrifices, offerings and prayers to be made on specific dates. A typical passage runs (col. VIII, line 9, Roncalli 1985, 40): *celi* (the month of September) *huθiś zaθrumiś* (the 26th [day]) *flerχva* (all the offerings) *neθunsl* (to the god Nethuns) *śucri* (should be declared) *θezric* (and should be made).

Piacenza Liver

Another very strange object also contains the names (abbreviated, but recognizable) of divinities who received cult. This is the life-sized bronze model of a sheep's liver from northern Italy, near Piacenza, made around 100 BCE (*ET*, Pa 4.2; Fig. 11.2).¹⁰ It may have been used by a priest in the Roman army. (Other ritual inscriptions are from an earlier period.)

The model was clearly used as a device to teach (or remind) Etruscan priests of the divinatory practice of reading the entrails of animals. As Nancy de Grummond discusses below (Chap. III) priests or seers are shown using it in Etruscan art, including representations on several mirrors. According to the place where the liver of a sacrificed animal showed some special mark, the priest could guess the future or even bend it to his will. The Etruscans were particularly skilled in this *haruspicina*,^{*} or science of reading omens, and the Romans respected, hired, and imitated them. The sections of the liver correspond to the sections of the sky that were under the protection of each of the gods. There



11.2. Bronze model of a sheep's liver from Piacenza. Hellenistic period. Piacenza, Museo Civico. (After Rasenna, 211.)

was a mystic correlation between the parts of a sacred area, like the sky, and the surface of the liver of a ritually sacrificed animal. Such a correlation allowed those who had mastered the technique to “read,” as it were, the god’s writing in the sky.¹¹

Each of the forty-two sections of the liver contains the names of one or more gods; there are fifty-one names, but several are mentioned two or three times. The sixteen sections in the margin of the upper (visceral) side correspond to the sixteen regions of the heavens, according to Martianus Capella (fifth century CE). Further, a number of names of divinities on the liver appear in the description of the skies by Martianus. (See Appendix B, Source no. III.4.)¹²

The lower (venal) side of the liver has two names: Usil, the name of the Sun god, and Tivr, the Moon.¹³ A number of the names of these gods are familiar from various sources: Tin (Tinias), Uni, Hercle, Cath (Cautha/Kavtha), Usil, and Tivr. Others may represent epithets of gods. The placement of the different clusters of divinities indicates their function: so,

for example, the right lobe contains the gods of heaven and lights (Tin, Uni, Cath, Fufluns); the god of water Nethuns (Neptune, whose name appears so frequently on the mummy wrappings); and Cilens, perhaps a god of Fate. Bouke van der Meer¹⁴ finds that this constellation of divinities came together in the fourth century BCE and that about half of the approximately twenty-eight different names of gods inscribed on the liver are of Etruscan origin. The other half came into Etruria from the surrounding Italic world, Umbria, and the area of Rome (Uni, Neth, and other deities).

Terracotta Tile from Capua

The “Capua Tile,” a large terracotta tile used as a tablet, found at Santa Maria di Capua and now in the Berlin Museum, records a religious calendar, like the Zagreb mummy wrappings or the Roman Fasti (ET, TC; Fig. 11.3). The nail holes have been taken to show that it was publicly exhibited in a sanctuary, but they can better be explained as holes for spikes to keep a series of similar documents stored or filed horizontally, the raised edges intended to protect the text incised on the inner surface.

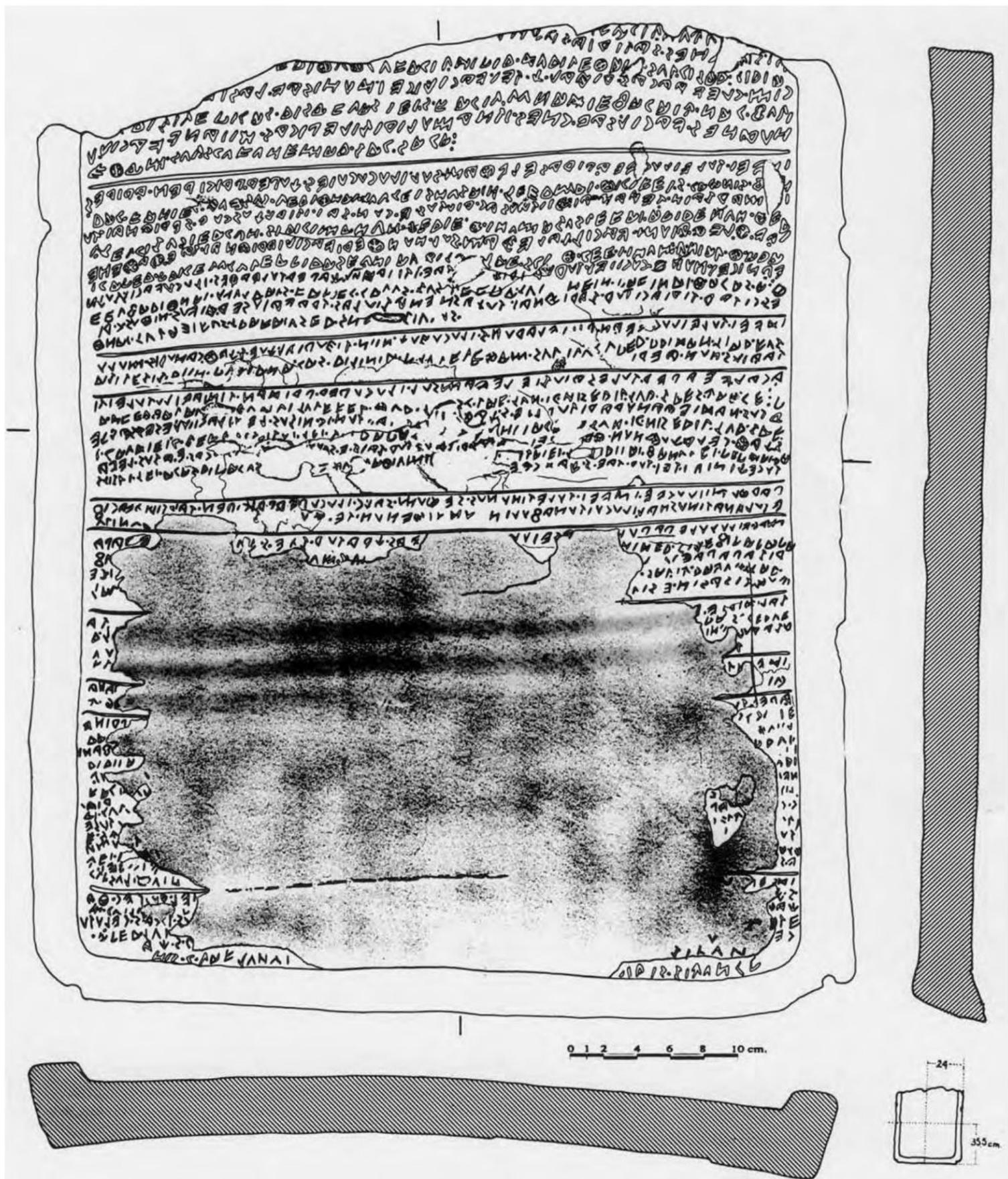
With sixty-two lines and almost three hundred legible words, this is the longest strictly epigraphical Etruscan inscription. Cristofani’s study of 1995 dates it to the early fifth century (ca. 470 BCE). There were ten months, as in the earliest Roman calendar, in which the year began in March. Listed are offerings and sacrifices made to various divinities, including gods of the Underworld such as Letham (who appears on the Piacenza liver), Laran, Tin, and Thanr (who appears in birth scenes on Etruscan mirrors; see also Chap. 4), as well as to Uni, the mother goddess to whom the famous local cult was dedicated.¹⁵

Lead Strip from Santa Marinella

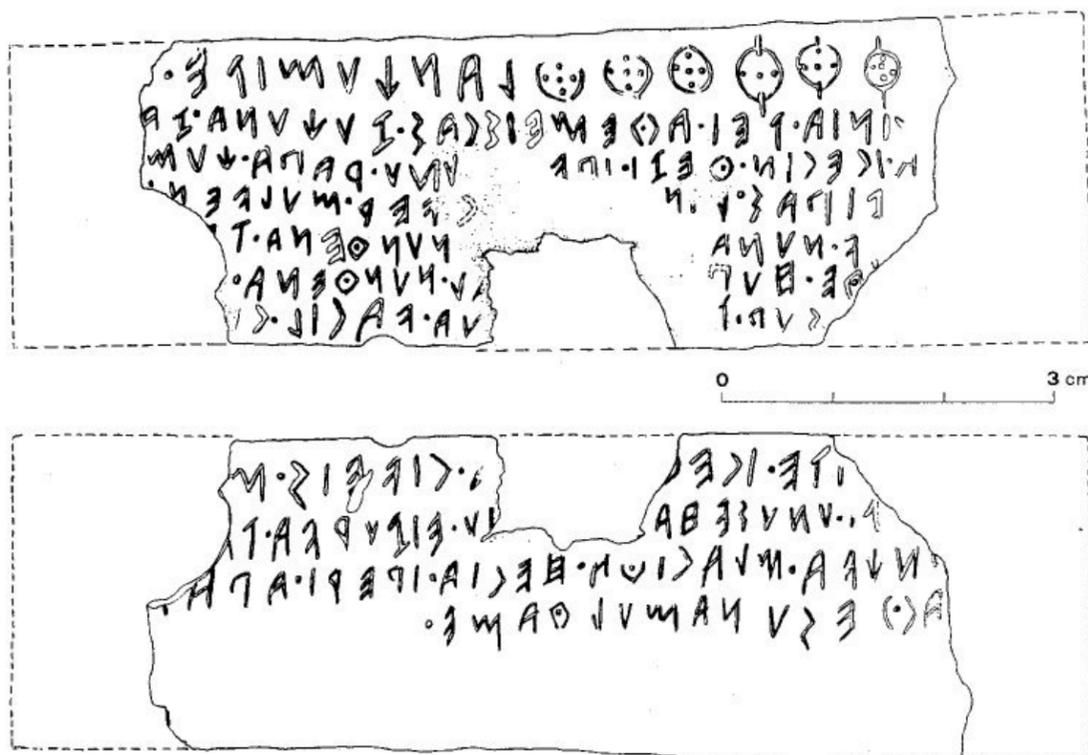
A text written on both sides of a strip of lead, found in fragments at Punta della Vipera near Santa Marinella on the sea, dates from around 500 BCE (ET, Cr 4.10; Fig. 11.4). Inscribed in a miniature style, it is incomplete but contains traces of at least eighty words. Little of the text can be understood, but we can read the word *cver*, “gift.”¹⁶

Lead Plaque from Magliano

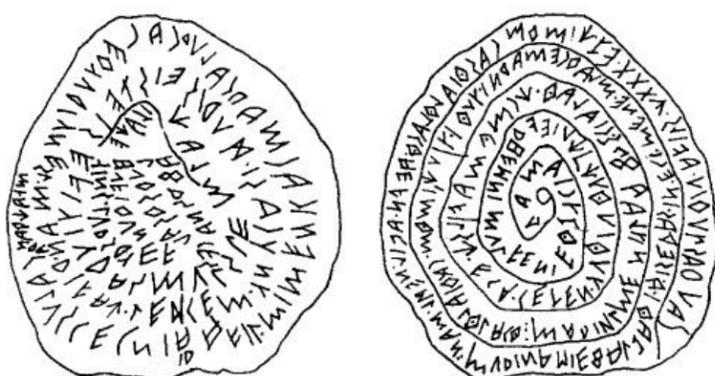
A small lead plate found at Magliano, probably dating from the fifth century BCE, has a strange spiral inscription on each side, running from the exterior margin inwards toward the center (Fig. 11.5). There are about seventy words (ET, AV 4.1). The word for “gods,” *aiser*, which occurs here, in the Zagreb mummy wrappings, and elsewhere, seems to refer to a group



II.3. Terracotta tile from Capua. Ca. 500 BCE. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. (After Cristofani 1995, fig. 2.)



11.4. Lead plate from Santa Marinella (near Pyrgi). Fifth century BCE. Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia. (After Santuari d'Etruria, fig. 8.1c1.)



11.5. Lead tablet from Magliano, ca. 500 BCE. Florence, Archaeological Museum. (After Morandi 1982, 36.)

or “college” of gods, something like the *dii consentes*, *Penates*, or other collective divinities.¹⁷

Gold Tablets from Pyrgi

The three gold tablets, two written in Etruscan and one in Phoenician, found in 1964 at the sanctuary at Pyrgi, the harbor of Caere, record a dedication with important historical implications (ET, Cr 4.3–4.8; Fig. 11.6).¹⁸ They date from around 500 BCE and constitute the nearest thing to the long-sought Etruscan bilingual. They record in both Etruscan and Phoenician a religious event: the dedication of a gift, perhaps a statue, by the king of Caere, in gratitude for the protection of the goddess. The identification of the goddess Astarte

with Uni, rather than with Turan-Aphrodite, is particularly striking. Another tablet mentions Thesan. The longer Etruscan inscription has sixteen lines, thirty-six or thirty-seven words.

Sarcophagus of Laris Pulenas

Another long inscription is funerary: the *elogium* or epitaph of L(a)ris Pulenas (or Pulena) of Tarquinii, engraved on a scroll that the figure of the dead man holds in his hands (ET, Ta 1.17; Fig. 11.7).¹⁹ The date is the Hellenistic period, third century BCE, and the text contains nine lines and fifty-nine words. The text can be in part interpreted by means of a comparison with the Latin *elogia* (honorary epitaphs) of the Scipios at Rome. Laris Pulenas was the great-grandson of Laris Pule, the Greek (*Creice*; the latter was possibly related to the famous Greek seer, Polles). Pulenas wrote a book on divination, like the scroll or *volumen* he is proudly exhibiting to the viewer. Like his great-grandfather, he devoted himself to religious duties, perhaps including the cult of ancestors. Recorded are the titles he held in his lifetime, most of them religious, including the priesthoods of Catha and Pacha, the latter equivalent to Fufuns or Dionysos (Pacha is Etruscan for Bacchus). Catha and Fufuns are connected elsewhere too in a joint worship. The name of Culśu can also be recognized.



11.6. Gold tablets from Pyrgi, the harbor of Caere. End of sixth century BCE. Copies in Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia. (After Morandi 1991, figs. 12–14.)

SOME SHORTER INSCRIPTIONS

Boundary Stones from Tunisia

Tin was a god who protected boundaries. His name appears as the guarantor on three boundary stones with identical inscriptions found in Tunisia, originally placed there by Etruscan colonists, perhaps in the time of the Gracchi: *m vnata zvtas tvl dardanivm tinś* Φ “M. Unata Zutas. Boundaries of the Dardanians. Of Tin. 1000 [paces]” (ET, Af 8.1–8.8).²⁰

Bronze Mirror from Volaterrae

Clearly religious in character is an engraved bronze mirror from Volaterrae (ET, Vt S2; Fig. 11.8) whose inscription, a legal-religious document, has important implications. An imposingly regal, enthroned female figure, Uni, is pictured nursing a full-grown Heracle, while four gods stand by as witnesses. Among these are Apollo, recognizable by his laurel branch, and an older god holding a trident or lightning bolt, either Nethuns or Tinia. He points to a tablet on which the



11.7. Sarcophagus of Laris Puleas. 250–200 BCE. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale. (After Morandi 1991, fig. 20.)



11.8. Bronze mirror from Volterrae with Hercle nursing at Uni's breast. 325–300 BCE. Florence, Museo Archeologico. (After ES, 5.60.)

significance of the scene is explained: *eca: sren: tva: iχnac hercle: unial dan: θra: sce*, “This picture shows how Hercle became Uni’s son (or: drank milk).” This mother goddess, Uni, is carrying out an adoption ritual witnessed by four other gods. While Greek myth tells the story of the nursing of Herakles by Hera, his jealous stepmother, in the context of the conflict between the goddess and the hero, the story is not illustrated in the Greek art that has come down to us.²¹ In Etruria, in contrast, there are a number of representations of this mythological nursing scene: as on this mirror, Uni is reconciled with Hercle by means of a ritual familiar from the

Near East and Egypt but downplayed in Greece. It is in fact the Etruscan version that best illustrates for us the meaning of his name in Greek, “Glory of Hera.”

Bronze Chimaera from Arezzo

The famed bronze Chimaera of Arezzo (Arretium), dating to the fourth century BCE, depicts the Greek monster with the body of a lion and, on its back, the head of a goat. The tail shaped like a serpent is a restoration. On the leg is incised an inscription dedicating it to the god, *tinšcvil*, “gift to Tin” (ET, Ar 3.2; Fig. VI.1). This was indeed a splendid gift,

for the animal, which is life size, was evidently a part of a large group representing Bellerophon and Pegasus attacking the monster.²²

Bronze Statuette of Culśanś

A bronze statuette of a double-faced divinity from Cortona is dedicated to Culśanś (ET, Co 3.4; Fig. 11.9): *v. cvinti. arntiaś. culśanśl alpan. turce*, “V[elia] Cuinti, Arnt’s (daughter) to Culśanś (this object) gladly gave.”²³

Bronze Statuette Dedicated to Selvans Tularias

A bronze statuette of an athlete, from an unknown provenance (Fig. 11.10), has the following inscription: *ecn:turce: avle:havrmas:tuthina:apana: selvansl tularias*, “This gave Avle Havrnas [tuthina apana, meaning unknown] to Selvans of the Boundaries.”²⁴

Bronze Mirror from Praeneste

Not only are inscriptions in Etruscan useful. From Praeneste comes a mirror with Latin inscriptions, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, dated ca. 300 BCE (Fig. 11.11),²⁵ that presents an Italic view of the relationship between Uni and Herclē. It shows *lovei* (i.e., Jupiter, in the dative case), reconciling *Iuno* and *Hercele*. A female herm and a phallus put the picture in a sexual context that may be religious, though it is hard for us to interpret.

Rectangular Boundary Stone from Perugia

The protection of boundaries, *tular*,* was an important divine responsibility. It was mentioned in the text of the prophecy of Vegoia (Appendix B, Source no. 11.1) and serves as the epithet of the god Selvans in a votive inscription. It also occurs in the sharply chiseled inscription (forty-six lines and 130 words) on two of the four faces of a boundary stone (*cippus**) from Perugia, dating from the second or first century BCE (ET, Pe 8.4; Fig. 11.12).²⁶ The inscription does not name any gods and would not be overtly religious according to our modern definition of the word. But Roncalli suggests that the two holes on the top were made for *cippi*, perhaps aniconic images of Silvanus-Terminus, and that there were two of them in relation to the two families, the Velthina and the Afuna, whose boundaries they protected.²⁷

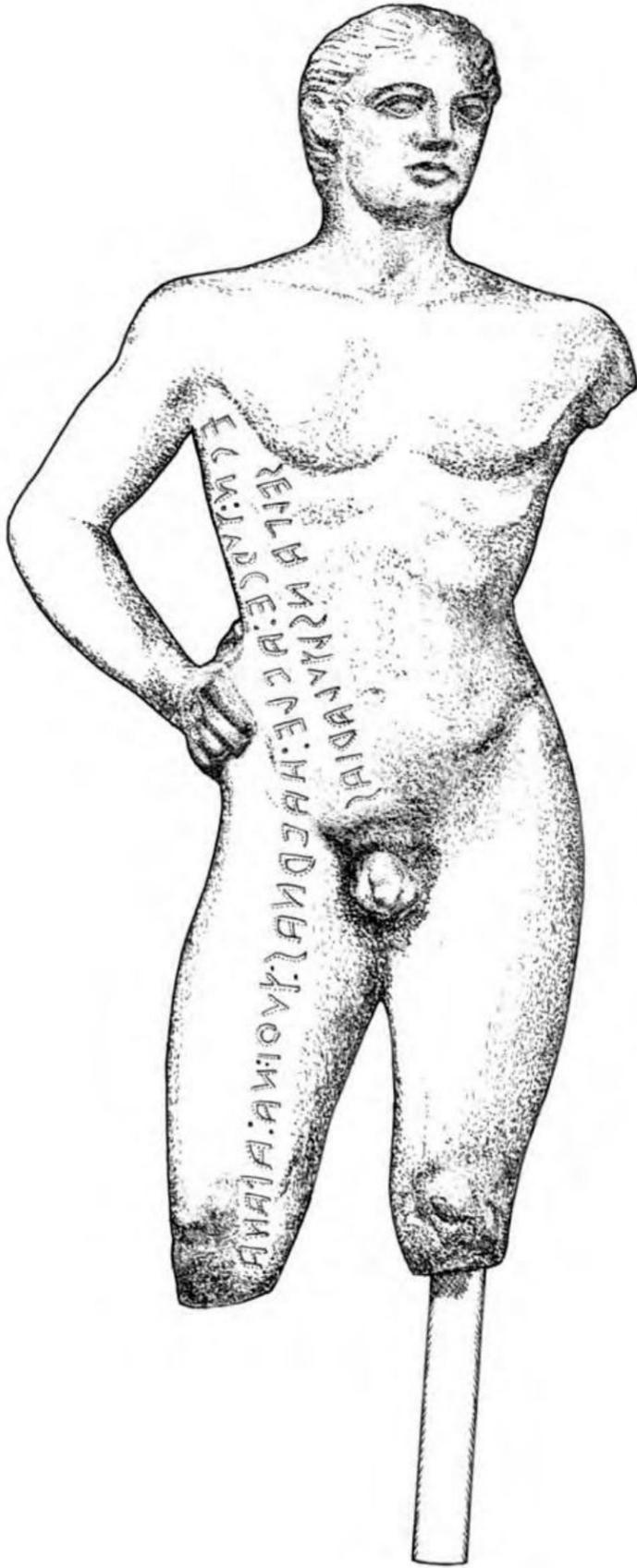
Bronze Tablet from Cortona

The context may be similar for a remarkable recent find, the *Tabula Cortonensis*, which takes its place, at sixty words, as one of the longest Etruscan inscriptions to have come down



11.9. Bronze statuette of Culśanś. Third century BCE. Cortona, Museum. (After A. Pfiffig, *Religio etrusca*, Graz, 1975, fig. 108.)

to us (Fig. 11.13).²⁸ The bronze tablet, of Hellenistic date, came to light in 1992 in Cortona but was publicly announced only in June 1999, causing a flurry of excitement in newspapers and on Italian television. It records a legal contract or religious ritual, including a long list of the names of the



11.10. Bronze statuette dedicated to Selvans Tularias. End of fourth century BCE. Malibu, CA. The J. Paul Getty Museum. (After Bonfante 1991, 836, fig. 1.)



11.11. Praenestine mirror with Juno, Jupiter, and Hercules. Ca. 300 BCE. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (After CSE USA 3.7.)

parties involved and another list of the witnesses' names. No gods seem to be mentioned, but the fact that it was folded over into eight pieces, apparently in a ritual destruction, suggests that the content was religious.

Dedications to Hercle

Several inscriptions came to light in the late 1970s and early 1980s to a cult in honor of Hercle. A votive inscription on a bronze base in the Manchester Museum (Fig. 11.14), incompletely preserved, tells us that a certain Prisnius gave it to Hercle on behalf of his son, . . . *esi p.ri.snius turce hercles clen cexa munis en ca eluruve itruta: ala alpnina luθs inpa ulχn*. . . *Luθs* may also be the name of a god, and *ala alpnina* may be compared to *alpan turce*, "gladly gave" (Latin: *libens dedit*).²⁹ A sanctuary at Caere seems to account for a number of inscriptions to Hercle. A large bronze club, a bronze statuette of Hercle in Toledo (Fig. 11.15), a bronze weight, and a red-

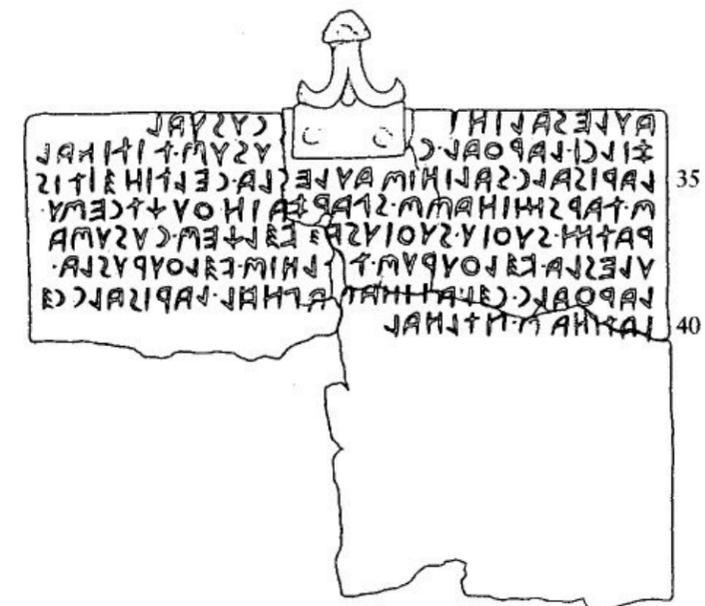


11.12. Rectangular boundary stone from Perugia. Third or second century BCE. Perugia, Museo Archeologico. (Photo: Schwanke, *DAI Rome* 82.1151.)

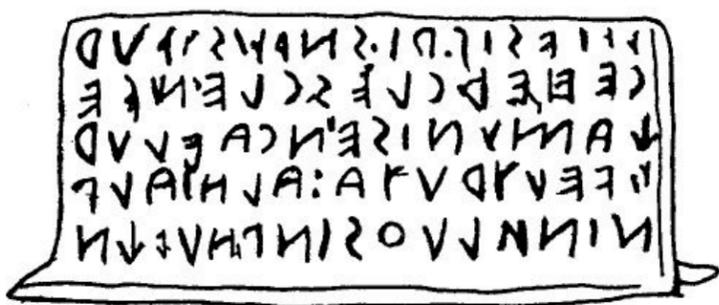
figured Attic cup by Euphronios (returned to Rome in 1999 by the J. P. Getty Museum) all have inscriptions that testify to an important cult place for Hercle.³⁰

Dedications to Other Deities

Inscribed dedications at the sanctuary of Graviscae, the port of Tarquinii, point to the worship of Turan, Uni, Vei, Atunis (Adonis), and Aplu.³¹ A group of bronze statues and statuettes with votive inscriptions also provide the names of gods to whom cult is paid. The inscriptions are incised on the



11.13. Bronze tablet from Cortona, Tabula Cortonensis. Third or second century BCE. Florence, Museo Archeologico. (After Agostiniani and Nicosia 2000, pls. 8–9.)



11.14. Bronze base dedicated to Heracle. Hellenistic period. Manchester Museum. (After Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, fig. 52.)

bodies of these figures, illustrating the continuity of an archaic custom that was usual in early Greek inscriptions but that in Greece was abandoned in favor of writing the names on a separate base, in order, no doubt, to avoid defacing the image.³² This is one of the many cases in which the Etruscans maintain archaic customs, not a surprising tendency given the aristocratic character of their society.

RECURRING THEMES

Etruscan mirrors and wall paintings constitute a rich repertoire of Etruscan mythological scenes. Often the labels on the figures give us an insight into points of view of images, themes, and motifs that are either strictly Etruscan or differ in significant ways from Greek religious and mythological iconography. The following appear to be characteristically Etruscan: (1) the prevalence of couples and “dyads,” (2) the importance of mothers, (3) representations of scenes of the birth of gods, with related midwives and other medical subject matter, and (4) the frequent appearance of souls or ghosts. Let us now consider each of these themes at greater length.

The Prevalence of Couples and “Dyads”

As regards gods in groups, we have already noted the implications of the word *aiser*. The tendency to put gods in pairs or dyads is also deduced through inscriptions. Besides Fufuns and Catha, couples include Turan and Atunis, often representing Turan as an older woman with Atunis as a boy or very young man; Aita (Hades) and Phersipnei (Persephone or Proserpina); Atmite (Admetus) and Alsctei (Alkestis). Some couples turn out to be mother-and-son groups like Semla and Fufuns. Other “dyads,” as Pallottino calls them, are twins like the Dioskouroi, *tinas cliniiar*, Castor and Pollux.³³



11.15. Bronze statuette of Heracle. Ca 300 BCE. Toledo Museum of Art. (Acc. 78.22, gift of Edward Drummond Libbey. Courtesy of Toledo Museum of Art.)

The Importance of Mothers

The importance of mothers is shown by the frequent epithets of goddesses who are called *ati*, “mother,” such as *cel ati*, “mother earth” (Celsclan= son of Cel), *turan ati*, “mother Turan.” These parallel the early and frequent artistic representations of mothers and children, many of them nursing—an image that was shunned in Greek art until the fourth century BCE.³⁴

A good example of a mother is the third-century votive stone statue from Volaterrae known as the *kourotrophos** Maffei. This life-sized marble statue of a standing woman holding a baby might be thought to be a cult statue, except for the votive inscription that runs along the figure’s right arm and shoulder (ET, Vt 3.3). Though the statue is based on a Greek fourth-century model, the baby is a peculiarly Etruscan addition. The inscription gives us the word for “image,” *cana*.³⁵ It reads *mi: cana: larθiaś: zanl: velχineī: śe[lv]ansl[: tu]rce*, “I (am) the image of Larthia Zan. Velchina [to Selvans?] gave (me).”

The Birth of Gods

As for the birth of gods, not only is the subject favored in Etruscan art but there are surprising twists and additions to the stories. The birth of Fufluns (Dionysos, Bacchus) has a precedent: a scene shows the conception of the god by Tinia and Semla.³⁶ Thalna, who appears on a number of mirrors of birth scenes together with Thanr, or Ethausva, as a divine midwife, also appears as a male, illustrating the ambiguity of the sex of certain divine figures and a different attitude towards their anthropomorphism.³⁷

Such a practical view of myths is typically Etruscan. Artists show the birth of Menerva (Athena), a scene that takes on special emphasis in Etruscan art because of her importance, with divine “nurses”—Thalna, Thanr—realistically assisting Tinia. Other medical scenes include Prumathe (Prometheus), at the moment of his liberation, who is assisted by Esplace (Asclepius), in what looks to us like a similarly realistic approach (Fig. 11.16).³⁸

The Frequent Appearance of Souls or Ghosts

Ingrid Krauskopf discusses (below, Chap. 5) evidence of the importance of the afterworld in Etruscan religion. Around the area of the ancient Volsinii (modern Orvieto) we find the custom of dedicating an object to the dead, especially a precious object, by scratching on it the word *subina*, “for the grave.” In the case of a mirror, scratching the word across the reflecting surface makes it useless for the living. One mirror at the Metropolitan Museum of Art has *subina* on the disc,



11.16. Bronze mirror with Prometheus Unbound. Early third century BCE. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (After CSE USA 3.11.)

while another has the word *cracna* in the same position; perhaps it is the name of the deceased. The custom of “killing” the object to make it unfit for use by the living is known from other cultures, and indeed elsewhere in Etruria as well. It belongs in the context of the world of the dead and of ghosts.³⁹

In fact, we have several depictions of ghosts, which can be identified because they are clearly labeled with one of the words we know best in Etruscan: *hinθial*, which means “soul” or “image.” There is *hinθial teriasals* (ET, Ta 7.67), “the ghost of Teiresias,” and a vase painting shows the ghosts of two Amazons, *pentasila* and *aturmuca* (ET, Vc 7.36), Penthesilea and Andromache.⁴⁰ A mirror in the Metropolitan Museum with Odysseus and Kirke (Fig. 11.17) shows a thin, wan



11.17. Bronze mirror with Uthste, Cerca, and Velparun. 350–300 BCE. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (After CSE USA 3.15.)

figure of Velparun, that is, Elpenor, whose ghost comes up to Odysseus (Uthste) in the Underworld scene in the *Odyssey*: the ghost is present along with Cerca (Kirke) as two scenes from the epic are merged in the same picture.⁴¹

Legends on Etruscan coins provide source material for the religious, as well as the political and commercial life of the Etruscan cities. The coins of Populonia show the Etruscan name of the city, Pupluna—that is, Fufluna, “the city of Fufluns.”⁴²

CONCLUSION: THE PLACE OF WRITING IN ETRUSCAN RELIGION

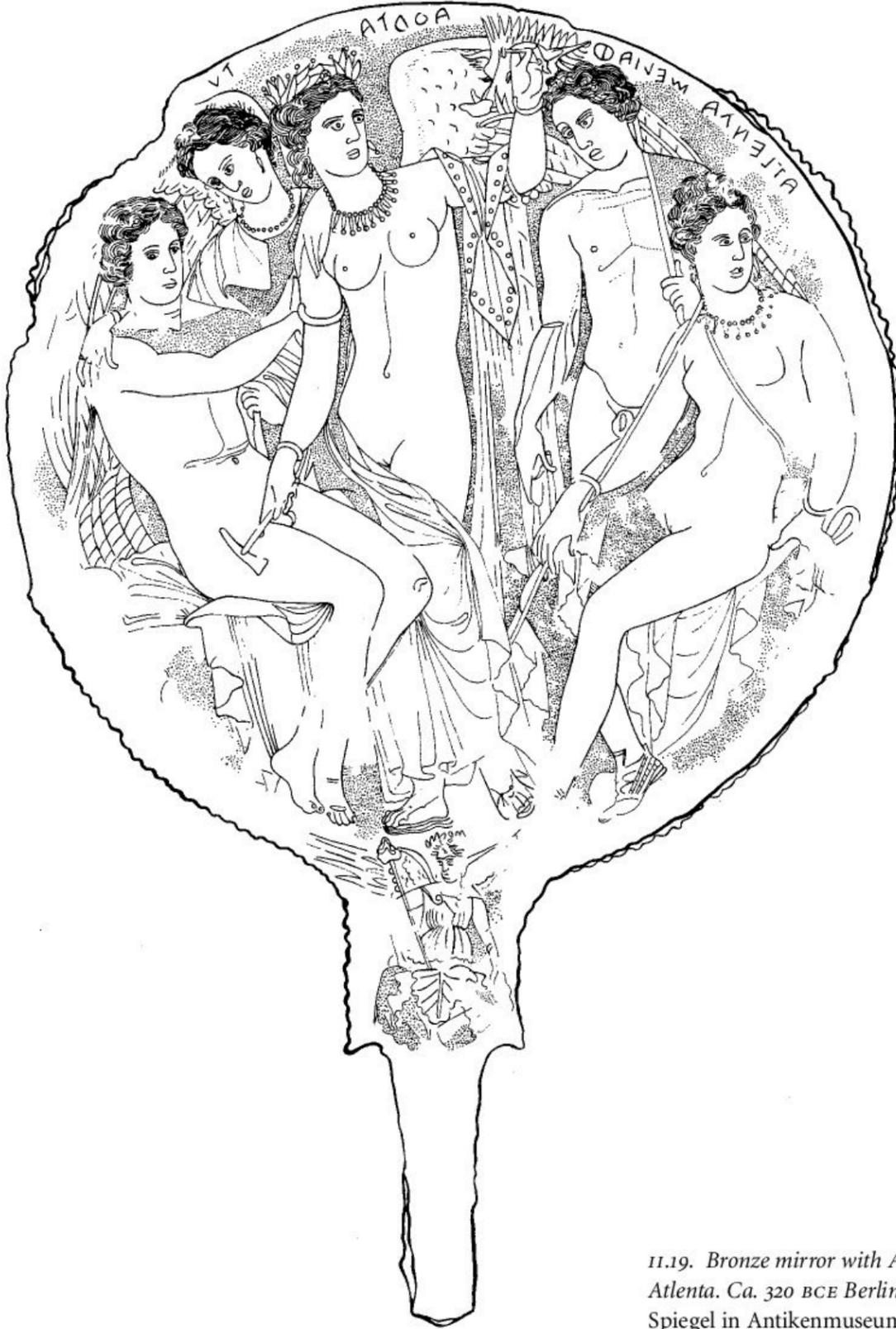
Because writing was so important for the Etruscans, our knowledge of Etruscan religion depends to a large extent on Etruscan inscriptions and their contexts. There is still much to learn from these texts—ritual and funerary, votive, legal, and mythological, as recent studies have shown: the names of the gods and their contexts—whether they are mythological figures from Greek or Etruscan traditions or gods who



11.18. Bronze mirror with Lasa, Hamphiar, and Aivas. 350–300 BCE. London, British Museum. (After CSE Great Britain 1, I, 28.)

receive cult in local sanctuaries. Sometimes, as in the case of Hercle, they are clearly both. We learn the names of the donors, the ritual formulas, and forms of votive gifts and of funerary dedications.

Writing defined and fixed the established channels of communication between gods and mortals. In a way, the signs of the gods were themselves a kind of writing that had to be deciphered by men.⁴³ After the 1985 exhibit on Etruscan texts at Perugia, *Scrivere Etrusco*, Massimo Pallottino remarked that we could well call the Etruscans, like the Hebrews, the “People of the Book.” When Livy tells us that the Romans used to send their children to Etruria to learn letters in the fourth century BCE, as they later used to send them to Athens, we can assume that it was the children of aristocrats, the Roman oligarchy, who needed to learn the art of divination as part of their training, to be able to lead armies in the field and carry out religious rituals in peace. With the study of the Etruscan books of divination they received a technical training that might have been the ancient equivalent of going to MIT to study engineering.



11.19. Bronze mirror with Athrpa, Turan, Atunis, Meliacr, and Atlenta. Ca. 320 BCE Berlin, Antiquarium. (After G. Zimmer, *Spiegel in Antikenmuseum, Berlin*, 1987, pl. 19.)

There were characteristic styles for religious texts, some of which we can recognize in spite of the loss of Etruscan literature and the paucity of long, continuous texts. The solemnity of the style occasionally comes through even in the limited amount of written material that has come down to us.

In Etruscan art, moreover, a number of the longer texts echo the solemn rhythm characteristic of religious and legal documents, with their repeated symmetries, parallel clauses, and synonyms. When Laris Pulenas lists his titles and priest-hoods, recording the ceremonies, sacraments, functions, and

sacrifices at which he has officiated, their ritual order seems to determine the rhythm of the repeated *pul, pul, pul*—“first, then, then. . .” In the Pyrgi tablets a similar rhythm appears from the beginning: *ita tmia icac heramasva*, “This is the *tmia* and this is the *heramasva* . . .,” and later, *ilacve . . . ilacve*, “since on the one hand . . . since on the other hand.” In calendars such as those on the Zagreb mummy wrappings or the Capua tile, which prescribe specific sacrifices, libations, and prayers to be offered to particular divinities at given dates, the repetitions are necessitated by their very nature. On the Perugia boundary stone, the patterns, symmetries, and other rhetorical devices of ritual language are reflected in the spacing of the words and lines of the inscription.⁴⁴

Written texts—books, scrolls, and tablets—are frequently represented in Etruscan art, and the solemnity of the written style of religious and legal texts is also sometimes represented on the monuments themselves. One of the best examples of such a visual rendering of a document recording the ceremony is the mirror from Volaterrae with the symbolic ritual of the adoption of Heracle on the part of Uni (Fig. 11.8). This solemn moment is witnessed by an assembly of divinities, one of whom points to the tablet that records the ceremony and assures its legality, like the contracts and legal documents recorded on the Perugia *cippus* and *Tabula Cortonensis* (Figs. 11.12 and 11.13). This documentation of a divine rite of passage is paralleled by funerary scenes such as that of the Lasa holding out a scroll with the names of the dead heroes (Fig. 11.18), or of Laris Pulenas exhibiting his scroll on his sarcophagus (Fig. 11.7). An image similarly assuring the permanence of the destiny of an individual or a group may be the ritual gesture of the female divinity Athrpa

(Atropos) hammering the nail of Fate on another mirror, as the two unfortunate couples, Turan and Atunis, Meliacr and Atlenta (Meleager and Atalanta), look on (Fig. 11.19).⁴⁵

The importance of the written word is underlined by the appearance of the word for “writing,” *ziχ*, on religious and legal documents. On the Capua tile, an individual whose name is lost has been responsible for the text, which he wrote down or ordered to be written, *ziχunce*. The Zagreb mummy wrappings have *ziχne*, as well as the phrase *ziχri cn*, “Let this be written down.”⁴⁶ The epitaph of Laris Pulenas refers to the book on divination he has written, the *ziχ neθsrac*. The *cippus* from Perugia ends with the solemn ruling, *ceχa ziχuxe*, “as this sentence has been written down, prescribed”—the sentence has been written in stone. In the bronze tablet from Cortona, the *Tabula Cortonensis*, the verb *ziχ*- also refers to the contents of the document.

The luxurious writing implements buried with the dead indicated the importance of writing in the seventh century, an importance emphasized in the fourth century and later by specific references to books and writing in the documents themselves and by their representation in art. Religion, the art of divination, the stability of boundaries, the security of the society all depended upon the inviolability of the written word. Prophecies, which were crucial to the Etruscan system of religion and life, were often spoken, or otherwise indicated. Many were written down, like the prophecies of Tages and of Vegoia.⁴⁷ The act of writing itself was important and defined the character of rituals or sacred law and the very nature of the religion concerned.⁴⁸ Etruscan religion provides a striking example of the symbolic, religious significance of writing.

NOTES

1. Rix, in *ET*.
2. Further, Rix (*ET*) omits “graffiti,” the *sigla* of one, two or three letters that abound on pottery and other objects from Etruscan archaeological sites but are usually discounted by philologists because they do not have recognizable words. Cf. de Grummond, Bare and Meilleur 2000.
3. Cristofani 1987, 127–131; Cornell 1991, 21. Greek inscriptions: Guarducci 1987, 34–87.
4. Colonna 1976, 7–24, esp. 18–22.
5. Cristofani 1979, 378–379.
6. Morandi 1982.
7. Pfiffig 1969, 12; Fiesel 1928; De Simone 1968–1970; Rix 1978–1984, 84.
8. Roncalli 1985; Rix 1985, 21–37; Cristofani 1995.

9. Roncalli 1985, 17–64.
10. Van der Meer 1987; Maggiani 1982.
11. This was the case when the Etruscan princess Tanaquil, wife of Tarquin, read the signs of the bird’s flight in different regions of the sky when they arrived in Rome and foresaw their future there. Indeed, her husband did become king and began the Etruscan dynasty at Rome as Tarquinius Priscus. For further discussions of the sky and its divisions, see the discussion by Ingrid Edlund-Berry below, Chap. 7.
12. Van der Meer 1987, 22–26; Weinstock 1946.
13. For the deities mentioned here and throughout this volume, the reader may refer to the fuller treatment by Simon in Chapter 4. See especially the glossary of gods (pp. 57–61) and Chart 1 (p. 46), which gives a list of selected Etruscan gods with conjectured identi-

fications of the counterparts in Greece and Rome. As noted earlier, Etruscan spellings were not standardized, and so minor variations in the names may appear, depending on which inscriptions are referenced. Here we try to observe the versions of the names used on the liver, some of which, however, are surely abbreviations.

14. Van der Meer 1987, 146.
15. Thanr: Cristofani 1995, 70, 119; Uni, *unialθi*: 118–119.
16. *Santuari d'Etruria* 153–154. *Cver*: Pfiffig 1969, 264–267, 284, “votive gift,” or “boy” (“Geschenk,” “Weihegabe,” or “Knabe”).
17. Pallottino 1975, 143.
18. Pyrgi tablets: *CIE* 6314–6316. Pallottino 1975, 170, with previous bibliography; *Die Göttin von Pyrgi*, 1981.
19. *CIE* 5430. Devoto 1936, 287; Heurgon 1957, 106–126; Heurgon 1961, 291–293; Pallottino 1984, 425, 441; Van der Meer 1987, 129–130, 172–173, 187, fig. 78; Morandi 1991, 156–167, no. 15, fig. 20 (drawing); Cataldi 1988: Beekes and van der Meer 1991, 57–59.
20. Heurgon 1969, 526–551; Carruba 1976, 163–173.
21. For mothers and children in ancient art, see Bonfante 1989, 85–106; Bonfante 1997b, 174–196. See also van der Meer 1995, 124–130. For reference to a statue of Juno nursing Hercules, see *Anthologia Palatina* 9,589.
22. Cristofani 1991a, 2–5. For such a group illustrated on a mirror in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see Bonfante 1997a, 13.
23. Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, 166, source 48, fig. 32.
24. For the Roman equivalent, Silvanus *custos*, see Dorcey 1992, esp. 17–25, 28–32, 179. See also Collins Clinton, forthcoming. The epithet *custos* appears only in Rome and Italy.
25. Bonfante 1997a, no. 7.
26. De Simone 1987–1988, 346–351; Fabing 1988, 254–258; Van der Meer 1987, 61; Bonfante 1991, 835–844; Cristofani 1991b, 148, no. 36.
27. Roncalli 1985, 74–81.
28. Agostiniani and Nicosia 2000.
29. Manchester base: Turfa 1982, 183; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, 175, source 61; Pallottino 1983, 611–614; Colonna 1987–1988, 345; *ET*, OA 3.9 (wrongly reads *luθs* as *lusθ*). On the cult of Heracle at Cerveteri, see Cristofani 1996, 39–54.
30. For the bronze statuette of Heracle in Toledo, *hercales mi*: de Grummond 1986, 20–21, fig. I-1; Cristofani 1996, 54. For the bronze club of Heracles with votive inscription to Heracle, from Cerveteri, see Cristofani 1996, 54, fig. 29, and 55–60; Moretti Sgubini 1999, 1–24. For votive inscriptions, see Schrimmer 1998, 38–56. For Heracle in Etruscan art, see Bayet 1926; Uehlenbrock 1986; Schwarz 1990; Neils 1998, 6–21.

31. Torelli 1977, 398–458.

32. Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, sources 46–50. Early Greek inscriptions on statues: Guarducci, 1987, 46–48, nude bronze male figure, Mantiklos Apollo, ca. 700 BCE, Boston Museum of Fine Arts; 49–51, marble statue of *kore** from Delos, Nikandre, ca. 650 BCE.

33. Pallottino 1975, 143; De Puma, 1973, 159–170; de Grummond 1991. Pallottino includes couples made up of “a male god and an accompanying goddess, as in the case of Aita and Phersipnai, the infernal couple.” I feel male-female couples are different in kind and in any case unequal: Bonfante 1981, 157–187 (= *Reflections*, 323–343).

34. Colonna 1976–1977, 45–62; Colonna 1994, 134–135; Bonfante 1997b, 174–196; de Grummond 2004; Renard 1964.

35. *CIE* 76; Bianchi Bandinelli 1982, 288–314.

36. Van der Meer 1995, 119–122 (Menerva), 122–124 (Fuflungs); Bonfante 1993, 221–235.

37. Bonfante 1997a, no. 20; Cristofani 1993, 9–21.

38. Bonfante 1997a, no. 11; Dobrowolski 1991, 1213–1230; Kerenyi 1963, 127–128. Kerenyi points to the remarkable resemblance of the image of Prometheus to that of a Renaissance Christ taken down from the Cross.

39. Bonfante 1997a, no. 4. On *subina*, see Fontaine 1995, 201–216; Briquel 1995.

40. Martelli 1987, no. 174B.

41. Bonfante 1997a, no. 15. See also Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, 22.

42. Tripp 1986, 203–204.

43. Much of the following is adapted from a section, “The Written Word,” in Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, 114–116.

44. De Simone 1997, 235–237; *ET*; Cristofani 1995, 85–87, 125. On the Perugia *cippus*, see Roncalli 1985, 81; and Roncalli 1985b, 161–170. The *Tabula Cortonensis* gives us a new example of the verb “to write.”

45. On the importance of writing in Etruscan art and society, see Roncalli 1985a; Roncalli 1976, 187–195. On the nail of Fate, see Aigner Foresti 1979, 144–149; Bonfante 1998, 53–65.

46. New reading: Roncalli 1985, 52 (instead of *zaxri*, in *ThLE*, s.v., *TLE*, 1).

47. De Grummond, below, Chap. 3.

48. Beard 1991, 35–58: “The simple fact, for example, that writing becomes used, even by a tiny minority, to define the calendar of rituals or sacred law inevitably changes the nature of the religion concerned”; and also her discussion of the primacy of writing and the “clear determining power of the written word over the spoken” (39). See also Corbier 1987, 27–60; Corbier 1991, 99–118.

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PROPHETS AND PRIESTS

Nancy Thomson de Grummond

For an Etruscan, the starting point of religion lay in the revelations of the prophets. After that, the continuing practice of religion was guided by inquiry into the will of the gods, properly revealed and interpreted by individuals with skills in divination. Here we shall make a distinction between these two different categories of communication of the will of the gods, using the words “prophet” and “prophecy” to refer to the traditions in which a particular individual made revelations that then became basic sacred scripture for the Etruscans. We will reserve the term “divination” for the multitude of examples in which a priest or other individual interpreted a message from the gods by consulting the previously revealed body of divine knowledge known as the *Etrusca disciplina*.^{*1}

PROPHETS

We shall consider numerous references in Greek and Latin sources² to the utterances of Etruscan prophets, but unfortunately we do not have original Etruscan sources on this topic. As we consider these literary sources, we shall also look at evidence from the archaeological record that may help to confirm or expand ideas in the texts.

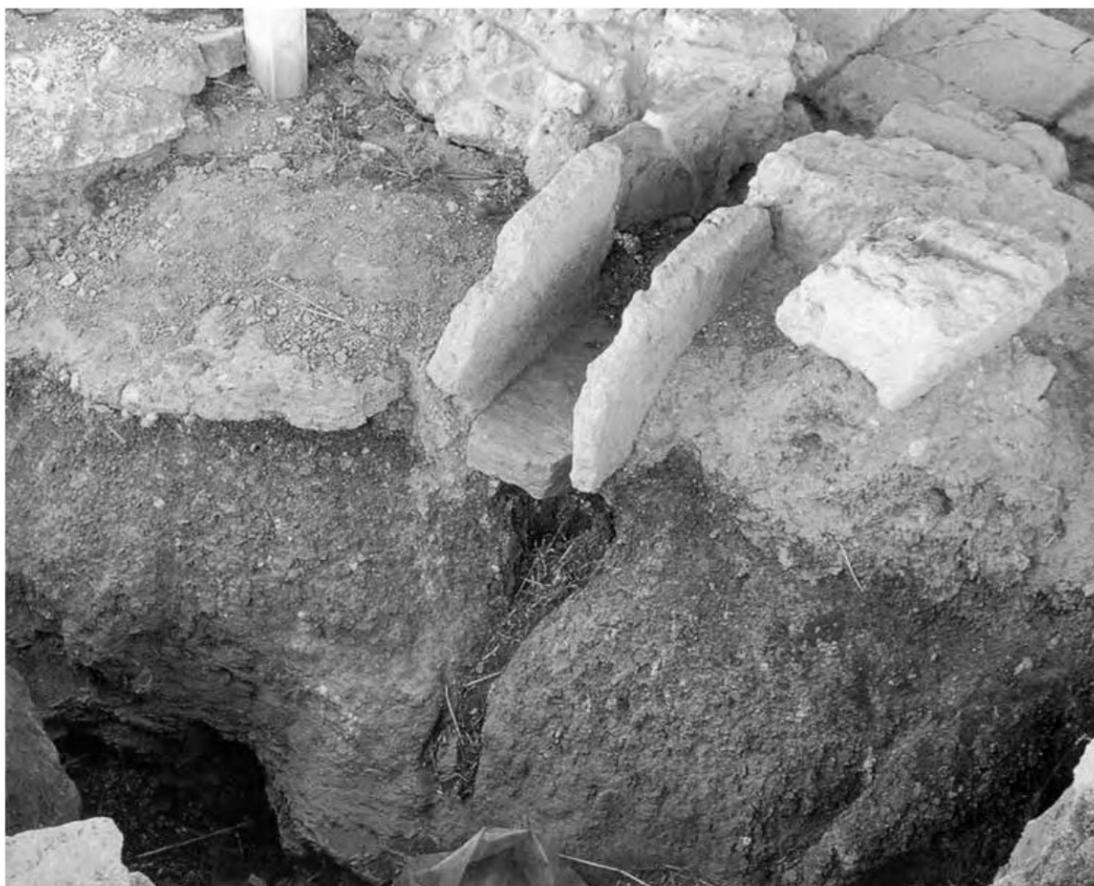
Tages

The central myth of Etruscan prophecy lies in the story of Tages, the wise child who sprang up from the freshly plowed earth and revealed in full the rules of the *Etrusca disciplina*. The form of the name “Tages” is Latin, employing the letter *g*, not used by the Etruscans. We may imagine that the prophet’s name in Etruscan incorporated a hard *c* sound, a point to which we shall return. The most important sources for the myth are Cicero, ca. 44 BCE (*De div.* 2.23; Appendix B, Source no. 11.3); Johannes Lydus, sixth century CE (*De*

ostentis 2.6.B; Appendix B, Source no. 11.5) and Verrius Flaccus (epitomized by Festus, second century CE, *De significatu verborum* 359.14, Lindsay, p. 492, v.6; Appendix B, Source no. 11.2). These are a mixed lot, but all seem to have had access to antiquarian sources that may reflect original Etruscan writings. A number of other sources also make limited reference to the story.

Flaccus related that Tages was the son of Genius and grandson of Jupiter (i.e., the Roman equivalent of the Etruscan god Tinia). According to both Cicero and Lydus, Tages imparted his knowledge when a plowman cut a furrow in the ground and the child sprang up and started singing; Tages was like a newborn but had characteristics that evoked the wisdom of an old man. Cicero says the event took place at Tarquinii and was promptly attended by “all Etruria.” Lydus tells us specifically that the plowman was none other than Tarchon, founder of the city. Flaccus noted that the child was responsible for teaching his message to the *duodecim populi*, the Twelve Peoples of Etruria. In Lydus’ version, Tarchon took the child away and set him “in sacred places” to learn from him. A recurrent feature in the sources is that the teachings were written down and that the leaders or *lucumones** of Etruria were conduits for the transmission of the prophecy.

What were the teachings of Tages? Cicero says that they pertained to *haruspicina*, that is, the interpretation of the will of the gods through scrutiny of the inner organs of a sacrificed animal; elsewhere (*De div.* 2.38), Cicero says simply that the teachings pertained to the *disciplina* of the Etruscans. Other sources mention lightning and entrails (Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 2.69); city foundations made with the plow (Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.19.13; Appendix B, Source no. 1 v.5); earthquakes (Lydus, *De ostentis* 54c); the spheres of habitation of the gods (Lactantius, *Comm. in Stat. Theb.* 4.516); and a remedy for mildew, i.e., agricultural lore (Columella, *De re*



III.1. Channel of the “shrine/altar” emptying into the cavity in the bedrock, Building Beta, Pian di Civita, Tarquinii. (After Moretti Sgubini 2001, fig. 35.)

rustica 10.5, 337–347; Appendix B, Source no. IV.4). The writings derived from the revelation were sometimes referred to as *Libri Tagetici*, and these were described as containing *Libri haruspicini* and *Libri Acherontici* (on rituals pertaining to salvation and the Afterlife).

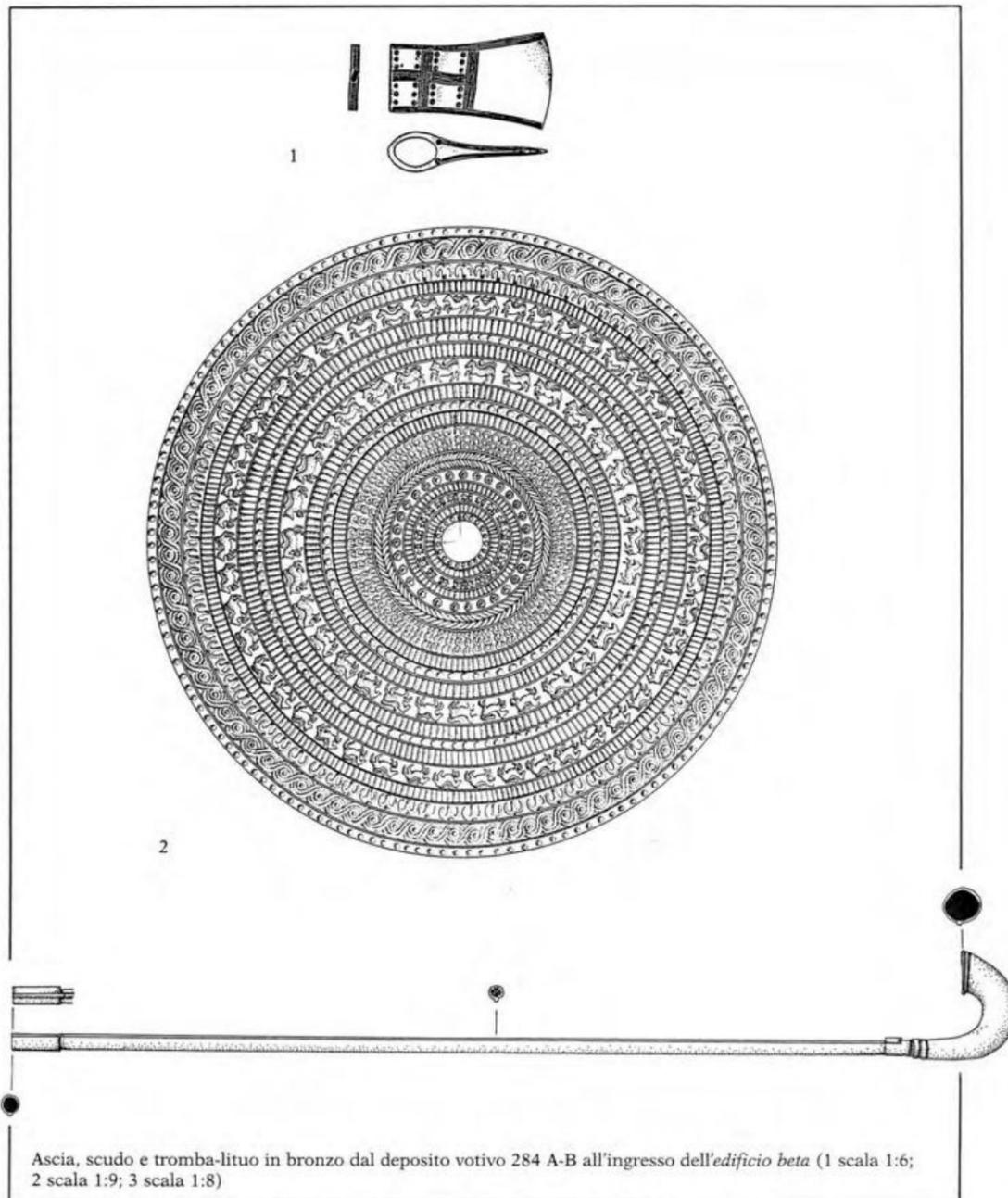
From archaeology we glean other evidence relative to the mythical child prophet. Excavations by the University of Milan at Pian di Civita, the city site of ancient Tarquinii, from 1982 to 1985 produced a quite remarkable find in an area identified by the excavators as sacred.³ They discovered the skeleton of a child, 7–8 years old, buried around the end of the ninth century BCE by inhumation, a rite quite unusual at that time. The child, wearing a pendant or bulla around its neck, revealed a deformation of the bones that experts have associated with epilepsy. Near the body was a natural cavity in the earth (Fig. III.1), obviously used in a cult, since it was connected to a nearby altar by a drainage channel, presumably for blood and drink offerings from the altar.

There were many other signs of religious activity in the area, including strata of ashes indicating repeated acts of burning and segments of animal horns, sometimes in geometric shapes. Postdating the child burial were the scattered skeletal remains of other children, this time infants. In a pit nearby were found the remains of a bronze axe and a care-

fully folded shield and *lituus**/trumpet (Fig. III.2), all attributes of power and nobility. Quite apart from the disturbing question raised here about child sacrifice among the Etruscans, the find is very suggestive in regard to the founding myth of Etruscan prophecy. In antiquity epileptics were perceived to have special spiritual powers, manifested when they were under the effects of seizure, and the combination of this eccentric child with the cavity in the earth and the attributes of *lucumones* at Tarquinii provides a most suggestive backdrop for the myth of the wise child Tages.

Also from the archaeological record comes another type of evidence, namely, representations in art that may show the myth. A number of scarabs, mostly dating to the fourth century BCE, show a fascinating scene in which one or more figures stand over a being emerging from the ground. Sometimes only the head is shown, but at other times, more of the figure appears, as on an example of the fourth–third century BCE in the Villa Giulia (Fig. III.3)⁴ that seems to show “Tarchon” bending over and listening to “Tages,” the latter an amorphous figure, somewhat small in scale compared with the tall male figure. He raises his finger in a pointing gesture that is commonly used in Etruscan art by someone explaining a prophecy.⁵

An equally important supplement to the literary sources



III.2. Votive bronze axe, shield, and lituus/trumpet, found in front of Building Beta, Pian di Civita, Tarquinii. Early seventh century BCE. Tarquinia, Archaeological Museum. (After Bonghi Jovino and Chiaramonte Treré 1997, pl. 125.)

is provided by the famous bronze mirror found in a tomb at Tuscania in 1898, dated to the third century BCE (Fig. III.4).⁶ The identification of the figures has been thoroughly discussed since the seminal article by Pallottino in 1930, but scholars are far from final agreement on this subject. What is certain is that a youth labeled *pavatarχies*,⁷ wearing a conical priest's cap, stands in a ritual pose with his left foot upon a rock and contemplates a liver. On the left, a bearded older man, with a similar conical hat laid back on his shoulder, assumes a position of listening and contemplating; he is labeled *avl tarχunus*.

No better explanation has been found than Pallottino's suggestion that we have here a version of the myth of Tages

(*pava* may mean *puer* or child; *tarχies* could become Tages in Latin) instructing Tarchon (or perhaps his son, whose name would then be Avl) in *haruspicina*. The other figures present are somewhat difficult to account for. On the far right is a tall, bearded male, nude except for his boots and a mantle wrapped around his left arm; he holds a spear in his right hand. Labeled Veltune, he is often equated with the Etruscan god whom the Romans called Vertumnus (or Voltumna) and who was regarded as the principal deity of Etruria by Varro (*De lingua Latina* 5.46: Appendix B, Source no. VI.3). Since an overwhelming amount of evidence shows that Tinia was the chief Etruscan god (as noted, equivalent to Jupiter), some have argued that Veltune is simply another name for



III.3. Carnelian scarab with image of Tarchon and Tages (?). Fourth century BCE. Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia (Photo: Courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale.)



III.4. Mirror with Pava Tarchies from Tuscania. Early third century BCE Florence, Archeological Museum. (After Torelli 1988, fig. 1.)

him; thus it is possible that we have here the god who was grandfather of Pava Tarchies.

As for the remaining figures, frustratingly little is clear. In the middle of the scene is a rather conspicuous lady labeled Ucerneti, whose identity and reason for participation are quite unknown, while on the far left is a youth, nude except for his cloak; above him is the word *raθlθ*. The god Rath is named in inscriptions, but little is known about him, and the locative ending of the word on the mirror is puzzling.⁸ It may identify him as a personification of the place where the prophesying of Tages took place.

Vegoia (Vecuvia)

Another highly important figure in Etruscan prophecy is the one called “Nymph Begoe” (or “Vegoia”) in Latin texts. She is mentioned as the author or source of books on lightning that were kept in the Temple of Apollo (presumably on the Palatine; Servius, *Ad Aen.* 6.72) and is particularly recognized as a source for an account about the creation of the world. Her books are alluded to as *Libri Vegoici*. The thunder calendar attributed to the Roman savant Nigidius Figulus (surviving in a Greek translation; see Appendix A) may be derived from her prophecies. The Romanized expert on Etruscan lore, Tarquitiu Priscus, a contemporary of Cicero, translated her books into Latin.

A precious scrap of prophecy exists in Latin, perhaps derived from the translations made by Tarquitiu Priscus; the text pertains to the sanctity of boundaries and thus is preserved in the writing of field surveyors (see Appendix B, Source no. 11.1).⁹ Vegoia delivered her prophecy to a certain Arruns Veltymnus, sometimes equated with Arruns, an early prince of Clusium, though with little firm evidence. The name Veltymnus is remarkably similar to Veltune on the Etruscan mirror, and perhaps in this case it again refers to the principal Etruscan deity, Tinia (or Jupiter), indicating that Arruns had a special relationship with this god.

The prophecy in Latin does make specific reference to Jupiter. It begins with the origin of the sea and sky and relates how Jupiter had worked out boundaries in Etruria. For those who violated these boundaries, disastrous consequences were predicted, including storms, whirlwinds, drought, hail, and mildew. Similar spectacular effects of weather are part of the predictions in the Brontoscopic Calendar of Nigidius, for example, for June 3, “If in any way it should thunder, there will be a scorching and drying wind, such that not only grains but even the soft fruits will be parched through and through and shrivel up.” Or again, from Oct. 3, “If it thunders, it signifies hurricanes and dis-

turbances by which the trees will be overturned; there will be a great disruption in the affairs of common people.” (See Appendix A.)

On the whole, the myth of the prophetess makes an interesting parallel to the story of Tages and Tarchon, with its combination of the instructor (Vegoia) and the disciple (Arruns) and with its reference to Veltune or Tinia, along with the connection with disasters of nature.

The writing down of the prophecy of Vegoia has been thought to date from the first century BCE (some five hundred years later than Arruns of Clusium), because it refers to the eighth *saeculum* or era of Etruscan history. The Etruscan doctrine of the periods of their sacred history is only dimly known and understood, but the eighth *saeculum* may be convincingly related to the last century of Etruscan civilization, when the Etruscans were being overrun by the Romans and a prophecy on boundaries might seem especially pertinent.

The figure known to the Romans as the Nymph Begoe has been identified in Etruscan art, twice on mirrors and once on a gold ring bezel. On a mirror from Vetulonia, ca. 300–275 BCE, a winged female figure appears, labeled Lasa Vecuvi(a), from which the translation to Latin of “Nymph Begoe” or “Vegoia” might easily have been made.¹⁰ The figure appears in the exergue of the mirror, underneath an image of Tinia holding the thunderbolt, thus suggesting a connection between the two. On a mirror of unknown provenance in the Villa Giulia, of similar date, appears a winged figure in short chiton labeled Lasa Vecu. This time, however, the Lasa appears with Menrva (Fig. III.5). She seems to stand and listen, holding in her hand an object that is sometimes identified as a small lightning bolt, though more often as a plant. Either attribute would be acceptable for the prophetess who left a book on lightning but also had concern for boundaries, a matter of agrarian significance.

Finally, on the ring bezel, from Todi in Umbria (dated around the same time as the two preceding examples), the goddess is called Lasa Vecuvia, and is represented as a nude, nymphlike figure holding a mirror (Fig. III.6). From the numerous scenes of prophecy that appear on Etruscan mirrors, it may be conjectured that the mirror itself was an instrument of prophecy, as in the examples of *katoptromanteia* (conjuring with mirrors) attested in Greek and Roman ritual.¹¹ Rather like making predictions by gazing in a crystal ball or a vessel filled with liquid (*lekanomanteia*), one could discern the future by looking at a reflected but somewhat mysterious image in the shiny surface of the mirror. Several Etruscan mirrors show a female figure gazing intently into a mirror,

seemingly not in the act of grooming but rather as a part of *katoptromanteia*. It may be hypothesized that Lasa Vecuvia prophesied on occasion by means of a mirror.

Cacu

Among the other scenes of prophecy on mirrors, the best known is that on the handsome grip mirror from Bolsena (Fig. III.7; ca. 300 BCE) that shows the long-haired, youthful Cacu in the act of playing his lyre and evidently singing an oracular message.¹² His pupil Artile sits at his feet and follows the prophecy with the aid of a booklike diptych containing an enigmatic script. On the right and on the left, soldiers approach, one with sword drawn, evidently in an ambush of the prophet. They are labeled as Avle Vipinas and Caille Vipinas, two brothers who are known from other sources, both Roman and Etruscan, as real historical figures, contemporary with the sixth-century kings of Rome. The same story appears on at least four ash urns coming from the territory of Clusium (Chiusi) dating to the second century BCE. All show the attempt to capture the prophet, but unfortunately we do not know the outcome of the situation.

The ambush to catch a seer is a well-known *topos* in Greek and Roman myth and legend, according to which you must seize the prophet to learn his secrets (cf. Silenus in Vergil, *Eclogue* 6; Proteus in Vergil, *Georgics* 4, and Picus and Faunus in Ovid, *Fasti* 2.385). Beyond this plausible hypothesis, there is little agreement. We do not know the subject of the prophecy, and though there are myths about Cacus in Latin literature (e.g., the brute of Vergil’s *Aen.* 8.184–305), it is difficult to show how they may be related to the scene on the mirror. In the Roman versions, the threads of the myth have become so tangled that the fabric is no longer recognizable.

Other Prophetic Figures

A number of other little-known Etruscan figures appear in acts of prophecy or divination on Etruscan mirrors, both male and female. I have discussed these and the meager knowledge we have about them elsewhere.¹³ There are also various figures from Greek mythology represented on mirrors as prophets or seers: Silenus, the seer Chalchas (Fig. III.8; represented in Etruria with wings and practicing divination with a liver), Orpheus, Teiresias. For most of these, evidence of scripture is lacking. Orpheus is an exception, since scenes of his head popping out of the ground with open mouth (the motif recalls Tages) include a tablet with writing upon it. These date around the same time as many of the other mirrors and gems with scenes of prophecy or divination, ca. 300 BCE. We have reviewed the principal evi-



III.5. Mirror with Lasa Vecu and Menrva. Early third century BCE. Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia. (After ES, 1.37.)

dence for prophets in Etruria, with particular attention to the major figures, one male and one female—Tages (Pava Tarchies) and Nymph Begoe (Lasa Vecuvia). Their books, the *Libri Tagetici* and the *Libri Vegoici*, constituted a significant portion of Etruscan scripture. Given the scrappy nature of the evidence, it is not safe to attempt much generalization, but it is clear that these writings and related Etruscan myth and legend included themes of creation and history, as well as references to the power of the chief god in connection with the forces of nature. The writings were preserved

and interpreted by patriarchal figures such as Tarchon and the leaders of individual city-states (the *duodecim populi*, or Twelve Peoples).

Clearly the texts were thick with regulations on rituals and legal matters. One category of the books of Tages gave illumination concerning the Afterlife. Beyond that, the Etruscan ritual books focused on instructions concerning prognostication. Repeated references to thunder and lightning, haruspication, the flight of birds, unusual animals or plants, and other features of ritual make it clear that the chief



III.6. Gold ring bezel with Lasa Vecuvia from Todi. Early third century BCE. Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia. (Photo: Courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale.)

emphasis in the *Etrusca disciplina* lay in teaching divination, so that priests and others might assist in discerning the will of the gods.

PRIESTS

Discussions of Etruscan priests usually begin with the well-known *haruspices*,* the Etruscan diviners who served the Romans during the period of the Roman Republic and even sometimes during the Empire as well. Here we shall make a different kind of start and inquire whether it is possible to give a more general account of priesthood within Etruria. How do we define or recognize an Etruscan priest? Who served as priests and in what contexts? How did Etruscan priests resemble or differ from those of Greece and Rome? What were their duties?

The evidence is once again scanty, and barring spectac-



III.7. Mirror with Cacus being seized by Avle Vipinas and Caile Vipinas. Ca. 300 BCE. London, British Museum. (After Bonfante 1990, fig. 18.)



III.8. Mirror with Chalkas as haruspex. Ca. 400 BCE. Vatican Museums. (After ES, 2.223.)

lar new discoveries, we shall never be able to give very satisfactory answers to these questions or to come anywhere near the kind of responses provided in most of the chapters of *Pagan Priests, Religion and Power in the Ancient World* (1990), edited by Mary Beard and John North. They and their contributors make several points, however, that can illuminate our inquiry. The first has to do with the actual definition of “priest,” which they provisionally relate to “the function of mediating between gods and men.”¹⁴ The mediation function, we shall see, is conspicuous in the surviving evidence about priests of Etruria. Also useful for our discussion is their generalization that the concept of such a mediator in ancient societies was very different from our own, beginning with the fact that the priest was not just a religious figure but often was a person of political or secular importance and duties; the separation of church and state was not an issue.¹⁵ Another theme that recurs in Beard and North is the idea that priests would be marked out from ordinary people by some kind of distinctive, even paradoxical clothing, such as may be seen in modern priests, who may wear a skirt or turn their collar backwards, or nuns, who may wear medieval garments.¹⁶

Terminology

Was there an Etruscan word that would translate the Latin all-purpose term *sacerdos*? The most common word for priest in Etruscan was *cepen* (also *cepena*, *cipen*; pl. perhaps *cepar*), a term that can already be found in the seventh century BCE.¹⁷ The meaning of *cepen* was first suggested by a gloss from Varro (Servius, *Ad Aen.* 12.539), noting that the Sabine word for priest was *cupencus*, and it has been confirmed by its frequent occurrence in the *Liber Linteus* of Zagreb.¹⁸

Names for priestly office also may be learned from funerary inscriptions that list titles of the deceased in combination with *cepen* and other words. Four times *cepen* appears with another word whose root seems to refer to the activities of a magistrate¹⁹ but may also be priestly: *maru* (occurring in Umbrian as *maron-*, the same word as Maro, the Latin cognomen of Vergil). This last term appears also in what seems to be a group plural form, *maruxva* or *marunuxva* (*TLE*, 194; *ET*, AT 1.61; *TLE*, 171; *ET*, AT 1.96.), which may be analogous to the Latin word *collegium*, used for a group of priests.²⁰ We also find *marunux spurana cepen* (*TLE*, 165; *ET*, AT 1.171), which makes a suggestive connection with the activity of the city-state (*spur*) and thus perhaps refers to a “public priest.”

Yet another word for priest in general may be provided by *eisnev* (*TLE*, 195; *ET*, AT 1.1). A rare term, not nearly as common as *cepen*, it is found in an epitaph that seems to give

a list of offices held and may be etymologically related to the Etruscan vocabulary of words referring to the gods (*ais-*, god, *aisna/eisna*, “pertaining to the gods”).²¹

It has been recently argued that there is an Etruscan word for priestess, *hatrencu*, a term that occurs only in female graves and is limited in fact to the city of Vulci.²² In the Hellenistic Tomb of the Inscriptions at Vulci were buried several women with the title but with different family names (*ET*, Vc 1.47, 49, 50, 55, 58), giving rise to the hypothesis that they were priestess members of a *collegium* that had a right to burial in a specific place. The finding of objects of considerable prestige in the tomb adds to the idea that these were elite women who belonged to a special caste.

Various other details emerge from close study of inscriptions. The famous funeral epitaph of L(a)ris Puleas²³ gives a list of his achievements, including a phrase suggesting that he wrote a book on haruspication (*ziχ neθsrac*)²⁴ and referring to a rich life serving the gods Pacha (Fufuns), Catha, and (probably) Culśu. Elsewhere we have references to individuals as *marunux cepen* of Pacha (*TLE*, 137; *ET*, Ta 1.184) or as *maru* of both Pacha and Catha (*TLE*, 190; *ET*, AT 1.32). The evidence suggests that the Etruscans had a practice of naming individuals as being in charge of a particular cult. Roman religion is not lacking in parallels, but Beard has stressed that this is the basic pattern for the Greek priest (*hiereus*) or priestess, who attended only one deity and even only one sanctuary of that deity.²⁵

From Latin texts comes information to confirm the idea of the individual or family serving a particular cult. When the Romans sacked Veii, and the youths came to carry away the statue of Juno, they feared to touch the statue because no one was *certae gentis sacerdos* (Livy 5.22.4; Appendix B, Source no. VI.5). We begin to think of a model like that in Rome of the families of the Potitii and Pinarii (Livy 1.7.12), who served the Roman altar of Hercules from earliest times (though once again the context could be Hellenic, since the god himself and King Evander, who established the cult, were Greek).

The idea of noble families handing down religious duties was certainly attested among the Etruscans, as we know from the sources regarding the *Etrusca disciplina*. In the story of Tages, Tarchon taught the other *principes* to use the *disciplina* in their own cities, and they in turn handed down the lore received from the child. Cicero (*Ad fam.* 6.6) referred to the idea that A. Caecina would learn about the *Etrusca disciplina* from his father. Claudius also noted the practice of families transmitting their knowledge (Tacitus, *Annales* 11.14), and earlier Cicero had talked about a decree of the sec-

ond century (*De div.* 1.92; Appendix B, Source no. IV.8) in which the Senate had actually ordered that the noble families (of the individual Etruscan peoples?) should hand over six (or possibly ten) of their sons to study and preserve the *disciplina*.²⁶

It would help to know more about the priest of the Fanum Voltumnae, the central federal sanctuary of the Twelve Peoples.²⁷ Our references to the role are brief but suggestive. Livy (5.1.5) relates that at the time of the war with Veii, that is, the early fourth century, the Etruscans were voting for the *sacerdos* and declined to elect a wealthy, prominent leader from Veii who expected to receive the honor. In retaliation, he withdrew the performers in the games, most of whom were his own slaves. When the Veientes later made him king, the other Etruscan states, disgusted, refused to help Veii against the Romans.

It is of interest to learn that the priest was chosen by election and that he was a man of high political standing, though not a king (Livy speaks of this role as being offensive to contemporary Etruscans). From the well-known inscription from Spello, dated to the reign of Constantine (333–337 CE), used as evidence for the Fanum Voltumnae,²⁸ we also learn that the Etruscans elected the *sacerdos* annually. There is considerable evidence that games were an important part of the annual ceremonies, and it is likely that the priest was normally expected to contribute to these (though the Veii story stresses that their leader had provided entertainers before he was elected; maybe all candidates for the priesthood were supposed to contribute).

Dress and Attributes of Priests

For our question regarding how to recognize an Etruscan priest, we may turn especially to archaeological evidence. Scholars are unanimous in identifying a number of figures as priestly by their characteristic garb.²⁹ As we have already noted, Pava Tarchies and Avl Tarchunus, engaged in haruspication (Fig. III.4), wear the special hat with a peak on top, often shown as twisted. Pava Tarchies' wearing of his hat on his head actually indicates that he *is* a priest; likewise, the hat on the shoulder of Tarchunus is consistent with him being in the act of becoming one. Similar images of the hat, which seems to be the forerunner of the peaked *apex** worn by the Roman "flame priests" (*flamines**),³⁰ can be found in a number of representations in Etruscan art.³¹

To show the characteristic hat and other features of the costume of the *haruspex*, the favorite representative is the fourth-century bronze statuette of Vel Sveitus in the Vatican (*TLE*, 736; *ET*, Vs 3.7; Fig. III.9).³² It has an inscription:



III.9. Bronze statuette of priest, dedicated by Vel Sveitus. Fourth century BCE. Vatican Museums. (After Pfiffig 1975, 48, fig. 6.)

tn turce vel sveitus, "Vel Sveitus gave this," perhaps referring to a priest who made this a votive offering to his deity. The peak of the hat is tall and slightly flattened at the top; it makes a smooth transition downward, broadening into a tightly fitted cap with a slight brim, which seems to be tied on with rather large straps around the chin. The cap is clearer in some other specimens, for example, the alabaster ash urn of Arnth Remzna in the University Museum, Philadelphia (third century BCE; Fig. III.10).³³ Here the gentleman has a thick roll over the forehead and ears, held by straps that come down in front of the ears and are tied in a complex loop ending in a three-pointed tip. This kind of head covering seems to be the counterpart of the Roman *galerus**, a close-fitting cap made from animal skin worn by priests of



III.10. Alabaster ash urn of Arnth Remzna. Late third century BCE. Philadelphia, University Museum. (Photo: University of Pennsylvania Museum, neg. #26517-9.)

various ranks, sometimes with the *apex* and sometimes with a knob.³⁴

The Vel Sveitus figure has other intriguing elements to his dress, especially the mantle with a rough fringe all along its edges; this, too, relates to an animal skin (probably sheep). The mantle is fastened with a large fibula of a type that goes back to the Archaic period. For comparison we may look at a statuette of a priest said to be from the Siena area and dating to the third century BCE (Fig. III.11).³⁵ For the animal skin, this remarkable figure substitutes the *laena*, a mantle worn from front to back so that a loop of drapery hangs down in front. In addition, he wears the *apex* and *galerus*, thus combining elements that appear together in the famous images of the *flamines* on the Ara Pacis Augustae.³⁶ The *apex* is of a different type here, however, as noted by Maggiani, with a soft pileus-type cap rather than the sharp point of the *apex*.³⁷

It is worth noting that all the images cited here show the priest as clean shaven. This may indicate not that the individuals had to be youths, like Pava Tarchies, but merely that the beard had to be shaved at the time of initiation into the priesthood. Avl Tarchunus, a priest in training, is still bearded.

One of the well-known attributes of the Etruscan priest is the magic wand known in Latin as the *lituus*,³⁸ the curved staff especially associated with religious activity in Roman literature and appearing in Etruscan archaeological contexts that support the oft-repeated association with augury. The basic texts of Cicero (*De div.* 2.80; Appendix B, Source no.

IV.7), Livy (1.18.7), and Vergil (*Aeneid* 7.187) describe it as a curved stick without knots, used first in Rome by Romulus. Servius (*Ad Aen.* 7.187) adds the interesting details that the wand was considered royal, and that it was used in settling disputes. The Archaic usage of the staff and probable origin in Etruria are indicated by its presence on the plaque from Murlo with seated dignitaries (ca. 570 BCE)³⁹ and on an oft-reproduced sandstone *cippus** from Fiesole (second half of the sixth century BCE; Fig. III.12),⁴⁰ which shows a figure with rather unusual dress: he wears high boots and a tall hat from which the locks peek out at the bottom, and he seems to have something draped across his left arm. He holds the wand aloft in his right.

A handsome bronze model of a *lituus* comes from a burial, no doubt elite, at Caere, also dating to the sixth century (Fig. III.13).⁴¹ The wand is 36 cm. high but very thin, suggesting that it either was attached to a wooden frame or was in fact not intended for usage except as insignia in the Afterlife of the priest or magistrate who would have been buried with it. There are numerous other representations of the *lituus* in Etruria, and the wand continues to appear in Roman representations, for example, of the god Jupiter, and as an instrument of priests on coins and gems.⁴²

Without doubt, there were other ritual wands or staffs in Etruria, such as the bifurcated stick carried by priests represented on a black-figured amphora from Orvieto.⁴³ In this intriguing scene, four men seem to be involved in a ritual connected with a lightning bolt lodged upright in the



III.11. Bronze statuette of priest. Third century BCE. Göttingen, Archäologisches Institut der Universität. (Photo: Stephan Eckhart.)

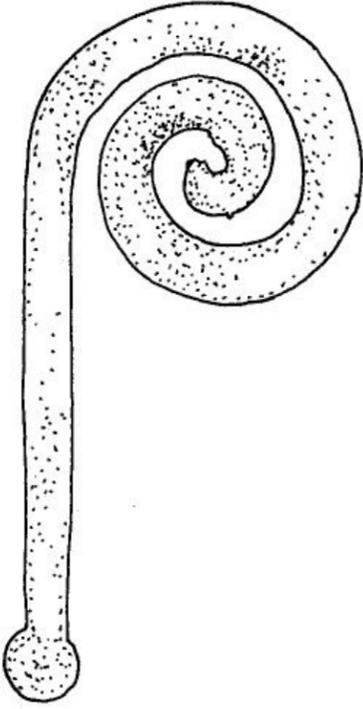
ground. Their placement suggests that they formed a magic circle around it, perhaps in an act of rendering harmless the spot hit by the lightning. One priest standing next to the lightning bolt faces away from it and extends his right arm backward toward the bolt while he lifts in front of himself a wand with a bifurcation at the top.

There is one more reference to the attributes of Etruscan priests that cannot be omitted: the passage in Livy in



III.12. Cippus with relief of a priest (?) with lituus. Second half of sixth century BCE. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. (Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY.)

which he describes the priests as marching to war (7.17.3–5; Appendix B, Source no. 1V.10). The Tarquinians and (non-Etruscan) Faliscans routed the Romans in 356 BCE by a simple but remarkable strategy, arming their priests (*sacerdotes*) with torches and serpents, rushing down upon the Roman troops, and throwing them into a panic. The sight is recalled by the parade in the Tomb of the Typhon at Tarquinii, which probably features Etruscan priests or else performers dressed



111.13. Bronze model of a lituus, from Caere. Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia. (After Pfiffig 1975, 48, fig. 5.)

up as Underworld characters, with demonic faces and carrying serpents, torches, and *lituus*-shaped musical instruments (admittedly, they proceed at a more leisurely pace).⁴⁴

Etruscan Priestesses

There is relatively little evidence for the appearance of Etruscan priestesses. A female figure on a sarcophagus in the British Museum, said to have come from the Tomb of the Triclinium at Tarquinii, has been referred to as a priestess of Fufluns (Bacchus); the hypothesis is not based on inscriptional evidence but rather on her appearance (Fig. 111.14). She has the appropriate equipment for a Bacchant, or follower of Bacchus: a *thyrsos** and *kantharos*.* In addition, a fawn is attending her, whom she seems to nurture by offering a drink, just as maenadic followers of Bacchus might have a small animal at hand for offering to the god.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, the date of the sarcophagus, probably third century BCE, is slightly too early to match with the famous description of the mania for Bacchus described by Livy that started in Etruria, spread to Rome, and led to the decree of the Roman Senate *de Bacchanalibus* (186 BCE; Livy 39.8.14; see Appendix B, Source no. VII.1).⁴⁶

A group of five impressive stone sarcophagi for women's burials, also from Tarquinii and of the same date as the British Museum sarcophagus, may well show a number of priestesses. No comparable male sarcophagi have been reported from the tomb. These sarcophagi, discovered in the Tomba Bruschi in 1963, were not studied fully and put on display until 2004, when they were all shown at Viterbo in



111.14. Sarcophagus of a Bacchant. Third century BCE. London, British Museum. (After Pfiffig 1975, 28, fig. 1.)

an exhibition of materials from older excavations.⁴⁷ Each of the women wears a tall hat of some kind, and the hair seems to be arranged in a ritual way, with six major locks on each side of the head (like the *seni crines* of Roman brides and Vestal Virgins).⁴⁸ The clothing and jewelry are clearly indicative of elite status, and four of the ladies have an attribute that could imply some kind of special ritual activity. One holds a *kantharos*, two hold a sacrificial saucer (*patera**), and one holds a bird. It is tempting to relate this ensemble of sarcophagi to the group of burials in the Tomb of the Inscriptions at Vulci distinguished by the use of the term *hatrencu* and to hypothesize that those from the Tomba Bruschi may also relate to an agreement by which priestesses may be buried together.

Duties of the Priests

We turn now to the question of the duties of the priests of Etruria, a very difficult question indeed, and here at last we may consider more closely the *haruspices*. The name for *haruspex* in Etruscan, *netsvis*, is known from the bilingual inscription of a certain Larth Cafates, which is, to be sure, late and from outside Etruria proper (first century BCE, Pesaro; *TLE*, 697; *ET*, Um 1.7).⁴⁹ The word is etymologically related to that used to describe a book by Laris Pulenas, as noted above. But the interpretation of the inscription is complicated by the lack of a word-for-word translation: for the Etruscan we have *netsvis trutnvt frontac*, whereas in Latin we have *haruspex fulguriator*. It is exciting to see that we can learn another Etruscan name for a priest and that his duty has to do with interpreting lightning, but no one is sure exactly how to relate the one word *fulguriator* to the two *trutnvt frontac*. The second word sounds temptingly like the sound of thunder and in fact is like the Greek word for this phenomenon (*brontē*).⁵⁰ Perhaps Larth Cafates was one of those making use of the Brontosopic Calendar of Nigidius Figulus, compiled around the same time (see Appendix A).

We have abundant references to the duties of the *haruspices* in Rome. The modern literature tends to show that we are comfortable, probably too much so, in our understanding of the *haruspices*. On the one hand, we know more about them than any other kind of Etruscan priestly functionaries, because the Romans mention them so frequently. On the other hand, they obviously were quite integrated into Roman culture, and it is all too easy to assume that evidence from Rome is transferable to Etruria.⁵¹

The literary evidence for *haruspices* in the Archaic period is meager,⁵² though the passage from Livy (1.56.4) about the finding of the human head on the Capitoline, interpreted by *Etrusci vates*, has an authentic ring to it, especially since the

seers were invited by the Etruscan king Tarquinius Superbus. The story of the old nobleman of Veii captured by the Romans and interpreting the omen of the overflow of the Alban Lake as portending the fall of Veii, told by both Cicero and Livy (*De div.* 1.44.100; Livy 5.15.4–11; Appendix B, Source nos. 11.10 and 11.11),⁵³ is absolutely believable, involving as it does a priest talking about how the water could be drained by a ritual act. Etruscan hydraulic skills were well known, and some of the most spectacular examples of the famous rock-cut channels known as *cuniculi* have been noted precisely around Veii.⁵⁴ While there is no specific reference to a *ritus Etruscus** connected with water control, it is likely enough that the Etruscan discipline contained instructions for this kind of problem associated with a very specific and fatal prophecy.

This incident occurred in connection with the fall of Veii in 396 BCE. MacBain argues, however, that the systematic interpretation of prodigies at Rome by the *haruspices* did not begin until the third century BCE, at the time when Etruria had been pacified by the Romans. He notes the persistence of the theme that these priests were of aristocratic birth and stresses that their presence in Rome was of considerable political significance.

THE NATURE OF OMENS

Among the many phenomena interpreted by Etruscan *haruspices* are listed lightning (numerous times), the sound of a trumpet in the sky, a sparrow with a grasshopper, the collapse of a rostrate column, a talking cow, oxen climbing stairs, and the birth of an androgyne (surprisingly numerous).⁵⁵ Undoubtedly the activity for which the *haruspices* were best known was the examining of entrails, in particular the liver. There is abundant evidence that the Etruscans themselves practiced the art, ranging from the representations of Pava Tarchies and Chalchas (Figs. 111.4 and 111.8) to the gem of Natis, which shows a colossal organ under interpretation (Fig. 111.15),⁵⁶ to that quintessential monument of Etruscan culture, the Piacenza liver, discussed fully above by Larissa Bonfante (Fig. 11.2 and pp. 10–11).⁵⁷ The study of entrails, of course, depended on the sacrifice of victims, and for the Romans at least, we know that the sacrifice often related to politics or war.⁵⁸

Thunder and Lightning

In addition, we know that the *haruspices* employed a very rich lore of thunder and lightning, as can now be seen most vividly from Turfa's translation of the Brontosopic Calendar (Appendix A). The sound of thunder could signal a wide



III.15. Carnelian scarab with image of a haruspex; inscription: natis. Fourth century BCE. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY.)

variety of effects, good and bad, concerning the weather, crops, animals, disease, war, government, and social conflict. As for lightning, Pliny and Seneca provide us with extensive information (Appendix B, Source nos. VIII.1, VIII.2, VIII.4, and VIII.8), so that we learn there were supposedly nine gods who threw the sacred thunderbolt (*manubia*). Using various sources, we have identified six of these by their Roman names: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Vulcan, Mars, and Saturn.⁵⁹ Jupiter was said to be in control of three main types of bolts, and he often used his power in close consultation with group gods, such as the ones in the heavens of Martianus. The three types of bolts he might throw are (1) a benign bolt that served only to give warning; the god could decide on his own whether to send it; (2) a bolt that did both good and harm, for which he needed the approval of the *Dii Consentes*; and



III.16. Mirror with Menrva, Thesan, Tinia, and Thethis. Ca. 470 BCE. Vatican Museums. (After ES, 4.396.)



III.17. Mirror with Menrva. Third century BCE. Berlin, Antikensammlungen. (After CSE, Bundesrepublik Deutschland 4.24.)



111.18. *Painting of Vel Saties, from the François Tomb, Vulci. Watercolor copy by C. Ruspi, Vatican Museums. Fourth century BCE. (After Buranelli 1992, 85.)*

(3) a completely destructive bolt, for which he had to have permission from the *Dii Involuti*, perhaps the same as the *Favores Opertanei* of Martianus (Secret Gods of Favor).

The Etruscan belief in a wide variety of lightning bolts is reflected in the many different sizes and shapes of such bolts depicted with Tinia, the Etruscan Jupiter, in art. On a late Archaic mirror in the Vatican (ca. 470 BCE; Fig. 111.16), he clutches two types, and seems to contemplate which one to hurl. The theme is Greek, showing the chief god entreated on the left by Thesan, the mother of Memnon, and on the right by Thetis (Thetis), the mother of Achilles.⁶⁰ Naturally, he has two very different kinds of bolts to determine the fate of the two heroes. It is disappointing that there is so little evidence from art of the usage of the bolt by other deities; in fact, only Menrva appears with the bolt, again on a number



111.19. *Bronze handle of a pitcher (Schnabelkanne) with relief of Priest gazing upward. Fifth century BCE. Arezzo, Museo Archeologico Mecenate. (Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana-Firenze.)*

of mirrors. One splendid example shows the goddess carrying a huge combination spear/lightning bolt (Fig. 111.17).⁶¹

Birds

Ranking in importance with the *disciplina* concerning entrails and thunder and lightning was the use of augury from birds. This is a topic still insufficiently investigated in Etruscan art and religion,⁶² but it is certain that it was a fairly important form of divination. Dionysios of Halikarnassos

refers to “Etruscan ornithoscopy” (τυρρηνική ορνιθοσκοπία) and Pliny notes (*HN* 10. 37) that there were types of birds *depicta in Etrusca disciplina* that could no longer be seen in his day; the passage has been taken to mean that there were illustrated bird books in the Etruscan sacred corpus.⁶³ Here he also refers to the observations about birds by Etruscan religious scholars such as Labeo and Nigidius, and in adjoining sections of the *Historia Naturalis* he makes observations about the omens from various birds: the crow has a persistent croak that is inauspicious (*HN* 10.30), and a gulping noise by a raven can be a very bad sign (*HN* 10. 33); the eagle owl, *bubo*, was the worst abomination (*HN* 30.34). Nigidius stated that the night owl (*noctua*) had nine cries (*HN* 10.39), though nothing is reported about the meaning of the various cries. He also noted a type of bird that broke eagles’ eggs; again, we are not told the augural meaning, but the connection with Etruscan lore is evident.

Along with these citations we may mention the well-known passage in Livy (1.34.8–9; Appendix B, Source no. 11.8) describing the omen of the eagle removing the cap of Tarquinius Priscus, then replacing it on the head of the king-to-be. The passage is noteworthy because it shows Roman recognition of the use of such a prodigy in an Etruscan political context. It gives evidence that Romans thought that it was not unusual for an Etruscan woman such as Tanaquil,

Tarquin’s wife, to be skilled in the interpretation of such a sign. A parallel image is provided by the famous painting at Vulci of the distinguished figure Vel Saties (Fig. 111.18), in which the figure, surely a magistrate in his ceremonial garment, is involved in reading the omen supplied by one or more birds of the *picus* family.⁶⁴ The motif of the augur with his head turned up may be found in several other key representations, including an image on a *Schnabelkanne* (Fig. 111.19), a type of pitcher known to be of ritual usage (see for example, the Chalchas mirror, Fig. 111.8).⁶⁵

Etruscan diviners, as we have seen, might serve as mediators to convey information from the gods transmitted by many different signs in nature, always with an eye on guides such as the various sacred texts we have mentioned. We have, however, no way of knowing if the Etruscans themselves were like the Romans in placing emphasis on the distinction between signs asked for (*impetrativa*) and signs that appeared voluntarily from the gods (*oblative*; Servius *ad Aen.* 6.190). From the evidence we do have it is nevertheless possible to recognize this broad subdivision in divination. Thus the *impetrativa* embrace the signs of augury from birds and haruspication from entrails, while the *oblative* include the occurrences of lightning and thunder and various prodigies; perhaps some omens of birds could also fall in this category.

NOTES

1. Cf. the discussion of the distinction (and similarities) between these two categories in Overholt 1989, 117–147 and Nissinen 2000, 108–109.

2. See below Appendix B, Sources, and my discussion of various authors who wrote about Etruscan religion in antiquity, above, pp. 1–4. The basic books for studying such sources are Buonamici 1939 and Thulin 1968.

3. Bonghi Jovino, 1986, esp. 84–85, 89–91, 99–101, 178–183.

4. Torelli 2000, 637 (no. 325) and pl. p. 529.

5. de Grummond, 2000, e.g., figs. 22–23.

6. The bibliography is considerable. See especially Pallottino 1979; Cristofani 1985, 4–20; de Grummond 2000, 30–32.

7. For the inscriptions on this mirror, see *ET*, *AT* s.11.

8. On Rath, see especially Colonna 1987, 431–435, 441.

9. Heurgon 1959; Harris 1971, 31–40.

10. In general on the meaning of Lasa and in particular on Lasa Vecuvia, see Rallo 1974, 32, 35–36; de Grummond 2000, 33–36.

11. See de Grummond 2000, 56–62; de Grummond 2002, 75–76.

12. See Small 1982 for a full review of the evidence. More recently, see Luschi 1991; de Grummond 2000, 32–33.

13. de Grummond 2000, *passim*.

14. Beard and North 1990, 8.

15. Beard and North 1990, 6–9.

16. Beard and North 1990, 41, 105, 202.

17. Basic review with list of inscriptions in Torelli 1986, 221; see also Pallottino 1975, 226; Pfiffig 1975, 44. Jannot (1998, 139) lists plurals of *cepenar* and *cepnar*, but these do not occur in *ET*.

18. See *ET*, vol. 1, 87, for indexing of *cepen* (15 occurrences in the LL; *AT* 1.108; *AV* 4.1; *cepar* in LL VII.19).

19. *TLE*, 133, 137, 165, 171; *ET*, Ta 1.34, 1.184, *AT* 1.171, *AT* 1.96.

20. Torelli 1986, 221; Pallottino 1975, 229; Pfiffig 1975, 44.

21. Pfiffig 1975, 44; Pallottino 1975, 225.

22. Torelli 1986, 222; Nielsen 1990; Haynes 2000, 285–286.

23. *TLE*, 131; *ET*, 1.17. Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, 149–151, is an excellent summary of the information to be obtained from the inscription.

24. For further discussion of words that have to do with haruspication, see below, p. 39.

25. Beard 1990, 45. Cf. Garland 1990, 77: “The most striking feature of Athenian priests and priestesses is their isolation.”

26. Heurgon 1964, 230–231. See also Valerius Maximus 1.1 (Appendix B, Source no. 1v.9), following Cicero closely, except that he seems to say that *Roman* boys were handed over to the Etruscans to study the discipline. He definitely uses ten for the number of youths, and some have corrected the reading in Cicero to be consistent with Valerius. Cf. p. 6, above, note 9.

27. The location is still unknown, but promising excavations have been undertaken in the “Fairgrounds” (Campo della Fiera) on

the plain below the plateau of Orvieto, under the direction of Simonetta Stopponi and her collaborator Claudio Bizzarri. For earlier results in the Campo della Fiera, see Bruschetti 1999.

28. Pfiffig 1975, 70. One must always keep in mind that the edict does not actually name the Fanum Voltumnae, only Volsinii, where it was supposed to be located.

29. Maggiani 1984. Bonfante 2003, 53–54, 69, 75; Capdeville 1999, 114–115.

30. See Bonfante 1973, 587, 605.

31. Besides the ones discussed here, note the Tomba Golini “delle due Bighe”: *Pittura etrusca a Orvieto*, 1982, fig. 18 (fourth century BCE; the deceased rides in his chariot); various ash urns from Chiusi: Jannot 1998, figs. 18, 78. It appears also on Etruscan coins of the Hellenistic period: Pfiffig 1975, 45, fig. 7.

32. Bonfante 2003, 53–54, fig. 137; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, 165; Pfiffig 1975, 48–49; Jannot 1998, 137, pl. K.

33. Turfa 2005, 263–265.

34. Bonfante 1973, 607.

35. Four statuettes from the same source were published in the catalog of the Venice show, Torelli 2000, pl. pp. 278–279, 592–593, cat. nos. 152–155 (all now in Göttingen). The discussion in the text focuses on no. 153, but it is worth noting that two of these have the rough, skinlike mantle. Three of the four wear the *apex*, having in this case a rather conical shape.

36. Kleiner 1992, fig. 74.

37. Maggiani 1989, 1557–1558.

38. Thulin 1968, pt. III, 113–114; Pfiffig 1975, 48, 99; Torelli 1986, 220; Jannot 1998, 141–142.

39. Gantz 1971.

40. *Die Welt der Etrusker* 1988, 211 (no. B.9.5).

41. Pfiffig 1975, 99; de Grummond 1996, 360–362.

42. Relief from Chiusi: Jannot 1998, fig. 21. Bronze statuette from the *stips* of the Lapis Niger, Roman Forum, ca. 550 BCE: Torelli 2000, 591 (no. 146) Coins: Pfiffig 1977, 99. Julius Caesar is associated with the *lituus* on the Mettius denarius, Augustus (as Jupiter) carries the *lituus* on the Gemma Augustea, and there are various other Roman examples: Kleiner 1992, figs. 25, 47.

43. Massa-Parault 1999, 82–83 and fig. 1. Another ritual staff, covered with knots, appears in funerary scenes as part of the equipment of the deceased, for example, in scenes of the journey of the dead from the Vanth Group of vessels from Orvieto (Pfiffig 1975, 177, fig. 73a–b). Here the deceased is shown once lying in a wagon and holding the knotted staff and another time on foot, led by Charu, using the staff to support himself as he walks. The knotted staff also appears in the Tomb of the Jugglers, Tarquinii, held by an elderly man who walks along with a boy, probably also in a journey of the deceased (Steingräber 1986, pl. 90).

44. Steingräber 1986, 352.

45. Banti 1973, 241 and pl. 40b; Pfiffig 1975, 28 and fig. 1. For the

fawn drinking, cf. another possible priestess in the museum of Barbarano Romano, and a male sarcophagus from Tarquinii: Cristofani 1978, fig. 165. I thank Larissa Bonfante for assisting with documentation of these items.

46. See also Beard, North, and Price 1998, vol. 2, 288–291, for the relevant passages from Livy and the surviving text of the senatorial decree.

47. Moretti Sgubini 2004, 188–198.

48. Bonfante 1973, 596, 612.

49. Torelli 1986, 221; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, 69.

50. Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, 124, n. 29.

51. See esp. the salutary warnings of Jeffrey Tatum, in the Preface (above, p. xii). The *haruspices* were organized into a well-known *collegium* by the Romans, which reached the rather surprising size of sixty members. It is entirely possible that Etruscan city-states depended likewise on a large group of such seers, but so far the evidence is nonexistent. For a nuanced discussion, see Beard, North, and Price 1998, vol. 1, 19–20. For a general treatment of *haruspices* under the Romans, including the personal names of many priests, see Thulin 1968, III, 148–156.

52. Thulin 1968, pt. III, 131–132. See also MacBain 1982, 45, for an evaluation of the evidence.

53. Beard, North, and Price, 1998, vol. 1, 168–169. The story is another example of the theme of capturing the prophet to learn his secrets.

54. Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 197–198.

55. See Dumézil 1966, vol. 2, esp. 606–608. MacBain 1982, esp. the index of prodigies, 83–106, for a wide assortment.

56. Torelli 2000, 593 (no. 156, wrongly given as in Munich); *ET*, Vt G1.

57. Van der Meer 1987.

58. Beard, North, and Price 1998, vol. 1, 188, 326–327; vol. 2, 175–176.

59. Thulin 1968, I, 22–38. For a healthy skepticism concerning various contradictory scraps of information about which gods could throw lightning, see Capdeville 1989. He dismisses literary sources that suggest tantalizingly that the list of gods ought to include Auster (the West Wind), Hercules (Hercle), and Summanus (a Tinia of the Night).

60. Bloch and Minot 1986, 795, no. 33; (no. 33); *ES*, IV, pl. 396.

61. *ES*, III, pl. 246.

62. Interesting comments in Pairault-Massa 1985, 60–66, 78; Pfiffig 1975 has a short section, 150–152, and likewise Jannot 1998, 43–44; Dumézil 1970 ignores it. Basic for the study of the Roman tradition: Linderski 1986.

63. Heurgon 1964, 225–226. See recently McDonough 2003, 252.

64. Goidanich 1935.

65. Maggiani 1984, 144.

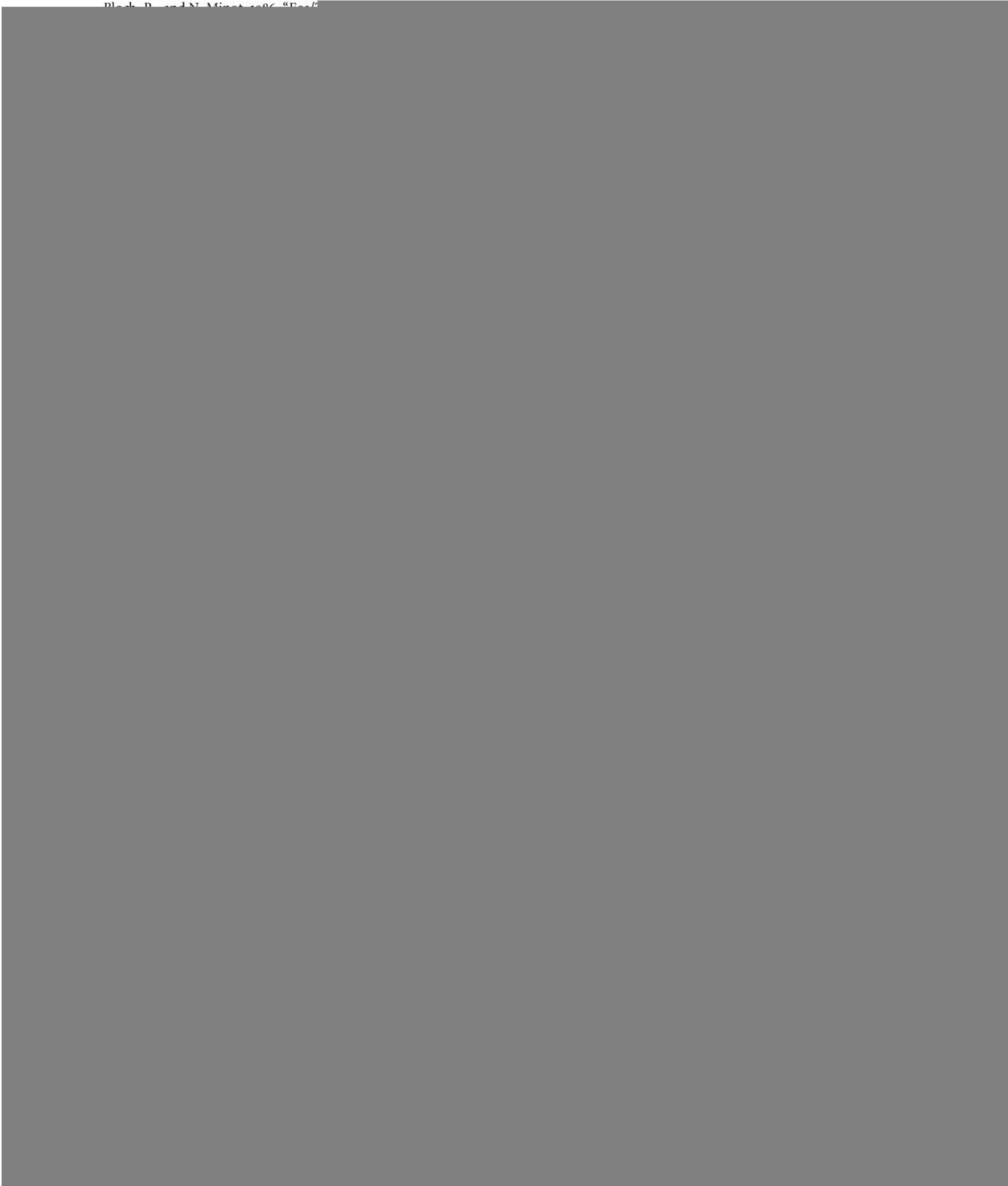
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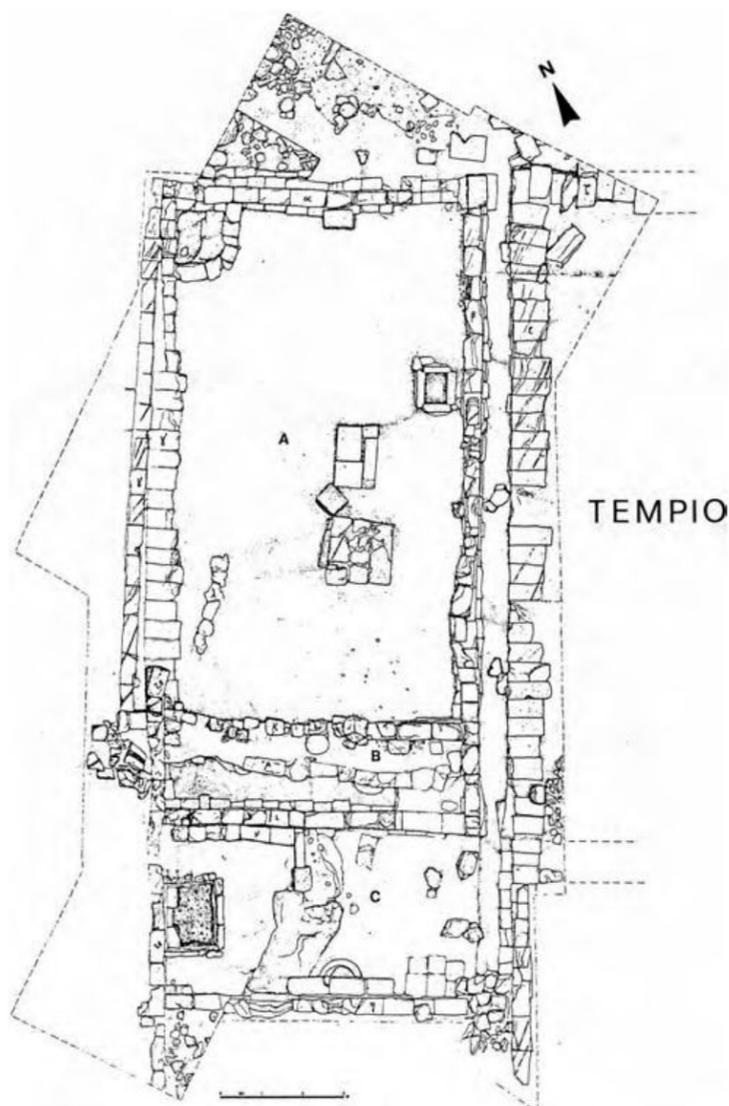
Banti, L. 1973. *The Etruscan Cities and Their Culture*. Berkeley, CA.
 Barker, G., and T. Rasmussen. 1998. *The Etruscans*. Oxford.
 Beard, M. 1990. “Priesthood in the Roman Republic.” In Beard and North 1990, 17–48.

Beard, M., and J. North. 1990. *Pagan Priests, Religion and Power in the Ancient World*. London.

Beard, M., J. North, and S. Price. 1998. *Religions of Rome*. 2 vols. Cambridge.

Black Power and the Movement for "Equal"





VIII.23. Precincts at Le Rôte sanctuary, Narce. Fifth–third centuries BCE. (After M. A. De Lucia Brolli, *BollArch* 3, 1990, 66 fig. 8.)

building complex, whose terracotta decoration was replaced many times in successive centuries, was apparently inspired by forms once customary for palatial architecture, now appropriated by the city. A form extremely simplified of the same typology is displayed in the third century BCE by the sanctuary of the Pozzarello at Bolsena, consisting only of a precinct of 37.5 m × 43.6 m, with an angular porch at one of the corners, an altar of the hourglass type, a great well, two stone repositories, and other features.⁵³ The sanctuary was sacred to a goddess assimilated in Roman times to Ceres, but its boundaries were under the protection of Selvans (*ET*, Vs 4.8).

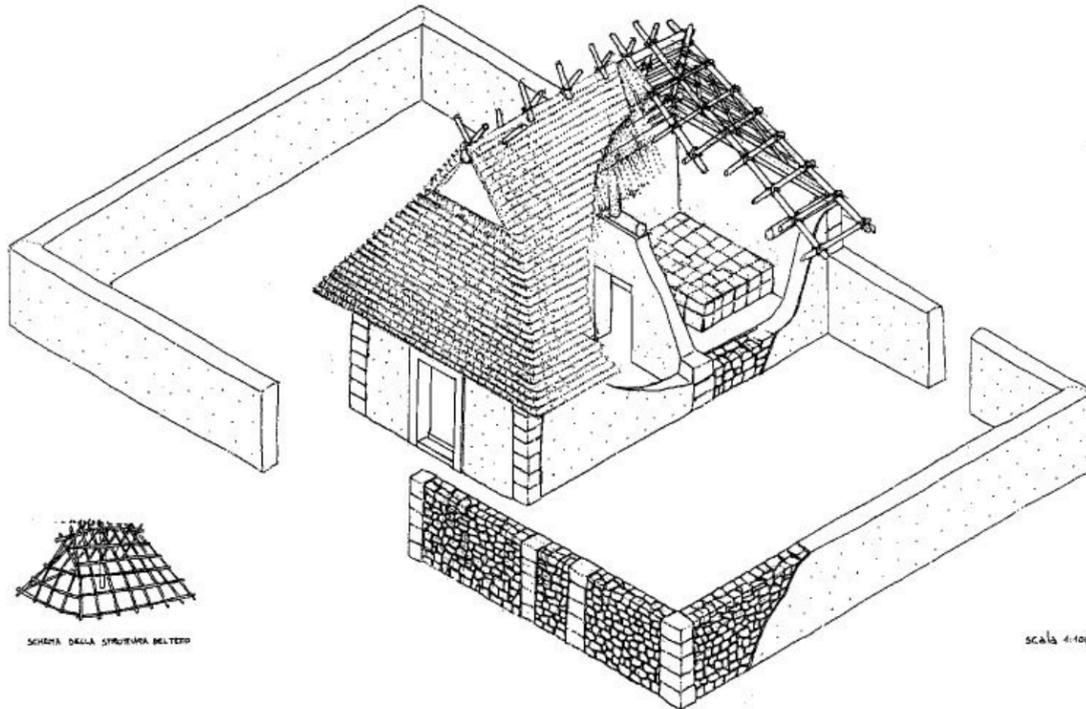
*Sacellum** is the one Latin word that would probably describe architectural structures as diverse as the precincts of Pyrgi (Area C), Monteguragazza, Narce, and Tarquinii, those

reduced to the smallest possible area at Fontanile di Legnina or, in contrast, grown gigantic at Montetosto and at Pozzarello, as well as the podiums, typologically later, of Marzabotto, Vignanello, and Capua. *Sacellum* is a technical term misunderstood already in the time of Cicero by Trebatius (who derived it from *sacra cella**, an etymology rightly refuted by Gellius 7.12.5). In fact, with this diminutive of the substantive adjective *sacrum*, equivalent to the Greek ἱερόν, “sanctuary” (though in Latin of the historic period the word was no longer used in that sense; it was replaced by *fanum**, *templum**, and even *delubrum*),⁵⁴ were designated the “places without a roof, sacred to the gods” (*loca dis sacra sine tecto*; Festus, p. 422 Lindsay) or a “little place with an altar consecrated to a god” (*locus parvus, deo sacratum cum ara*; Trebatius, in Gellius 7.12.5).⁵⁵

To these definitions, which well suit the precincts and the podiums in question, if we leave aside the dimensions, one can add the *consaeptum sacellum** (“fenced sanctuary”) adjacent to the Ara Maxima of Hercules in the Forum Boarium. In the Roman world, this sanctuary was the oldest and the most venerated of such structures open to the sky.⁵⁶ Their “invention” was attributed to the mythical progenitor and civilizer Phoroneus (Varro, *De gente populi romani*, fr. 13 Fr.), the same to whom was ascribed the invention of fire (Pausanias 2.19.5), preliminary to that of sacrifice. In the Italic world this kind of structure, remaining far more central in religious architecture than in Etruria and Latium, was given the name of *sakaraklúm*, or “place where sacred acts are made,”⁵⁷ used by extension in the sense of “sanctuary,” in opposition to *fítsnú*, “temple” or “shrine,” set inside.⁵⁸

SHRINES

In the reconstruction that Varro traced of the historical development of Roman religion, the shrine, or *aedes**, makes its appearance with Numa.⁵⁹ At that time it was a place to accommodate not the cult image but a direct antecedent, which was in fact the nonanthropomorphic fetish, most commonly a stripped stake of wood. (The cult image was introduced only at the end of the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, with the fictile statue of Capitoline Jupiter commissioned to the Etruscan Vulca.)⁶⁰ At Rusellae, excavations have revealed a large precinct of mud bricks of the mid seventh century BCE (ca. 26 × 7.5 m), oriented toward the east. Inside, the precinct accommodates a small building of square plan, constructed with mud bricks, and inside that, a circular room (diam. 4.5 m).⁶¹ The room imitates, as did the Roman Temple of Vesta, primitive huts of wood and boughs (but perhaps, in



VIII.24. Building Beta of Pian di Civita, Tarquinii. Seventh century BCE. (After M. Bonghi Jovino, in Roma, Romolo, Rema e la fondazione della città, ed. A. Carandini and R. Cappelli, Rome, 2000, 267.)

consideration of the circular antechambers of the great contemporary Caeretan tombs, it is better to speak of the oldest form of the *atrium**).

As far as we can tell, the shrine/temple of the time of Numa already had a well-developed rectangular plan. Its chief characteristic (exemplified throughout antiquity by the *aedes* of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitoline, built by Ancus Martius on a *templum* founded by Romulus)⁶² was its complete inaccessibility to the faithful, owing to the absence of an open *pronaos** and of a peristyle, the small dimensions, and the covering with a complete *testudinate** roof (i.e., with four pitches, initially certainly of thatch). Basically we are talking about the kind of shrine we would define as “*oikos** type,” given the more or less “domestic” aspect, but subject as time passed to decoration with sophisticated terracotta revetments, as first shown by the temple at Piazza d’Armi at Veii.

The oldest example, dated to the first half of the seventh century by the exceptional foundation offering found before it (a shield, an axe, and a *lituus**/trumpet of bronze; Fig. III.2), is now the building *Beta* of the complex investigated at the Civita of Tarquinii by the University of Milan (Fig. VIII.24). The building, precisely oriented, measures 6.50 × 11 m and is divided in two axial rooms, the inner containing a great constructed altar, which was leaning against the rear wall and linked to the sacral cleft by a channel (Fig. III.1). The type and placement of the altar, together with the “pier-and-rubble” construction⁶³ used for the walls, are probably



VIII.25. Terracotta antefix from temple of Piazza d’Armi. Early sixth century BCE. Veii. (Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell’Etruria Meridionale.)

inspired from Near Eastern (Phoenician) features, until now unknown elsewhere in Etruria.⁶⁴ At about the mid seventh century, the building was surrounded by a precinct of 15.70 × 25 m, aligned to its rear wall, with an arrangement similar, apart from the dimensions, to that shown much later by the sanctuary of Poggio Casetta at Bolsena⁶⁵ and in part by that of the Cannicella at Orvieto.



VIII.26. Shrine of Grasceta dei Cavallari, Monti della Tolfa. Third century BCE. (DAI Rome 79.1952.)

At the beginning of the sixth century the temple of Piazza d'Armi at Veii shows an *oikos* plan of larger size (8.07 × 15.35 m), with internal supports, probably a pair, dividing the interior. The roof had a gable at least on the façade and was decorated with antefixes* (Fig. VIII.25) and molded terracotta plaques.⁶⁶ Many sacred buildings share this typology in Etruria, in Latium, and in the Italic world, where it lasted longer, becoming combined at times, as we have seen for Etruria at the Civita of Tarquinii and at Poggio Casetta of Bolsena, with the precinct typical of the *sakaraklúm*. An example is the sanctuary of S. Giovanni in Galdo in Samnium, in which the squared shrine, set in the back of a porticoed precinct, has a podium but remains inaccessible.⁶⁷ In Etruria a similar disposition, with its shrine on a podium but here also lacking access stairs, may be found in the rural precinct of Grasceta dei Cavallari on Monti della Tolfa (Fig. VIII.26),⁶⁸ on the boundary between Tarquinii and Caere. In this case, perhaps the shrine, dating to the third century BCE, was surrounded not by a portico but by a series of small square

altars, comparable to those in the North Area at Pyrgi, which faced the so-called building of the 20 cells.⁶⁹ An even better example might be those altars that presumably existed in the *hortus* ("garden") of Ceres, mentioned in the Oscan tablets from Agnone.⁷⁰

But the most varied and instructive example of shrines of a relatively advanced period, contemporary with the manifestations of grand temple architecture, is provided for Etruria once again by the South Area at Pyrgi (Fig. VIII.2), whose numerous and disparate altars are illustrated above. In truth, one could cite also the sanctuary at Gravisca, a coastal city and a port whose emporium aspect, tied up with the intense Greek traffic, was overwhelming. All concerns of an architectural or urbanistic character developed later and took always second place, with the result that the almost wild agglomeration of structures was strictly functional. In the South Area at Pyrgi (Fig. VIII.2) we have instead a clearly organized space, with three shrines in chronological succession: *Beta* (530–520 BCE), *Gamma* (mid fifth century), and *Alpha* (mid fourth

century). Of these, *Beta* was the first to be demolished, at the same time as the construction of *Alpha* and the creation of the north open court, the main gutter of which traversed the area of the destroyed shrine.

All lack a podium and are constructed with walls of stone rubble reinforced here and there with blocks of tufo, or in the case of *Beta*, with external walls in blocks (later carried away, for the most part) and with internal walls of rubble. The tile roofs were fitted with a partial figured decoration, of decreasing complexity from *Beta* (*akroteria* and antefixes), to *Gamma* (only antefixes), down to *Alpha* (total disappearance of decoration). Elements common to all were the entrance with a simple door, which opened on the façade but was off center from the axis of the building, evidently to maintain secrecy inside, and the presence of a bench placed against the façade on the exterior for the repose of the faithful, composed of a single line of blocks of tufo. In addition, *Gamma* and *Alpha* held, as noted, interior altars, these also off center; in the first was the type with the cup depression, in the second, that of rough stones. The plans of the buildings, each very different from the others, notwithstanding the rather similar dimensions (*Beta*: 32 sq m; *Gamma*: 49 sq m; *Alpha*: 44 sq m), have no precise parallels among other known shrines.

Beta, the smallest and the oldest,⁷¹ has an oblong plan, with two little cellas of unequal size and a portico *in antis** standing behind, which does not communicate with the cellas. Excavators discovered a pair of gold earrings, hooked together, in the tufaceous beaten earth paving the left cella. Interpreted as a foundation offering, this find confirms that that cella, larger than the other, was sacred to a female divinity, to be identified certainly with Cavtha, considering all the evidence of the altars and inscriptions. The other cella, in whose beaten earth was found a small *olpe** with only the neck painted and of Ionic type, suitable for making a libation on the altar *Theta* standing in front, will have been the cella of Śuri. The two gods seem to have been venerated in separate cellas but under the same roof, decorated on the ridge pole and on the slopes with *akroteria* in the form of huge, extremely original *rampant* torsoes of Achelous (Fig. VIII.27) and of poorly preserved animal figures. There were also the usual antefixes with female heads without *nimbus** in an Ionianizing style, in this case surely representing Nymphs.

The overall aspect of the building recalls, apart from the posterior location of the *pronaos* and the decoration of the roof, that of a well-known votive model from a Roman site of the territory of Velletri, which also has two cellas and dates



VIII.27. Terracotta akroterion with torso of Achelous, South Area, Pyrgi. Late sixth century BCE. (Università di Roma La Sapienza, Pyrgi Excavations.)



VIII.28. Votive model of shrine from Velletri. Late sixth century BCE. Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia. (Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale.)

to the Late Archaic (Fig. VIII.28).⁷² One may propose as the point of its original location the sanctuary, also seemingly for a pair of divinities, located slightly farther along the Via Appia in the locality with the significant name of Soleluna.⁷³

At the Cannicella cemetery of Orvieto, a large shrine with



VIII.29. Terracotta appliqué of Hades and Persephone, from the shrine at the Cannicella cemetery, Orvieto. Late fifth century BCE. (After Santuari d'Etruria, 119.)

an almost square plan (first decades of the fifth century BCE) occupied the central sector of the terrace of the sanctuary and embraced two cellas of slightly unequal width; it lacked a *pronaos* and was constructed with walls in "pier-and-rubble" masonry.⁷⁴ The terracotta decoration included female-head antefixes with *nimbus* and *akroteria* with volutes, one of which represented perhaps the cruel sacrifice of Polyxena.⁷⁵ In the late fifth century, appliques with busts of the couple Hades and Persephone were added (Fig. VIII.29)⁷⁶ and perhaps also of the pair Demeter and Kore, which can explain the two cellas.⁷⁷

The shrine *Gamma* is an *oikos* with elongated rectangular plan (5.7 m × 8.7 m), with a narrow entrance off axis and an ample cella that repeats the plan of the perimeter walls (Fig. VIII.13). The cella is delimited by a thin socle of random stones, including half of a stone anchor stock, such that one imagines a lightweight superstructure of wood or wattle, similar to what must be postulated for the shrine existing at the back of the court at Murlo (Fig. VII.9). The two blocks of stone with cup depressions, mentioned earlier, were found on the ground in this *adyton** or *penus*,* recalling the *penus Vestae*, which was "the most internal place, fenced by mats" (*locus intimus tegetibus saeptus*: Festus, p. 296 Lindsay). In 1997 a trial trench dug behind the building on its axis brought to light a large parallelepiped ingot of lead, set up vertically in the earth, evidently both as a planimetric refer-

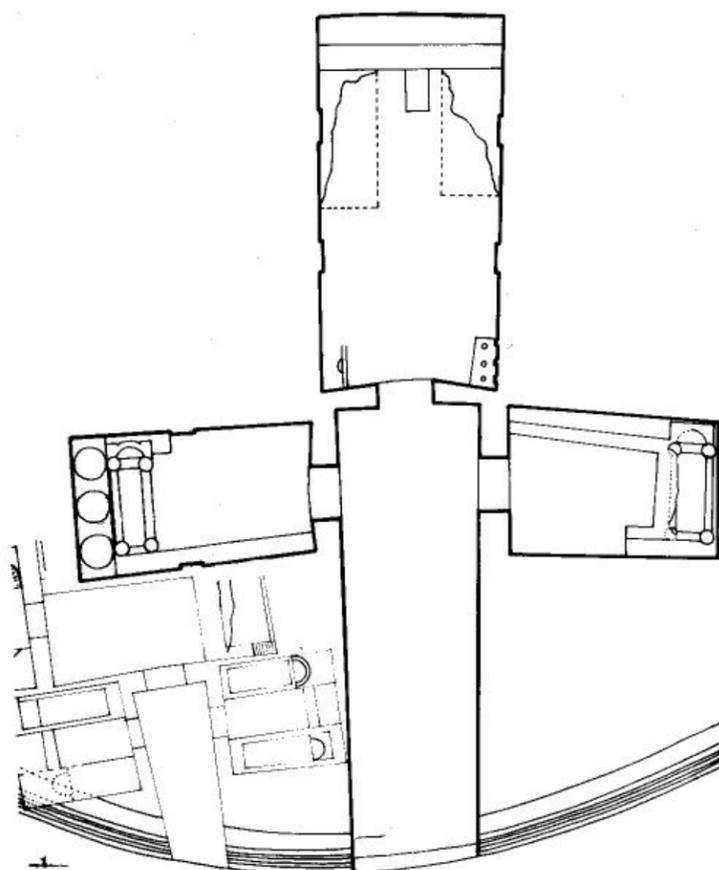


VIII.30. Antefix from shrine Gamma, South Area, Pyrgi. Ca. 450 BCE. (Università di Roma La Sapienza, Pyrgi Excavations.)

ence for the projected construction and also as a foundation offering. It was surely addressed, as in the cases of the altar *Epsilon* standing in front and the altar *Lambda*, to the god of the Underworld, lord of the riches of the subsoil. The roof was decorated with antefixes of the lady's head with *nimbus* (Fig. VIII.30) and of the Gorgon, of types presumably Campanian, not attested elsewhere in Etruria. It seems that in the middle of the fifth century, the cult of Śuri, disassociated from that of Cavtha, was transferred to this shrine, which must have been the location of the table of silver of "Apollo" that was carried away by Dionysios the Elder during the Syracusan sack in 384 BCE (Aelian, *Var. hist.* 1.20).

The rectangular plan recalls that of the most ancient shrines, such as the building *Beta* of the Civita at Tarquinii and that of the Piazza d'Armi at Veii, both mentioned above, the one adjacent to the so-called *regia** of Acquarossa,⁷⁸ and the one that preceded the famous temple of Juno Curites in the locality of Celle beneath the acropolis at Falerii, which was very small but contained an exceptional life-sized image carved in tufo, of which only the head survives.⁷⁹ In Latium one can cite the shrine of the eastern sanctuary at Gabii and the one that preceded the first peripteral temple of Mater Matuta at Satricum.⁸⁰ The plan is linked directly to the type of noble house of the Orientalizing period imitated in the tombs at Caere such as the Campana Tomb of Monte Abatone (Fig. VIII.31).⁸¹ Cellas equally long and narrow were found on monumental temples of Tuscanic type and also on many of those with only cella and *pronaos*, beginning with the oldest temple at the Ara della Regina at Tarquinii, recently identified.⁸²

The shrine *Alpha* at Pyrgi has a quadrangular plan (6.3 m × 7 m), with entrance on the short side facing the sea (Fig. VIII.6). Its construction coincided with the demolition of the altar *Delta*, oriented differently (Fig. VIII.10), whose functions seem to have been continued by the altar in rough stones that was set inside the building, as mentioned above. The dedications on pottery, found inside or nearby, mention only the goddess Cav(a)tha,⁸³ who was summoned by the many pieces of jewelry (a very appropriate offering for the *pulchra Proserpina* ["lovely Proserpina"]; Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.142). It seems evident that much later, the goddess, left as the only inhabitant of *Beta* after the transfer of Śuri to *Gamma*, which was expressly constructed for him, received a shrine all to herself, when *Beta* was demolished as a consequence of the Syracusan sack. The absence of all roof decoration, including antefixes, probably means that there was a complete "camouflaging" of the building, when it was made to look like a normal house. The plan, almost squared, finds

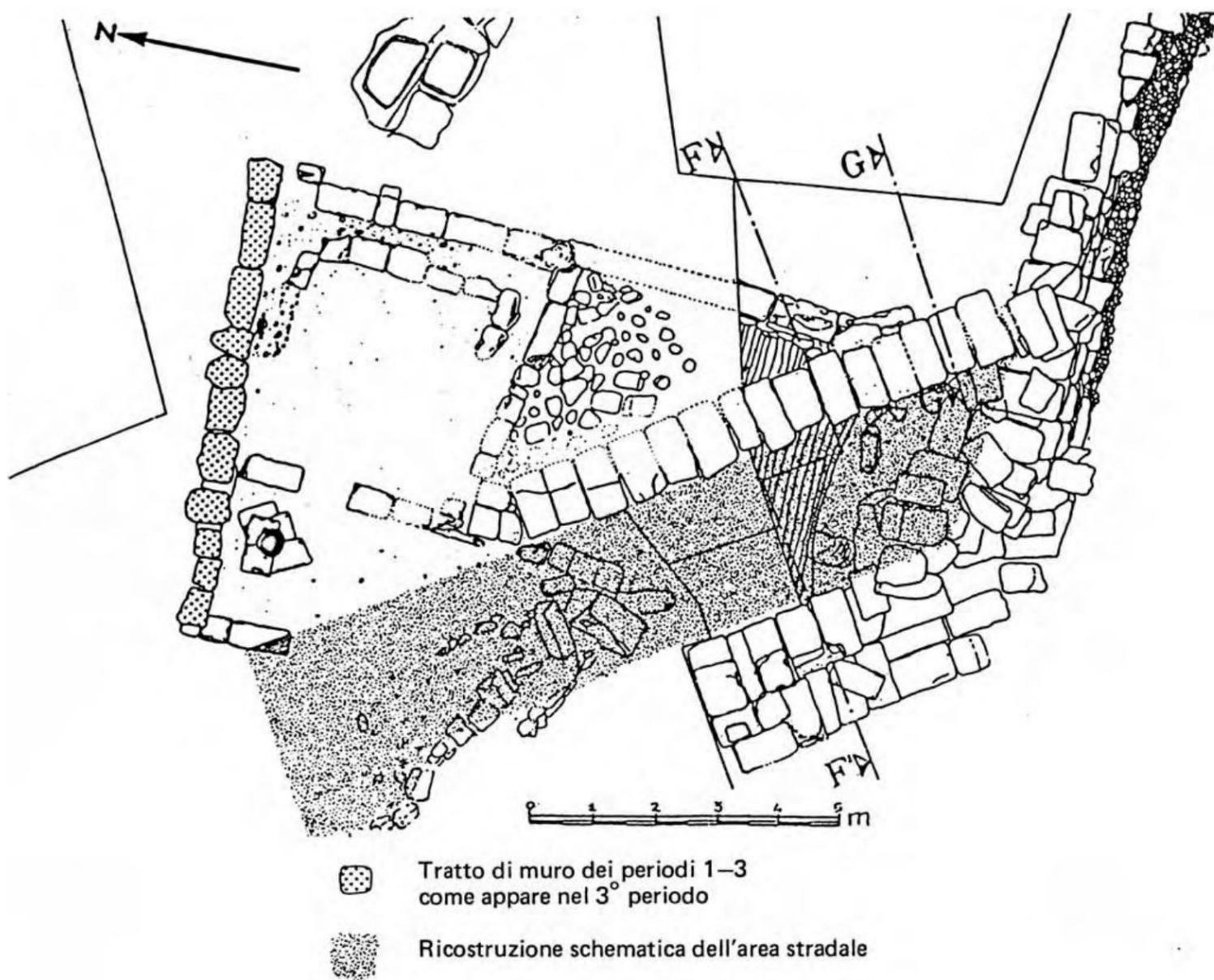


VIII.31. Plan, Campana Tomb, Monte Abatone, Caere. Mid seventh century BCE. (Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale.)

parallels in the little shrine in the court at Murlo, in the shrine of Menerva at the east corner of the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii (Fig. VIII.37),⁸⁴ and in the shrines, already noted, at the Cannicella at Orvieto and at Poggio Casetta at Bolsena.

A different category of shrine has a more markedly domestic character, built this way also because it was foreseen that it would be opened for frequent visitation. This type has inside benches placed at right angles, evidently for the consumption of common meals during celebrations or other activities. Examples are the smaller shrine of the rural sanctuary of Grasceta dei Cavallari⁸⁵ and the one at the head of the Archaic bridge of San Giovenale (Fig. VIII.32), whose sacral relevance is testified by the inscriptions found on vessels there, including a dedication to L[?urs] Larunita.⁸⁶

Of this type were in all probability the "private" shrines constructed by the great aristocratic families near their tumulus tombs, secure and consistent remains that have been discovered only recently. I refer to the shrines of the end of the seventh century whose foundations have been discovered at Vulci near the tumulus of the Cuccumelletta, having a rectangular plan, with vestibule⁸⁷ and to another of the first



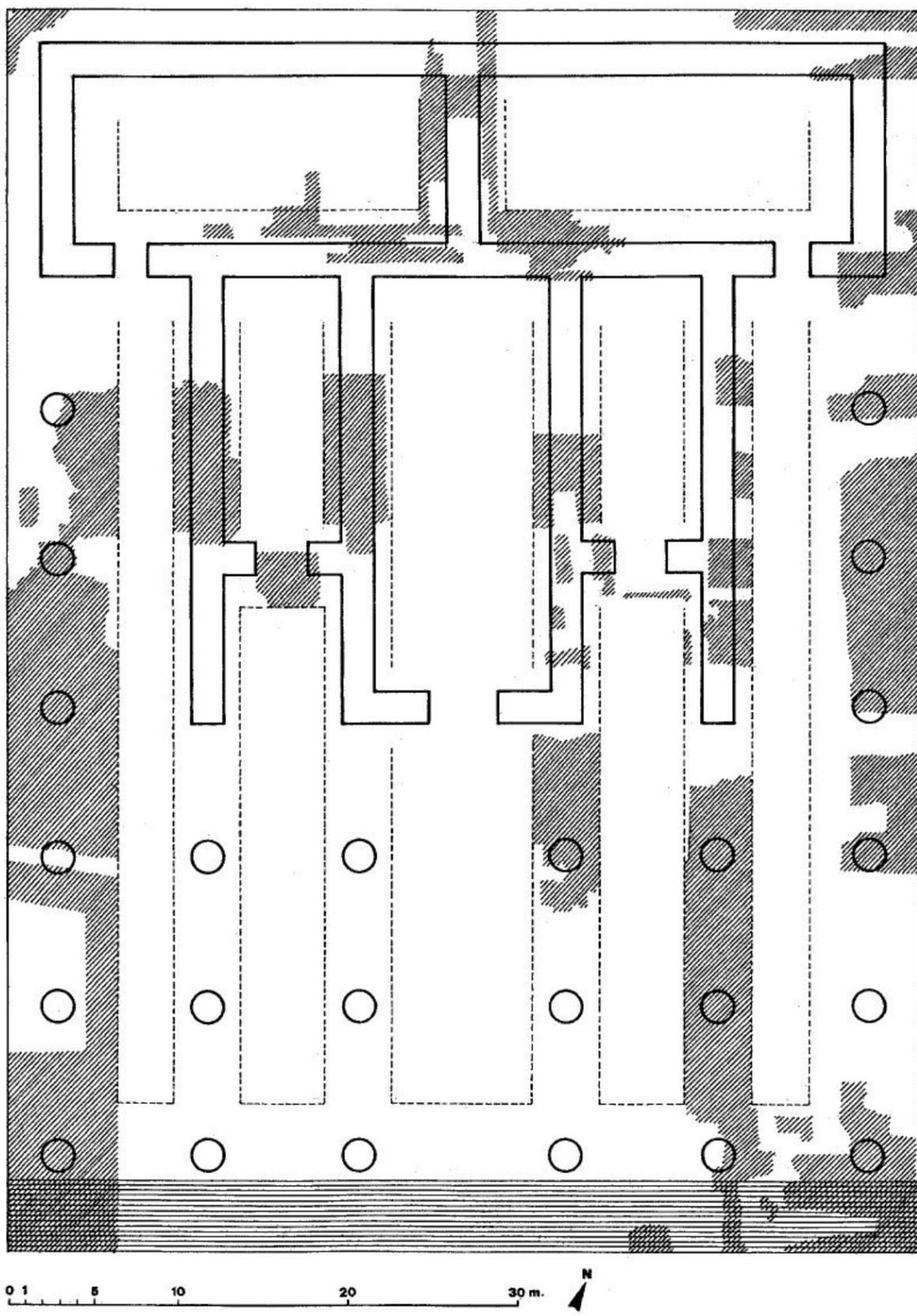
VIII.32. Plan, shrine at the bridge, S. Giovenale. Sixth century BCE. (After Forsberg 1984, fig. 37.)

half of the sixth century attested by the architectural terracottas found near the tumuli of the Ara del Tufo at Tuscania.⁸⁸ Distant successors of these Archaic funerary shrines are the rooms, with or without benches and often with porticoes, of the rock-cut façade tombs at San Giuliano, Norchia, Castel d'Asso, Falerii, and Corchiano⁸⁹ and also of the subterranean tombs of the two-story type, as at Tarquinii (in the Mercareccia, Tappezzera, and Caronti Tombs) and at Caere (in the Torlonia Tomb).⁹⁰ The laying out of the dead did not take place in these shrines or ceremonial rooms, as is often asserted. That was a ceremony closely connected with the home and was disposed in the relevant vestibule, in a courtyard in front, in the shelter of porticoes, or under appropriate coverings. Instead, the funerary banquets with the con-

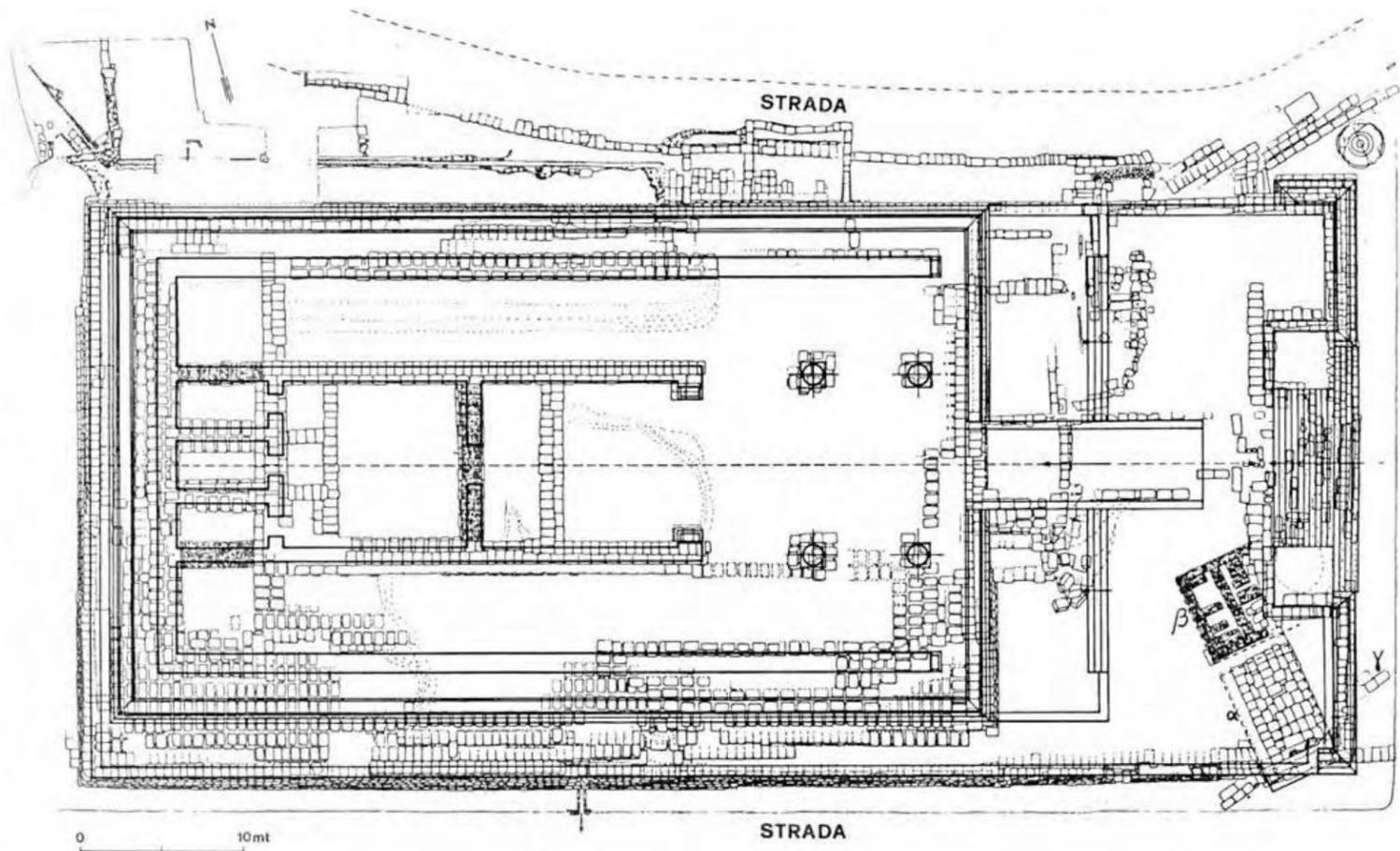
nected games and blood sacrifices were held near the tombs, and for these banquets, monumental altars were created in the Archaic period, like the circular one of Grotta Porcina (Fig. VIII.12) and the one at the Cuccumella of Vulci, which was of the type with *antae*.^{*91}

TEMPLES

It remains to speak, very briefly, of the *aedes* with a more complex and articulated plan, normally monumental in dimensions, construction technique, and decoration, of which the most notable representative example is the temple of Tuscanic type described by Vitruvius (*De architectura* 4.6.6; 4.7.1-5; see Appendix B, Source no. v.3), concerning which



VIII.33. Plan, temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Capitoline Hill, Rome. Sixth century BCE. (After Mura Sommella 1998, fig. 6.)



VIII.34. Plan, temple of the Ara della Regina, Tarquinii. Fourth–third century BCE. (After Colonna 1986, pl. 29.)

an imposing literature now exists.⁹² The appearance of this and other new types of sacred architecture is linked by Varro —with a connection that does not seem to be based solely on chronological order— to the introduction of anthropomorphic cult images, according to him occurring more than 170 years after the foundation of the city of Rome, that is, around 580 BCE.⁹³ From that moment the cella, holding the image and covered with the traditional testudinate roof, clearly now with only three pitches, would have been distinct from the *pronaos*, which was no longer provided with an entrance door but was left completely open. The *pronaos*, covered by a gabled roof with a front opening and well lighted, became quite accessible and attractive to the faithful, the very place *ubi religio administraretur* (“where religion must have been performed”; Varro, *Ant. rerum divinarum* 2.147–148 Cardauns).⁹⁴

In truth, in temple architecture there was a turning point around 580 BCE, documented by archaeology, in which occurred the introduction both of a *pronaos* with *antae* considerably prolonging the lateral walls of the cella, and of a podium, which raised the building above the surrounding area, giving a unique access marked by an axial staircase. At

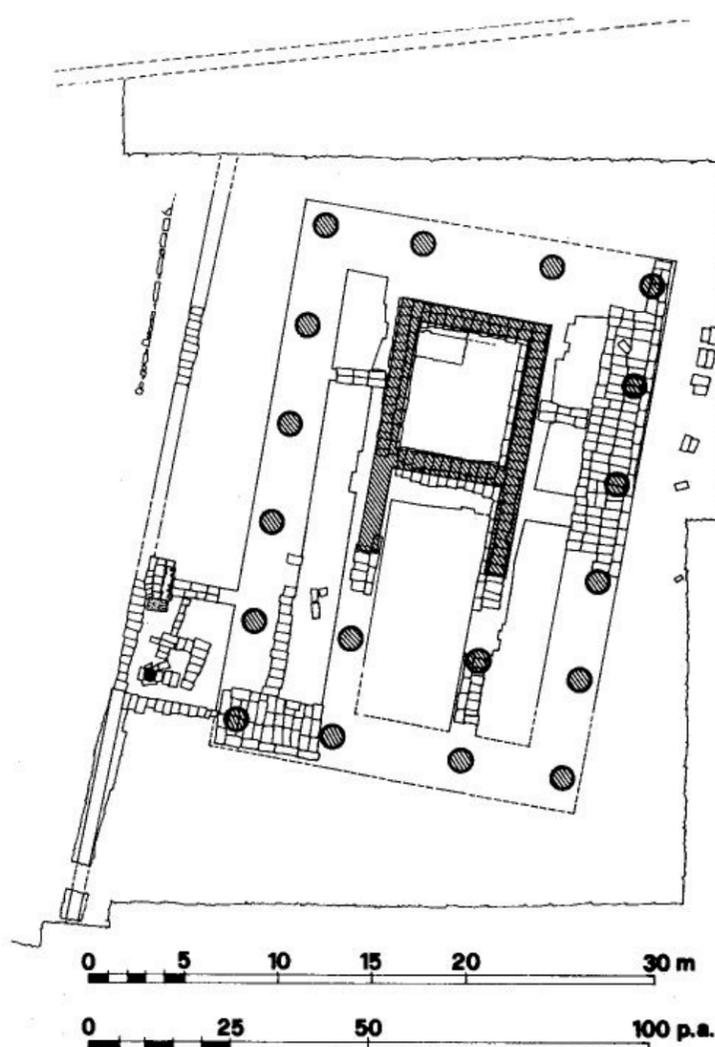
Rome this happened with the transposition to the temple of the plan of the “grand house,” with at least three chambers and a wider vestibule, often having columns inside: that is the Late Orientalizing house type, known in architecture mainly from Caeretan tombs such as those of the Capitals, Shields and Chairs, Giuseppe Moretti, and Greek Vases.⁹⁵ The result was the Tuscanic temple, a square or almost squared building showing a tidy division in halves, with the *pars antica** in front serving the function of a columned vestibule and enclosed within walls (*antae*), prolonging the lateral walls of the *pars postica**. This rear part was occupied either by three cellas provided with entrance doors or by a central cella and two lateral *alae** (“wings”) directly connected to the *pronaos*. This last alternative considerably enlarged the space useful for cultic performances, display, and the storage of gifts, archives, and so on.

For the ancients, the prototype of such monumental buildings was the Capitoline temple, made more majestic by the exceptional addition in front and at the sides of a peristyle and on the back, as it appears from the last investigations, of a sort of two-room *posticum** (Fig. VIII.33).⁹⁶ Initiated by Tarquinius Priscus (in the years 584–579 BCE) on

an area “exaugurated” from the preexisting cults by the destruction of many altars and shrines, it was finished by Tarquinius Superbus (534–510 BCE) and dedicated by a consul of the first year of the Republic (509 BCE). The temple, raised on a podium of 54×74 m, housed a divine triad (Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva), but this was not always the case for such temples, in Etruria as at Rome: in fact, only the central cella always housed a divinity (or, as in the temple of Castores in the Forum, several divinities), the others having often merely practical functions (as treasuries, annexes, *sacraria*,* or other types of rooms). Until the excavation of the gigantic foundations of the Capitoline temple verifies the dating handed down by the annalists, the little Servian temple of Mater Matuta at S. Omobono in Rome remains for us the first evidence of a Tuscanic temple. This rose on a square podium, 10.30 m on a side, clearly inspired by the plan of a *templum minus*,⁹⁷ 1.70 m high (575–560 BCE), enlarged about 530, when the building received the famous group of Hercules and Minerva as central *akroterion*.⁹⁸

In the more traditionalist Etruria, the plan of the new kind of temple resulted initially from the adding of the *pronaos* to a building of the ancient *oikos* type, as is documented by the small rural temple at Punta della Vipera near S. Marinella, sacred to Menerva.⁹⁹ To this example we can now add also the first phase of the Ara della Regina, the colossal chief city temple of Tarquinii, datable around 560–550 BCE on the basis of the stratigraphic data and the few scraps of fictile revetment.¹⁰⁰ The temple, probably already at that time sacred to Artumes, a goddess whose cult was propagated in the West by the Phokaiian Greeks, had imposing dimensions (12×27 m, on an enormous podium, lacking moldings and measuring 31.5×55 m), with a cella and a deep *pronaos in antis* without columns (Fig. VIII.34). At the end of the sixth century, it was greatly enlarged, occupying almost the entire surface of the podium. Two very long *alae* and a second, outer *pronaos*, much wider than the first, having four interior columns, were then added to it, according to the model of the Tuscanic temple.

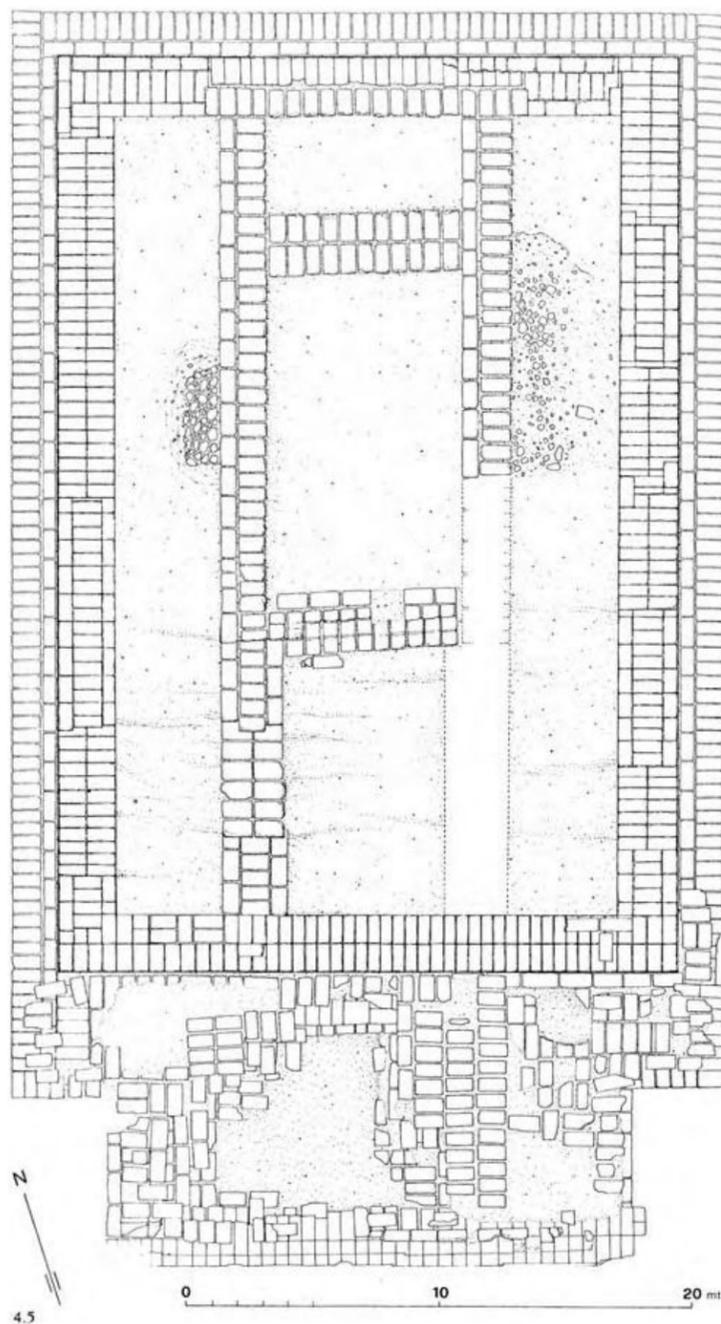
Temple B at Pyrgi (Fig. VIII.35), sacred to Uni-Astarte, built around 510 BCE thanks to King Thefarie Velianas, was the first Etruscan example of a great peripteral temple. It had an almost square cella, a deep, *prostyle** *pronaos* with unmolded *antae* and a peristyle of 4×6 columns, with a contracted rear portico; walls and columns were of tufo covered by a white plaster. This kind of building, of a clear Greco-Campanian kind, already known in Latium at Satrium and, with regard to the peristyle only, in the Capitoline temple,¹⁰¹ probably was the rare temple type, referred to



VIII.35. Plan, Temple B, Pyrgi. Ca. 510 BCE. (Università di Roma La Sapienza, Pyrgi Excavations.)

by Vitruvius (3.3.5) with the Greek name *araeostylos*, “with columns standing far apart.” It had gables decorated *Tuscanico more* (“in the Tuscan fashion”) but did not conform to the *Tuscanicae dispositiones* (“the arrangements of the Tuscan order”), especially in the plan and in the proportions of the columns.¹⁰²

Not much later, to judge from the terracottas published in 1997,¹⁰³ is the so-called Great Temple of Vulci, located on what was surely the principal artery of the city, not far from the west gate (Fig. VIII.36). This great urban temple, measuring 24.6×36.4 m and perhaps sacred to Menerva,¹⁰⁴ pursued the tradition of Temple B of Pyrgi, having a single *prostyle* cella of 10×15 m within a peristyle of 4×6 stone columns. Its huge podium, 2.40 m high, was dressed, perhaps only at the beginning of the fourth century, by a molded facing in *nastro*,* extended to revet the front terrace with its large flight of steps. The same temple plan and dimensions appeared in the temple revealed by geophysical prospection at Marzabotto



VIII.36. Plan of the Great Temple, Vulci. Early fifth-fourth century BCE. (After Santuari d'Etruria, fig. 4.5.)

within the town¹⁰⁵ and also in temple A of the acropolis, as shown by the recent excavations.¹⁰⁶

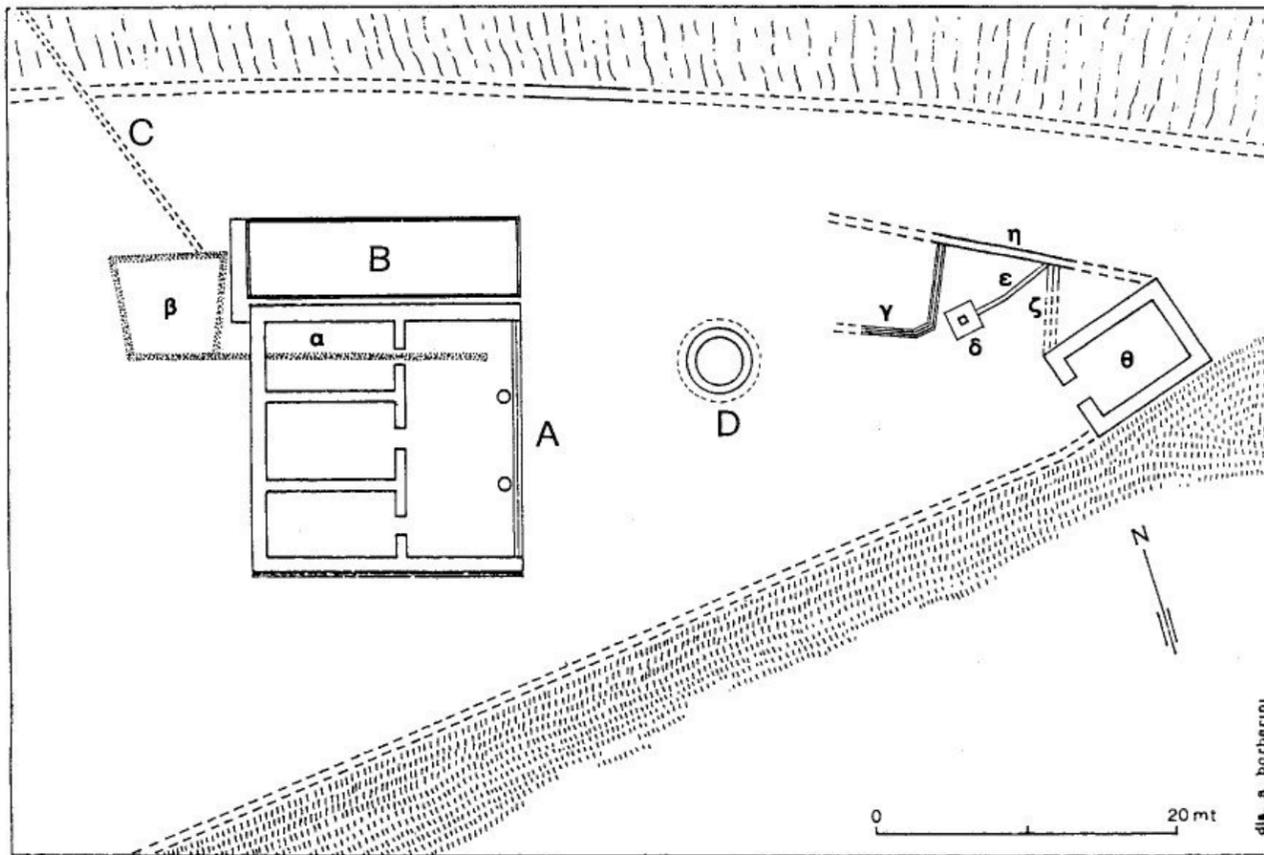
The other monumental temples of the fifth century BCE in Etruria are all of the Tuscanic type. At the head, and not only in terms of the chronology, is the temple at the Portonaccio of Veii (Figs. VIII.37–40), a building exactly square like that of S. Omobono but greater (18.5 m on a side) and much more highly ornamented, with three cellas (for Aplu, Tina, and Hercle?) and an oblong *pronaos* with two columns only in the front, internally decorated with terracotta painted plaques featuring narrative mythological friezes.¹⁰⁷ The stone

columns had capitals of Etruscan Doric style, with hawk's beak molding, *echinus*,* and *abacus*.* The roof and its beams shone with polychrome terracotta (Fig. VIII.38),¹⁰⁸ including antefixes with heads of Medusa, Acheloo, Satyrs, and Maenads, as well as the *akroteria* of Apollo (Fig. VIII.39), Herakles, Leto(?) (Fig. VIII.40), and other figures. These *akroteria* can be ascribed to the same artists whom Tarquinius Superbus commissioned for the colossal *quadriga** of the Capitoline temple. In fact, unique to this temple in all the panorama of Etruscan sanctuaries, and weakly imitated by the Gigantomachy of the later temple of Satricum,¹⁰⁹ is the extensive usage of *akroteria* in the form of over-life-sized statues of divine or heroic personages, displayed along the ridge beam and reciprocally connected in a complex figurative program. Certainly the authorities who commissioned the works intended to convey content and messages of great importance, but unfortunately for us, these remain in large part obscure.

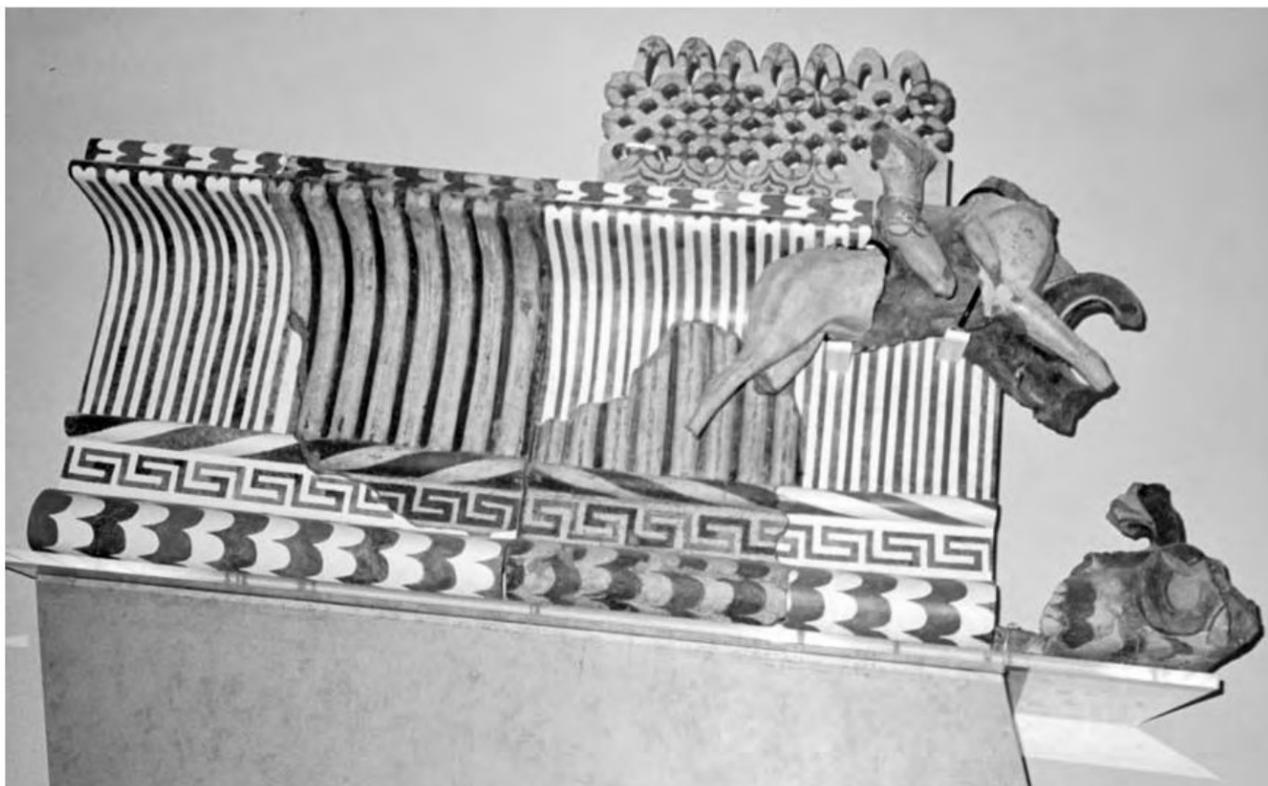
The second temple at Pyrgi, A,¹¹⁰ sacred to the goddess Thesan, corresponding to the Latin Mater Matuta, was built on the flank of the first around 470–460 BCE, as was proved by the pottery found within the packing of the foundation. The building, 24 × 34.4 m, was built according to the Tuscan scheme but having in the *pronaos* three rows of columns, the first extending to the entire façade and all founded on a regular grid of walls (Fig. VIII.41). It is exactly the adaptation of the Tuscan scheme in the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum at Rome, which was similar also in its measurements and dedicated in 484 BCE.¹¹¹

But at Pyrgi we have the first occurrence of an innovation clearly showing off the hierarchy existing between the cellas: those on the sides are now shortened by the cutting of a small inner chamber, reserved evidently for the storage of the most precious furnishings and *donaria*, beginning with gold and silver, coined or not (the Greek silver coins, residual from the sack of 384 BCE, were unearthed in the area behind).¹¹² The columns and external walls were of tufo, while the interior walls seem to have been of mud bricks, plastered and decorated with paintings. Of the terracotta decorations, the best preserved are from the pediment on the back of the building, well visible from the road from Caere and for this reason no less sumptuous than those of the façade facing the sea.

The central relief (Fig. VIII.42), now almost completely reconstituted from numerous fragments, is the most important we have from an Archaic Tuscan temple. It measures 1.4 × 1.2 m and it covered over the projecting end of the central beam of the gabled roof. The six figures in high relief, at three-fourths life size, are involved in episodes of the saga of



VIII.37. Plan, temple and sanctuary of the Portonaccio, Veii: temple (A), pool (B), cistern (D) altar (δ) and shrine of Menerva (θ) Ca. 500 BCE. (After Colonna 2002, fig. 9.)



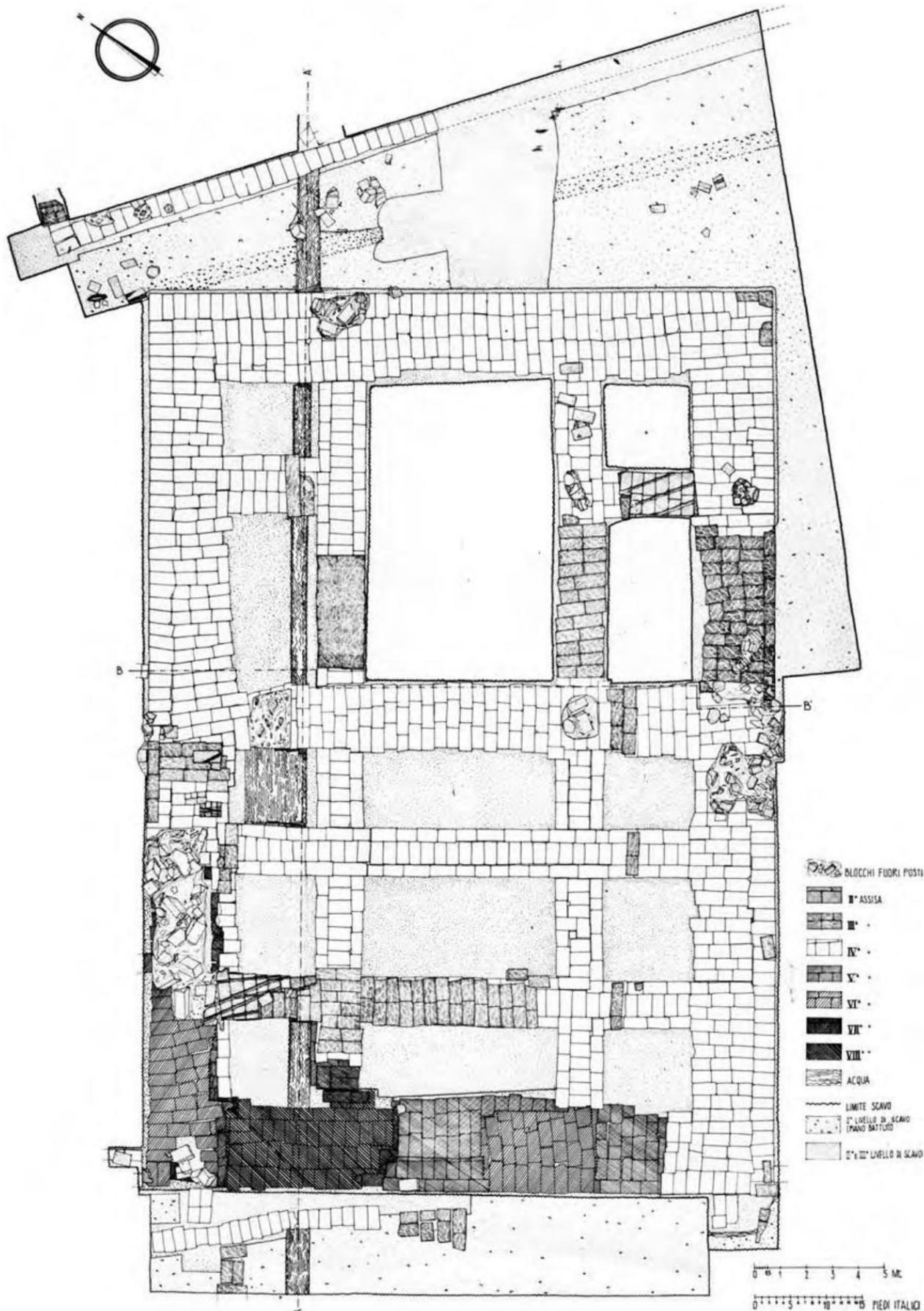
VIII.38. Pedimental sima from the Portonaccio temple, Veii. Reconstruction by Claudia Carlucci. Ca. 500 BCE. (Photo: Giovanni Colonna.)



VIII.39. Akroterion of Aplu from the Portonaccio temple, Veii. Ca. 500 BCE. (DAI Rome 57.896.)



VIII.40. Akroterion of Leto (?) from the Portonaccio temple, Veii. Ca. 500 BCE. (DAI Rome 73-1557.)



VIII.41. Plan,
 Temple A, Pyrgi.
 470-460 BCE.
 (Università di Roma
 La Sapienza, Pyrgi
 Excavations.)



VIII.42. Column sculpture of the Seven against Thebes from Temple A, Pyrgi. 470–460 BCE. (Università di Roma La Sapienza, Pyrgi Excavations.)

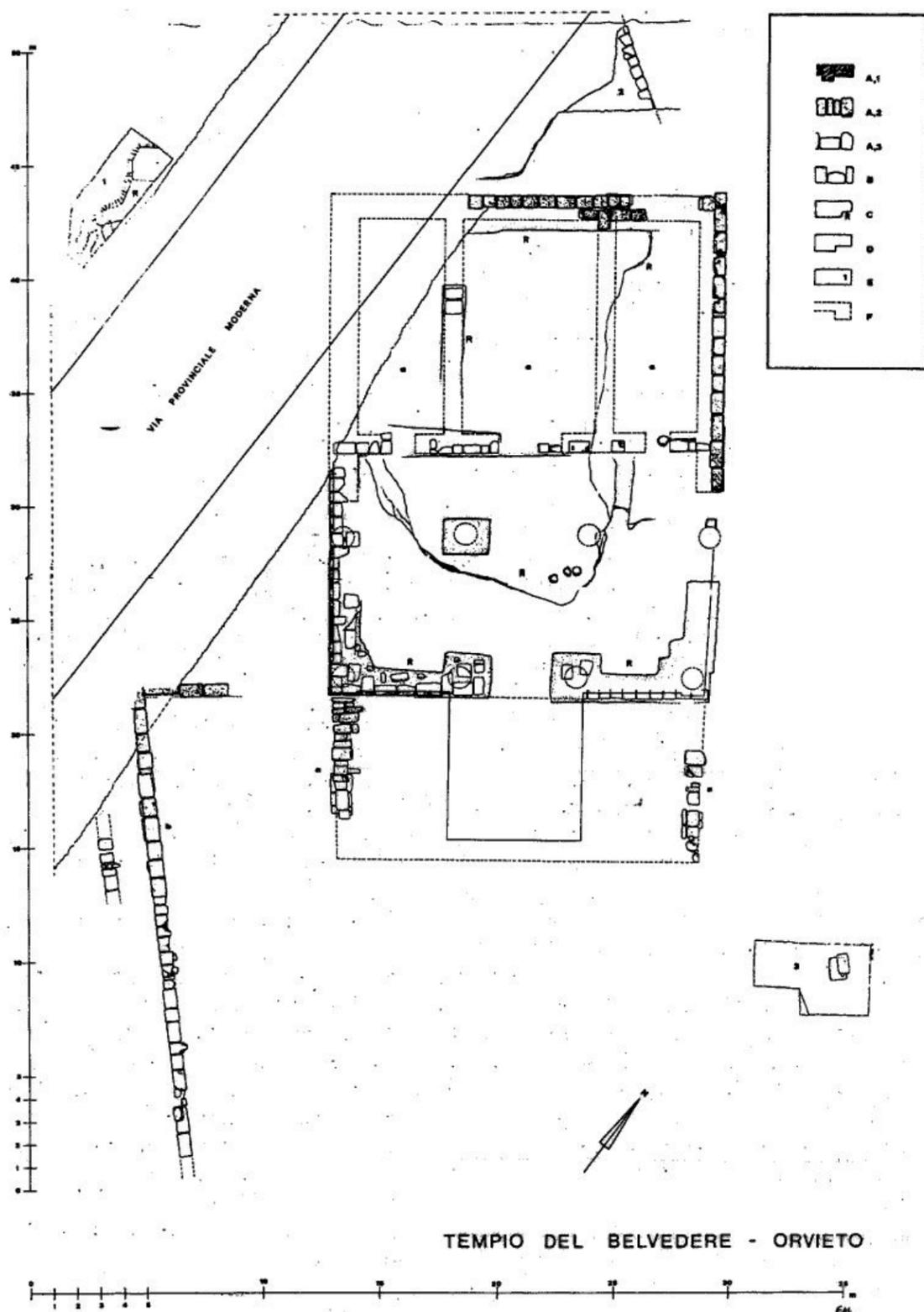
the Seven against Thebes: Zeus hurls lightning against Kapaneus and Athena registers disapproval as Tydeus bites Melanippos on the back of the head.

Temples similar to the bipartite plan of the lateral cellas and to the grid pattern of the foundations to temple A of Pyrgi, but with the normal two rows of columns in the *pronaos*, are that of Hercle, recently excavated at Caere in locality S. Antonio,¹¹³ and the larger temple of the acropolis of Marzabotto, C, flanked by the already mentioned altar podium D (Fig. VIII.15). In this case, a service room was also cut in the back of the central cella, but it was very narrow, perhaps better explained as a large base for multiple images. Strangely enough, the temple was decorated, as far as we know, only with painted eaves tiles and palmette antefixes, similar to ones found in the habitation area, not earlier than the second quarter of the fifth century. The complete absence of a figural program provides a measure of the practical mentality of the authorities of that provincial site.

The numerous temples at Orvieto present a very different case, and they have yielded rich terracotta decorations. The only one whose plan we know is that at the Belvedere (Fig. VIII.43),¹¹⁴ on the extreme northwest of the cliff, the seat of

a cult of Tinia as an Underworld god. It rose on sloping terrain, with a quadrangular court in front, quite large, recalling the ancient tradition of precincts with altars inside. The building had a Tuscan plan (16.9 × 21.91 m), with a double file of columns in the *pronaos*, the location of which is certain because each column was provided with a footing of masonry isolated from the rest of the foundation. Of the terracotta decoration, little has survived from the time of the building during the first half of the fifth century BCE, but a quite notable series of figures in high relief has been identified as decoration added to the rear of the temple (cf. again Pyrgi A) in the first half of the fourth century.

Another version of the Tuscan temple was adopted in the fifth century in the Legnisina sanctuary at Vulci, already mentioned (Fig. VIII.20),¹¹⁵ and in temple E at Marzabotto, probably the latest of the three standing there (Fig. VIII.15). In this case, the *pars postica* occupied only a third or slightly more of the length of the building, leaving the other two-thirds to a doubled *pronaos*, with a row of two columns separating the outer from the inner space. This is the model elaborated upon at Ardea in Latium, where it occurs in all the three great temples of the city but with isolated foun-



VIII.43. Plan, Temple at the Belvedere, Orvieto. Fifth century BCE. (After Santuari d'Etruria, fig. 4.7.)

dations for the columns.¹¹⁶ It emphasizes the special function and importance that the *pronaos* had inside this type of temple, comparable to that of the *atrium* in the old Roman house.

The greatest temple ever built in Etruria, symbol of the role of leadership attained by Tarquinius after the fall of Veii

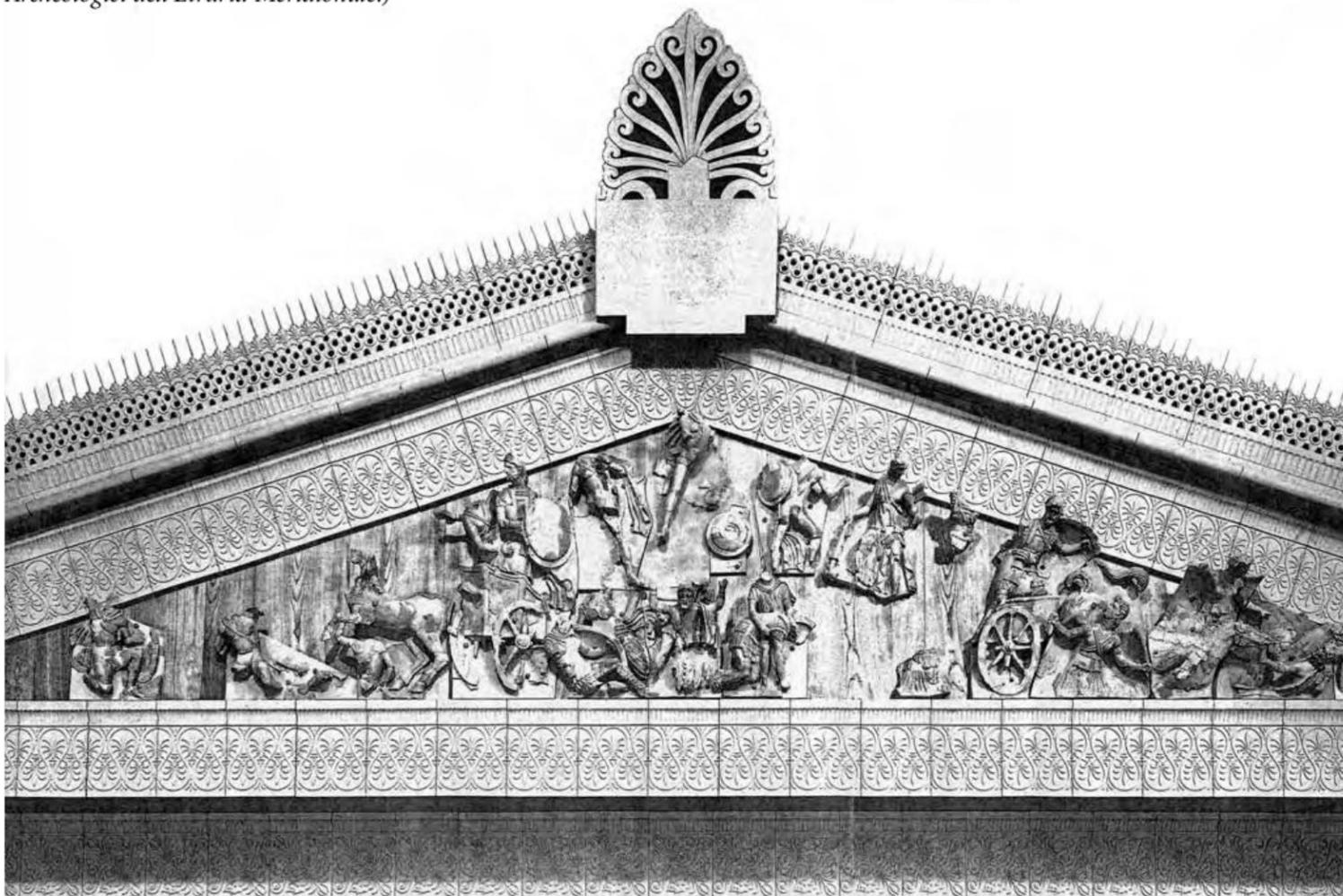
and the entrance of Caere into the Roman orbit, was the fourth-century Ara della Regina (Fig. VIII.34).¹¹⁷ At that time, the temple was entirely rebuilt and enlarged, with a *posticum* of two chambers at the back, almost a quotation of the Capitoline temple, and with a spectacular terrace in front, which prolonged the podium to a length of 77 m. The



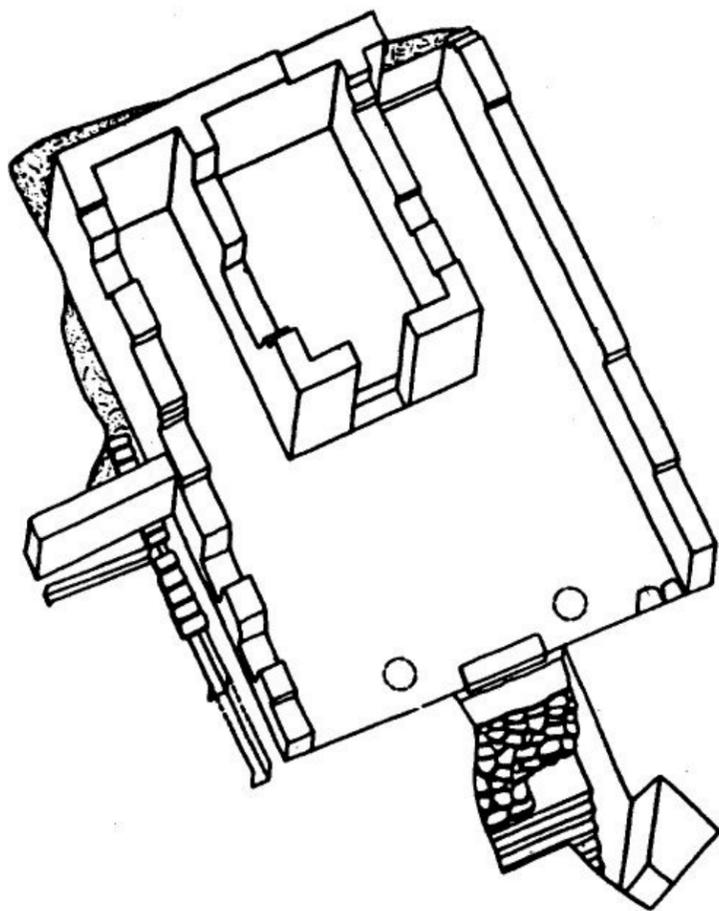
VIII.44. Terracotta sculpture of winged horses, from temple of the Ara della Regina, Tarquinii. Ca. 350 BCE. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. (Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale.)

terrace, functioning also as a tribune towards the square in front of it, had two levels, with a large central staircase and a ramp to go up to the temple. At one corner there were an altar and a precinct, differently oriented, which duplicated Archaic structures once existing at a lower level. The columns and the *antae*, some 9 m high, were of an Italian-Ionic order; the podium had a facing molded at the bottom; and the terrace was bordered by a molded balustrade. The building, constructed before the middle of the fourth century, underwent an extensive reworking inside, perhaps at the same time as a partial renovation of the fictile revetments in the first half of the third century BCE.

In both phases, the cella featured three small chambers at the back, suggesting a cult for a triad or at least for a single divinity present in three different hypostases. This feature might fit well with Artumes, whose name is the only one to appear on the few votive objects found in the excavation. Among the terracottas are the handsome winged horses of a chariot in high relief, now in the Tarquinia museum (Fig. VIII.44), which, to judge from their findspot and the size and shape of the supporting plaque (1.14 × 1.24 m), covered the



VIII.45. Terracotta pedimental sculpture of the Seven against Thebes, from the temple at Talamone. Second century BCE. (After B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff, *Das Giebelrelief von Telamon*, Mainz 1986, Suppl. 1.)

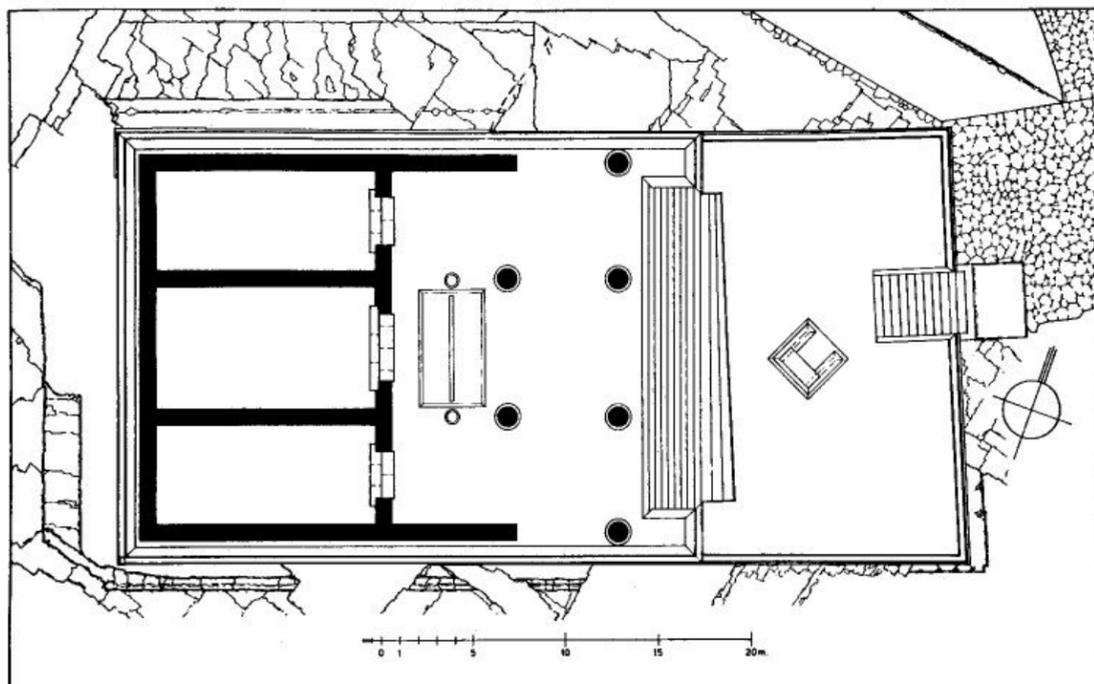


VIII.46. Reconstruction drawing of the temple at Faesulae. Fourth–third century BCE. (After Colonna 1986, pl. XXXIV.)

left mutule* of the pedimental area of the temple, whereas the extant goddess should belong to the right mutule.

In the second half of the fourth century may be placed the construction of a temple of Tuscan type, on the acropolis of the coastal *oppidum** of Talamone, along the border between Vulci and Rusellae. It probably had *alae*, with a columned *pronaos* and lateral walls extending to the façade.¹¹⁸ A broad terrace somewhat lower than the temple was in front of it. In the first half of the second century, after the tremendous battle of Talamone of 225 BCE, which resulted in the final removal of the Gallic threat to central Italy, the temple was remodeled with a “closed” pediment of Roman inspiration, the first that occurred in Etruria, in which the figures are placed in high relief all across the triangular space rather than being confined to the *columen** and mutules, as until then was normal. A narrative scene was represented here, strongly symbolic and propagandistic, of the tragic conclusion of the Seven against Thebes (Fig. VIII.45).

A temple that is small but precious due to its excellent state of preservation was erected at Faesulae (Fiesole) at the beginning of the third century BCE, in a glen beneath the acropolis within the city walls (Fig. VIII.46).¹¹⁹ The temple, covered over during a major rebuilding program of the period of Sulla, retains a significant portion of the elevation, with the cella walls of stone, once plastered over and painted red. The plan is that of the Tuscan temple with *alae*, closed on the sides by walls that extended to the façade, framing two columns. Votive offerings found in the area include anatomi-



VIII.47. Plan, Capitolium, Cosa. Third century BCE. (After F. E. Brown, *Cosa, II, The Temples of the Arx*, Rome, 1960, fig. 60.)

cal parts and an owl, suggesting that the temple may have been dedicated to Menerva as a goddess of healing.

A greater temple of canonical Tuscan type was erected in the second half of the third century on the acropolis at Volaterrae, a city that retained and even increased its prosperity under the *pax Romana*.¹²⁰ The *pronaos*, the only surviving part, was entirely open, with three rows of columns, as in the temple of the Castores at the Roman Forum, in Pyrgi A, and in the temple of the acropolis of Signia (rebuilt in the second century BCE),¹²¹ each column resting on a proper square foundation, as in the Archaic temple of Orvieto-Belvedere. Later, around the mid second century, a second temple was built at the side, in a totally different plan, inspired by Hellenistic temple architecture. This was probably also the case

for the temple recently excavated on the acropolis of Populonia¹²² and oriented, as results from recent investigations indicate, in the direction opposite to that of the first, at northeast, quite unusual for an Etruscan temple.¹²³ This fact can be explained only by a radical rearrangement and new planning of the area, not previously noticed.

However strange, temples of Tuscan type were erected in the second and first century BCE more frequently in the Roman and Latin colonies, as at Cosa (Fig. VIII.47) and Luni, and also farther away, as in the Samnite federal sanctuary of Pietrabbondante, than in the Etruscan cities. This is not surprising, because the *Tuscanicae dispositiones*, as Vitruvius and the monuments largely testify, would soon become a universal feature of the Roman world.

NOTES

1. See *Santuari d'Etruria*.
2. Colonna 2000. For the South Area, see also Baglione 2000.
3. Steingraber 1982; Thuillier 1991.
4. Rupp 1991b. For Pyrgi, see Colonna 1992, 75–78.
5. Area C, Punta della Vipera and Volsinian altars: Colonna 1966, 91–95 (Pffiffig 1986 excludes blood offerings, which is unjustified). Portonaccio: Colonna 2002, 141–142, 149–150. See also below, n. 36, for the fictile apparatus found in the acropolis sanctuary at Volaterrae, probably better to explain as a *mundus*.
6. Rupp 1991a.
7. Poggio Casetta: *Santuari d'Etruria*, 23, fig. 1; Tamburini 1999, 100–101. Sòcana: *Santuari d'Etruria*, 164–168. Melonta: Rosi Bonci 1990. Fùcoli: *Atti Chiusi-Chianciano* 1993, 465, pl.3b, 481–482.
8. *Santuari d'Etruria*, 168 (G. Colonna).
9. Colonna 2000, 273.
10. *Ant. rerum divinarum*, I, fr. 38 Cardauns; for Samian vases, see Onorati 1992, 226–231. These pots correspond to what is now called “impasto,” as can be deduced from the passages, seemingly also Varroian, in Isidore, *Etym.* 14.6.31 and 20.4.3. The *samii* would have been the oldest fictile vases, invented on Samos, before those in “Red Ware,” whose invention, at least in the circle of coroplastics, was attributed by Pliny, *NH* 35.152, to the Sikyonian Butades, perhaps again following Varro.
11. We do know that in the peripheral zones of that country, altars of such stones remained in use down to the Imperial age; note the case of Pharaï in Achaia: Pausanias 7.22.5.
12. Roncalli 1996; Roncalli 1997.
13. Rupp 1991b.
14. Colonna 1992, 72, figs. 12–14.
15. Colonna 1993, 331–337.
16. Baglione 2000, 339–351.
17. Colonna 1997.
18. Colonna 2001a, 418–421, with references to Maras 2001. See also de Grummond 2004, 359–361, 365–367, who brings out the lunar connections of Cavatha.
19. Except for that of Menerva, probably in function of *Pronaia* (Colonna 2001a, 421–422; Colonna 2002), and also that of Herclé.
20. Now Maras 2001, 396–397, nos. 63–64; Colonna 2001a, 419–420.
21. Now better interpreted as a variant of the name Cilens, related to Šuri (Colonna 2001a, 420–421).
22. “Temporary altars”; see La Rocca 1984, 43–46; Coarelli 1997, 87–90.
23. The numismatic evidence proves that in Imperial times they were of normal form, even if removable (but certainly not of wood, as La Rocca thinks).
24. Maggiani 1997, 23, 42–45. As of the time of this writing, we have at Pyrgi, too, a fifth-century dedication to “Cavatha the Daughter,” still unpublished.
25. Bonfante 1994. Cf. Colonna 1996b, 368–369, n. 59. De Grummond 2004, 357, reads Esti instead of Espi.
26. Quoted by Rohde 1970, 541, n. 1.
27. Torelli 1984, 175–179.
28. Colonna 1992, 114–115.
29. Maggiani 1997, 46–47.
30. Colonna 1996a, 165–166, figs. 1–4, with references. For the “*presentatoi*,” see also Torelli 1997, 586–597 (with the dubious theory of a derivation from the Latial “*calefattoi*”).
31. Vitali, Brizzolara, and Lippolis 2001, 28–35, 255–257 (podium B), 45–53 (podium D).
32. Torelli 1966; for the etymology, Cipriano 1983.
33. Edlund 1987, 83–85.
34. A more modest example was perhaps the *fossa* linked to the surface by a great tube of terracotta and filled with earth, grain, and burned bones, together with ritual vases and three loom weights, found in the acropolis sanctuary of Volaterrae (Bonamici 1999, 32–36, fig. 10). Note that the same sanctuary has also yielded two cups with the word *munθ* inscribed before firing (Bonamici 1999, 36, fig. 11).
35. Colonna 1999.

36. Colonna 1996b, 373–375.
 37. Coarelli 1995.
 38. Zamarchi Grassi 1992, 121–131; Zamarchi Grassi 2000.
 39. Sgubini Moretti 1989.
 40. Colonna 1986, 448–449.
 41. Ortalli and Bermond Montanari 1986.
 42. Steingraber 1982, 108–109, pl. 4.
 43. I limit myself to recalling that in the monumental sanctuary at Pyrgi (North Area) lies the altar of temple B, reduced to foundations only, under a blanket of sand from the shore, while that of temple A was completely destroyed by the sea.
 44. Massabò and Ricciardi 1988, 30–36.
 45. Colonna 1988; Ricciardi 2003.
 46. For votive offerings found at the site, see the discussion by Turfa, pp. 101–102, above.
 47. It is sufficient to cite, in comparison, the Portonaccio temple at Veii, where the celebrated discoveries of 1916 took place right between the wall of the precinct and the foot of the overlying cliff. A similar precinct, but bipartite inside and occupied by more foundations of small altars (?), can probably be recognized in the squared structure *Beta* on the terrace of the temple of the Ara della Regina at Tarquinii (*Santuari d'Etruria*, 71–72).
 48. Colonna 1966, 87–95.
 49. Colonna 2000, 298–303.
 50. De Lucia Brolli and Benedettini 1996.
 51. *Tarquiniia* 2001, 21–44.
 52. Colonna 1985.
 53. Tamburini 1999, 101–106; Acconcia 2000.
 54. Cf. Castagnoli 1984, 3–6.
 55. *Santuari d'Etruria*, 23.
 56. Coarelli 1988, 71–73.
 57. Franchi de Bellis 1988, 44–47, 103–105.
 58. The *sacellum*, in the sense used in modern languages (cf. Italian *sacello*) and also in that presupposed in Latin by the fantasized etymology of Trebatius is something else entirely. This is true even if it arose, so to speak, from the precinct in which initially it was only an accessory, as is well shown by the great precinct in unbaked brick at Rusellae (see below).
 59. Varro calls *delubrum* (in Nonius, 792 L) the oldest form of an *aedes*, with an ambiguous term valid both for the building and for the surrounding area *ubi aqua currit*, according to the etymology of the antiquarian L. Cincius (Servius, *ad Aen.* 2.225), and even for the type of fetish most commonly accommodated in it, the stripped stake (Paulus ex Festus, p. 64 Lindsay).
 60. Colonna 1981, 46–48.
 61. *Santuari d'Etruria*, 53–57 (P. Bocci Pacini). Bocci Pacini 1998.
 62. Colonna 1984, 401, n. 21; Carandini and Cappelli 2000, 327–328.
 63. Pritchard 1983, 522–523.
 64. Bonghi Jovino 1999.
 65. See above, n. 7.
 66. *Santuari d'Etruria*, 53, 58–59; Colonna 1986, 433.
 67. See, most recently, Coarelli 1996, 8–9.
 68. Colonna 1986, 506.
 69. Colonna 1984–1985, 61–62; Colonna 1989a, 281–283.
 70. Bonfante 1990, 53–57.
 71. Colonna 2000, 267–268, 272.
 72. Staccioli 1968, 41–43, no. 32.
 73. Melis and Qulici Gigli 1983, 9–18.
 74. Roncalli 1987, 53–55. Note the well at the entrance of the greater cella, closed by a rough stone that recalls the arrangement near the altar Iota of Pyrgi (South Area).
 75. Stopponi 1991.
 76. *Santuari d'Etruria*, 119, nos. 9–10.
 77. Prayon 1993, 417, pl. 1.
 78. Torelli 1983, 485–487; *Santuari d'Etruria*, 53.
 79. *Santuari d'Etruria*, 111 (basement *Alpha*).
 80. Colonna 1984, 400–401, figs. 1, 6.
 81. Prayon 1975, 18, 64–68, pl. 85, nos. 11–19, 87, nos. 9–11; Colonna 1981, 55–56, fig. 7.
 82. Bonghi Jovino 1997.
 83. The sigla *ανχ* incised underneath a *skyphos* probably refers to the sacral function of the vessel; cf. the *vasa anclabria* used in the cult of the priests according to Festus, p. 10 Lindsay (for a different interpretation, see now Colonna 2001a, 419).
 84. Colonna 2002, 149. A third example is perhaps that of the spring goddess Ana in the Valle Zuccara sanctuary at Caere (Nardi 1988, 105–106), decorated with Nymph antefixes (Nardi 1989, 67, fig. 34).
 85. See above, n. 68.
 86. Forsberg 1984; Colonna and Backe Forsberg 1999, 67–76.
 87. Sgubini Moretti 1994, 23–24.
 88. Sgubini Moretti and Ricciardi 1993.
 89. Colonna Di Paolo 1978, 11–12; Colonna 1990, 120–122, 127–135.
 90. Colonna 1993, 337–343. In the poorer tombs of Fondo Scatagliini the upper rooms also seem in fact to have been used for burials (Serra Ridgway 1997, 143–147, 175).
 91. Sgubini Moretti 1994, 36–37.
 92. For references, see *Santuari d'Etruria*, 60–66, and Belevi Marchesini 1997 (a very accurate and reliable contribution). For the architectural terracottas, see Strazzulla 1997, 711–714.
 93. Colonna 1981, 47–48.
 94. Colonna 1981, 49.
 95. Prayon 1975, 23–27, 70–74, pl. 85, nos. 36–37, 42–44, 47, and pl. 87, nos. 18–23.
 96. Mura Sommella 1998.
 97. See above, n. 32.
 98. Colonna 1991.
 99. *Santuari d'Etruria*, 149–153 (S. Stopponi).
 100. Bonghi Jovino 1997.
 101. Colonna 2000, 276, 279, 283–293.
 102. Colonna 1989, 181–183.
 103. Moretti Sgubini 1997.
 104. Pandolfini 1997.
 105. Verger and Kermorvant 1994. The excavations pursued since 2002 by the University of Bologna under the direction of Giuseppe Sassatelli have confirmed the results of the prospection.
 106. Vitali, Brizzolara, and Lipollis 2001, 231–141. I believe that the temple was the first built on the acropolis, beside the earlier podium B.
 107. *Veio, Cerveteri, Vulci* 2001, 40–43, 57–64.
 108. The figure shows the reconstruction of a corner of the pedi-

mental *sima** with the related small *akroteria*, created by Claudia Carlucci at the Exposition "Veio, Cerveteri, Vulci," at Rome, 2001.

109. Lulof 1996.

110. Colonna 2000, 309–335.

111. Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 61–79.

112. *Santuari d'Etruria*, 139–141.

113. *Veio, Cerveteri, Vulci* 2001, 143–145; Colonna 2001b, 160. Recent excavations have shown that the isolated footings of the *pronaos* belong to a fourth-century reconstruction.

114. *Santuari d'Etruria*, 80–83 (S. Stopponi).

115. Massabò and Ricciardi 1988, 27–29.

116. Colonna 1984, 409–411.

117. *Santuari d'Etruria*, 70–78; *Tarquini* 2001, 45–49, 69–72.

118. Ciampoltrini 1997, with bibliography.

119. *Santuari d'Etruria*, 93–95 (G. Maetzke).

120. *Santuari d'Etruria*, 96–97 (G. Colonna).

121. Cifarelli 2003.

122. Bonamici 1997, 331.

123. Prayon 1991. But see now temple E of the acropolis at Marzabotto (Fig. VIII.15).

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GLOSSARY

- abacus*— in architecture, a flat, square stone at the top of a column, the uppermost member of the capital.
- adyton*— the inner or most holy room of a temple, often separated from the *cella** proper and accessible only to authorized persons.
- aedes*— “building for habitation, a house” (Lat.), used to refer to the dwelling of a god, hence a shrine or temple containing the cult image of the god.
- aes rude*— “rough bronze” (Lat.), lumps of bronze that served as currency before bronze was shaped into coins; often used in votive offerings. Its usage continued when coins were not available.
- akroterion* (pl. *akroteria*)— statuary or ornamentation placed on the high (Gk. *akron*) part of a temple or other building, either on the ridgepole of the roof or on one of the three points on the triangular pediment.
- ala* (pl. *alae*)— “wing” (Lat.). In architecture, refers to the rooms on the side (left or right) of the central vessel of a temple or house.
- alabastron* (pl. *alabastra*)— small perfume bottle, originally made of alabaster but later of clay; the form is like an elongated teardrop, rounded at the bottom. It may be used in a votive or funerary context.
- ambitus*— “circuit” (Lat.), an open space left around a house for the purpose of allowing circulation.
- anta* (pl. *antae*)— in architecture, a pilaster or post projecting slightly from the lateral walls of the *cella**, at the front or back of a temple. If columns are placed between the *antae*, they are referred to as *in antis*.
- antefix*— decoration made of terracotta, attached to the end of a cover tile at the edge of the roof; conceals the open hole that would be present otherwise.
- apex*— “peak” (Lat.), in particular of a priest’s hat. The Roman *flamen** wore a cap (*galerus**) with a rod sticking up at the top, wound around with wool. The term is sometimes used by extension for the entire hat.
- arula* (pl. *arulae*)— “little altar” (Lat.), a word used to refer to miniature or portable altars. Models of altars were sometimes used as votive offerings.
- aryballos* (pl. *aryballoi*)— small globular ceramic vessel with a narrow mouth on top, for precious oils or perfume; often used in a votive or funerary context.
- askos* (pl. *askoi*)— small, broad ceramic vessel for pouring, normally wider than it is high, with two openings. On one end there is a spout and, on the other end, a larger opening for insertion of ingredients; found in funerary and votive contexts.
- atrium*— entrance court or front hall of a Roman house; often open to the sky in the center.
- auguraculum*— “little place for augury” (Lat.), applied to the citadel of Rome as a place where augury (i.e., the observation of birds) took place and by extension to other sites.
- balsamarius* (pl. *balsamarii*)— a small jar originally intended for ointment made from the balsam tree; may be found in a votive context.
- biga*— chariot with two wheels drawn by two horses.
- bothros* (pl. *bothroi*)— “pit or hole in the ground” (Gk.), applied to a pit dug for the deposit of religious offerings.
- calcei repandi*— “turned-up boots” (Lat.), the characteristic laced boots with pointed, upturned toes, worn by the goddess Juno Sospita of Lanuvium. The fashion originates with the Etruscans and appears on numerous monuments, ca. 550 to 475 BCE, as actual dress; later preserved in the dress of goddesses and probably priestesses.
- capite velato*— “with veiled head” (Lat.), used to refer to the practice of pulling the mantle over the head to conform to ritual requirements.
- cella*— “chamber, cell” (Lat.), the enclosed central room of a temple, referred to in Greek as *naos*. See also the term *sacellum*.*
- cippus* (pl. *cippi*)— “post, pillar” (Lat.), upright stone marker, placed on a monument or directly in the ground to indicate a tomb or boundary line.
- cista*— “chest, box” (Lat.). May be used to refer to (1) a cist in the ground lined with stone, for burial or other ritual purpose, or (2) a cylindrical bronze cosmetic chest such as those used in burials at ancient Praeneste.
- columen*— “top, summit” (Lat.), the highest part of a

- Roman or Etruscan temple, the central ridge beam; a plaque may decorate the end of the ridge beam.
- consaeptum sacellum*—see *sacellum*.*
- delubrum*—“temple, shrine, sanctuary” (Lat.). Generic term for a religious area.
- echinus*—dish-shaped block of a Doric capital, with a convex profile; located underneath the *abacus*.*
- ekphora*—“act of carrying out” (Gk.), especially of a corpse for burial; refers to a funeral procession to the tomb.
- Etrusca disciplina*—“Etruscan discipline” (Lat.), a scientific system embracing the teachings of Tages and others about the relationship between men and gods and the rituals used for communication, written down in a series of authoritative books. The word order in Latin is almost always with the adjective first, in contrast with the normal Latin word order of noun first and adjective second.
- Etruscus ritus*—see *ritus Etruscus*.*
- fanum*—“sanctuary, temple” (Lat.), or area consecrated to a particular deity. Best known among the Etruscans was the Fanum Voltumnae, the sanctuary dedicated to the principal god of the Etruscans where the league of Twelve Peoples met periodically.
- favissa* (pl. *favissae*)—underground repository for sacred objects no longer to be used.
- flamen* (pl. *flamines*)—Roman priest assigned to the cults of individual deities: three “major” (Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus) and twelve “minor” gods.
- fossa*—“ditch” (Lat.), dug for a ritual or military purpose.
- galerus* (also *galerum*)—a helmetlike cap made of undressed animal skin, worn by Roman priests. It often had an *apex** on top of it.
- gens*—“family” (Lat.), especially in the extended sense of a clan or race; a group of individuals bound together by blood and by mutual customs and rituals.
- haruspex* (pl. *haruspices*)—“soothsayer or diviner” (Lat.), especially one who foretells the future or determines the will of the gods by consulting the entrails of animals.
- haruspicina*—“art of divination” (Lat.). The art or science of foretelling the future or divining the will of the gods by means of consulting animal entrails.
- in antis*—see *anta*.*
- ixnx*—“wryneck” (Gk.), a bird able to twist its neck in a unique way, leading to the belief that it related to a magic ritual that could cast a spell of love; by extension, a love toy with wheel and string that could twist and cast a spell.
- kantharos*—ceramic “drinking cup” (Gk.), generally large and with two vertical handles.
- kore* (pl. *korai*)—“maiden” (Gk.), a designation given to a series of marble statues of young females found on the Acropolis in Athens dating to the Archaic period. Their pose and elaborate dress are formulaic.
- kouros* (pl. *kouroi*)—“boy, youth” (Gk.), a designation given to a series of marble statues of boys or young men, found at various sites in Greece and Italy and dating to the Archaic period. They are nude and have a formulaic pose with arms down by the side, fists clenched, and left foot stepping forward.
- kourotrophos* (pl. *kourotrophoi*)—“child-nourishing” (Gk.), a term applied to female figures in sculpture who carry or nurse children.
- krater*—ceramic “mixing bowl” (Gk.), a large vessel with a wide mouth, having two handles, used for mixing wine, water, and other ingredients of drink. The variants include the volute *krater* (handles have a scroll or volute shape), column or colonette *krater* (handles shaped like columns or little columns), and kalyx *krater* (handles encircle the bowl of the *krater* like the calyx of a flower).
- krateriskos*—small *krater*.*
- kylikeion*—a sideboard or stand for display of vessels for a banquet, including *kylikes*,* from which the name comes.
- kylix* (pl. *kylikes*)—ceramic “drinking cup” (Gk.) set on a tall foot, with a wide, low bowl and two horizontal handles.
- lectisternium*—a Roman ritual feast of the gods, in which images of the gods were placed on couches and food set out on tables before them.
- lekythos* (pl. *lekythoi*)—slender ceramic jug with a narrow neck and one handle, used to contain oil for an offering to the gods or the dead.
- limes* (pl. *limites*)—“boundary” (Lat.) of a field or of a territory.
- limitatio*—the act of fixing or determining *limites*, that is, boundaries.
- lituus*—ceremonial staff of a Roman priest or augur, curved and free of knots. The Latin word may originate with the Etruscans, who used the staff or wand before the Romans did. The term is also used to refer to a curved war trumpet.
- loculus*—“little place” (Lat.), a niche in the wall for containing the remains of the dead; also, a coffin.
- lucumo* (pl. *lucumones*)—Latin word for an Etruscan “prince” or “king”; probably a translation of the Etruscan *lauxume*.
- magmentarium*—place set aside for making sacrifices in

- addition to ones made directly at an altar or other sacred central spot.
- mundus*—Latin term with multiple meanings, probably sometimes overlapping: (1) the universe or cosmos, (2) the adornment of a woman and/or the instruments of adornment (*mundus muliebris*), (3) a pit for offerings made at the center point of a new colony, and (4) a gateway to the Underworld.
- mutule*—in Etruscan architecture, a side beam running parallel to the main ridge beam (*columen**) of a temple. Its end projects in the triangular pediment and may be covered over with a decorative plaque.
- naos*—see *cella*.*
- nenfro*—a type of *tufa**, found especially around Vulci. A dense stone, it takes carving well and is often used for sculpture and for moldings in architecture.
- nimbus*—an aura or halo around the head. On terracotta antefixes, the shell running around the head and framing it may be referred to as a *nimbus*.
- numen* (pl. *numina*)—divine will or power of the gods (Lat.).
- oikist*—city-founder; leader in the foundation of a colony.
- oikos*—“house” (Gk.). The term is used to refer to a simple rectangular building serving as a shrine, lacking the *pronaos** and columns that help to distinguish a building as a temple.
- oinochoe* (pl. *oinochoai*)—one-handled pitcher for pouring water or wine.
- olpe*—small pitcher with one handle, the top of which rises above the rim of the pitcher.
- oppidum*—“town or settlement” (Lat.); often refers to a fortified hilltop town.
- opus quadratum*—masonry cut in large, regular squared blocks and laid in courses of equal height.
- ostentum* (pl. *ostenta*)—a prodigy or portent of something about to happen.
- pars antica*—the front half of a temple.
- pars postica*—the rear half of a temple.
- patera*—saucer-shaped vessel for pouring a libation to the gods or for receiving a libation; in Greek, a *phiale*.*
- penus*—a storeroom or repository for provisions; also the innermost chamber of a temple, especially of Vesta.
- peperino*—a type of *tufa** originating in the Alban Hills and used in Roman construction from the second century BCE into the Late Roman Empire.
- phiale* (pl. *phialai*)—see *patera*.*
- pomerium*—the sacred boundary of a city, characterized as an open space within and outside the city walls, left free of buildings. It sets the limits for the taking of auspices for the city.
- pompa funebris*—“funeral procession” (Lat.).
- posticum*—back part of a building; cf. *pars postica*.*
- prodigium* (pl. *prodigia*)—“prodigy, portent, omen” (Lat.).
- pronaos*—the front porch of a temple, standing in front of the *naos* (= *cella**).
- prostyle*—having columns in the front porch of the temple.
- prothesis*—laying out of the dead for mourning.
- protome* (pl. *protomai*)—a head of an animal or human “cut off in front” (Gk.), used as a decorative motif on a vessel or as a votive offering.
- quadriga*—chariot drawn by four horses.
- regia*—a royal residence or court, in particular that of Rome in the time of the king Numa; later used as a sacred site for priestly purposes.
- ritus Etruscus*—the “Etruscan ritual” (Lat.), in particular that used for founding and laying out a city, with a *mundus** and a *pomerium** delineating the city boundaries.
- sacellum*—“little sanctuary” (Lat.), a generic name for a broad range of outdoor shrines and open-air altars that do not qualify as temples. A *consaeptum sacellum* was such a sanctuary with a fence around the precinct. In antiquity, the term was falsely derived from *sacra cella*, for it really had nothing to do with the roofed building of a *cella*.
- sacra cella*—see *sacellum*.*
- sacrarium* (pl. *sacraria*)—“sacristy, chapel” (Lat.). A term used to designate a sacred repository.
- sima*—the terracotta or marble gutter for draining water from the roof of a building, in an Etruscan temple often featuring elaborate moldings.
- sors* (pl. *sortes*)—“lot, share” (Lat.). In religion, the *sors* was an object drawn to find out one’s future.
- stela* (pl. *stelai*)—a slab of stone set up in a public place as an act of commemoration.
- temenos*—a precinct of land marked off from common use and dedicated to a god; sacred enclosed area in which stood a temple (or more than one temple).
- templum*—in Roman religion, an open, clear, broad space marked out in the air or on the earth (*templum in terra*) for the taking of observations for augury. The *templum minus* (“lesser *templum*”) was a structure on the ground, small in size and with a square plan. The word *templum* was used by extension for a sanctuary, shrine, or temple.
- templum in terra*—see *templum*.*
- templum minus*—see *templum*.*
- testudinate roof*—a roof sloping downward and outward on

all four sides of the building so as to resemble the shell of a tortoise (Lat. *testudo*).

thyrsos—sacred wand of Dionysos (Fufluns), brandished at revels; it was adorned with a globe of ivy leaves on the top.

tufa (*tufu*)—porous stone, in Etruria, normally a volcanic stone, light in weight, featuring ashes, cinders, and other deposits in varying degrees of compaction. Cf. *nenfro** and *peperino*.*

tufu—see *tufa*.*

tular—“boundaries” (Etr.).

votum—“vow” (Lat.), solemn promise made to a deity; may also refer to an offering made with the vow.

xoanon—“image made of wood” (Gk.), wooden sculpture of a god of a type produced in ancient Greece and Italy from an early period. These have mostly vanished but are known to have had a blocklike shape reflecting the trunk or branch from which the image was carved.

THE ETRUSCAN BRONTOSCOPIC CALENDAR

Jean MacIntosh Turfa

PART I

THE ETRUSCAN BRONTOSCOPIC CALENDAR AND ANCIENT AUTHORS

The Calendar's Text

The Greek translation of *De ostentis* (*On Omens*) 27–38, (Εφημερος Βροντοσκοπία) by John the Lydian (Johannes Lydus) is the only surviving text of an Etruscan divinatory calendar previously published in Latin by P. Nigidius Figulus (fr. 83 Swoboda), an admired contemporary of Cicero. It represents the longest coherent Etruscan document extant, albeit not in its original language. No trace of the Etruscan original has yet been found, but Lydus implied that it was of great antiquity, having been a part of the Etruscan *disciplina* dictated by the legendary Tages.

The Etruscan version of the calendar (subsequent to the presumed original Etruscan document of the eighth–early seventh century BCE) was probably monumental in form, such as a set of plaques in bronze or terracotta (as the Capua “tile”; *ET, Tabula Capuana*), or it may have been duplicated on *libri linteii*, such as the Zagreb “mummy binding” (*ET, Liber Linteus*), for use by individual priests. No city or sanctuary has been exclusively linked to it, but a likely candidate was Tarquinii, where Tages is said to have dictated the *Etrusca disciplina*.^{*} According to Lydus (*De ostentis* 38), Figulus noted that the version he translated and published was appropriate only to the region of Rome. There is, however, no significant climatic or geographic difference between the region/latitude of Rome and that of the major Etruscan cities. While the original calendar must have been cryptic in style, and some Byzantinisms are evident (e.g., “the queenly city,” meaning Rome, at June 29, or οἱ δῆμοι, “common people,”

which in Byzantium meant “factions”), hints of Etruscan syntax resemble phrases in cultic documents like the Zagreb *liber linteus*. Expressions such as “feathered ones” (τα πτηνα) are close to the meaning of archaic Italic texts such as the Umbrian *Igvine Tables*.

Etruscan calendrical literature is known from ancient authors and epigraphical finds (see Edlund-Berry 1992). From Classical authors we know the names of some months, while the Capua “tile” and Zagreb linen text describe religious rituals to be observed in calendar order, with dates given by month and day.

Organized in twelve “lunar” months, beginning in June, the calendar functioned as a reference table for priests interpreting the phenomenon of “thunder.” Embedded in it is a wealth of social, agricultural, religious, and medical information. The stratified society of the calendar is comprised of urban factions that include “powerful men,” nobles, a “band of youth,” common people, women, and a servile class, alternately fomenting rebellion and stricken by plagues. Mention is made of a king, war, onslaughts of various noxious and “harmless” diseases, and a wide array of meteorological conditions. Many crops are cited, usually in relation to predicted abundance or dearth; these include barley and wheat, fruit and nuts. Herds, flocks, wild birds, and fish of both river and sea are also noted.

The text from which my English translation has been made is the edition of I. Bekker in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae: Johannes Lydus*. Ed. B. G. Niebuhr. Bonn. 1837. (This includes a modern translation from Greek into Latin, but readers are advised to refer only to the Greek text.) A complete study of the Brontoscopic Calendar by this author is in progress.

For references on calendars, related texts, see:

- Edlund-Berry, I. E. M. 1992. "Etruscans at Work and Play: Evidence for an Etruscan Calendar." In *Kotinos: Festschrift für Erika Simon*. Mainz. 330–338.
- Cristofani, M. 1995. *Tabula Capuana: Un calendario festivo di età arcaica*. Biblioteca di "Studi Etruschi." 29. Florence.

Johannes Lydus

Johannes Lydus or Lydos ("John the Lydian"), born in Philadelphia in Lydia (490 CE), received an excellent classical education and came to Constantinople in 511, where, after studying philosophy (especially Neoplatonism), he received an appointment to the Praetorian prefecture. The next forty years were spent in civil service, where one of his distinctions was his ability to translate Latin documents. His palace career finished with the prestigious appointment to teach in the Imperial school (ca. 543). He retired in 551 but continued to write, and he died in Constantinople in 560 CE.

In the history of Byzantium, Lydus is best known for his *On the Magistracies*, a complete historical discussion of Roman bureaucracy from its origins to his own day. In addition to strongly political remarks about his contemporaries, he stressed the continuity of ancient developments with his own day. (Lost works include panegyrics on contemporary figures, as well as history and poetry.)

In the field of ancient religion, Lydus' two other works, both antiquarian, are of great importance. *De mensibus*, on the Roman calendar and holidays, includes some pagan festivals still celebrated under Justinian. *De ostentis* (*On Omens*) offers an antiquarian survey of classical and related divination, including the texts of some otherwise lost ancient works, most notably, the *Brontosopic Calendar* of Publius Nigidius Figulus. *De ostentis* further covers astrology and divination by thunder, lightning, and earthquake. Although eloquent in denouncing public figures (like John of Capadocia) in his work on contemporary bureaucracy, Lydus offers no criticism of ancient paganism and little indication that Christian belief influenced his writing. The high rank in palace bureaucracy, which must have guaranteed him access to libraries and archives, is additional circumstantial evidence for scholars' confidence in the authenticity of the ancient works preserved in Lydus' treatises.

Texts:

- Wünsch, R., ed. 1898. *De mensibus*. Leipzig.
- Wachsmuth, C., ed. 1897. *Liber de ostentis*. Leipzig.

References on Lydus (each includes bibliography):

- Baldwin, B. 1991. "John Lydos." In *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2. Ed. A. P. Kazhdan. Oxford. 1061–1062.
- Tinnefeld, F. 1999. "Lydos [3] Iohannes Lydos." In *Der Neue Pauly*, 7, 550–551.
- Jones, A. H. M., J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, eds. 1980. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* 2, 612–615.
- Maas, M. 1992. *John Lydus and the Roman Past*. New York.

Publius Nigidius Figulus

P. Nigidius Figulus, senator, statesman, grammarian, occultist, and natural historian (or encyclopedist), is known only in the last twenty years of his life, in large part because he was an admired friend of Cicero (who called him "most learned in all fields and most reverent" [*omnium doctissimo et sanctissimo*] in the letter sent to him in exile in 46 BCE—*Ad fam.* 4.13.3). He must have been born ca. 100 BCE, to a family of plebeian background, probably in Perugia, where Nigidii are attested in epitaphs since the second century BCE. Etruscan "roots" clearly informed his scholarship, even though his political career was purely Roman.

His friendship with Cicero began around 63, when he participated in the anti-Catilinarian crusade (Cicero, *Pro Sulla* 42). He held the post of praetor in 58 BCE, when he was among the "most friendly and most sharp-witted citizens" (*amicissimos et acerrimos cives*) who supported Cicero (*Epistula ad Quintum fratrem* 1.2.16). During the Civil War, he fought with the Optimates for Pompey and was at Pharsalos (cf. Cicero *Ad Atticum* 7.24). As Figulus, *cui cura deos secretaque caeli nosse fuit . . .* ("whose concern it was to know the gods and the secrets of heaven"), he is given a speech in Lucan's *De bello civili* 1.639–672, in which he prophesies, noting that "peace will come with a tyrant" (1.670). The inevitable exile followed in 46, where he died a year later, as Cicero was preparing a speech on his behalf.

Whether or not Figulus was the subject of a Suetonian biography (see Della Casa 1962, 17–36), his fame was further transmitted in Suetonius' reference to his predicting the Civil War and the birth of Augustus (*Divus Augustus* 94.5), noting that this event was common knowledge (*nota ac vulgata res est*). Figulus' place in Cicero's *Timaeus* is understood as a memorial tribute, perhaps crafted from some of the text composed for the undelivered speech to Caesar.

Figulus was a prolific writer, whose *Commentarii grammatici* led to his frequently being compared with contemporary Varro (Gellius, *NA* 19.14; Servius, *Ad Aen.* 10.175). A

tradition that Figulus revived Pythagoreanism is not supported by his surviving scholarship, fragments of which have been preserved or noted by Pliny, Gellius, the scholiasts, and Byzantine authors. The *cognomen* Figulus was explained by the scholiast on Lucan (1.639) and by Augustine (*De civitate dei* 5.3): on the issue of twins, Figulus supposedly defended horoscopes by demonstrating that in a revolving universe, no two beings can have the same identity or fate, just as two ink splashes on a potter's turntable are always distinct from each other. (The possibility of a completely different and Etruscan source of his *cognomen* remains open.)

Titles are known for a number of Figulus' religious/natural historical works, all in Latin:

De diis (*On the Gods*): probably consulted by Cicero for his own *De natura deorum*; cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.4.6.

De hominum natura (*On the Nature of Men*)

De animalibus (*On Animals*)

De ventis (*On Winds*): contained meteorological, astronomical, and astrological data.

Sphaera Graecanica and *Sphaera Barbarica* (*The Dome of the Sky, Greek and Near Eastern*): discussed names of constellations, astrology, and horoscopes.

De extis (*On Divination by Organs* [of sacrificed animals])

De augurio privato (*On Private Divination*)

De somniis (*On Dreams*): partially preserved in Lydus, *De ostentis* 45.

Diarium tonitruale (*Brontoscopic Calendar*): said to be a translation or adaptation of part of the books of Tages; see the English translation in this volume.

Figulus' erudition clearly earned him the respect of his contemporaries and presumably furthered the career that his political convictions ultimately ruined. He was one of the most successful (or best documented) of the men who left Etruria to seek their futures in Late Republican Rome. Ancient scholars seem not to have questioned the authenticity or validity of his research, and the praise of Cicero, that scathing critic of diviners, registers as particularly sincere about a colleague whose personal ethics were as admirable as his arcane studies.

Text:

Swoboda, A., ed. 1889. *Publius Nigidius Figulus, Operum Reliquiae*. Prague.

Another edition of Swoboda is:

Hakkert, A. M. 1964. *Publius Nigidius Figulus, Operum Reliquiae*. Amsterdam.

References on Nigidius Figulus:

Schmidt, P. L. 2000. "Nigidius Figulus, P.," *Der Neue Pauly* 8, 890–891.

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PART II

DIARIUM TONITRUALE

Johannes Lydus, *De Ostentis* §§ 27–38

ΕΦΗΜΕΡΟΣ ΒΡΟΝΤΟΣΚΟΠΙΑ
ΤΟΠΙΚΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΣΕΛΗΝΗΝ
ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΝ ΦΙΓΟΥΛΟΝ
ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΤΑΓΗΤΟΣ
ΚΑΘ' ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΛΕΞΙΝ

Εἰ ἐπὶ πάσαις (ταῖς) τῆς διοσημείας παραδόσει τὴν σελήνην φαίνονται λαβόντες οἱ ἀρχαῖοι (ὕπ' αὐτὴν γὰρ τὰ τε βροντῶν τὰ τε κεραυνῶν ἐκδέδοται σημεῖα), καλῶς ἂν τις ἄρα καὶ τὸν σελήνης οἶκον ἐπιλέξειτο, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ καρκίνου καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἐφήμερον ἀπὸ τῆς σεληνιακῆς νουμηνίας κατὰ τοὺς σεληνιακοὺς μῆνας ληψόμεθα τῶν βροντῶν ἐπίσκεψιν· ἐξ ἧς τὰς τοπικάς, ἐφ' ὧν ῥήγνυνται χωρίων αἱ βρονταί, παρατηρήσεις οἱ Θεοῦσκοι παρέδοσαν.

ΜΗΝΙ ΙΟΥΝΙΩ

Σελ. α. ἐὰν βροντήσῃ, τῶν καρπῶν εὐφορία ἔσται, ἐξηρημένων κριθῶν· νοσήματα δὲ ἐπισφαλῆ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐπισκήψει.

β. ἐὰν βροντήσῃ, ταῖς μὲς ὠδινούσαις ἀπαλλαγὴ μᾶλλον ῥαδία, τοῖς δὲ θρέμμασι φθορά, ἰχθύων γε μὴν ἀφθονία ἔσται.

γ. ἐὰν βροντήσῃ, καύσων ἔσται ξηρότατος, ὥστε μὴ τοὺς ξηροὺς μόνους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑγροὺς καρποὺς διαφρυγέοντας ἀπακαυθῆναι.

- δ. ἐὰν βροντήση, νεφελώδης καὶ ὑετώδης ὁ ἀήρ ἔσται, ὡς ἐκ σηπτικῆς ὑγρότητος φθαρήναι τοὺς καρπούς.
- ε. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἀπαίσιον τοῖς ἀγροῖς· οἱ δὲ χωρίοις ἢ πολίχναις ἐφεστῶτες ταραχθήσονται.
- ς. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἀκμάσασι τοῖς καρποῖς ἐντεχθήσεται τι θηρίον τὸ βλάπτον αὐτούς.
- ζ. ἐὰν βροντήση, νοσήματα μὲν ἐνσκήψει, ἀλλ' οὐ πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τεθνήξονται· καὶ οἱ μὲν ξηροὶ καρποὶ ἐπιτεύξονται, οἱ δὲ ὑγροὶ ξηρανθήσονται.
- η. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἐπομβρίαν καὶ φθορὰν σίτου δηλοῖ.
- θ. ἐὰν βροντήση, φθορὰ τοῖς θρέμμασιν ἔσται ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς λύκων.
- ι. ἐὰν βροντήση, θάνατος μὲν ἔσται συχνός, εὐθηνία. δὲ ὅμως.
- ια. ἐὰν βροντήση, καύματα μὲν ἀβλαβῆ, τὰ δὲ πολιτικὰ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ ἔσται.
- ιβ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ὁμοίως ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης.
- ιγ. ἐὰν βροντήση, δυνάστου πτώσιν ἀπειλεῖ.
- ιδ. ἐὰν βροντήση, καυσῶδες μὲν τὸ περιέχον ἔσται, εὐφορία δὲ τῶν καρπῶν καὶ εὐροια τῶν ποταμίων οὐχ ἦκιστα ἰχθύων. τὰ σώματά γε μὴν ἐξασθενήσει.
- ιε. ἐὰν βροντήση, τὰ μὲν πτηνὰ λυμανθήσεται τῷ θέρει, οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες φθαρήσονται.
- ισ. ἐὰν βροντήση, οὐκ ἐλάττωσιν μόνον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεμον ἀπειλεῖ, ἀνὴρ δὲ τις εὐτυχῆς ἀφανισθήσεται.
- ιζ. ἐὰν βροντήση, καύματα ἔσται καὶ μυῶν καὶ ἀσφαλάκων καὶ ἀκρίδων φορὰ· εὐθηνίαν δὲ ὁμῶς καὶ φόνους τῷ δήμῳ φέρει.
- ιη. ἐὰν βροντήση, φθορὰν τῶν καρπῶν ἀπειλεῖ.
- ιθ. ἐὰν βροντήση, τὰ λυμαινόμενα τοῖς καρποῖς θηρία φθαρήσεται.
- κ. ἐὰν βροντήση, διχόνοια ἀπειλεῖ τῷ δήμῳ.
- κα. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἐλάττωσιν μὲν οἴνου, ἐπίδοσιν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων καρπῶν δηλοῖ καὶ ἀφθονίαν ἰχθύων.
- κβ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἐπίφθορον ἔσται τὸ καῦμα.
- κγ. ἐὰν βροντήση, εὐφροσύνην καὶ κακῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν καὶ νόσων ἀφανισμόν δηλοῖ.
- κδ. ἐὰν βροντήση, εὐθηνίαν δηλοῖ.
- κε. ἐὰν βροντήση, πόλεμοι καὶ μυρία ἔσονται κακά.
- κς. ἐὰν βροντήση, ὁ χειμῶν τοῖς καρποῖς ἐπιβλαβῆς ἔσται.
- κζ. ἐὰν βροντήση, κίνδυνος στρατιωτικὸς τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἔσται.
- κη. ἐὰν βροντήση, εὐετηρία ἔσται τῶν καρπῶν.
- κθ. ἐὰν βροντήση, τὰ τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως ἔσται κρείττονα.
- λ. ἐὰν βροντήση, πρὸς βραχὺ θάνατος ἔσται συχνός.

ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ

- α. Ἐπὶ τῆς σεληνιακῆς νοσηρίας ἐὰν βροντήση, εὐθηνία μὲν ἔσται, τῶν δὲ θρεμμάτων πτώσις.
- β. ἐὰν βροντήση, καλὸν τῷ φθινοπώρῳ.
- γ. ἐὰν βροντήση, χειμῶνα βαρὺν σημαίνει.
- δ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἀέριοι ἔσονται ταραχαί, ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν σπάνιν γενέσθαι.
- ε. ἐὰν βροντήση, εὐθηνία μὲν σίτου, ἄρχοντος δὲ ἀγαθοῦ πτώσις ἔσται.
- ς. ἐὰν βροντήση, νόσους θανατηφόρους ταῖς δουλικαῖς τύχαις ἀπειλεῖ.
- ζ. ἐὰν βροντήση, κατομβρία ἔσται βλαβερὰ τοῖς σπορίμοις.
- η. ἐὰν βροντήση, εἰρήνην μὲν τοῖς κοινοῖς, ὄλεθρον δὲ τοῖς βοσκήμασι καὶ βῆχα ξηρὸν ἐνσκήψαι δηλοῖ.
- θ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἐποψίαν θεῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν πολλῶν πρόσδοτον δηλοῖ.
- ι. ἐὰν βροντήση, σωτηριώδη ἔσται τὰ ποτάμια ὕδατα.
- ια. ἐὰν βροντήση, καῦμα σημαίνει καὶ ὄμβρον βίαιον καὶ σπάνιν σίτου.
- ιβ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ψυχὸς τῷ θέρει ἔσται ἀδόκητον, δι' οὗ φθαρήσεται τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
- ιγ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἐπρετὰ φανεῖται βλαβερῶτατα.
- ιδ. ἐὰν βροντήση, εἰς ἓνα τὴν πάντων δύναμιν ἐλθεῖν φράζει· οὗτος δὲ ἔσται τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀδικώτατος.
- ιε. ἐὰν βροντήση, διχόνοια ἔσται τοῦ δήμου καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἔνδεια.
- ισ. ἐὰν βροντήση, πόλεμον ὁ τῆς ἀνατολῆς βασιλεὺς ἐκδεχέσθω καὶ νόσον ἀπὸ ξηροῦ καύματος.
- ιζ. ἐὰν βροντήση, διαδοχὴν μεγάλου ἄρχοντος δηλοῖ.
- ιη. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἔνδειαν καρπῶν ἐξ ἐπομβρίας ἀπειλεῖ.
- ιθ. ἐὰν βροντήση, πόλεμον δηλοῖ καὶ ἀπώλειαν δυνατῶν· ἀφθονία δὲ ἔσται τῶν ξηρῶν καρπῶν.
- κ. ἐὰν βροντήση, αὐχμὸν νοσώδη ἀπειλεῖ.
- κα. ἐὰν βροντήση, διχόνοια ἔσται τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν.
- κβ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἀγαθὰ μὲν τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασι, νόσους δὲ τοῖς σώμασι περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σημαίνει.
- κγ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἡ διχόνοια τοῦ δήμου παυθήσεται.
- κδ. ἐὰν βροντήση, δυνατοῦ ἀνθρώπου δηλοῖ δυνατόν ἀτύχημα.
- κε. ἐὰν βροντήση, τῇ νεολαίᾳ κάκωσις καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς μετ' αὐτῆς, νοσώδης δὲ ὁ καιρὸς ἔσται.
- κς. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἀπὸ μεγάλης εὐθηνίας ἔνδεια ἔσται.
- κζ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἐκβρασμὸν τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπειλεῖ.
- κη. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἔνδεια ὑδάτων καὶ ὄχλος ἔρπετων ἐπιβλαβῶν ἔσται.
- κθ. ἐὰν βροντήση, εὐετηρίαν δηλοῖ.

λ. ἐὰν βροντήση, οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐκ ποινηλασίας ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖριστα τῶν πταισμάτων ὀλισθήσουσιν.

ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ

α. Ἐὰν βροντήση, καὶ τὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἡρέμα πως καλλίονα καὶ εὐθηνία ἔσται.

β. ἐὰν βροντήση, νόσους ἅμα καὶ ἔνδειαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπειλεῖ.

γ. ἐὰν βροντήση, δίκας καὶ λέσχας τῷ δήμῳ ἀπειλεῖ.

δ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἔνδεια τροφῶν λογικοῖς ἅμα καὶ ἀλόγοις ἔσται.

ε. ἐὰν βροντήση, τὰς γυναῖκας συνετωτέρας δηλοῖ.

ς. ἐὰν βροντήση, μέλιτος μὲν ἀφθονία ἔσται, ὕδατος δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τροφίμων λείψις.

ζ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἀνέμους τραχεῖς καὶ νόσους ὁμοῦ σημαίνει.

η. ἐὰν βροντήση, νόσον ἀκίνδυνον τοῖς τετραπόδοις ἀπειλεῖ.

θ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ὑγίειαν μὲν ἀνθρώποις ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πλείονος ἐπαγγέλλεται.

ι. ἐὰν βροντήση, λύπας καὶ μοχθηρίας τῷ πλήθει ἀπειλαῖ.

ια. ἐὰν βροντήση, εὐετηρία μὲν ἔσται, πτώσις δὲ ἐρπετῶν καὶ βλάβη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

ιβ. ἐὰν βροντήση, χόρτου καὶ βαλάνου ἀφθονία ἔσται, τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ κάκωσις.

ιγ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ὄλεθρος ἔσται τοῖς σώμασι λογικῶν τε καὶ ἀλόγων.

ιδ. ἐὰν βροντήση, πόλεμον μὲν τοῖς κοινοῖς, ἀφθονίαν δὲ τοῖς καρποῖς δηλοῖ.

ιε. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τὰ πράγματα.

ισ. ἐὰν βροντήση, εἰρήνην βαθεῖαν ἐπαγγέλλεται.

ιζ. ἐὰν βροντήση, οἱ χεῖρους τῶν ἀνθρώπων στυγνάσουσιν.

ιη. ἐὰν βροντήση, πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον ἀπειλεῖ.

ιθ. ἐὰν βροντήση, φόνους αἰ γυναῖκες καὶ τὸ δουλικὸν τολμήσει.

κ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ὄλεθρον βοῶν καὶ ταραχὰς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπειλεῖ.

κα. ἐὰν βροντήση, εὐθηνίαν ἅμα καὶ διχονοίαν τῷ δήμῳ δηλοῖ.

κβ. ἐὰν βροντήση, καλὰ μετρίως τὰ πράγματα ἀνὰ πάντα τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

κγ. ἐὰν βροντήση, κεραυνὸν πεσεῖσθαι δηλοῖ καὶ φόνους ἀπειλεῖ.

κδ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἀπώλειαν εὐγενῶν νέων ἀπειλεῖ.

κε. ἐὰν βροντήση, χειμῶνα καὶ σπάνιν ὀπωρῶν ἔσεσθαι προλέγει.

κς. ἐὰν βροντήση, πόλεμον σημαίνει.

κζ. ἐὰν βροντήση, πολέμους ἅμα καὶ δόλους ἀπειλεῖ. κη. ἐὰν βροντήση, εὐθηνίαν μὲν τῶν καρπῶν, φθορὰν δὲ τῶν βοῶν σημαίνει.

κθ. ἐὰν βροντήση, οὐδεμίαν ἐναλλαγὴν σημαίνει.

λ. ἐὰν βροντήση, νόσους τῇ πόλει, ἐφ' ἧς ραγήσεται, ἀπειλεῖ.

ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ

α. Ἐὰν βροντήση, εὐετηρίαν ἅμα καὶ εὐφροσύνην δηλοῖ.

β. ἐὰν βροντήση, διχονοία τῷ δήμῳ ἔσται.

γ. ἐὰν βροντήση, κατομβρίαν καὶ πόλεμον δηλοῖ.

δ. ἐὰν βροντήση, δυνατοῦ πτώσιν παῖ πολέμου παρασκευὴν δηλοῖ.

ε. ἐὰν βροντήση, κριθῆς μὲν ἀφθονίαν, σίτου δὲ ἐλάττωσιν δηλοῖ.

ς. ἐὰν βροντήση, δύναμις ἔσται ταῖς γυναῖξι κρείττων ἢ κατ' αὐτάς.

ζ. ἐὰν βροντήση, νόσον καὶ πτώσιν τῷ δουλικῷ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπειλεῖ.

η. ἐὰν βροντήση, τοὺς μάλιστα δυνατοὺς τοῦ πολιτεύματος σκολιά ἐννοεῖν, ἀποτεύξεσθαι δὲ τῶν νοουμένων κατηγορεῖ.

θ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἀνεμον πνεῦσαι ἐπίνοσον ἀπειλεῖ.

ι. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἔρις ἔσται τῷ τόπῳ ἐφ' οὗ ραγήσεται πρὸς ἕτερον οὐκ ἄλογος.

ια. ἐὰν βροντήση, οἱ ὑπεξούσιοι τῶν εὐγενῶν σκέψονται τι καινὸν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς.

ιβ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ἔπομβρον τὸν τοῦ ἀμητοῦ καιρὸν καὶ λιμὸν ἔσεσθαι λέγει.

ιγ. ἐὰν βροντήση, λιμὸν βαρὺν ἀπειλεῖ.

ιδ. ἐὰν βροντήση, νόσους ἀπειλεῖ.

ιε. ἐὰν βροντήση, κατομβρίαν μὲν δηλοῖ, εὐθηνίαν δὲ ὁμως.

ισ. ἐὰν βροντήση, ὁ σπόρος πολὺς, ἄκαρπος δὲ δηλοῦται.

ιζ. εἰ βροντήση, ἔνδειαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπειλεῖ.

ιη. εἰ βροντήση, λιμὸν ἅμα καὶ πολέμους σημαίνει.

ιθ. εἰ βροντήση, ὁ μὲν δεωδρώδης καρπὸς ἐπιτεύξεται, νόσοι δὲ καὶ στάσεις δημοτικαὶ ἔσονται.

κ. εἰ βροντήση, ἀπώλειαν κλεινοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πόλεμον ἀπειλεῖ.

κα. εἰ βροντήση, λύπας καὶ ζημίας τῷ δήμῳ ἀπειλεῖ.

κβ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνίαν μὲν, χειμῶνα δὲ βαρὺν καὶ ὑγρὸν σημαίνει.

κγ. εἰ βροντήση, τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦ ἔτους ἐνδεᾶ προλέγει.

κδ. εἰ βροντήση, λειψυδρίαν ἀπειλεῖ. τῶν δὲ ἀκροδρύων εὐφορία ἔσται, περὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον θυέλλαις διαφθαρήσεται.

κε. εἰ βροντήση, ἐκ διχονοίας τοῦ πολιτεύματος

τύραννος ἀναστήσεται, καὶ αὐτὸς θέν ἀπολεῖται, ζημίαις δὲ ἀφορήτοις οἱ δυνατοὶ ὑποστήσονται.

κς. εἰ βροντήση, ὁ κακὸς δυνάστης βουλή θεοῦ πεσεῖται.

κζ. εἰ βροντήση, δυνατοὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διενεχθήσονται καὶ ἀλλήλους διαβολοῦσιν.

κη. εἰ βροντήση, σημεία ἔσται πραγμάτων μεγάλων μηνυτικά. εὐλαβητέον δὲ μὴ καὶ πῦρ ἐπομβρήση ἐνιαχοῦ.

κθ. εἰ βροντήση, αὐχμὸν ἐπιβλαβῆ ἀπειλεῖ.

λ. εἰ βροντήση, ἀπὸ χειρόνων ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω τὰ κοινά.

ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΣ

α. Εἰ βροντήση, κακὸν τύραννον τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπειλεῖ.

β. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνία μὲν ἔσται, φθορὰ δὲ τῶν χερσαίων μυῶν.

γ. εἰ βροντήση, θυέλλας καὶ ταραχὰς δηλοῖ, δι' ὧν τὰ μὲν δένδρα φθαρήσεται· μεγάλων δὲ ζαλῶν ἔσται τοῖς κοινοῖς μήνυμα.

δ. εἰ βροντήση, οἱ ἐλάττους (τὰ) τῶν κρείττωνων καθέξουσιν, ὑγιεινὸν δὲ ἔσται τὸ τοῦ ἀέρος κατάστημα.

ε. εἰ βροντήση, πάντων ἐπιδόσεις τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐξηρημένου σίτου.

ς. εἰ βροντήση, ἡ ὄψις μὲν εὐθηνίας, ἀμητὸς δὲ ἐλάττων, καὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἐγγὺς ἄκαρπον.

ζ. εἰ βροντήση, ὄσπρια μὲν ἄφθονα, οἶνος δὲ ἐλάττων ἔσται.

η. εἰ βροντήση, σεισμὸν μετὰ μυκήματος προσδοκητέον.

θ. εἰ βροντήση, ὄλεθρον θηρίοις ἀπειλεῖ.

ι. εἰ βροντήση, ἀνδρὸς ἐπαινουμένου πτώσιν δηλοῖ.

ια. εἰ βροντήση, ἀλληλανεμίαν ἐπισφαλῆ ταῖς βοτάναις δηλοῖ.

ιβ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνία μὲν ἔσται, σκηπτοὶ δὲ ἐκθλιβήσονται.

ιγ. εἰ βροντήση, καλὰ τὰ συναλλάγματα, καὶ εὐθηνία πρὸς αὐτοῖς· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ βαρὺς οὐκ ἐπὶ πλέον ἰσχύσει.

ιδ. εἰ βροντήση, πόλεμον καὶ φθορὰν βοσκημάτων ἀπειλεῖ.

ιε. εἰ βροντήση, σπάνις ἔσται πνεύματος ξηροῦ καὶ καυστικοῦ ἐμπίπτοντος τοῖς καρποῖς.

ισ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐξασθενήσουσιν οὕτως ἄνθρωποι, ὡς ἄγνωστοι εἶναι δοκεῖν.

ιζ. εἰ βροντήση, πλουσίου ἀνδρὸς καὶ εὐγενῶν εὐτυχήματα.

ιη. εἰ βροντήση, ἐπέισακτον εὐθηνίαν δηλοῖ.

ιθ. εἰ βροντήση, δυνάστου πτώσιν ἢ βασιλέως ἐκβολὴν ἀπειλεῖ, διχονοίαν τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἀφθονίαν δηλοῖ.

κ. εἰ βροντήση, ἔλκη ξένα ἀπειλεῖ, τῷ δὲ πλήθει ἐκ διχονοίας ἐσχάτην ἀτυχίαν.

κα. εἰ βροντήση, νόσοι βηχώδεις ἔσονται καὶ στηθῶν κακώσεις.

κβ. εἰ βροντήση, μοχθηρίας τῷ δήμῳ καὶ νόσους ποικίλας ἀπειλεῖ.

κγ. εἰ βροντήση, ὁ δῆμος εὐφρανθήσεται παραδόξως.

κδ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐκ διχονοίας τῶν κρατούντων ὁ δῆμος περιέσται.

κε. εἰ βροντήση, βαρεῖα ἔσται ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν δειλία.

κς. εἰ βροντήση, ἀυξηθήσεται μὲν τὰ θηρία, λιμώξει δὲ ὄως.

κζ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐπομβρίαν δηλοῖ.

κη. εἰ βροντήση, ἔνδεια ἔσται τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

κθ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐπίνοσος ὁ ἐνιαυτός.

λ. εἰ βροντήση, οὐκ εὐθηνίαν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλάττωσιν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ εὐφροσύνην τοῖς πράγμασι δηλοῖ.

ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ

α. Εἰ βροντήση, διχονοίαν δηλοῖ τῇ πόλει.

β. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνίαν προλέγει.

γ. εἰ βροντήση, πράγματα ἀναφύεται, δι' ὧν οἱ ἐλάττους περιέσονται τῶν μειζόνων.

δ. εἰ βροντήση, κρείττων ὁ σίτος.

ε. εἰ βροντήση, ζάλην τοῖς πράγμασι δηλοῖ, αἰσθητοῖς τε καὶ ἀλόγοις νόσον.

ς. εἰ βροντήση, σκώληκες τῷ σίτῳ λυμανοῦνται.

ζ. εἰ βροντήση, τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν δύσιν ἀνθρώποις τε καὶ ἀλόγοις νόσοι.

η. εἰ βροντήση, ἀδδηφαγίας ἔσεσθαι δεῖ διὰ νόσους ἀπειλουμένας.

θ. εἰ βροντήση, δημοτῶν ἀνασκολοπισμοὶ ἔσονται, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀφθονία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

ι. εἰ βροντήση, πέρας ἔχει τὰ κακῶς βουλευθέντα τοῖς κρατοῦσιν, ἄνεμος δὲ καυσώδης τοῖς δένδροις λυμαίνεται.

ια. εἰ βροντήση, εὐχαριστείτωσαν ἄνθρωποι τῷ θεῷ· ἄνεμος γὰρ ἐξ ἀνατολῶν ρεύσει.

ιβ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐνύπνια τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πλείονα δόξει.

ιγ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐπικερδῆ μὲν τὸν καιρὸν, λοιμικὸν δὲ ἀπειλεῖ, ἔλμισι δὲ ἐντοσθίοις κακοῖ τὰ σώματα.

ιδ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐρπετὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡρέμα πως λυμαίνεται.

ιε. εἰ βροντήση, ὁ μὲν ἰχθὺς ἀφθονώτατος, λοιμώξει δὲ τὰ ἔνυδρα θηρία, καὶ τὰ κοιῶ δῆθεν καλλίονα.

ισ. εἰ βροντήση, ἀκρίδες καὶ μυῶν ἀρουραίων γένεσις, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ κίνδυνος, καὶ σίτου ἀφθονία ἔσται.

ιζ. εἰ βροντήση, νομὴν ἄφθονον τοῖς κτήνεσι δηλοῖ.

ιη. εἰ βροντήση, πόλεμον δηλοῖ καὶ τοῖς ἀστειοτέροις λύπας.
 ιθ. εἰ βροντήση, γυναικῶν εὐπραγίας.
 κ. εἰ βροντήση, λιμὸν ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δηλοῖ.
 κα. εἰ βροντήση, οἱ μύες φθαρήσονται, εὐθηνία δὲ οὐ σίτου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ νομῆς, καὶ ἰχθύων πλῆθος.
 κβ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐετηρίαν δηλοῖ.
 κγ. εἰ βροντήση, ἄνεμος νοσώδης πνεύσει.
 κδ. εἰ βροντήση, φρούριον τῆ πολιτεία χρηστὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίοις τελέσει.
 κε. εἰ βροντήση, πόλεμος ἐπικίνδυνος ἔσται· καὶ ἄνεμος νοσώδης πνεύσει.
 κς. εἰ βροντήση, πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον καὶ πτώσιν πολλῶν δηλοῖ· ὄμβροι τε ἔσονται λοιμώδεις.
 κζ. εἰ βροντήση, τὰ αὐτὰ ἀπειλεῖ.
 κη. εἰ βροντήση, τῆς συγκλήτου πολλοὶ ἀθυμῖα φθαρήσονται.
 κθ. εἰ βροντήση, οἱ μὲν χεῖρους κάλλιον πράξουσιν, αἱ δὲ ἐσόμενα ὀπῶραι φθαρήσονται.
 λ. εἰ βροντήση, θεοφιλέστερον οἱ ἄνθρωποι ζήσονται· καὶ εἰκότως σύμμετρα τὰ κακά.

ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ

α. Εἰ βροντήση, εὐετηρίαν μεθ' ὁμοιοῦς δηλοῖ.
 β. εἰ βροντήση, ἀφθονία ἰχθύων καὶ καρπῶν διαφερόντως.
 γ. εἰ βροντήση, τοῖς θρέμμασιν ἄνθρωποι καταχρήσονται δι' ἔνδειαν ἰχθύων.
 δ. εἰ βροντήση, βαρὺς ἔσται χειμῶν, εὐθηνία δὲ ὅμως.
 ε. εἰ βροντήση, νόσους ψωρώδεις ἀπειλεῖ.
 ς. εἰ βροντήση, αἰσίους ὄνειρους οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐνυπνιασθήσονται, οἱ κακὸν πέρας ἔξουσιν.
 ζ. εἰ βροντήση, τὸ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ πᾶσιν.
 η. εἰ βροντήση, νότος ἐπικρατήσεται· ἐξ οὗ εὐθηνία μὲν καρπῶν ἔσται, ὄλεθρος δὲ θρεμμάτων.
 θ. εἰ βροντήση, κλεινοῦ ἀνδρὸς πτώσις ἔσται.
 ι. εἰ βροντήση, φθορὰν ἄνθρωποις ἐκ νοσημάτων ἀπειλεῖ, οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες ἐπιδώσουσιν.
 ια. εἰ βροντήση, καυσώδης ἢ θερινὴ ἔσται τροπή, καὶ ἀφθονία ἐπίσακτος.
 ιβ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐκ γαστρορροίας νόσους ἀπειλεῖ.
 ιγ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνίαν, νόσους δὲ ἀπειλεῖ.
 ιδ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐμφύλιον ἅμα πόλεμον καὶ εὐθηνίαν δηλοῖ.
 ιε. εἰ βροντήση, πολλοὶ ἐπὶ πόλεμον πορεύσονται, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἀναστρέψουσιν.
 ις. εἰ βροντήση, καινοπρεπῆ πράγματα ἐπὶ τῆς πολιτείας.

ιζ. εἰ βροντήση, ἀκρίδας φύσεσθαι λεπτὰς ἀπειλεῖ, εὐθηνίαν δὲ ὅμως.
 ιη. εἰ βροντήση, πόλεμος ἔσται βαρὺς.
 ιθ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐπίτασιν τοῦ πολέμου ἀπειλεῖ.
 κ. εἰ βροντήση, ἔνδειαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων λέγει.
 κα. εἰ βροντήση, ἄνεμον θερμὸν καὶ νοσοποιὸν ρεῦσαι ἀπειλεῖ.
 κβ. εἰ βροντήση, καυσώδες ἔσται τὸ θέρος καὶ πολύκαρπον.
 κγ. εἰ βροντήση, ἄνθρωποις νόσον δηλοῖ, ἀλλ' ἀκίνδυνον.
 κδ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐμφυλίους πολέμους τῆ πόλει καὶ ὄλεθρον τοῖς ὑλαίοις θηρίοις ἀπειλεῖ.
 κε. εἰ βροντήση, ἐκστρατείας κίνησις ἐπὶ πόλεμον, ἀλλ' εὐτυχῆσει.
 κς. εἰ βροντήση, νόσους τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἀπειλεῖ.
 κζ. εἰ βροντήση, ὁ βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς ὠφελήσει.
 κη. εἰ βροντήση, ἀκρίδων γένεσις.
 κθ. εἰ βροντήση, ἰσχνότητα τοῖς σώμασιν ὑγιεινὴν δηλοῖ.
 λ. εἰ βροντήση, ἀνταρσίαν κατὰ τῆς βασιλείας δηλοῖ καὶ εἰκότως πόλεμον.

ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ

α. Εἰ βροντήση, ἐλαφρὸς ἄνεμος ρεύσει, ἀλλ' ἀκίνδυνος.
 β. εἰ βροντήση, ἀδόκητος ἔσται πόλεμος.
 γ. εἰ βροντήση, μετὰ νίκην ἤτταν τοῖς ἐν πολέμῳ φράζει· εὐθηνία δὲ ἔσται.
 δ. εἰ βροντήση, ὁμοιοῦσει ὁ δῆμος πρὸς εἰρήνην.
 ε. εἰ βροντήση, ὑγίειαν τοῖς κτήνεσι σημαίνει.
 ς. εἰ βροντήση, βηχώδη νόσον ἀπειλεῖ, ἀφθονίαν δὲ ἰχθύων καὶ καρπῶν δηλοῖ.
 ζ. εἰ βροντήση, δουλομαχία ἔσται καὶ νόσος συχνή.
 η. εἰ βροντήση, ὁ δυνάστης τῆς πολιτείας πρὸς τοῦ δήμου κινδυνεύσει.
 θ. εἰ βροντήση, ὁ τῆς ἀνατολῆς βασιλεὺς κινδυνεύσει.
 ι. εἰ βροντήση, ἀνέμου κίνησιν σφοδρὰν καὶ σίτου μὲν εὐφορίαν τῶν δ' ἄλλων καρπῶν ἀφορίαν δηλοῖ.
 ια. εἰ βροντήση, λιμὸν σημαίνει καὶ μέχρις ἀλόγων.
 ιβ. εἰ βροντήση, οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰς ὄψεις νοσήσουσιν, ἔσται δὲ πολὺς χόρτος καὶ ἰχθύων ἐπίδοσις.
 ιγ. εἰ βροντήση, νόσους ἀπειλεῖ.
 ιδ. εἰ βροντήση, σπάνιν καὶ μυῶν γένεσιν καὶ ὄλεθρον τετραπόδων ἀπειλεῖ.
 ιε. εἰ βροντήση, στάσιν δουλικὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐθηνίαν καρπῶν.
 ις. εἰ βροντήση, ὁ δῆμος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ταραχθήσεται.

- ιζ. εἰ βροντήση, νόσους ἀκινδύνους ἀπειλεῖ.
 ιη. εἰ βροντήση, πράγματα ἐκδειματοῦντα τὸν δῆμον ἀναστήσεται.
 ιθ. εἰ βροντήση, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς νικήσει καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὴν κρείττονα ἔξει τάξιν.
 κ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνία μὲν ἐπίσακτος ἔσται, βηχώδης δὲ νόσος ἐνοχλήσει τοῖς σώμασιν.
 κα. εἰ βροντήση, ὁ βασιλεὺς πολλοῖς ἐπιβουλεύσας τέλος ἐπιβουλεύεται.
 κβ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνία μὲν ἔσται, μυῶν δὲ καὶ ἐλάφων πλήθος.
 κγ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐταξίαν τῇ πόλει δηλοῖ.
 κδ. εἰ βροντήση, νόσον μετὰ ἐνδείας δηλοῖ.
 κε. εἰ βροντήση, δουλομαχία ἔσται.
 κς. εἰ βροντήση, πολλοὶ πρὸς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀναιρεθήσονται, τέλος δὲ καὶ αὐτός.
 κζ. εἰ βροντήση, νόσους ἀκινδύνους δηλοῖ.
 κη. εἰ βροντήση, οἱ μὲν ἐνάλιοι ἰχθύες ἐπιδώσουσι, τὰ δὲ θρέμματα φθαρήσεται.
 κθ. εἰ βροντήση, λοιμικὸν καὶ νοσῶδες ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ τοῦ ἀέρος κατάστημα.
 λ. εἰ βροντήση, θάνατον συχνὸν ἀπειλεῖ.

ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ

- α. Εἰ βροντήση, πόλεμον καὶ πτώσιν ἀνδρῶν εὐπόρων ἀπειλεῖ.
 β. εἰ βροντήση, ὁ μὲν σῖτος ἐλάττων, ἡ δὲ κριθὴ κρείττων, καὶ θηρίων μὲν αὐξήσις, φθίσις δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἔσται.
 γ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐμφύλοις ἔσται στάσις.
 δ. εἰ βροντήση, οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐ προσώποις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ διανοίαις αὐταῖς ταραχθήσονται.
 ε. εἰ βροντήση, ἄμητος πολὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπώλεια ἔσται.
 ς. εἰ βροντήση, φθορὰ τῶν ξηρῶν καρπῶν, καὶ διαφερόντως τῶν κριθῶν.
 ζ. εἰ βροντήση, φθορὰν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀνθρώποις ἀπειλεῖ.
 η. εἰ βροντήση, πρᾶγμα μέγιστον ἀναφύσεται τῇ πολιτεία, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἰχθύες ἐπιδώσουσι, τὰ δὲ θηρία φθαρήσεται.
 θ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐλάττων ἡ κριθή.
 ι. εἰ βροντήση, τὰ θηρία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λυμανεῖται.
 ια. εἰ βροντήση, εὐτοκία γυναικῶν.
 ιβ. εἰ βροντήση, θάνατον συχνὸν ἀπειλεῖ καὶ ἀνέμους ἀήθεις.
 ιγ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνία μὲν ἔσται, στάσις δὲ ὅμως πολιτική.

- ιδ. εἰ βροντήση, ἀποβολὴν τέκνων καὶ ἔφοδον ἐρπετῶν ἐπιβλαβῆ ἀπειλεῖ.
 ιε. εἰ βροντήση, λοιμικὸς ἀήρ ἔσται, θηρίων τε καὶ μυῶν γένεσος.
 ις. εἰ βροντήση, τῷ μὲν δήμῳ αἴσιον, τοῖς δὲ δυνατοῖς ἐκ διχονοίας κακόν.
 ιζ. εἰ βροντήση, θέρος ἔσται ἀφθονώτατον.
 ιη. εἰ βροντήση, ἄνεμον βαρὺν καὶ φλυκταινῶν ἀνάστημα τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπειλεῖ.
 ιθ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐρπετῶν καὶ ἐλμίνθων πρὸς αὐτοῖς ὄχλος ἔσται.
 κ. εἰ βροντήση, καλοὺς ἀέρας δηλοῖ.
 κα. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνίαν δηλοῖ.
 κβ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐπίνοσος ὁ ἀήρ, ἀλλ' οὐ φθαρτικὸς ἔσται.
 κγ. εἰ βροντήση, ἀνθρώποις μὲν δυσμορφίαν, ὀρνέοις δὲ φθορὰν ἀπειλεῖ.
 κδ. εἰ βροντήση, ὑγίειαν μὲν ἀνθρώποις, ἰχθύσι δὲ καὶ ἐρπετοῖς ὄλεθρον ἀπειλεῖ.
 κε. εἰ βροντήση, τοῖς τρυφῶσιν ἐναντίον· πόλεμοι γὰρ ἔσονται, καὶ ζάλη βαρεῖα.
 κς. εἰ βροντήση, αὐχμὸν καὶ λειψυδρίαν καὶ ψώρωσιν τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπειλεῖ.
 κζ. εἰ βροντήση, στάσιν τῷ δήμῳ δηλοῖ.
 κη. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνίαν μὲν, ἄνεμον δὲ νοσοποιὸν ρεῦσαι μαντεύεται.
 κθ. εἰ βροντήση, πόλεμον καὶ εὐθηνίαν δηλοῖ.
 λ. εἰ βροντήση, ἀγαθὰ σημαίνει μετὰ μακρᾶς τινοῦ τοῦ δήμου διχοστασίας.

ΜΑΡΤΙΟΣ

- α. Εἰ βροντήση, ἅπαν τὸ ἔτος ἀψιμαχία καὶ διχόνιοι ἔσονται.
 β. εἰ βροντήση, παύσεται τὰ προαπειλούμενα.
 γ. εἰ βροντήση, κακοδαιμονία μετὰ ἐνδείας τοῖς πράγμασιν.
 δ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνία ἀφθονωτάτη ἔσται.
 ε. εἰ βροντήση, εὐήλιον τὸ ἔαρ καὶ εὐκαρπὸν τὸ θέρος ἔσται.
 ς. εἰ βροντήση, ὅμοια τοῖς πρὸ ταύτης.
 ζ. εἰ βροντήση, ἄνεμος βαρὺς ἀναστήσεται, ὁ δὲ κρατῶν τὰ πράγματα κινήσει.
 η. εἰ βροντήση, βροχὰς σημαίνει.
 θ. εἰ βροντήση, φθορὰν μὲν ἀνθρώπων, γένεσιν δὲ θηρίων ἀπειλεῖ.
 ι. εἰ βροντήση, φθορὰ τοῖς τετραπόδοις.
 ια. εἰ βροντήση, κατομβρίαν καὶ ἀκρίδων γένεσιν δηλοῖ.
 ιβ. εἰ βροντήση, δυνατὸς τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἡ στρατηγός

κινδυνεύσει, διὸ μάχαι συρραγήσονται, καὶ τὰ θηρία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπέλθῃ.

ιγ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνία ἔσται, τὰ δὲ θηρία φθαρήσεται, καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες ἐπιδώσουσι· καὶ ἔρπετὰ τοῖς οἰκίμασιν ἐνοχλήσει, οὐ μὴν βλάψει.

ιδ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνίαν μὲν σημαίνει, θάνατον δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ γένεσιν θηρίων ἀπειλεῖ.

ιε. εἰ βροντήση, καύματα σημαίνει καὶ λειψυδρίαν καὶ μυῶν ὄχλον καὶ ἰχθύων πολύν.

ις. εἰ βροντήση, ὑγιεινὸν μὲν τὸ ἔτος, ἀλλ' ἐνδεὲς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

ιζ. εἰ βροντήση, πρᾶγμα παράδοξον τῷ δήμῳ συμβήσεται, συχνὴ δὲ φθορὰ ἀνθρώποις τε καὶ θηρίοις τετράποσιν.

ιη. εἰ βροντήση, κατομβρίαν καὶ νόσον καὶ ἀκρίδων γένεσιν καὶ ἐγγὺς ἀκαρπίαν δηλοῖ.

ιθ. εἰ βροντήση, αὐχμὸς ξηρότατος καὶ φθοροποιός.

κ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐπορώτερον οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἅμα καὶ ἀφθονώτερον ζήσονται.

κα. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνίαν μετὰ πολέμους καὶ φθορώδεις αὐχμούς δηλοῖ.

κβ. εἰ βροντήση, φθορὰν μὲν ὀρνέων, ἐπίδοσιν δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

κγ. εἰ βροντήση, στάσεις δηλοῖ.

κδ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνίαν σημαίνει.

κε. εἰ βροντήση, καινὰ πράγματα τῷ δήμῳ ἀνα φύεται.

κς. εἰ βροντήση, κτήσιν ἐπείσακτων ἀνδραπόδων δηλοῖ.

κζ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐπίσακτον εὐθηνίαν δηλοῖ.

κη. εἰ βροντήση, ἀφθονία ἰχθύων θαλαττίων ἔσται.

κθ. εἰ βροντήση, αἱ γυναῖκες τῆς κρείττονος δόξης ἀνθέξονται.

λ. εἰ βροντήση, δυνατὸς τις τῆς βασιλείας ἐγκρατὴς ἔσται, δι' οὗ εὐφροσύνη.

ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΣ

α. Εἰ βροντήση, ἐμφύλιον στάσιν καὶ ἀποπτώσεις οὐσιῶν ἀπειλεῖ.

β. εἰ βροντήση, δίκης σημεῖον, ἐσθλοῖς ἐσθλὰ φερούσης καὶ φαύλοις φαῦλα.

γ. εἰ βροντήση, κέρδη ἐξ ἐπείσακτου εὐθηνίας δηλοῖ.

δ. εἰ βροντήση, ὀργὴν τῶν κρειττόνων ἀπειλεῖ τοῖς ἀξίοις.

ε. εἰ βροντήση, αὐχμὸν μὲν τῷ ἥρι, ὑγιεινὸν δὲ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν σημαίνει.

ς. εἰ βροντήση, πόλεμοι ἐμφύλιοι ἀναστήσονται.

ζ. εἰ βροντήση, ἀγαθὰ πάντα καὶ ἄφθονον εὐετηρίαν δηλοῖ.

η. εἰ βροντήση, κατομβρίαν δηλοῖ ἐπίνοσον.

θ. εἰ βροντήση, νίκην τῆ βασιλείᾳ δηλοῖ καὶ τοῖς δυνατοῖς εὐφροσύνην.

ι. εἰ βροντήση, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν προκοπαὶ ἔσονται.

ια. εἰ βροντήση, τὰ αὐτὰ σημαίνει.

ιβ. εἰ βροντήση, βροχὰς καὶ εὐθηνίας καὶ φθορὰν ἰχθύων δηλοῖ.

ιγ. εἰ βροντήση, ἀνθρώποις καὶ κτήνεσι φθορὰν ἀπειλεῖ.

ιδ. εἰ βροντήση, ὑγίειαν καὶ εὐθηνίαν δηλοῖ.

ιε. εἰ βροντήση, λοιμὸν σημαίνει.

ις. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνίαν μὲν, μυῶν δὲ ἀρουραίων γένεσιν δηλοῖ.

ιζ. εἰ βροντήση, ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σημαίνει.

ιη. εἰ βροντήση, διχόνοιαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀστοχίαν σημαίνει.

ιθ. εἰ βροντήση, δυνατὸς ἀνὴρ τῆς πολιτείας οὐσίας ἅμα καὶ δόξης ἀφαιρεθήσεται.

κ. εἰ βροντήση, θεοχολωσίαν σημαίνει.

κα. εἰ βροντήση, τοῖς μὲν καρποῖς δεξιόν, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ πόλεμον σημαίνει.

κβ. εἰ βροντήση, φθορὰ τῶν μυῶν ἔσται.

κγ. εἰ βροντήση, βροχὴν ὠφέλιμον τοῖς σπορίμοις δηλοῖ.

κδ. εἰ βροντήση, διχόνοια ἔσται τῶν δυνατῶν, τὰ δὲ σκέμματα αὐτῶν ἀναφανήσεται.

κε. εἰ βροντήση, εἰρήνη ἀνὰ πάντα τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν.

κς. εἰ βροντήση, ἐλπίδα καρπῶν μεγάλῃν καὶ ἀμήτων σπάνιν δηλοῖ.

κζ. εἰ βροντήση, διοσημεῖα παράδοξος ὀφθήσεται.

κη. εἰ βροντήση, ὄπλοις ὁ δῆμος ἀναζώσεται.

κθ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐπικρατήσει ὁ ζέφυρος.

λ. εἰ βροντήση, πραγμάτων καλῶν ἐπομβρία.

ΜΑΙΟΣ

α. Εἰ βροντήση, φυγὴν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἀτιμίαν δηλοῖ.

β. εἰ βροντήση, λιμὸν ἀπειλεῖ.

γ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐπίσακτον εὐθηνίαν δηλοῖ.

δ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐκρατος ἀήρ, καὶ οἱ καρποὶ εὐθηνοὶ ἔσονται.

ε. εἰ βροντήση, ἐναλλαγὴ τῶν λυπηρῶν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἔσται, καὶ πλείων ὁ σῖτος ἢ περὶ ἢ κριθῆ· τὰ δὲ ὄσπρια φθαρήσεται.

ς. εἰ βροντήση, θᾶττον ἀκμάσαι τοὺς καρπούς καὶ φθαρῆναι δηλοῖ.

ζ. εἰ βροντήση, ὀρνέων καὶ ἰχθύων ἀφθονία ἔσται.

η. εἰ βροντήση, ἀπαίσιον τῷ δήμῳ.

θ. εἰ βροντήση, λοιμὸν σημαίνει, ἀλλὰ μετρίως ἐπκίνδυνον.

ι. εἰ βροντήση, ταραχὰς κατομβρίας καὶ ὑπερχύσεις

ποταμῶν ἐπιβλαβεῖς δηλοῖ, σαυρῶν τε καὶ ἐρπετῶν πλῆθος.

ια. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνίαν κατὰ τε τὴν γῆν κατὰ τε τὴν θάλασσαν ἐλπιστέον.

ιβ. εἰ βροντήση, φθορὰ ἰχθύων ἔσται.

ιγ. εἰ βροντήση, ἐπίδοσιν ποταμίων ὑδάτων δηλοῖ, νόσους δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

ιδ. εἰ βροντήση, ἀνατολικὸς ἔσται πόλεμος καὶ φθορὰ πολλή.

ιε. εἰ βροντήση, εὐθηνίαν δηλοῖ.

ισ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐχεσθαι δεῖ διὰ τὰ ἀπειλούμενα.

ιζ. εἰ βροντήση, ὑετὸν σημαίνει.

ιη. εἰ βροντήση, στάσιν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς πόλεμον καὶ ἔνδειαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

ιθ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐνοία τοῦ δήμου ἀνὴρ τις εἰς ἄκρον εὐδαιμονίας ἀρθήσεται.

κ. εἰ βροντήση, τοῖς μὲν περὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν εὐθηνία, τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ δύσιν οὐχ οὕτως.

κα. εἰ βροντήση, εὐχῶν δεῖ διὰ τὰ ἀπειλούμενα.

κβ. εἰ βροντήση, κατομβρίαν καὶ φθορὰν τῶν θαλασσίων ἰχθύων σημαίνει.

κγ. εἰ βροντήση, εὐομβρίαν καρποφόρον δηλοῖ.

κδ. εἰ βροντήση, μεγάλα κακά, ὡς ἐξ ἀθυμίας λειποθυμῆσαι τοὺς ὑπηκόους.

κε. εἰ βροντήση, ἀνάπαυλαν καὶ ὕφεσιν τῶν κακῶν ἐλπιστέον.

κς. εἰ βροντήση, καλὸν τοῖς περὶ γεωργίαν ἔχουσιν.

κζ. εἰ βροντήση, διοσημεία ἔσται καὶ κομήτης ἐξαφθήσεται.

κη. εἰ βροντήση, ὠσαύτως ἔσται.

κθ. εἰ βροντήση, πόλεμον ἀρκτῶον σημαίνει, ἀλλ' ἀκίνδυνον τοῖς πράγμασιν.

λ. εἰ βροντήση, τὰ φυτὰ τῷ ἀνέμῳ συντριβήσεται. Ταύτην τὴν ἐφήμερον βροντοσκοπίαν ὁ Νιγίδιος οὐ καθολικὴν ἀλλὰ μόνης εἶναι τῆς Ῥώμης ἔκρινεν.

BRONTOSCOPIC CALENDAR

Arrangement according to the lunar month

By the Roman Figulus

From the sayings of Tages

Account translated word for word

27. Supposing that publicly, in all augural teaching, the ancients assumed the moon to be a reference point (for under this heading they classified both thunder- and lightning-signs), one likewise may correctly select the phase of the moon as a factor for reckoning, so that, beginning with Cancer, we shall make observations of thunder day by day, be-

ginning with the first day of the lunar month, and following lunar months. From this [study] the Etruscans transmitted local observations with regard to the regions that are struck from the sky by thunder.

IN THE MONTH OF JUNE

Full Moon.¹ 1. If in any way it should thunder, there will be an abundance of fruits, with the exception of barley; but dangerous diseases will be inflicted upon bodies.

2. If in any way it should thunder, women in labor will have an easy delivery, but there will be abortion of cattle, yet there will be an abundance of fish.

3. If in any way it should thunder, there will be a scorching and drying wind, such that not only grains but even the soft fruits will be parched through and through and shrivel up.

4. If in any way it should thunder, the air will be cloudy and rainy, so that out of a moldy dampness the fruit crops will rot.

5. If in any way it should thunder, ill-omened for the countryside. Those responsible for villages or towns will be thrown into a state of disorder.

6. If in any way it should thunder, just as the crops are maturing, some sort of wild pest that has sunk deep into them will waste them.

7. If in any way it should thunder, diseases will infect [men], but not many shall die. And while the cereal crops shall be successful, the soft fruits shall dry up.

8. If in any way it should thunder, it indicates wet weather and ruin of the grain.

9. If in any way it should thunder, there will be a loss of flocks through being overrun by wolves.

10. If in any way it should thunder, there will be frequent death, yet prosperity.

11. If in any way it should thunder, there will be days of heat, burning but harmless; there will be glad festivities in state affairs.

12. If in any way it should thunder, the same thing as on the preceding day.

13. If in any way it should thunder, it announces the fall of a ruler.

14. If in any way it should thunder, the atmosphere shall be burning hot, but there will be abundant harvest and good flow, not the poorest, of the river fish. Bodies, nevertheless, shall be utterly weak.

15. If in any way it should thunder, the feathered creatures shall be injured during the summer, and also the fishes shall perish.

16. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens not only dearth of the necessities of life but also war, while a prosperous man shall disappear from public life.

17. If in any way it should thunder, there shall be days of burning heat and destruction by mice, blind mice, and locusts. Still, it brings abundance and at the same time murders to the people.

18. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens destruction to the crops.²

19. If in any way it should thunder, pests destructive to the crops shall perish.

20. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens discord for the community.

21. If in any way it should thunder, it means there will be a dearth of wine, but an increase in the other crops, and an abundance of fish.

22. If in any way it should thunder, the hot weather will be especially ruinous.

23. If in any way it should thunder, it announces good cheer, a putting aside of ills, and an end to disease.

24. If in any way it should thunder, it announces plenty.

25. If in any way it should thunder, there will be wars and countless ills.

26. If in any way it should thunder, the winter will be especially harmful to the crops.

27. If in any way it should thunder, there is danger from the army for the men in power.

28. If in any way it should thunder, there will be a good harvest for the crops.

29. If in any way it should thunder, the affairs of the ruling city³ will be improved.

30. If in any way it should thunder, in a short time there shall be frequent death.

JULY

28. 1. Upon the new moon, if in any way it should thunder, there shall be plenty, yet there shall be ruin⁴ of the flocks.

2. If in any way it should thunder, the late autumn will be good.

3. If in any way it should thunder, it signals a heavy winter.

4. If in any way it should thunder, the airs will be turbulent, so that of them will be born scarcity.

5. If in any way it should thunder, there will be an abundance of grain, yet it is the downfall of a virtuous ruler.

6. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens death-bearing diseases to the fortunes of slaves.

7. If in any way it should thunder, there will be rains harmful to the grain fields.

8. If in any way it should thunder, it signifies peace for the community, but ruin for the cattle herds, and a dry cough shall infect.

9. If in any way it should thunder, it foretells a vision of the gods and the advancement of many good men.

10. If in any way it should thunder, there will be lifesaving river waters.

11. If in any way it should thunder, it signals hot weather and stormy rain and a scarcity of grain.

12. If in any way it should thunder, there will be unexpected cold in the summer, because of which the necessities of life will be spoiled.

13. If in any way it should thunder, there will appear the most poisonous reptiles.

14. If in any way it should thunder, it shows one man will come to power over many. But this man is most unjust in state affairs.

15. If in any way it should thunder, there will be dissension among the common people and a scarcity of grain.

16. If in any way it should thunder, the king of the East . . . will be overcome [by?] war . . .⁵ and disease will be received from dry hot weather.

17. If in any way it should thunder, it signifies the succession of a great ruler.

18. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens a dearth of crops due to rainy weather.

19. If in any way it should thunder, it signifies war and the destruction of the powerful. On the other hand, there will be a plenty of cereals.

20. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens an unhealthy drought.

21. If in any way it should thunder, there will be disagreement among the subjects, but not for long.

22. If in any way it should thunder, it signals good things for the affairs of state, but for the bodies, diseases around the head.

23. If in any way it should thunder, the dissension of the common people will come to an end.

24. If in any way it should thunder, it shows the possible misfortune of a powerful man.

25. If in any way it should thunder, it will go badly for a band of youth and also for the crops along with them. It will be a disease-bearing time.

26. If in any way it should thunder, after great plenty there will be famine.

27. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens subcutaneous eruptions to [men's] bodies.

28. If in any way it should thunder, there will be a dearth of water and a plague of poisonous reptiles.

29. If in any way it should thunder, it signifies a good harvest.

30. If in any way it should thunder, men bent on vengeance shall slip into the worst kind of treachery.

AUGUST

29. 1. If in any way it should thunder, the affairs of the state will be slightly better, and there will be plenty.

2. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens both diseases and at the same time a dearth of the necessities of life.

3. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens both [public] trials and debates among the common people.

4. If in any way it should thunder, there will be a dearth of foodstuffs for both humans and dumb animals.

5. If in any way it should thunder, it signifies that the women are the more sagacious.

6. If in any way it should thunder, there will be an abundance of honey, yet a lack of both water and the other foodstuffs.

7. If in any way it should thunder, it signals harsh winds and diseases at the same time.

8. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens harmless disease to the four-footed.

9. If in any way it should thunder, it proclaims good health for men for a full year.

10. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens pains/suffering and wretchedness for the greater part of the people.

11. If in any way it should thunder, there will be a good harvest, yet the downfall of reptiles and harm to men.

12. If in any way it should thunder, there will be an abundance of cattle fodder and of acorns, but in the first ripening season, it will go badly.

13. If in any way it should thunder, there will be plague upon the bodies of both humans and dumb animals.

14. If in any way it should thunder, it signals war for all the people, yet an abundance of crops.

15. If in any way it should thunder, affairs will change for the worse.

16. If in any way it should thunder, it promises a deep peace.

17. If in any way it should thunder, the men of lowly degree shall be gloomy.

18. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens civil war.

19. If in any way it should thunder, the women and the servile class will dare to commit murders.

20. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens a plague on the cattle and disorder in the affairs of state.

21. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens at once prosperity and discord among the commons.

22. If in any way it should thunder, affairs will be moderately good for an entire year.

23. If in any way it should thunder, it signifies that the lightning bolt shall fall, and warns of slaughter.

24. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens the loss of well-born youths.

25. If in any way it should thunder, it foretells that during a stormy winter there will be a shortage of tree fruits.

26. If in any way it should thunder, it signals war.

27. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens at once wars and treachery.

28. If in any way it should thunder, it signals both an abundance of crops and a loss by death of cattle.

29. If in any way it should thunder, it signals no sort of reversal.

30. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens diseases in the city over which it [the thunder] is cast down.

SEPTEMBER

30. 1. If in any way it should thunder, it signifies both a good harvest and good cheer.

2. If in any way it should thunder, there will be discord among the common people.

3. If in any way it should thunder, it signifies heavy rains and war.

4. If in any way it should thunder, it signifies the downfall of a powerful man and preparation for war.

5. If in any way it should thunder, it signifies an abundance of barley but a decrease in wheat.

6. If in any way it should thunder, there shall be power among the women greater than [what is] appropriate to their nature.

7. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens a disease and out of it, a disaster for the servile class.

8. If in any way it should thunder, it indicates that those especially powerful will consider crooked dealings in government, but they will not achieve their aims.⁶

9. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens that a disease-bearing wind will blow.

10. If in any way it should thunder, there will be strife in the area in which the thunder is let loose; for another place [it is] not inapplicable.
11. If in any way it should thunder, the underlings of the well born will foment revolution in the state.
12. If in any way it should thunder, it says that the time of harvest shall be very rainy and there shall be famine.
13. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens grave famine.
14. If in any way it should thunder, it threatens diseases.
15. If in any way it should thunder, it signifies a wet spell, but at the same time, prosperity.
16. If in any way it should thunder, it is made known that there will be good sprouting, but [the plants will be] fruitless.
17. If it thunders, it threatens a lack of the necessities.
18. If it thunders, it signals both famine and wars.
19. If it thunders, the fruits of the trees will be successful, but there will be diseases and sedition among the commons.
20. If it thunders, it threatens the destruction of a famous man and war.
21. If it thunders, it threatens ills and losses for the people.
22. If it thunders, it signals prosperity yet a heavy and wet winter.
23. If it thunders, it foretells a time of need during the winter of the year.
24. If it thunders, it threatens a drought. There will be an abundant harvest of the nut trees; around late autumn though, they will be destroyed by storms.
25. If it thunders, out of civil unrest a tyrant shall be raised up, and he will be undone, but the powerful will be destroyed utterly with insufferable penalties.
26. If it thunders, a corrupt ruler will be felled by divine decision.
27. If it thunders, powerful men will work hatred toward themselves and shall take sides against each other.
28. If it thunders, there will be signs revealing great things. Beware lest it pour rain upon the fire of joyful elation.
29. If it thunders, it threatens a severe drought.
30. If it thunders, affairs of state [shall change] from worse to better.

OCTOBER

31. 1. If it thunders, it threatens a corrupt tyrant over the affairs of state.

2. If it thunders, there will be prosperity but the destruction of the mice of dry land.
3. If it thunders, it signifies hurricanes and disturbances by which the trees will be overturned; there will be a great disruption in the affairs of common people.
4. If it thunders, the lower classes will have the upper hand over their betters, and the mildness of the air will be healthy.
5. If it thunders, there will be a surplus of all the necessities except grain.
6. If it thunders, appearance of future abundance, yet harvest will be less plentiful and autumn practically empty of fruit.
7. If it thunders, pulses will be plentiful but wine less.
8. If it thunders, an earthquake with roaring sound is to be expected.
9. If it thunders, it threatens destruction to wild beasts.
10. If it thunders, it signifies the downfall of a praise-worthy man.
11. If it thunders, it signifies a strange sort of wind will be of service to the pastures.
12. If it thunders, there will be prosperity, but wind squalls will oppress.
13. If it thunders, covenants/commerce will be good, and prosperity in addition. He who controls the government with heavy hand will not be strong for very long.
14. If it thunders, it threatens war and the loss of flocks to death.
15. If it thunders, there will be scarcity from a dry and searing wind falling upon the crops.
16. If it thunders, men will be weakened in such a manner that they will seem to be unrecognizable.
17. If it thunders, good fortune for a rich man and for men [who are] well born.
18. If it thunders, it signifies a plentiful grain supply brought in from foreign lands.
19. If it thunders, it warns of the downfall of a ruler or the overthrow of a king, but it warns of both discord among the common people and abundance.
20. If it thunders, it warns there will be a festering wound, and for the many, extreme suffering out of the discord.
21. If it thunders, there will be coughing sicknesses and oppression of the heart.
22. If it thunders, it threatens bad conditions and spotted diseases for the people.
23. If it thunders, the people will be of marvelously good cheer.

24. If it thunders, out of the discord of those in power, the common people will oppress [others].

25. If it thunders, there will be heavy misery resulting from misfortunes.

26. If it thunders, there will be an increase of animals, but at the same time they will suffer thirst.

27. If it thunders, it signifies heavy rains.

28. If it thunders, there will be a dearth of the necessities.

29. If it thunders, a year of serious disease.

30. If it thunders, it signifies not merely prosperity, but even fewer enemies, and good cheer for the state.

NOVEMBER

32. 1. If it thunders, it signifies discord for the city.

2. If it thunders, it foretells prosperity.

3. If it thunders, situations will pertain through which the lower classes will oppress [their] betters.

4. If it thunders, grain will be better.

5. If it thunders, it signifies storm for the state, and disease for humans and dumb animals alike.

6. If it thunders, borers will ruin the grain.

7. If it thunders, for those who are in the West, both humans and dumb beasts, diseases.

8. If it thunders, it says gluttony shall come about from menacing diseases.

9. If it thunders, the common people will be led into misery, but [there will be] an abundance of daily provisions.

10. If it thunders, for those in power, it makes an end to their perverted plans. A parching wind will wrack the trees.

11. If it thunders, men shall give blessings to the god, for the wind shall blow out of the East.

12. If it thunders, it indicates insomnia for some time for men.

13. If it thunders, a wealthy yet sickly period threatens, tormenting bodies with internal worms.

14. If it thunders, poisonous snakes shall somehow be gently undone by the men.

15. If it thunders, the fish will be especially plentiful, but it shall plague the water-bound beasts. The commonwealth rather better.

16. If it thunders, the creation of locusts and field voles, to the king, danger, and there will be an abundance of grain.

17. If it thunders, it signifies plentiful fodder for the flocks.

18. If it thunders, it signifies war and woes for city folk.

19. If it thunders, welfare of women.

20. If it thunders, it signifies famine not of long duration.

21. If it thunders, the mice shall perish; an abundance not merely of grain but also of pasturage, and a plenty of fishes.

22. If it thunders, it signifies a year of well-being.

23. If it thunders, disease-bearing wind will blow.

24. If it thunders, the watch-post shall complete for the state good service against enemy tricks.

25. If it thunders, there will be a very dangerous war.

26. If it thunders, it signifies a civil war and the death of many.

27. If it thunders, it threatens the same.

28. If it thunders, many of the councilmen of the wealthier rank shall be ruined utterly by cowardice.

29. If it thunders, the lower classes will do better, but the hoped-for fruit harvest shall be destroyed.

30. If it thunders, the mortals shall live in a condition more favored by the gods. Naturally, evils [will come] in due proportion.

DECEMBER

33. 1. If it thunders, it signifies a year of well-being corresponding to concord.

2. If it thunders, a plenty of fish and especially of fruits.

3. If it thunders, men will excessively consume their flocks because of a dearth of fish.

4. If it thunders, winter will be heavy, yet [there will be] abundance as well.

5. If it thunders, it threatens many diseases.

6. If it thunders, the men shall be visited with visions of the faces of the gods, they shall experience a bad outcome.

7. If it thunders, it signifies the same for all.

8. If it thunders, virulent disease; out of it, though, will be an abundance of crops, but a plague on the flocks.

9. If it thunders, there will be the downfall of a famous man.

10. If it thunders, it threatens slaughter for men from diseases, but the fish shall be abundant.

11. If it thunders, heat-bearing shall be the summer season, and plenty imported from foreign lands.

12. If it thunders, it threatens diseases from diarrhea.

13. If it thunders, plenty, yet diseases it threatens.

14. If it thunders, it signifies at the same time civil war and abundance.

15. If it thunders, many will set out for war, but few shall return.
16. If it thunders, newfangled affairs for the state.
17. If it thunders, it threatens that small locusts shall be born, yet there will still be plenty.
18. If it thunders, there shall be a heavy war.
19. If it thunders, it threatens prolongation of war.
20. If it thunders, it tells a lack of the necessities.
21. If it thunders, it threatens a hot and disease-making wind will blow.
22. If it thunders, the summer will be hot but plentiful in crops.
23. If it thunders, it signifies a disease for men but a harmless one.
24. If it thunders, it threatens civil wars for the city and a plague on the beasts of the woods.
25. If it thunders, a movement of troops to war, but it will turn out well.
26. If it thunders, it threatens diseases for the slaves.
27. If it thunders, the king will help many.
28. If it thunders, the hatching of locusts.
29. If it thunders, it signifies the most healthful leanness for the bodies.
30. If it thunders, it signifies a rebellion against the kingdom and, reasonably, war.

JANUARY

34. 1. If it thunders, a fast wind will blow, but not dangerous.
2. If it thunders, there will be unlooked-for war.
3. If it thunders, it shows after victory, loss for those in the war. Still, there will be plenty.
4. If it thunders, the common people will agree to make peace.
5. If it thunders, it signals health for the flocks.
6. If it thunders, it threatens a coughing sickness but signifies an abundance of fish and of fruits.
7. If it thunders, there will be a slave revolt and recurring illness.
8. If it thunders, the ruler of the state shall be in danger from the people.
9. If it thunders, the king of the East shall be in danger.
10. If it thunders, it signifies rapid movement of wind, and a plenty of grain, but a dearth of other crops.
11. If it thunders, it signals famine [reaching] just up to dumb animals.
12. If it thunders, men shall be damaged in their faces,

but there will be much fodder [for horses/cattle], and a plenty of fish.

13. If it thunders, it threatens diseases.
14. If it thunders, it threatens need, and the creation/appearance of mice, and the slaughter of four-footed creatures.
15. If it thunders, servile revolt, and punishment for them, and abundance of crops.
16. If it thunders, the people shall be oppressed by the king.
17. If it thunders, it threatens nondangerous diseases.
18. If it thunders, affairs circulating abroad shall make the people rise up.
19. If it thunders, when the king will have victory, then the common people will have the upper hand/stronger position.
20. If it thunders, there will be abundance of imported goods, but a coughing disease will afflict bodies.
21. If it thunders, the king hated by many shall be the object of a final plot.
22. If it thunders, there will be plenty, but also there will be an abundance of mice and of deer.
23. If it thunders, it signifies good order for the city.
24. If it thunders, it signifies disease following want.
25. If it thunders, there will be unrest among the slaves.
26. If it thunders, many shall be cut down by a man in power, but in the end he himself [will be killed].
27. If it thunders, it signifies nonthreatening diseases.
28. If it thunders, the fish of the sea shall be plentiful, but yet the flocks will be ruined by death.
29. If it thunders, the condition of the air oppressive, and disease-bearing for all.
30. If it thunders, it threatens plentiful death.

FEBRUARY

35. 1. If it thunders, it threatens war and the ruin of wealthy men.
2. If it thunders, wheat in less supply, but barley better, and an increase in livestock, but there will be a wasting away of humans.
3. If it thunders, there will be civil unrest.
4. If it thunders, men shall be troubled not only in visage but also in their very minds.
5. If it thunders, there will be a large harvest, a destruction for men.
6. If it thunders, destruction of grain supplies and especially barley.

7. If it thunders, it threatens destruction though not for long to humans.

8. If it thunders, the greatest affair will inflame the state, and also fish will increase and yet dangerous wild beasts shall perish.

9. If it thunders, worse the barley.

10. If it thunders, the wild beasts shall undo the humans.

11. If it thunders, good deliveries [in childbirth] for women.

12. If it thunders, it threatens frequent death and unseasonable winds.

13. If it thunders, there will be plenty, yet at the same time, political unrest.

14. If it thunders, it threatens loss of progeny and an onslaught of poisonous reptiles.

15. If it thunders, the air shall carry plague, creation of both wild beasts and mice.

16. If it thunders, to the people, [it will be] auspicious, but of the powerful ones, bad [will come] out of discord.

17. If it thunders, summer will be most fruitful.

18. If it thunders, it threatens a heavy wind and eruption of pustules on bodies.

19. If it thunders, there will be a throng of reptiles and, in addition, of worms.

20. If it thunders, it signifies fine breezes.

21. If it thunders, it signifies abundance.

22. If it thunders, the air will be disease-carrying but not lethal.

23. If it thunders, it threatens deformity for men but destruction for birds.

24. If it thunders, it threatens good health for men but destruction for both fish and reptiles.

25. If it thunders, to those living luxuriously, a reversal. There will be wars and a heavy storm.

26. If it thunders, it threatens hot weather, and a lack of water, and scabs on bodies.

27. If it thunders, it signifies unrest among the commons.

28. If it thunders, it prophesies abundance, yet at the same time, a disease-giving wind will blow.

29. If it thunders, it signifies war and abundance.

30. If it thunders, it signifies good things with long duration after great divisions of the people.

MARCH

36. 1. If it thunders, for the entire year there will be strife and disagreements.

2. If it thunders, it shall end the threatening affairs.

3. If it thunders, for the state, discord following famine.

4. If it thunders, there will be boundless prosperity.

5. If it thunders, the spring will be sunny and the summer fruitful.

6. If it thunders, the same and even better.

7. If it thunders, a heavy wind will arise, which shall move the affairs of powerful men.

8. If it thunders, it signals rains.

9. If it thunders, it threatens ruin of man and creation of wild beasts.

10. If it thunders, destruction to the four-footed.

11. If it thunders, it signifies heavy rain and the creation of locusts.

12. If it thunders, a powerful man in politics or a general is endangered; on his behalf, battles will be waged, and the wild beasts shall fall upon man.

13. If it thunders, there will be plenty, but the wild beasts shall be destroyed, and the fish shall increase; and reptiles will trouble habitations but will not be harmful.

14. If it thunders, it signals prosperity but threatens a death of men and birth of wild beasts.

15. If it thunders, it signals hot spells and drought and a great throng of mice and fish.

16. If it thunders, healthful [will be] the year, yet lacking in necessities.

17. If it thunders, something unexpected will befall the people; ruin upon ruin for men and four-footed beasts.

18. If it thunders, it signifies a period of severe rain, and disease, and the birth of locusts, barrenness [of crops] near at hand.

19. If it thunders, a very dry summer and destructive.

20. If it thunders, man will live with better behavior at the same time as more prosperously.

21. If it thunders, it signifies prosperity after wars and hot spells causing destruction.

22. If it thunders, destruction of birds, but a plenty of daily supplies.

23. If it thunders, it signifies discord.

24. If it thunders, it signifies prosperity.

25. If it thunders, new affairs are given birth among the people.

26. If it thunders, it announces [the] acquisition of imported slaves.⁷

27. If it thunders, it signifies abundance imported from abroad.

28. If it thunders, there will be a plenty of marine fish.

29. If it thunders, the women shall obtain the better reputation.

30. If it thunders, there will be some powerful, self-possessed man of the kingdom, through whom [will come] good cheer.

APRIL

37. 1. If it thunders, it threatens civil discord and the downfalls of fortunes.

2. If it thunders, sign of justice, bearing prosperity to good men, and paltry things to evil men.

3. If it thunders, it signifies profit out of a grain supply brought from abroad.

4. If it thunders, anger it threatens of those more powerful against the upright.

5. If it thunders, it signals a hot summer early [in the season] but a healthful year.

6. If it thunders, civil wars will arise.

7. If it thunders, it signifies all good things and a prosperous season.

8. If it thunders, it signifies heavy rains bearing disease.

9. If it thunders, it signifies victory for the kingdom and good cheer for the powerful ones.

10. If it thunders, of upright men there will be advances.

11. If it thunders, it signals the same things.

12. If it thunders, rains and prosperity and ruin of fish it signifies.

13. If it thunders, for men and for cattle destruction it threatens.

14. If it thunders, good health and prosperity it signifies.

15. If it thunders, it signals a plague.

16. If it thunders, it signifies abundance but at the same time the birth of field voles.

17. If it thunders, it signals a plenty of daily supplies.

18. If it thunders, it signals discord and thoughtlessness of men.

19. If it thunders, a powerful man in the state shall be deprived at once of both reputation and property.

20. If it thunders, it signals divine anger.

21. If it thunders, it signifies good fortune for the crops, yet war for the state.

22. If it thunders, it will be the destruction of the flies.

23. If it thunders, it signifies a rain helpful for the sprouting time.

24. If it thunders, there will be discord among those in power, but their plans will be exposed.

25. If it thunders, peace during the entire year.

26. If it thunders, it signifies great hope of fruits and scarcity of harvests.

27. If it thunders, omens from the sky incredibly shall be revealed.

28. If it thunders, by shields the people shall be saved.

29. If it thunders, zephyrus will prevail.

30. If it thunders, a shower of good things.

MAY

38. 1. If it thunders, it signifies flight for the common people and loss of honor.

2. If it thunders, it threatens need.

3. If it thunders, it signifies abundance imported from abroad.

4. If it thunders, the air will be mild, and the crops will be plentiful.

5. If it thunders, there will be an interchange of hardships in political affairs, and wheat more plentiful than barley. The pulses, however, will be ruined.

6. If it thunders, it signifies that crops will ripen in haste and will be ruined.

7. If it thunders, there will be abundance of birds and fish.

8. If it thunders, ill-omened for the common people.

9. If it thunders, it signals plague, but not exceptionally life-threatening.

10. If it thunders, it announces storms, heavy rain, heavy floods of the rivers, a throng of lizards and of reptiles.

11. If it thunders, abundance to be hoped for both on land and sea.

12. If it thunders, there will be destruction of fish.

13. If it thunders, it signals an increase in river waters, but diseases for men.

14. If it thunders, there will be eastern war and great want.

15. If it thunders, it signifies abundance.

16. If it thunders, atonement must be made on account of terrible news.

17. If it thunders, it signifies rainy weather.

18. If it thunders, discord and out of it war and a lack of daily supplies.

19. If it thunders, through goodwill of the city, some man shall be exalted to the height of good fortune.

20. If it thunders, for those in the East, prosperity, but for those in the West, not the same.

21. If it thunders, atonement must be made on account of terrible news.

22. If it thunders, it signals heavy rains and destruction of marine fish.
23. If it thunders, it signifies a good and fruitful rain.
24. If it thunders, great evils such that those hearkening [to them] shall pass away from grief.
25. If it thunders, a hoped-for resting place and slackening of evils.
26. If it thunders, good for those working upon the tilled land.
27. If it thunders, there shall be prodigies, and a comet shall shine forth.
28. If it thunders, it shall be the same.
29. If it thunders, it signals northern war, but not dangerous for commerce.
30. If it thunders, the sprouting crops will be chilled by the winds.

“This brontosopic almanac Nigidius claimed was not universal, but was only for Rome.”⁸

NOTES

1. Byzantine: Monday (cf. Dio Cassius 37.18); meaning, “start with the first full moon in Cancer.”
2. “Crops” translates καρπῶν—“of fruits” or “soft fruits,” but may have been applied generically throughout, except where distinction is made between these and ξύλινα καρπά—“hard tree fruits,” i.e., nuts.
3. “Queenly” = royal city, said only of Rome or Constantinople.
4. “Ruin” or “a falling” (πτῶσις) of the flocks: the connotation of falling-down, or -away, might have described a particular disease condition.
5. Damaged manuscript.
6. Text not clear here.
7. The connotation is of foreign prisoners of war sold as slaves.
8. The quotation marks at the end of the calendar indicate that Lydus is speaking here.

SELECTED LATIN AND GREEK LITERARY SOURCES ON ETRUSCAN RELIGION

Edited by Nancy Thomson de Grummond

Most of the Latin and Greek sources presented here have been taken from the editions of the texts used in the electronic bases of classical texts in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* and the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. The few exceptions are duly noted, almost all taken from C. O. Thulin, *Die Etruskische Disciplin*, Parts 1–3, Darmstadt, 1968, repr. of texts of 1905, 1906, and 1909.¹ The renditions into English are credited to their respective translators; if a credit is not given for a translation, it was made by the editor of this appendix.

I am grateful to Francis Cairns for assistance with the usage of *TLL* and *TLG*. Alexis Christensen contributed greatly in the selection of texts and translations.

The following outline indicates the way in which the texts are arranged:

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I. GENERAL

1.1. Livy 5.1.6.

... gens itaque ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus quod excelleret arte colendi eas.

... a people more than any others dedicated to religion, the more as they excelled in practicing it.

I.2. Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 7.26

... genetrix et mater superstitionis Etruria

... Etruria, the begetter and mother of superstition.

II. PROPHETS, PRIESTS, PROPHECIES, AND OMENS

II.1. Prophecy of Vegoia

Idem Vegoiae Arrunti Veltymno. Scias mare ex aethera remotum. Cum autem Juppiter terram Aetruriae sibi vindicavit, constituit iussitque metiri campos signarique agros. Sciens hominum avaritiam vel terrenum cupidinem, terminis omnia scita esse voluit. Quos quandoque quis ob avaritiam prope novissimi octavi saeculi data sibi homines malo dolo violabunt contingentque atque movebunt. Sed qui contigerit moveritque, possessionem promovendo suam, alterius minuendo, ob hoc scelus damnabitur a diis. Si servi faciant, dominio mutabuntur in deterius. Sed si conscientia dominica fiet, caelerius dominus extirpabitur, gensque eius omnis interiet. Motores autem pessimis morbis et vulneribus efficientur membrisque suis debililabuntur. Tum etiam terra a tempestatibus vel turbinibus plerumque labe movebitur, fructus saepe ledentur decutienturque imbribus atque grandine, caniculis interient, robigine occidentur. Multae dissensiones in populo. Fieri haec scitote, cum talia scelera

committuntur. Propterea neque fallax neque bilinguis sis. Disciplinam pone in corde tuo.

(Source of text: *Die Schriften der Römischen Feldmesser*, ed. K. Lachmann Vol. 1, Berlin 1848, 350–351.)

(Prophecy) of Vegoia, to Arruns Veltymnus: “Know that the sea was separated from the sky. But when Jupiter claimed the land of Aetruia for himself, he established and ordered that the fields be measured and the croplands delimited. Knowing the greed of men and their lust for land, he wanted everything proper concerning boundaries. And at some time, around the end of the eighth *saeculum*, someone will violate them on account of greed by means of evil trickery and will touch them and move them [. . .]. But whoever shall have touched and moved them, increasing his own property and diminishing that of another, on account of this crime he will be damned by the gods. If slaves should do it, there will be a change for the worse in status. But if the deed is done with the master’s consent, very quickly the master will be uprooted and all of his family will perish. The ones who move [the boundaries] will be afflicted by the worst diseases and wounds, and they will feel a weakness in their limbs. Then also the earth will be moved by storms and whirl winds with frequent destruction, crops often will be injured and will be knocked down by rain and hail, they will perish in the summer heat, they will be felled by mildew. There will be much dissension among people. Know that these things will be done when such crimes are committed. Wherefore be not false or double-tongued. Keep this teaching in your heart.”

II.2. Festus, *De significatu verborum* 359.14

Tages nomine, Genii filius, nepos Jovis, puer dicitur disciplinam haruspicii dedisse duodecim populis Etruria (Thulin 1, 3).

A boy named Tages, the son of Genius, grandson of Jupiter, is said to have given the discipline of divination to the Twelve Peoples of Etruria.

II.3. Cicero, *De divinatione* 2.50–51.23.

Tages quidam dicitur in agro Tarquiniensi, cum terra araretur et sulcus altius esset impressus, exitisse repente et eum adfatus esse, qui arabat. Is autem Tages, ut in libris est Etruscorum, puerili specie dicitur visus, sed senili fuisse prudentia. Eius adspectu cum obstipuisset bubulcus clamoremque maiorem cum admiratione edidisset, concursum esse factum, totamque brevi tempore in eum

locum Etruriam convenisse; tum illum plura locutum multis audientibus, qui omnia verba eius exceperint litterisque mandarint; omnem autem orationem fuisse eam, qua haruspicinae disciplina contineretur; eam postea crevisse rebus novis cognoscendis et ad eadem illa principia referendis. Haec accepimus ab ipsis, haec scripta conservant, hunc fontem habent disciplinae.

It is said that, once upon a time, in the countryside of Tarquini, while the earth was being plowed, a rather deep furrow was dug and suddenly Tages sprang forth and spoke to the man plowing. Now this Tages, according to the books of the Etruscans, is said to have had the appearance of a child, but the wisdom of an elder. When the rustic had gaped at his appearance and had raised a great cry in astonishment, a crowd gathered and in a short time, all Etruria assembled at that place. Then he said many things to his numerous listeners, who received all of his words and entrusted them to writing. His whole address was about what is comprised by the discipline of soothsaying. Later, as new things were learned and made to refer to those same principles, the discipline grew. We received these things from (the Etruscans) themselves, they preserve these writings, they hold them (as) the source for the discipline.

II.4. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.553–559.

Haut aliter stupuit, quam cum Tyrrhenus arator
fatalem glaebam mediis adspexit in arvis
sponte sua primum nulloque agitante moveri,
sumere mox hominis terraeque amittere formam
oraeque venturis aperire recentia fati:
indigenae dixerunt Tages, qui primus Etruscam
edocuit gentem casus aperire futuros.

He [Virbius] was no less astonished than the Tyrrhenian plowman when he observed in the middle of his fields a clod, a thing of fate, moving first of its own accord and with no one stirring it, and then assuming the shape of a man and losing the form of earth. It opened its new-made mouth (to tell) of things fated in the future. The natives called him Tages, the one who first taught the Etruscan people how to open up the events of the future.

II.5. Johannes Lydus, *De ostentis* 2.6.B

Τάρχων, ταύτη τὴν προσηγορίαν, ἀνὴρ γ[έγονε μὲν]
θυοσκόπος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γραφῆς εἰσηνήνεται,
εἷς [τῶν ὑπὸ] Τυρρηνοῦ τοῦ Λυδοῦ διδαχθέντων. καὶ
γὰρ δὴ τοῖς Θεοσκό[ων γράμμα]σι ταῦτα δηλοῦται,

οὕτω τηρικαῦτα τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις Εὐάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος ἐπιφανέντος. ἦν δὲ ἀλλοῖός τις ὁ τῶν γραμμάτων τύπος, καὶ οὐδὲ ὄλως καθημαξυμένος ἡμῖν· ἢ γὰρ ἂν τῶν ἀπορρήτων τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτέρων οὐδὲν ἔμεινεν ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος λανθάνον. φησὶ τοίνυν ὁ Τάρχων ἐπὶ τοῦ συγγράμματος, ὅπερ εἰωαί τινες Τάγητος ὑποπτεύουσιν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκεῖ κατὰ τινα διαλογικὴν ὁμιλίαν ἐρωτᾷ μὲν δῆθεν ὁ Τάρχων, ἀποκρίνεται δὲ ὁ Τάγης ὡς προσκαρτερῶν ἐκάστοτε τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὡς [τυχὸν] συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τινα χρόνον ἀροτριῶντι θαυμάσιόν τι, οἷον οὐδὲ ἀκήκοέ τις ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ γενόμενον· ἀνεδόθη γὰρ <ἐκ> τοῦ αὐλακος παιδίον, ἄρτι μὲν τεχθῆναι δοκοῦν, ὀδόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γνωρισμάτων ἀπροσδεές· ἦν δὲ ἄρα τὸ παιδίον ὁ Τάγης, ὃν δὴ καὶ χθόνιον Ἐ[ρμῆν] εἶναι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἔδοξεν, ὡς πού καὶ Πρόκλος φησὶν ὁ διάδοχος. τοῦτο δὲ ἀλληγορικῶς παρὰ τὸν ἱερατικὸν παρακεκάλυπται νόμον, ἐπεὶ οὐ προφανῶς ὁ περὶ θειοτέρων πραγμάτων λόγος διὰ τοὺς ἀνιέρους, ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν μυθικῶς νῦν δὲ παραβολικῶς παραδέδοται· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰπεῖν ψυχὴν τελειοτάτην καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἐνεργειῶν ἀπροσδεῆ ἐπὶ τὴν ὕλην ἐλθεῖν, βρέφος ἀρτιγενές ἐκ τοῦ αὐλακος ἀναδοθῆναί φησι. Τάρχων δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος (γέγονε γὰρ δὴ καὶ νεώτερος, ἐπὶ τῶν Αἰνείου στρατευσάμενος χρόνων) τὸ παιδίον ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐναποθέμενος τόποις ἤξιου τι παρ' [αὐτοῦ] τῶν ἀπορρήτων μαθεῖν. τοῦ δὲ αἰτουμένου τυχῶν βι[βλίον] ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων συνέγραψεν, ἐν ᾧ πυνθάνεται μὲν ὁ Τάρχων τῇ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ταύτῃ τῇ συνήθει φωνῇ, ἀποκρίνεται δὲ ὁ Τάγης γράμμασιν ἀρχαίοις τε καὶ οὐ σφόδρα γνωρίμοις ἡμῖν γε ἐμμένων τῶν ἀποκρίσεων. πλὴν ἀλλ' ὅσον μοι γέγονε δυνατόν, ἔκ τε τῶν Θούσκων ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι τούτους ἠρμήνευσαν, Καπίτωνός τε φημι καὶ Φοντηίου, καὶ Ἀπουληίου Βικελίου τε καὶ Λαβεῶνος καὶ Φιγούλου, Πλινίου τε τοῦ φυσικοῦ, πειράσομαι ταῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς διελθεῖν.

Tarchon . . . was an haruspex, as he notes in his writing, one of those instructed by the Lydian Tyrrenus. In fact, that is clear from the writing of the Tuscans, since Evander the Arcadian had not yet appeared in those places. It was thus a very different form of writing, not at all common among us; if it were not [different], certain mysterious and most necessary things would not remain hidden in any way. Thus Tarchon says in his writing, which some suppose is by Tages (because there, as in a type of dialogue Tarchon asks questions and Tages answers, like those who always attend to sacrifices), that one time, while he was working

the land, there happened to him a marvelous thing, which no one ever at any time had perceived as happening: from the furrow was brought forth a child who seemed to be a newborn but not lacking teeth and other signs of mature age. This child, then, was Tages, the one who according to the Greeks is Chthonic Hermes, as is told in one place by Proclus Diadochus. This is veiled in an allegorical mode according to the priestly customs, because the discourse on divine things was not transmitted openly by profane means but in the form now of myths, now of parables. Thus, instead of saying that the most perfect soul, not lacking in any faculties, came to be matter, it says that the newborn baby was brought forth from the furrow. Thus Tarchon the Elder (for there was a Younger, who carried on war at the time of Aeneas) took up the child and placed it in sacred places, thinking to learn from it something about hidden matters. Having obtained what he had asked for, he composed a book about the things said, in which Tarchon inquires in the common language of the Italians, then Tages answers, keeping to the ancient letters, not very understandable for us. I am preserving as much as possible from the Tuscans and from others who translated them, such as Capito and Fonteius, Apuleius Vicellius, Labeo, Figulus, and Pliny the natural philosopher; I shall attempt to report these things to you.

II.6. Ovid, *Fasti* 4.812–818.

. . . ambigitur moenia ponat uter.
nil opus est, dixit, certamine, Romulus, ullo;
magna fides avium est: experiamur aves.
res placet: alter init nemorosi saxa Palati;
alter Aventinum mane cacumen init.
sex Remus, hic volucres bis sex videt ordine; pacto
statur, et arbitrium Romulus urbis habet.

There was some doubt as to which one should found the walls; Romulus said, “There is no need for any contest. We have great faith in birds. Let us try the birds.” The proposal was approved. One went to the rocks of the Palatine covered with groves; the other approached the peak of the Aventine at dawn. Remus saw six birds, and (Romulus) saw twice six, in order. They stood by their pact, and Romulus kept the direction of the city.

II.7. Livy 2.7.1–3.

Ita cum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinius atque Etruscis incessit ut omnia inrita re nocte ambo exercitus, Veiens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos.

Adiciunt miracula huic pugnae: silentio proximae noctis ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam creditam; haec dicta: uno plus Tuscorum cecidisse in acie; vincere bello Romanum. Ita certe inde abiere, Romani ut victores, Etrusci pro uictis; nam postquam inluxit nec quisquam hostium in conspectu erat, P. Valerius consul spolia legit triumphansque inde Romam rediit.

And so when they had fought, so great a terror overcame Tarquin and the Etruscans that they gave up, though the battle was undecided, and by night both armies, Veientine and Tarquinian, went off each to their own homes. They report a prodigy for this battle; in the silence of the following night, from the Arsian forest came forth a mighty voice, believed to be the voice of Silvanus. This is what it said: "One more Tuscan fell in the battle line; the Roman wins the war." And so then indeed went away the Romans as victors, the Etruscans as conquered. For after the light appeared, the consul P. Valerius gathered the spoils and in triumph returned to Rome.

II.8. Livy 1.34.3–10.

Lucumoni contra, omnium heredi bonorum, cum divitiae iam animos facerent, auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, summo loco nata et quae haud facile iis in quibus nata erat humiliora sineret ea quo innupsisset. Spertentibus Etruscis Lucumonem exsule advena ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit, oblitaque ingenitae erga patriam caritatis dummodo virum honoratum videret, consilium migrandi ab Tarquinii cepit. Roma est ad id potissima visa: in novo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro; regnasse Tatium Sabinum, arcessitum in regnum Numam a Curibus, et Ancum Sabina matre ortum nobilemque una imagine Numae esse. Facile persuadet ut cupido honorum et cui Tarquinii materna tantum patria esset. Sublatis itaque rebus amigrant Romam. Ad ianiculum forte ventum erat; ibi ei carpento sedenti cum uxore aquila suspensis demissa leviter alis pilleum aufert, superque carpentum cum magno clangore volitans rursus velut ministerio diuinitus missa capiti apte reponit; inde sublimis abiit. Accepisse id augurium laeta dicitur Tanaquil, perita ut volgo Etrusci caelestium prodigiorum mulier. Excelsa et alta sperare complexa virum iubet: eam alitem ea regione caeli et eius dei nuntiam venisse; circa summum culmen hominis auspiciam fecisse; leuasse humano superpositum capiti decus ut divinitus eidem redderet. Has spes cogitationesque secum portantes urbem ingressi sunt.

The self-confidence implanted in the bosom of Lucumo by his wealth was heightened by his marriage with Tanaquil, who was a woman of the most exalted birth, and not of a character lightly to endure a humbler rank in her new environment than she had enjoyed in the condition to which she had been born. The Etruscans looked with disdain on Lucumo, the son of a banished man and a stranger. She could not endure this indignity, and forgetting the love she owed her native land, if she could only see her husband honoured, she formed the project of emigrating from Tarquinii. Rome appeared to be the most suitable place for her purpose; amongst a new people, where all rank was of sudden growth and founded on worth, there would be room for a brave and strenuous man; the City had been ruled by Tatius the Sabine, it had summoned Numa to the sovereignty from Cures, even Ancus was the son of a Sabine mother, and could point to no noble ancestor but Numa. She had no trouble in persuading a man who was eager for distinction, to whom Tarquinii was only his mother's birthplace. They therefore gathered their possessions together and removed to Rome. They had come, as it happened, as far as Janiculum, when, as they were sitting in their covered wagon, an eagle poised on its wings gently descended upon them and plucked off Lucumo's cap, after which, rising noisily above the car and again stooping, as if sent from heaven for that service, it deftly replaced the cap upon his head, and departed on high. This augury was joyfully accepted, it is said, by Tanaquil, who was a woman skilled in celestial prodigies, as was the case with most Etruscans. Embracing her husband, she bade him expect transcendent greatness: such was the meaning of that bird, appearing from that quarter of the sky, and bringing tidings from that god; the highest part of the man had been concerned in the omen; the eagle had removed the adornment placed upon a mortal's head that it might restore it with the divine approbation. Such were their hopes and their reflections as they entered the City.

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II.9. Livy 1.39.1–4.

Eo tempore in regia prodigium visu eventusque mirabile fuit. puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen, caput

arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu; plurimo igitur clamore inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto excitos reges, et cum quidam familiarium aquam ad restinguendum ferret, ab regina retentum, sedatoque eam tumultu moveri uetuisse puerum donec sua sponte experrectus esset; mox cum somno et flammam abisse. Tum abducto in secretum viro Tanaquil viden tu puerum hunc, inquit, quem tam humili cultu educamus? Scire licet hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum praesidiumque regiae adflictae; proinde materiam ingentis publice privatimque decoris omni indulgentia nostra nutriamus. Inde puerum liberum loco coeptum haberi erudirique artibus quibus ingenia ad magnae fortunae cultum excitantur. Evenit facile quod dis cordi esset : juvenis evasit vere indolis regiae nec, cum quaereretur gener Tarquinio, quisquam Romanae juventutis ulla arte conferri potuit, filiamque ei suam rex despondit.

At this time there happened in the house of the king a portent which was remarkable alike in its manifestation and in its outcome. The story is that while a child named Servius Tullius lay sleeping, his head burst into flames in the sight of many. The general outcry which so great a miracle called forth brought the king and queen to the place. One of the servants fetched water to quench the fire, but was checked by the queen, who stilled the uproar and commanded that the boy should not be disturbed until he awoke of himself. Soon afterwards sleep left him, and with it disappeared the flames. Then taking her husband aside, Tanaquil said: "Do you see this child whom we are bringing up in so humble a fashion? Be assured he will one day be a lamp to our dubious fortunes, and a protector of the royal house in the day of its distress. Let us therefore rear with all solicitude one who will lend high renown to the state and to our family." It is said that from that moment the boy began to be looked upon as a son, and to be trained in the studies by which men are inspired to bear themselves greatly. It was a thing easily accomplished, being the will of Heaven. The youth turned out to be of a truly royal nature, and when Tarquinius sought a son-in-law there was no other young Roman who could be at all compared to Servius; and the king accordingly betrothed his daughter to him.

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II.10. Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.44.100.

Quid, quod in annalibus habemus Veienti bello, cum lacus Albanus praeter modum crevisset, Veientem quendam ad nos hominem nobilem perfugisse, eumque dixisse ex fatis, quae Veientes scripta haberent, Veios capi non posse, dum lacus is redundaret, et, si lacus emissus lapsu et cursu suo ad mare profluxisset, perniciosum populo Romano; sin autem ita esset eductus, ut ad mare pervenire non posset, tum salutare nostris fore? Ex quo illa admirabilis a maioribus Albanae aquae facta deductio est. Cum autem Veientes bello fessi legatos ad senatum misissent, tum ex iis quidam dixisse dicitur non omnia illum transfugam ausum esse senatui dicere; in isdem enim fatis scriptum Veientes habere fore ut brevi a Gallis Roma caperetur, quod quidem sexennio post Veios captos factum esse videmus.

And what do you say of the following story which we find in our annals? During the Veientian War, when Lake Albanus had overflowed its banks, a certain nobleman of Veii deserted to us and said that, according to the prophecies of the Veientian books, their city could not be taken while the lake was at flood, and that if its waters were permitted to overflow and take their own course to the sea the result would be disastrous to the Roman people; on the other hand, if the waters were drained off in such a way that they did not reach the sea the result would be to our advantage. In consequence of this announcement our forefathers dug that marvellous canal to drain off the waters from the Alban lake. Later when the Veientians had grown weary of the war and had sent ambassadors to the Senate to treat for peace, one of them is reported to have said that the deserter had not dared to tell the whole of the prophecy contained in the Veientian books, for those books, he said, also foretold the early capture of Rome by the Gauls. And this, as we know, did occur six years after the fall of Veii.

(Translation reprinted by permission of the publishers and the Trustees of the Loeb Classical Library from Cicero, *De senectute, De amicitia, De divinatione*, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. 20, translated by W. A. Falconer, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922, p. 331. The Loeb Classical Library © is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.)

II.11. Livy 5.15.4–12.

Prodigia interim multa nuntiari, quorum pleraque et quia singuli auctores erant parum credita spretaque, et quia, hostibus Etruscis, per quos ea procurarent haruspices non erant: in unum omnium curae versae sunt quod lacus in Albano nemore, sine ullis caelestibus aquis causave qua alia quae rem miraculo eximeret, in altitudinem insolitam crevit. Quidnam eo di portenderent prodigio missi sciscitatum oratores ad Delphicum oraculum. Sed propior interpretis fati oblati senior quidam Veiens, qui inter cavillantes in stationibus ac custodiis milites Romanos Etruscosque vaticinantis in modum cecinit priusquam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa foret nunquam potiturum Veii Romanum. Quod primo velut temere iactum sperni, agitari deinde sermonibus coeptum est donec unus ex statione Romana percontatus proximum oppidanorum, iam per longinquitatem belli commercio sermonum facto, quisnam is esset qui per ambages de lacu Albano jaceret, postquam audivit haruspicem esse, uir haud intacti religione animi, causatus de privati portenti procuratione si operae illi esset consulere velle, ad colloquium vatem elicuit. Cumque progressi ambo a suis longius essent inermes sine ullo metu, praevalens juvenis Romanus senem infirmum in conspectu omnium raptum nequiquam tumultuantibus Etruscis ad suos transtulit. Qui cum perductus ad imperatorem, inde Romam ad senatum missus esset, sciscitantibus quidnam id esset quod de lacu Albano docuisset, respondit profecto iratos deos Veienti populo illo fuisse die quo sibi eam mentem obiecissent ut excidium patriae fatale proderet. Itaque quae tum cecinerit divino spiritu instinctus, ea se nec ut indicta sint revocare posse, et tacendo forsitan quae di immortales volgari velint haud minus quam celanda effando nefas contrahi. Sic igitur libris fatalibus, sic disciplina Etrusca traditum esse, [ut] quando aqua Albana abundasset, tum si eam Romanus rite emisisset uictoriam de Veientibus dari; antequam id fiat deos moenia Veientium deserturos non esse. Exsequabatur inde quae sollemnis derivatio esset; sed auctorem levem nec satis fidum super tanta re patres rati decrevere legatos sortesque oraculi Pythici exspectandas.

Meanwhile many portents were reported, most of which, because they had only one witness each to vouch for them, obtained no credence and were slighted; and besides, when the Etruscans, whose services they employed to avert evil omens, were at war with them, they had no soothsayers. One thing occasioned universal anxiety, namely that the lake in the Alban Wood, without any rains or

other cause to make it less than a miracle, rose to an unwonted height. To inquire what the gods could possibly foretell by that prodigy, envoys were sent to the Delphic oracle. But a nearer interpreter of the fates presented himself, an old man of Veii, who, while the Roman and Etruscan soldiers were scoffing at one another as they stood guard at outposts, declared in a prophetic strain that until the water should be drawn off from the Alban Lake the Romans never could take Veii. At first they made light of this idle taunt; then they began to talk it over; presently one of the Roman outpost inquired of the townsman nearest him (for owing to the long continuance of the war they had now got into the way of conversing together) who that man was who threw out mysterious hints regarding the Alban Lake. When he heard that he was a soothsayer, being himself not without a touch of superstition, he alleged a desire to consult him about the averting of a domestic portent, if he could spare the time, and so enticed the seer to a conference. And when they had walked a little way apart from the friends of both, unarmed and fearing nothing, the stalwart young Roman laid hold of the feeble old man in the sight of them all, and despite an unavailing hubbub raised by the Etruscans, bore him off to his own fellows. There they had him before the general, who sent him on to Rome, to the senate. When the Fathers questioned him what it was he had meant about the Alban Lake, he answered that the gods must surely have been incensed at the people of Veii on the day when they had put it into his mind to reveal the destruction destined to befall his native city; and so what he had uttered under divine inspiration he could not now unsay and recall; and perhaps in concealing what the immortal gods wished to be published, guilt was incurred no less than by disclosing what should be hid. Thus then it was written in the books of fate, thus handed down in the lore of the Etruscans, that when the Alban water should overflow, if then the Romans should duly draw it off, they would be given the victory over the Veientes; until that should come to pass, the gods would not abandon the walls of Veii. He then went on to explain the appointed method of draining it. But the senators, making slight account of his authority, as not sufficiently trustworthy in so grave a matter, determined to wait for their deputies with the response of the Pythian oracle.

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Harvard University Press, 1924, pp. 53, 55. The Loeb Classical Library © is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.)

II.12. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.565–621.

Aut sua fluminea cum vidit Cibus in unda
cornua (vidit enim) falsamque in imagine credens
esse fidem, digitis ad frontem saepe relatis,
quae vidit, tetigit, nec jam sua lumina damnans
restitit, ut victor domito remeabat ab hoste,
ad caelumque oculos et eodem brachia tollens;
quicquid, ait, superi, monstro portenditur isto,
seu laetum est, patriae laetum populoque Quirini,
sive minax, mihi sit. Viridique e caespite factas
placat odoratis herbosas ignibus aras
vinaque dat pateris mactatarumque bidentum,
quid sibi significant, trepidantia consulit exta;
quae simul adspexit Tyrrhenae gentis haruspex,
magna quidem rerum molimina vidit in illis,
non manifesta tamen; cum vero sustulit acre
a pecudis fibris ad Cipi cornua lumen,
rex, ait, o! salve! tibi enim, tibi, Cipe, tuisque
hic locus et Latiae parebunt cornibus arces.
tu modo rumpe moras portasque intrare patentes
adpropera! sic fata jubent; namque urbe receptus
rex eris et sceptro tutus potiere perenni.
Rettulit ille pedem torvamque a moenibus urbis
avertens faciem, procul, a! procul omnia, dixit,
taliam di pellant! multoque ego iustius aevum
exul agam, quam me videant Capitolia regem.
Dixit et extemplo populumque gravemque senatum
convocat, ante tamen pacali cornua lauro
velat et aggeribus factis a milite forti
insistit priscosque deos e more precatus,
est, ait, hic unus, quem vos nisi pellitis urbe,
rex erit: is qui sit, signo, non nomine dicam:
cornua fronte gerit! quem vobis indicat augur,
si Romam intrarit, famularia iura daturum.
Ille quidem potuit portas inrumpere apertas,
sed nos obstitimus, quamvis conjunctior illo
nemo mihi est: vos urbe virum prohibete, Quirites,
vel, si dignus erit, gravibus vincite catenis
aut finite metum fatalis morte tyranni!
Qualia succinctis, ubi trux insibilat eurus,
murmura pinetis fiunt, aut qualia fluctus
aequorei faciunt, siquis procul audiat illos,
tale sonat populus; sed per confusa frementis
verba tamen vulgi vox eminet una, quis ille est?

et spectant frontes praedictaque cornua quaerunt.
Rursus ad hos Cibus, quem poscitis, inquit, habetis
et dempta capiti populo prohibente corona
exhibuit gemino praesignia tempora cornu.
Demisere oculos omnes gemitumque dedere
atque illud meritis clarum (quis credere possit?)
inviti videre caput: nec honore carere
ulterius passi festam inposuere coronam;
at proceres, quoniam muros intrare vetaris,
ruris honorati tantum tibi, Cipe, dedere,
quantum depresso subiectis bobus aratro
conplecti posses ad finem lucis ab ortu.
Cornuaque aeratis miram referentia formam
postibus insculpunt, longum mansura per aevum.

No less amazed was Cibus when in a clear stream he saw
horns springing from his head. For he saw them and,
thinking that he was deceived by the reflection, lifting his
hands again and again to his forehead, he touched what he
saw; nor did he fight against the portent, blaming his own
eyes, but as a victor returning from the conquered foe, he
raised his eyes and arms to the heavens and cried, "O ye
gods, whatever is portended by this monstrous thing, if it
be fortunate, let the good fortune befall my country and
the people of Quirinus; but if it threatens ill, may the ill be
mine." Then, making an altar of green turf, he appeased
the gods with a fragrant burnt offering, made a libation of
wine, and consulted the quivering entrails of the slaugh-
tered victims as to what they might mean for him. When
the Etruscan seer inspected these he saw the signs of great
enterprises there, but not yet clearly visible. But when he
raised his keen eyes from the sheep's entrails to the horn
of Cibus, he cried, "All hail, O king! For to thee, to thee,
Cibus, and to thy horns shall this place and Latium's cita-
dels bow down. Only delay not and make speed to enter
the open gates! Such is fate's command; for received within
the city, shalt thou be king and wield the sceptre in safe
and endless sway." He started back, and keeping his gaze
stubbornly turned from the city's walls, he said, "Far, oh,
far from me may the gods keep such a fate. Better far is it
that I should spend my days exiled from home than that
the Capitol should see me king." He spoke and straight-
way called a joint assembly of the people and the reverend
senate. But first he hid his horns with a wreath of peace-
ful laurel; then, standing on a mound raised by the brave
soldiery and praying to the ancient gods according to the
rite, he said, "There is one here who will be king unless
you drive him from your city. Who he is, not by his name
but by a sign I will disclose to you; he wears horns upon

his brow! The augur declares that if once he enters Rome he will reduce you to the rank of slaves. He might have forced his way through your gates, for they stand open; but I withstood him, though no one is more closely bound to him than I. Do you, Quirites, keep him from your city, or if he deserves it, bind him with heavy fetters, or end your fear of the hated tyrant by his death!" At this such a murmur arose among the people as comes from a thick pine-grove when the boisterous wind whistles through them, or as the waves of the sea makes heard from afar. But, midst the confused words of the murmuring throng, one cry rose clear: "Who is the man?" They looked at each other's forehead, and sought to find the horns that had been spoken of. Then Cippus spoke again and said: "Him whom you seek you have"; and removing his wreath from his head, while the people sought to stay him, he showed to them his temples marked with the two horns. All cast down their eyes and groaned aloud, and (who could believe it?) reluctantly looked upon that deservedly illustrious head. Then, not suffering him further to stand dishonored, they replaced upon his head the festal wreath. But the senate, since you might not come within the walls, gave you, Cippus, as much land as you could enclose with a yoke of oxen and a plow from dawn till the close of day. And the horns in all their wondrous beauty they engraved upon the bronze pillars of the gates, there to remain through all the ages.

(Translation reprinted by permission of the publishers and the Trustees of the Loeb Classical Library from Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. 4, translated by F. J. Miller, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916, pp. 405, 407, 409. The Loeb Classical Library © is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.)

II.13. Suetonius, *Augustus* 97.

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.

Around that same time, from a bolt of lightning the first letter on the inscription on his statue [i.e., of Augustus] melted off; the response [of the priests] was that 100 days after this—which the number "C" indicates—it was going

to come about that he would be carried among the gods, because *aesar*, the part of the word remaining from the name Caesar, meant "god" in the Etruscan language.

II.14. Dio Cassius 56.29.

καὶ κεραυνὸς ἐς εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐστῶσαν ἐμπεσὼν τὸ γράμμα τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἠφάνισεν· ὅθεν οἱ μάντις ἑκατοστῆ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἡμέρα θείας τινὸς μαίρας μεταλήψεσθαι ἔφασαν, τεκμαιρόμενοι ὅτι τὸ τε στοιχεῖον ἐκεῖνο τὸν τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸν παρὰ τοῖς Λατίνοις καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν ὄνομα θεὸν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρσηνοῖς νοεῖ.

And a thunderbolt, falling upon the image [of Augustus] on the Capitolium, blotted out the first letter of the name of Caesar. From this the soothsayers prophesied that on the hundredth day after this one he would partake of a certain divine destiny, judging from the fact that the letter "C" is the number 100 among the Romans, and the rest of the word means "god" among the Tyrsenians.

III. COSMOS, SPACE, AND TIME

III.1. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 2.55.143.

In sedecim partes caelum in eo spectu divisere Tusci. Prima est a septemtrionibus ad aequinoctialem exortum, secunda ad meridiem, tertia ad aequinoctialem occasum, quarta obtinet quod est reliquum ab occasu ad septemtriones. Has iterum in quaternas divisere partes, ex quibus octo ab exortu sinistras, totidem e contrario appellavere dextras.

In making these observations the Tuscans divided the heaven into sixteen parts: the first quarter is from the North to the equinoctial sunrise [East], the second to the South, the third to the equinoctial sunset [West], and the fourth occupies the remaining space extending from West to North; these quarters are divided into four parts each, of which they called the eight starting from the East the left-hand regions and the eight opposite ones the right-hand.

(Translation reprinted by permission of the publishers and the Trustees of the Loeb Classical Library from Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. 1, translated by H. Rackham, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938, p. 281. The Loeb Classical Library © is a registered

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III.2. Servius, *Ad Aen.* 8.427.

Toto caelo, id est ab omni parte caeli: nam dicunt physici de sedecim partibus caeli jaci fulmina . . . ergo hoc dicit: faciebant fulmen in eorum similitudinem, quae Juppiter jacet toto caelo, hoc est de diversis partibus caeli, scilicet sedecim.

“From the whole sky,” that is, from every part of the sky; for the natural philosophers say that lightning is thrown from sixteen parts of the sky. . . . Therefore this means: they were making lightning in their own likeness, which Jupiter throws from the whole sky, that is from the different parts of the sky, meaning sixteen.

III.3. Cicero, *De divinatione* 2.18.42.

Caelum in sedecim partis diviserunt Etrusci. Facile id quidem fuit, quattuor, quas nos habemus, duplicare, post idem iterum facere, ut ex eo dicerent, fulmen qua ex parte venisset. Primum id quid interest? deinde quid significat? Nonne perspicuum est ex prima admiratione hominum, quod tonitrua jactusque fulminum extimuisent, credidisse ea efficere rerum omnium praepotentem Jovem? Itaque in nostris commentariis scriptum habemus: Jove tonante, fulgurante comitia populi habere nefas.

The Etruscans divided the sky into sixteen parts. Of course it was easy enough for them to double the four parts into which we divide it and then double that total and tell from which one of those divisions a bolt of lightning had come. In the first place, what difference does its location make? And, in the second place, what does it foretell? It is perfectly evident that, out of the wonder and fear excited in primitive man by lightning and thunderbolts, sprang his belief that those phenomena were caused by omnipotent Jove. And so we find it recorded in our augural annals: When Jove thunders or lightens it is impious to hold an election.

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III.4. Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae* 1.45–61.

Nam in sedecim discerni dicitur caelum omne regiones in quarum prima sedes habere memorantur post ipsum Jovem dii Consentes Penates, Salus ac Lares, Janus, Favores opertanei Nocturnusque. In secunda itidem mansitabant praeter domum Jovis, quae ibi quoque sublimis est, ut est in omnibus praediatus, Quirinus Mars, Lars Militaris; Juno etiam ibi domicilium possidebat, Fons etiam, Lymphae diique Novensiles. Sed de tertia regione unum placuit corrogari. Nam Jovis secundani et Jovis Opulentiae Minervaeque domus illic sunt constitutae; sed omnes circa ipsum Jovem fuerant in praesenti. Discordiam vero ac Seditonem quis ad sacras nuptias corrogaret, praesertimque cum ipsi Philologiae fuerunt semper inimicae? De eadem igitur regione solus Pluton, quod patruus sponsi est, convocatur. Tunc Lynsa silvestris, Mulciber, Lar Caelestis nec non etiam militaris Favorque ex quarta regione venerunt. Corrogantur ex proxima transcursis domibus conjugum regum Ceres, Tellurus Terraeque pater Vulcanus et Genius. Vos quoque, Jovis filii, Pales et Favor cum Celeritate, Solis filia, ex sexta poscemini; nam Mars Quirinus et Genius superius postulati. Sic etiam Liber ac secundanus Pales vocantur ex septima. Fraudem quippe ex eadem post longam deliberationem placuit adhiberi, quod crebro ipsi Cyllenio fuerit obsecuta. Octava vero transcurritur, quoniam ex eadem cuncti superius corrogati, solusque ex illa Veris Fructus adhibetur. Junonis vero Hospitae Genius accitus ex nona. Neptune autem, Lar Omnium cunctalis, ac Neverita tuque Conse ex decima convenistis. Venit ex altera Fortuna et Valetudo Favorque pastor, Manibus refutatis, quippe ii in conspectum Jovis non poterant advenire. Ex duodecima Sancus tantummodo devocatur. Fata vero ex altera postulatur; ceteri quippe illic dii Manium demorati. Bis septena Saturnus eiusque caelestis Juno consequenter acciti. Veiovis ac dii publici terquino ex limite convocantur. Ex ultima regione Nocturnus Janitoresque terrestres similiter advocati. Ex cunctis igitur caeli regionibus advocatis deis ceteri, quos Azonos vocant, ipso componente Cyllenio convocantur.

(Source of text: *Martianus Capella*, ed. A. Dick, Stuttgart, 1978, 27–28.)

For in sixteen regions, it is said, the whole sky is divided, in the first of which, it is recorded, after Jupiter himself, the Dii Consentes and the Penates, Salus and the

civitates constituerentur, de iis, qui eo die nati essent, eum, qui diutissime vixisset, die mortis suae primi saeculi modulum finire, eoque die qui essent reliqui in civitate, de his rursum eius mortem, qui longissimam egisset aetatem, finem esse saeculi secundi. Sic deinceps tempus reliquorum terminari. Sed ea quod ignorarent homines, portenta mitti divinitus, quibus admonerentur unum quodque saeculum esse finitum. Haec portenta Etrusci pro haruspicii disciplinaeque suae peritia diligenter observata in libros rettulerunt. Quare in Tuscis historiis quae octavo eorum saeculo scriptae sunt, ut Varro testatur, et quot numero saecula ei genti data sint, et transactorum singula quanta fuerint quibusve ostentis eorum exitus designati sint, continetur. Itaque scriptum est quattuor prima saecula annorum fuisse centenum, quintum centum viginti trium, sextum undeviginti et centum, septimum totidem, octavum tum demum agi, nonum et decimum superesse, quibus transactis finem fore nominis etrusci.

(Source of text: *Censorini De die natali liber*, ed. N. Sallmann, Leipzig, 1983, 34.)

In each single city the ritual books of the Etruscans seem to teach what the natural *saecula* [divisions] of time are; it is said that in them is written what the beginnings of the *saecula* are: of those who were born on the day on which a city or state was founded, the one who lived the longest would set the end measure of the first *saeculum* on the day of his death; and of those who remained in the state on that day, again the death of the one who lived the longest age would be the end of the second *saeculum*. Thus in a series the time of the remaining ages would end. But since men would not know these things, portents were sent from the gods by which they were advised that each one *saeculum* was finished. These portents, diligently observed, the Etruscans recorded into their books for the sake of skill in divination and their teaching. Therefore in the Tuscan histories that were written in their eighth *saeculum*, as Varro witnesses, are recorded how many *saecula* have been given to that nation and how many have been accomplished one by one, and by what portents their conclusions were indicated. And thus it is written that the first four *saecula* were of one hundred years, the fifth was of one hundred and twenty-three, the sixth of one hundred and nineteen, the seventh the same, the eighth was going on at that time, and the ninth and tenth were still to come; when they were accomplished there would be an end of the Etruscan name.

III.7. Plutarch, *Life of Sulla* 7.3–6.

τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον, ἐξ ἀνεφελου καὶ διαίθρου τοῦ περιέχοντος ἤχησε φωνὴ σάλπιγγος ὄξυν ἀποτείνουσα καὶ θρηνώδη φθόγγον, ὥστε πάντας ἔκφρονας γενέσθαι καὶ καταπτῆξαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος. Τυρρηῶν δὲ οἱ λόγιοι μεταβολὴν ἑτέρου γένους ἀπεφαίνοντο καὶ μετακόσμησιν ἀποσημαίνειν τὸ τέρας. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ὀκτὼ τὰ σύμπαντα γένη, διαφέροντα τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἀλλήλων, ἐκάστῳ δὲ ἀφορίσθαι χρόνων ἀριθμὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμπεραινόμενον ἑνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου περιόδῳ. καὶ ὅταν αὕτη σχῆ τέλος, ἑτέρας ἐνισταμένης κινεῖσθαι τι σημεῖον ἐκ γῆς ἢ οὐρανοῦ θαυμάσιον, ὡς δῆλον εἶναι τοῖς πεφροντικοῖσι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ μεμαθηκόσιν εὐθύς ὅτι καὶ τρόποις ἄλλοις καὶ βίοις ἄνθρωποι χρώμενοι γεγόνασι, καὶ θεοῖς ἤττον ἢ μᾶλλον τῶν προτέρων μέλοντες. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα φασὶν ἐν τῇ τῶν γενῶν ἀμείψει λαμβάνειν μεγάλας καινοτομίας, καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν ποτὲ μὲν αὐξεσθαι τῇ τιμῇ καὶ κατατυγχάνειν ταῖς προαγορεύεσσι, καθαρὰ καὶ φανερὰ σημεῖα τοῦ δαιμονίου προπέμποντος, αὐθις δ' ἐν ἑτέρῳ γένει ταπεινὰ πράττειν, αὐτοσχέδιον οὖσαν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δι' ἀμυδρῶν καὶ σκοτεινῶν ὀργάνων τοῦ μέλλοντος πτομένην. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ λογιώτατοι Τυρρηῶν καὶ πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων εἰδέναι δοκοῦντες ἐμυθολόγουν.

Most important of all, out of a cloudless and clear air there rang out the voice of a trumpet, prolonging a shrill and dismal note, so that all were amazed and terrified at its loudness. The Tuscan [lit. "Tyrrhenian"] wise men declared that the prodigy foretokened a change of conditions and the advent of a new age. For according to them there are eight ages in all, differing from one another in the lives and customs of men, and to each of these God has appointed a definite number of times and seasons, which is completed by the circuit of a great year. And whenever this circuit has run out, and another begins, some wonderful sign is sent from earth or heaven, so that it is at once clear to those who have studied such subjects and are versed in them, that men of other habits and modes of life have come into the world, who are either more or less of concern to the gods than their predecessors were. All things, they say, undergo great changes, as one age succeeds another, and especially the art of divination; at one period it rises in esteem and is successful in its predictions, because manifest and genuine signs are sent forth from the Deity; and again, in another age, it is in small repute, being off-hand, for the most part, and seeking to grasp the future by means of faint and blind senses. Such at any rate,

was the tale told by the wisest of the Tuscans [lit. “Tyrre-nians”], who were thought to know much more about it than the rest.

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III.8. *Liber Glossarum*.

Aclus Tuscorum lingua Junis mensis dicitur. . . . Ampiles Tuscorum lingua Maius mensis dicitur. . . . Cabreas Tuscorum lingua Aprilis mensis. . . . Celius Tuscorum lingua September mensis dicitur. . . . [H]ermius Tuscorum lingua Augustus mensis dicitur. . . . Traneus Tuscorum lingua Iulius mensis dicitur. . . . Velcitanus Tuscorum lingua Martis mensis dicitur. . . . Xosfer Tuscorum lingua October mensis dicitur.

(Source: *TLE* 801, 805, 818, 824, 836, 854, 856, 858.)

In the language of the Tuscans, the month of June is called Aclus. . . . In the language of the Tuscans, the month of May is called Ampiles. . . . In the language of the Tuscans, the month of April is called Cabreas. . . . In the language of the Tuscans, the month of September is called Celius. . . . In the language of the Tuscans, the month of August is called Hermius. . . . In the language of the Tuscans, the month of July is called Traneus. . . . In the language of the Tuscans, the month of March is called Velcitanus. . . . In the language of the Tuscans, the month of October is called Xosfer.

III.9. Servius, *Ad Aen.* 5.738.

Dies secundum Aegyptios inchoat ab occasu solis, secundum Persas ab ortu solis, secundum Etruscos et Athenienses a sexta hora diei, secundum Romanos a media nocte.

(*Servianorum in Vergilii carmina commentariorum*, Oxford, 1965, vol. 3, 573.)

According to the Egyptians, the day begins at the setting of the sun; according to the Persians, at the rising of the sun; according to the Etruscans and the Athenians, at the sixth hour of the day; according to the Romans, at midnight.

IV. THE ETRUSCA DISCIPLINA

IV.1. Festus 285.

Rituales nominantur Etruscorum libri, in quibus perscriptum est, quo ritu condantur urbes, arae, aedes sacrentur, qua sanctitate muri, quo jure portae, quomodo tribus, curiae, centuriae distribuuntur, exercitus constituant[ur], ordinentur, ceteraque eiusmodi ad bellum ac pacem pertinentia.

(Source of text: Thulin I, 8).

[Those] books of the Etruscans are called *ritual* in which it is prescribed by what rite cities are founded [and] altars and temples are consecrated, with what sanctity walls, with what rule gates, in what manner tribes, councils, and centuries are divided, armies constituted, and other things of this type pertaining to war and peace.

IV.2. Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.143.

Oppida condebant in Latio Etrusco ritu multi, id est junctis bobus, tauro et vacca interiore aratro circumagebant sulcum. Hoc faciebant religionis causa die auspiciato, ut fossa et muro essent muniti. Terram unde exsculperant fossam, vocabant et introrsus jactam murum. Post ea qui fiebat orbis urbis principium; qui quod erat post murum, postmoerium dictum eiusque auspicia urbana finiuntur. . . . Cippi pomeri stant et circum Ariciam et circum Romam.

Many founded towns in Latium by the Etruscan ritual; that is, with a team of cattle, a bull and a cow on the inside, they ran a furrow around with a plough. For reasons of religion they did this on an auspicious day, so that they might be fortified by a ditch and a wall. The place whence they had ploughed up the earth, they called a *fossa* “ditch,” and the earth thrown inside it they called the *murus*, “wall.” The *orbis*, “circle,” which was made back of this, was the beginning of the *urbs*, “city”; because the circle was *post murum* “back of the wall,” it was called a *postmoerium*; it sets the limits for the taking of the auspices for the city. Stone markers of the pomerium stand both around Aricia and around Rome.

(Translation reprinted by permission of the publishers and the Trustees of the Loeb Classical Library from *Varro, On the Latin Language*, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. 1, translated by R. G. Kent, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938, p. 135. The Loeb

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IV.3. Plutarch, *Life of Romulus* 11.

Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐν τῇ Ῥεμωνίᾳ θάψας τὸν Ῥέμον ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς τροφεῖς, ᾤκιζε τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεταπεμψάμενος ἄνδρας ἱεροῖς τισι θεσμοῖς καὶ γράμμασιν ὑφηγουμένους ἕκαστα καὶ διδάσκοντας ὥσπερ ἐν τελετῇ. βόθρος γὰρ ὠρύγη περὶ τὸ νῦν Κομίτιον κυκλοτερῆς, ἀπαρχαί τε πάντων, ὅσοις νόμῳ μὲν ὡς καλοῖς ἐχρῶντο, φύσει δ' ὡς ἀναγκαίοις, ἀπετέθησαν ἐνταῦθα. καὶ τέλος ἐξ ἧς ἀφῖκτο γῆς ἕκαστος ὀλίγην κομίζων μοῖραν ἔβαλλον εἰς ταῦτό καὶ συνεμείγνουν. καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν βόθρον τοῦτον ᾧ καὶ τὸν ὄλυμπον ὀνόματι μοῦνδον. εἶθ' ὥσπερ κύκλον κέντρῳ περιέγραψαν τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δ' οἰκιστὴς ἐμβάλων ἀρότρῳ χαλκῆν ὕνιν, ὑποζεύξας δὲ βοῦν ἄρρενα καὶ θήλειαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπάγει περιελαύνων αὐλακα βαθεῖαν τοῖς τέρμασι, τῶν δ' ἐπομένων ἔργον ἐστίν, ἃς ἀνίστησι βώλους τὸ ἄροτρον, καταστρέφειν εἴσω καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔξω περιορᾶν ἐκτρεπομένην. τῇ μὲν οὖν γραμμῇ τὸ τεῖχος ἀφορίζουσι, καὶ καλεῖται κατὰ συγκοπὴν πωμήριον, οἶον ὅπισθεν τεῖχους ἢ μετὰ τεῖχος ὅπου δὲ πύλην ἐμβαλεῖν διανοοῦνται, τὴν ὕνιν ἐξελόντεζ καὶ τὸ ἄροτρον ὑπερθέντες διάλειμμα ποιοῦσιν. ὅθεν ἅπαν τὸ τεῖχος ἱερὸν πλὴν τῶν πυλῶν νομίζουσι· τὰς δὲ πύλας ἱεράς νομίζοντας οὐκ ἦν ἄνευ δεισιδαιμονίας τὰ μὲν δέχεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἀποπέμπειν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ μὴ καθαρῶν.

Romulus buried Remus, together with his foster-fathers, in the Remonia, and then set himself to building his city, after summoning from Tuscany [lit. "Tyrrhenia"] men who prescribed all the details in accordance with certain sacred ordinances and writings, and taught them to him as in a religious rite. A circular trench was dug around what is now the Comitium, and in this were deposited the first-fruits of all things the use of which was sanctioned by custom as good and by nature as necessary; and finally, every man brought a small portion of the soil of his native land, and these were cast in among the first fruits and mingled with them. They call this trench, as they do the heavens, by the name of *mundus*. Then, taking this as a centre, they marked out the city in a circle round it. And the founder, having shod a plough with a brazen ploughshare, and having yoked to it a bull and a cow, himself drove a deep furrow round the boundary lines, while those who followed after him had to turn the clods, which the plough threw up, inwards toward the city, and suffer no clod to lie turned outwards. With this line they marked

out the course of the wall, and it is called, by contraction, "pomerium," that is "post murum," *behind or next the wall*. And where they purposed to put in a gate, there they took the share out of the ground, lifted the plough over, and left a vacant space. And this is the reason why they regard all the wall as sacred except the gates; but if they held the gates sacred, it would not be possible, without religious scruples, to bring into and send out of the city things which are necessary, and yet unclean.

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IV.4. Columella, *De re rustica* 10.338–347.

Ipsa novas artis varia experientia rerum
et labor ostendit miseris ususque magister
tradidit agricolis ventos sedare furentis
et tempestatem Tuscis avertere sacris.
Hinc mala Rubigo viridis ne torreat herbas,
sanguine lactentis catuli placatur et extis.
Hinc caput Arcadici nudum cute fertur aselli
Tyrrhenus fixisse Tages in limite ruris,
utque Jouis magni prohiberet fulgura Tarchon,
saepe suas sedes praecinxit vitibus albis.
Hinc Amythaonius, docuit quem plurima Chiron,
nocturnas crucibus volucres suspendit et altis
culminibus vetuit feralia carmina flere.

Lest rustics suffer from these monstrous pests,
Varied experience of herself and toil
And use, their teacher novel arts have shown
To wretched husbandmen, how to appease
Fierce winds and to avert by Tuscan rites
The tempest. Hence, lest fell Rubigo parch
The fresh, green plants, her anger is appeased
With blood and entrails of a suckling whelp;
Hence Tages, Tuscan [lit. "Tyrrhenian"] seer, they say,
set up
The skinless head of an Arcadian ass
At the field's edge; hence Tarchon, to avert
The bolts of mighty Jove, oft hedged his domain
With bryony; and Amythaon's son,
Whom Chiron taught much wisdom, hung aloft

Night-flying birds on crosses and forbade
Their sad funereal cries on housetops high.

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IV.5. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.19.13.

Sed Carmini curiosissimi et docti verba ponam, qui in libro de Italia secundo sic ait prius itaque et Tuscos aeneo vomere uti, cum conderentur urbes, solitos, in Tageticis eorum sacris invenio et in Sabinis ex aere cultros, quibus sacerdotes tonderentur.

(Source of text: Thulin 3, 5.)

I shall set down the words of Carminius, a most curious and learned man, who in his second book *de Italia* [*Concerning Italy*] thus says, "Earlier the Tuscans, when they were going to found a city, were accustomed to use a bronze plow." I find in their own sacred Tagetic [books] and in Sabine [books] that there were plowshares of bronze with which the priests shaved.

IV.6. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.7.2.

Est super hoc liber Tarquiti transcriptus ex Ostentario Tusco ibi reperitur purpureo aureove colore ovis ariesve si aspergetur, principii ordinis et generis summa cum felicitate largitatem auget, genus progeniem propagat in claritate laetioemque efficit.

(Source of text: Thulin 1, 11).

There is beyond this a book of Tarquiti transcribed from the *Ostentarium Tuscum* [*Tuscan Prognostics*] in which it is found that if a sheep or a ram is sprinkled with crimson or gold color it increases abundance with the greatest happiness for the initiator of the order and the genus. The genus propagates offspring in splendor and makes him more joyful.

IV.7. Cicero, *De divinatione* 2.38.80.

Omitte igitur lituum Romuli, quem in maximo incendio negas potuisse comburi; contemne cotem Atti Navii. Nihil debet esse in philosophia commenticiis fabellis loci; illud

erat philosophi potius, totius augurii primum naturam ipsam videre, deinde inventionem, deinde constantiam. Quae est igitur natura, quae volucris huc et illuc passim vagantis efficiat ut significant aliquid et tum vetent agere, tum jubeant aut cantu aut volatu? cur autem aliis a laeva, aliis a dextra datum est avibus ut ratum auspiciam facere possint? Quo modo autem haec aut quando aut a quibus inventa dicemus? Etrusci tamen habent exaratum puerum auctorem disciplinae suae; nos quem? Attumne Navium? At aliquot annis antiquior Romulus et Remus, ambo augures, ut accepimus. An Pisidarum aut Cilicum aut Phrygum ista inventa dicemus? Placet igitur humanitatis expertis habere divinitatis auctores?

Then dismiss Romulus' augural staff, which you say the hottest of fires was powerless to burn, and attach slight importance to the whetstone of Attus Navius. Myths should have no place in philosophy. It would have been more in keeping with your role as a philosopher to consider, first, the nature of divination generally, second, its origin, and third, its consistency. What, then, is the nature of an art which makes prophets out of birds that wander aimlessly about—now here, now there—and makes the action or inaction of men depend upon the song or flight of birds? And why was the power granted to some birds to give a favourable omen when on the left side and to others when on the right? Again, how, when, and by whom, shall we say that the system was invented? The Etruscans, it is true, find the author of their system in the boy who was ploughed up out of the ground; but whom have we? Attus Navius? But Romulus and Remus, both of whom, by tradition, were augurs, lived many years earlier. Are we to say that it was invented by the Pisidians, Cilicians, or Phrygians? It is your judgment, then, that those devoid of human learning are the authors of divine science!

(Translation reprinted by permission of the publishers and the Trustees of the Loeb Classical Library from Cicero, *De senectute, De amicitia, De divinatione*, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. 20, translated by W. A. Falconer, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922, pp. 461, 463. The Loeb Classical Library © is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.)

IV.8. Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.41.92.

Etruria autem de caelo tacta scientissime animadvertit eademque interpretatur, quid quibusque ostendatur monstris atque portentis. Quocirca bene apud maiores

nostros senatus tum, cum florebat imperium, decrevit, ut de principum filiis sex* singulis Etruriae populis in disciplinam traderentur, ne ars tanta propter tenuitatem hominum a religionis auctoritate abduceretur ad mercedem atque quaestum. [*or x ex]

Etruria observes most skillfully lightning strikes from the sky, and they interpret the same, as to what is shown and with what signs and portents. Wherefore it was well devised among our forefathers in the Senate at that time when our power was growing that from the sons of the foremost men six [or ten] should be handed over to the individual peoples of Etruria for (learning) the discipline, in order that the art not be seduced away from the authority of religion toward reward and profit.

IV.9. Valerius Maximus 1.1.

Maiores stas sollemnesque caerimonias pontificum scientia, bene gerendarum rerum auctoritates augurum observatione, Apollinis praedictiones vatum libris, portentorum depulsi[one]s Etrusca disciplina explicari voluerunt. . . . Tantum autem studium antiquis non solum servandae sed etiam amplificandae religionis fuit, ut florentissima tum et opulentissima civitate decem principum filii senatus consulto singulis Etruriae populis percipiendae sacrorum disciplinae gratia traderentur.

Our ancestors willed that fixed and customary ceremonies be carried out by the priests, that the authority for conducting things well come from the observation of augurs, that the prophecies of Apollo proceed from the books of the seers, and that the turning away of bad omens come through the Etruscan discipline. . . . So great was the zeal of the ancients not only for the maintaining but also for the expanding of religion that at a time when Rome was most flourishing and wealthy, by decree of the senate, ten sons of nobles were handed over to the individual peoples of Etruria for the purpose of learning the discipline of sacred matters.

IV.10. Livy 7.17.2–6.

Falisci Tarquiniensesque alterum consulem prima pugna fuderunt. Inde terror maximus fuit quod sacerdotes eorum facibus ardentibus anguibusque praelatis incessu furiali militem Romanum insueta turbaverunt specie. Et tum quidem velut lymphati et attoniti munimentis suis trepido agmine inciderunt; deinde, ubi consul legatique ac tribuni puerorum ritu vana miracula paventes inridebant increpabantque, vertit animos repente pudor et in ea ipsa

quae fugerant velut caeci ruebant. Discusso itaque vano apparatu hostium, cum in ipsos armatos se intulissent, averterunt totam aciem.

The Faliscans and Tarquinians routed the other consul in the first battle. The greatest terror came from the fact that their priests, carrying forward burning torches and serpents in the manner of attacking Furies, threw the Roman army into confusion at the unfamiliar sight. And then indeed like men out of their minds and dumbstruck they fell on their own works with a wavering battleline. Then, when the consul and legates and tribunes laughed at them and chided them because they trembled in the manner of children over the empty marvels, suddenly shame turned their spirits, and they rushed like blind men against the very things from which they had fled. And so while brushing aside the empty mechanisms of the enemy as they flung themselves on armed men, they turned the whole battle line.

V. ETRUSCAN TEMPLES, SHRINES, AND TOMBS

V.1. Livy 7.3.7.

Volsiniis quoque clavos indices numeri annorum fixos in templo Nortiae, Etruscae deae, comparere diligens talium monumentorum auctor Cincius adfirmat.

Cincius, a careful student of such memorials, asserts that at Volsinii, too, nails may be seen in the temple of Nortia, an Etruscan goddess, driven in to indicate the number of years.

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V.2. Vitruvius 1.7.1–2.

Aedibus vero sacris, quorum deorum maxime in tutela civitas videtur esse, et Jovi et Junoni et Minervae, in excelsissimo loco, unde moenium maxima pars conspiciatur, areae distribuuntur. Mercurio autem in foro aut etiam, ut Isidi et Serapi, in emporio; Apollini Patrique Libero secundum theatrum; Herculi, in quibus civitatibus non sunt gymnasia neque amphitheatra, ad circum; Marti extra urbem sed ad campum; itemque Veneri ad portum.

Id autem etiam Etruscis haruspibus disciplinarum scripturis ita est dedicatum, extra murum Veneris, Volcani, Martis fana ideo conlocari, uti non insuescat in urbe adolescentibus seu matribus familiarum veneria libido, Volcanique vi e moenibus religionibus et sacrificiis evocata ab timore incendiorum aedificia videantur liberari. Martis vero divinitas cum sit extra moenia dedicata, non erit inter cives armigera dissensio, sed ab hostibus ea defensa belli periculo conservabit. Item Cereri extra urbem loco, quo nomine semper homines nisi per sacrificium necesse habeant adire; cum religione, caste sanctisque moribus is locus debet tueri. Ceterisque diis ad sacrificiorum rationes aptae templis areae sunt distribuendae.

But for sacred buildings of the gods under whose protection the city most seems to be, both for Jupiter and Juno and Minerva, the sites are to be distributed on the highest ground from which the most of the ramparts is to be seen. To Mercury, however, in the forum, or also, as to Isis and Serapis, in the business quarter; to Apollo and Father Bacchus against the theatre; to Hercules, in cities which have no gymnasia nor amphitheatres, at the circus; to Mars outside the walls but in the parade ground; and also to Venus near the harbour.

Now with Etruscan haruspices in the writings of their disciplines, the dedication is as follows: that the shrines of Venus, Volcanus, Mars are therefore to be situated outside the wall, so that venereal pleasure may not be customary to young men and matrons in the city, and, by summoning the power of Volcanus outside the ramparts with ritual and sacrifices, the buildings may seem to be freed from fear of fires. But since the divinity of Mars is dedicated outside the ramparts, there will not be armed quarrels among citizens, yet he will keep the ramparts defended from the danger of war. So also to Ceres in a place outside the city, under which name (i.e., Ceres extra urbem) men (unless by sacrifice) must always approach her; since that place must be kept religiously, purely and with strict manners. And to the other gods sites fit for temples with a view to the methods of sacrifice are to be arranged.

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V.3. Vitruvius 4.7.

Locus, in quo aedis constituetur, cum habuerit in longitudine sex partes, una dempta reliquum quod erit, latitudini detur. Longitudo autem dividatur bipertito, et quae pars erit interior, cellarum spatiis designetur, quae erit proxima fronti, columnarum dispositioni relinquatur. Item latitudo dividatur in partes x. Ex his ternae partes dextra ac sinistra cellis minoribus, sive ibi alae futurae sunt, dentur; reliquae quattuor mediae aedi attribuantur. Spatium, quod erit ante cellas in pronao, ita columnis designetur, ut angulares contra antas, parietum extremorum [e] regione, conlocentur; duae mediae e regione parietum, qui inter antas et mediam aedem fuerint, ita distribuantur; et inter antas et columnas priores per medium isdem regionibus alterae disponantur. Eaeque sint ima crassitudine altitudinis parte vii; altitudo tertia parte latitudinis templi; summaque columna quarta parte crassitudinis imae contrahatur. Spirae earum altae dimidia parte crassitudinis fiant. Habeant spirae earum plinthum ad circinum, altam suae crassitudinis dimidia parte, torum insuper cum apophysi crassum quantum plinthus. Capituli altitudo dimidia crassitudinis. Abaci latitudo quanta ima crassitudo columnae. Capitulique crassitudo dividatur in partes tres, e quibus una plintho, quae est abacus, detur, altera echino, tertia hypotrachelio cum apophysi. Supra columnas traves compactiles inponantur ut altitudinis modulis is, qui a magnitudine operis postulabuntur. Eaeque traves compactiles eam habeant crassitudinem, quanta summae columnae erithypotrachelium, et ita sint compactae subscudibus et securiclis, ut compactura duorum digitorum habeant laxationem. Cum enim inter se tangunt et non spiramentum et perflatum venti recipiunt, concalefaciuntur et celeriter putrescunt. Supra traves et supra parietes trajecturae mutulorum parte iiii altitudinis columnae proiciantur; item in eorum frontibus antepagmenta figantur. Supraque is tympanum fastigii structura seu de materia conlocetur. Supraque eum fastigium, columnen, cantherii, templa ita sunt conlocanda, ut stillicidium tecti absoluti tertiaro respondeat.

Let the site on which the temple is to be built be six parts in length; five parts are to be assigned to the breadth. Now the length is to be divided in two. The interior half is to be marked out by the dimensions of the sanctuary; the part on the front is to be left for the portico with its columns. Further, let the width be divided into 10 parts. Of these let three parts each on the right and left be given to the lesser sanctuaries, or alternately to the wings; the remaining four

parts are to be given to the central shrine. Let the space which is before the sanctuaries in the forecourt be planned for the columns, in such a way that the corner columns are put opposite the pilasters, in line with the ends of the walls. The two middle columns are to be in line with the walls which are between the wings and the middle shrine. Between the pilasters and the columns in front, additional columns are to be put half way in line with them. At the bottom these are to have a diameter of $\frac{1}{7}$ of the height. (The height is to be one third of the width of the temple.) The top of the column is to be diminished $\frac{1}{4}$ of the diameter at the bottom. The bases are to be made half a diameter high. Let the bases have their plinths circular and half the height of the base, with a torus and *apophysis* as deep as the plinth. The height of the capital is to be half a diameter. The width of the abacus is as great as the diameter of the column at the base. The height of the capital is to be divided into three parts, of which one is to be given to the plinth or abacus, one to the echinus or ovolo, the third to the hypotrachelium with the apophysis. Above the columns, beams are to be placed bolted together, of such proportionate depth as shall be demanded by the magnitude of the work. And these coupled beams are to have a thickness equal to the hypotrachelium at the top of the column, and they are to be so coupled with dowels and mortices that the coupling allows an interval of two inches between the joists. For when they touch one another and do not admit a breathing space and passage of air, they are heated and quickly decay. Above the beams and walls the mutules are to project $\frac{1}{4}$ of the height of the column. On the front of these, casings (*antepagmenta*) are to be fixed and above them the tympanum of the gable either of stone or wood. Above this the ridge-piece, rafters, and purlins, are to be so placed that the pitch of the roof is one in three.

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V.4. Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 7.12.5–6.

Nam in libro de religionibus secundo: sacellum est, inquit, locus parvus deo sacratus cum ara. Deinde addit verba haec: Sacellum ex duobus verbis arbitror compositum

sacri et cellae, quasi sacra cella. Hoc quidem scripsit Trebatius; sed quis ignorat sacellum et simplex verbum esse et non ex sacro et cella copulatum, sed ex sacro deminutum?

For he [Gaius Trebatius] says in the second book of his work *On Religions*: “A *sacellum*, or shrine, is a small place consecrated to a god and containing an altar.” Then he adds these words: “*Sacellum*, I think, is made up of the two words *sacer* and *cella*, as if it were *sacra cella*, or a sacred chamber.” This indeed is what Trebatius wrote, but who does not know both that *sacellum* is not a compound, and that it is not made up of *sacer* and *cella*, but is the diminutive of *sacrum*?

V.5. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 36.91–93.

Namque et Italicum dici convenit, quem fecit sibi Porsina, rex Etruriae, sepulchri causa, simul ut externorum regum vanitas quoque Italis superetur. sed cum excedat omnia fabulositas, utemur ipsius M. Varronis in expositione e[a] verbis: Sepultus sub urbe Clusio, in quo loco monimentum reliquit lapide quadrato quadratum, singula latera pedum tricenum, alta quinquagenum. In qua basi quadrata intus labyrinthum inextricabile, quo si quis introierit sine glomere lini, exitum invenire nequeat. supra id quadratum pyramides stant quinque, quattuor in angulis et in medio una, imae latae pedum quinum septuagenum, altae centenum quinquagenum, ita fastigatae, ut in summo orbis aeneus et petasus unus omnibus sit inpositus, ex quo pendeant exapta catenis tintinabula, quae vento agitata longe sonitus referant, ut Dodonae olim factum. Supra quem orbem quattuor pyramides insuper singulae stant altae pedum centenum. supra quas uno solo quinque pyramides. Quarum altitudinem Varronem puduit adicere; fabulae Etruscae tradunt eandem fuisse quam totius operis ad eas, vesana dementia, quaesisse gloriam inpendio nulli profuturo, praeterea fatigasse regni vires, ut tamen laus major artificis esset.

For it is appropriate to call “Italian” the labyrinth made by King Porsena of Etruria to serve as his tomb, with the result at the same time that even the vanity of foreign kings is surpassed by those of Italy. But since irresponsible storytelling here exceeds all bounds, I shall in describing the building make use of the very words of Marcus Varro himself: “He is buried close to the city of Clusium, in a place where he has left a square monument built of squared blocks of stone, each side being 300 feet long and 50 feet high. Inside this square pedestal there is a tangled labyrinth, which no one must enter without a ball of thread

suitors do, does he fall in love at first sight with every girl he meets. You will be his first love and his last, and to you alone he will devote his life. Consider also that he is young, blest with a native charm, can readily assume whatever form he will, and what you bid him, though without stint you bid, he will perform. Moreover your tastes are similar, and the fruit which you so cherish he is the first to have and with joyful hands he lays hold upon your gifts. But neither the fruit of your trees, nor the sweet, succulent herbs which your garden bears, nor anything at all does he desire save you alone. Pity his ardour, and believe that he himself who desires you is making his suit in person through words of mine.”

(lines 761–771)

“Have thought of these things, I pray you, and put away, dear nymph, your stubborn scorn; yield to your lover. So may no late spring frost ever nip your budding fruit, and may no rude winds scatter them in their flower.” When the god in the form of age had thus pleaded his cause in vain, he returned to his youthful form, put off the old woman’s trappings, and stood revealed to the maiden as when the sun’s most beaming face has conquered the opposing clouds and shines out with nothing to dim his radiance. He was all ready to force her will, but no force was necessary; and the nymph, smitten by the beauty of the god, felt an answering passion.”

(Translation reprinted by permission of the publishers and the Trustees of the Loeb Classical Library from Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. 4, translated by F. J. Miller, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2nd ed., 1984, pp. 345, 347, 349, 351, 353, 355. The Loeb Classical Library © is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.)

VI.3. Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.46.

In Subur[b]anae regionis parte princeps est C[a]elius mons a C[a]ele Vibenna, Tusco duce nobili, qui cum sua manu dicitur Romulo venisse auxilio contra Tati[n]um regem. Hinc post C[a]elis obitum, quod nimis munita loca tenerent neque sine suspicione essent, deducti dicuntur in planum. Ab eis dictus vicus Tuscus, et ideo ibi Vortumnum stare, quod is deus Etruriae princeps; de Caelianis qui a suspicione liberi essent, traductos in eum locum qui vocatur C[a]eliolum.

In the section of the Suburan region, the first shrine is located on the Caelian Hill, named from Caeles Vibenna, a Tuscan leader of distinction, who is said to have come with

his followers to help Romulus against King Tattius. From this hill the followers of Caeles are said, after his death, to have been brought down into the level ground, because they were in possession of a location which was too strongly fortified and their loyalty was somewhat under suspicion. From them was named the Vicus Tuscus, “Tuscan Row,” and therefore, they say, the statue of Vertumnus stands there, because he is the chief god of Etruria; but those of the Caelians who were free from suspicion were removed to that place which is called Caeliolum, “the little Caelian.”

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VI.4. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 34.16.34.

Signa quoque Tuscanica per terras dispersa qu[on] in Etruria factitata sint, non est dubium. Deorum tantum putarem ea fuisse, ni Metrodorus Scepsius, cui cognomen a Romani nominis odio inditum est, propter MM statuarum Volsinios expugnatos obiceret. Mirumque mihi videtur, cum statuarum origo tam vetus Italiae sit, lignea potius aut fictilia deorum simulacra in delubris dicata usque ad devictam Asiam, unde luxuria.

There is no doubt that the so-called Tuscanic images scattered all over the world were regularly made in Etruria. I should have supposed these to have been statues of deities only, were it not that Metrodorus of Scepsis, who received his surname from his hatred of the very name of Rome, reproached us with having taken by storm the city of Volsinii for the sake of the 2000 statues which it contained. And it seems to me surprising that although the initiation of the statuary in Italy dates so far back, the images of the gods dedicated in the shrines should have been more usually of wood or terracotta right down to the conquest of Asia, which introduced luxury here.

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VI.5. Livy 5.22.4.

Cum iam humanae opes egestae a Veiiis essent, amoliri tum deum dona ipsosque deos, sed colentium magis quam rapiendum modo, coepere. Namque delecti ex omni exercitu juvenes, pure lautis corporibus, candida veste, quibus deportanda Romam regina Iuno adsignata erat, venerabundi templum iniere, primo religiose admoventes manus, quod id signum more Etrusco nisi certae gentis sacerdos attractare non esset solitus. Dein cum quidam, seu spiritu divino tactus seu juvenali joco, visne Romam ire, Juno? dixisset, adnuisse ceteri deam conclamauerunt. Inde fabulae adjectum est vocem quoque dicentis velle auditam; motam certe sede sua parvi molimenti adminiculis, sequentis modo accepimus levem ac facilem tralatu fuisse, integramque in Aventinum aeternam sedem suam quo vota Romani dictatoris vocaverant perlatam, ubi templum ei postea idem qui voverat Camillus dedicavit.

When the wealth that belonged to men had now been carried away out of Veii, they began to remove the possessions of the gods and the gods themselves, but more in the manner of worshippers than pillagers. For out of all the army youths were chosen, and made to cleanse their bodies and to put on white garments, and to them the duty was assigned of conveying Queen Juno to Rome. Reverently entering her temple, they scrupled at first to approach her with their hands, because this image was one that according to Etruscan practice none but a priest of a certain family was wont to touch; when one of them, whether divinely inspired or out of youthful jocularity, asked "Wilt thou go, Juno, to Rome?"—whereat the others all cried out that the goddess had nodded assent. It was afterwards added to the story that she had also been heard to say that she was willing. At all events we are told that she was moved from her place with contrivances of little power, as though she accompanied them voluntarily, and was lightly and easily transferred and carried safe and sound to the Aventine, the eternal home to which the prayers of the Roman dictator had called her; and there Camillus afterwards dedicated to her the temple which he himself had vowed.

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VII. RITUALS

VII.1. Livy 39.8–9.1.

Insequens annus Sp. Postumium Albinum et Q. Marcium Philippum consules ab exercitu bellorumque et provinciarum cura ad intestinae conjurationis vindictam avertit. . . . Consulibus ambobus quaestio de clandestinis conjurationibus decreta est. Graecus ignobilis in Etruriam primum venit nulla cum arte earum, quas multas ad animorum corporumque cultum nobis eruditissima omnium gens invexit, sacrificulus et vates; nec is qui aperta religione, propalam et quaestum et disciplinam profitendo, animos errore imbueret, sed occultorum et nocturnorum antistes sacrorum. Initia erant, quae primo paucis tradita sunt, deinde vulgari coepta sunt per viros mulieresque. Additae voluptates religioni vini et epularum, quo plurium animi illicerentur. Cum vinum animos [incendissent], et nox et mixti feminis mares, aetatis tenerae majoribus, discrimen omne pudoris exstinxissent, corruptelae primum omnis generis fieri coeptae, cum ad id quisque, quo natura pronioris libidinis esset, paratam voluptatem haberet. Nec unum genus noxae, stupra promiscua ingenuorum feminarumque erant, sed falsi testes, falsa signa testamentaque et indicia ex eadem officina exibant: venena indidem intestinaeque caedes, ita ut ne corpora quidem interdum ad sepulturam exstarent. Multa dolo, pleraque per vim audebantur. Occulebat vim quod prae ululatibus tympanorumque et cymbalorum strepitu nulla vox quiritantium inter stupra et caedes exaudiri poterat. Huius mali labes ex Etruria Romam veluti contagione morbi penetravit.

The following year [i.e., 186 BCE] diverted the consuls Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Marcius Philipus from the army and the administration of wars and provinces to the suppression of an internal conspiracy. . . . To both consuls the investigation of secret conspiracies was decreed. A nameless Greek came first to Etruria, possessed of none of those many arts which the Greek people, supreme as it is in learning, brought to us in numbers for the cultivation of mind and body, but a dabbler in sacrifices and a fortune-teller; nor was he one who, by frankly disclosing his creed and publicly proclaiming both his profession and his system, filled minds with error, but a priest of secret [Bacchic] rites performed by night. There were initiatory rites which at first were imparted to a few, then began to be generally known among men and women. To the religious element in them were added the delights of wine and feasts, that the minds of a larger number might

be attracted. When wine had inflamed their minds, and night and the mingling of males with females, youth with age, had destroyed every sentiment of modesty, all varieties of corruption first began to be practised, since each one had at hand the pleasure of answering to that to which his nature was more inclined. There was not one form of vice alone, the promiscuous matings of free men and women, but perjured witnesses, forged seals and wills and evidence, all issued from this same workshop: likewise poisonings and secret murders, so that at times not even the bodies were found for burial. Much was ventured by craft, more by violence. This violence was concealed because amid the howlings and the crash of drums and cymbals no cry of the sufferers could be heard as the debauchery and murders proceeded.

The destructive power of this evil spread from Etruria to Rome like the contagion of a pestilence.

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VII.2. Livy 7.15.9–11.

Eodem anno et a consulibus vario eventu bellatum; nam Hernici a C. Plautio devicti subactique sunt, Fabius collega eius incaute atque inconsulte adversus Tarquinienses pugnavit. Nec in acie tantum ibi cladis acceptum quam quod trecentos septem milites Romanos captos Tarquinienses immolarunt; qua foeditate supplicii aliquanto ignominia populi Romani insignitior fuit.

In the same year [i.e., 359–358 BCE] the consuls, too, waged war with varying success. Gaius Plautius defeated the Hernici and reduced them to subjection; his colleague Fabius showed neither prudence nor skill in his battle with the Tarquinienses. And yet the disaster experienced on the field was overshadowed by the fact that the Tarquinienses slew three hundred and seven captured Roman soldiers as a sacrifice—an act of savage cruelty that greatly emphasized the humiliation of the Roman People.

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VII.3. Herodotos 1.167.

Τῶν δὲ διαφθαρείσων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἱ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ . . . ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν πολλῶ πλείστους καὶ τούτους ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. Μετὰ δὲ Ἀγυλλαίοισι πάντα τὰ παριόντα τὸν χῶρον, ἐν τῷ οἱ Φωκαίεες καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγένετο διάστροφα καὶ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι. Οἱ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον, βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασθαι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα. Ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιέειν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐναγίζουσι σφι μεγάλως καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν Φωκαίων τοιοῦτω μῶρῳ διεχρήσαντο. Οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμώμενοι ἐκθήσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρῆς ταύτην ἣτις νῦν Ὑέλη καλεῖται. Ἐκτίσαν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνιῆτεω μαθόντες ὡς τὸν Κύρνον σφι ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἥρων ἐόντα. ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νῆσον. Φωκαίης μὲν νυν πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὕτως ἔσχε.

As for the crews of the destroyed ships [of Phocaeans], the Carchedonians and Tyrrhenians drew lots for them: and [by far the greater share of them falling to the Tyrrhenian city of Agylla] the Agyllaeans led them out and stoned them to death. But after this all from Agylla, whether sheep or beasts of burden or men, that passed the place where the stoned Phocaeans lay, became distorted and crippled and palsied. The Agyllaeans sent to Delphi, desiring to heal their offence; and the Pythian priestess bade them do what the people of Agylla to this day perform: for they pay great honors to the Phocaeans, with religious rites and games, and horse-races.

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VIII. THUNDER AND LIGHTNING

VIII.1. Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturales* 2.32.2.

Hoc inter nos et Tuscos, quibus summa est fulgurum persequendorum scientia, interest: nos putamus, quia nubes collisae sunt, fulmina emitti; ipsi existimant nubes

collidi ut fulmina emittantur; nam, cum omnia ad deum referant, in ea opinione sunt tamquam non, quia facta sunt, significant, sed quia significatura sunt, fiant.

This is the difference between us and the Etruscans, who have consummate skill in interpreting lightning: we think that because clouds collide, lightning is emitted. They believe that clouds collide in order that lightning may be emitted. Since they attribute everything to divine agency they are of the opinion that things do not reveal the future because they have occurred, but that they occur because they are meant to reveal the future.

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VIII.2. Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturales* 2.39.

Genera fulgurum tria esse ait Caecina, consiliarium, auctoritatis et quod status dicitur. Consiliarium ante rem fit sed post cogitationem, cum aliquid in animo versantibus aut suadetur fulminis ictu aut dissuadetur. Auctoritatis est ubi post rem factam venit, quam bono futuram malove significat. Status est ubi quietis nec agentibus quicquam nec cogitantibus quidem fulmen intervenit et aut minatur aut promittit aut monet. Hoc monitorium vocat, sed nescio quare non idem sit quod consiliarium, nam et qui monet consilium dat.

Caecina says there are three kinds of lightning, the advising, the confirming, and that which is called the conditional. The advising one happens before the event but after a thought has been conceived, when people who are planning something in their minds are either persuaded or dissuaded by a stroke of lightning. The confirming lightning comes after action has been done, indicating whether it will be good or bad. The conditional lightning comes to people who are quiet, doing nothing, not even thinking, and it either threatens, promises or warns.

(See credit under Section VIII.1 above.)

VIII.3. Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturales* 2.41.1–2.

Haec adhuc Etruscis philosophisque communia sunt. In illo dissentiunt quod fulmina a Jove dicunt mitti et tres

illi manubias dant. Prima, ut aiunt, monet et placata est et ipsius Jouis consilio mittitur. Secundam mittit quidem Jupiter, sed ex consilii sententia, duodecim enim deos advocat; hoc fulmen boni aliquid aliquando facit, sed tunc quoque non aliter quam ut noceat; ne prodest quidem impune. Tertiam manubiam idem Jupiter mittit, sed adhibitis in consilium diis quos superiores et involutos vocant, quia vastat in quae incidit et utique mutat statum privatum et publicum quem invenit; ignis enim nihil esse quod fuit patitur.

The views up to this point are common to both Etruscans and philosophers. They disagree on this: namely, that the Etruscans say lightning is sent by Jupiter and they assign to him three types of equipment. The first type, so they say, gives a gentle warning and is sent by a decision of Jupiter himself. Jupiter also sends the second type but in accordance with the advice of his council, for he summons the twelve gods. This lightning occasionally brings about some good, but even then it causes some harm. It does not confer benefits without causing damage. Jupiter also sends the third type of lightning but he summons into council the gods whom the Etruscans call the Superior, or Veiled, Gods, because the lightning destroys whatever it strikes and, particularly, alters the state of private or public affairs that it finds existing. For the fire does not permit anything to remain as it was.

(See credit under Section VIII.1 above.)

VIII.4. Seneca, *Quaestiones naturales* 2.45.

Eundem quem nos Jovem intelligent, rectorem custodemque universi, animum ac spiritum mundi, operis huius dominum et artificem, cui nomen omne convenit. Vis illum fatum vocare, non errabis; hic est ex quo suspensa sunt omnia, causa causarum. Vis illum providentiam dicere, recte dices; est enim cuius consilio huic mundo providetur, ut inoffensus exeat et actus suos explicet. Vis illum naturam vocare, non peccabis; hic est ex quo nata sunt omnia, cuius spiritu vivimus. Vis illum vocare mundum, non falleris; ipse enim est hoc quod vides totum, partibus suis inditus, et se sustinens et sua. Idem Etruscis quoque visum est, et ideo fulmina mitti dixerunt a Iove quia sine illo nihil geritur.

They [ancient sages] recognize the same Jupiter, the controller and guardian of the universe, the mind and spirit of the world, the lord and artificer of this creation. Any name for him is suitable. You wish to call him Fate? You

will not be wrong. It is he on whom all things depend, the cause of causes. You wish to call him Providence? You will still be right. It is by his planning that provision is made for this universe so that it may proceed without stumbling and fulfill its appropriate functions. You wish to call him Nature? You will not be mistaken. It is he from whom all things are naturally born, and we have life from his breath. You wish to call him the Universe? You will not be wrong. He himself is all that you see, infused throughout all his parts, sustaining both himself and his own. The Etruscans had the same concept, and so they said lightning was sent by Jupiter because nothing is done without him.

(See credit under Section VIII.1 above.)

VIII.5. Seneca, *Quaestiones naturales* 2.47.

Huic illorum divisioni non accedo. Aiunt aut perpetua esse fulmina, aut finita, aut prorogativa. Perpetua, quorum significatio in totam pertinet vitam nec unam rem denuntiat sed contextum rerum per omnem deinceps aetatem futurarum complectitur; haec sunt fulmina quae prima accepto patrimonio et in novo hominis aut [u]rbis statu fi[un]t. Finita ad diem utique respondent. Prorogativa sunt quorum minae differri possunt, averti tollique non possunt.

I do not agree with the Etruscan classification: they say that lightning bolts are “perpetual,” “limited,” or “deferred.” The prognostication of the perpetual ones pertains to the entire life; it does not give notice of a single event but embraces the chain of events which will happen throughout the whole subsequent lifetime. These are the lightning bolts which first occur when someone has received an inheritance or a new phase begins for a man or a city. Limited ones correspond exactly to a date. Deferred are those whose threats can be postponed but cannot be averted and cancelled.

(See credit under Section VIII.1 above.)

VIII.6. Seneca, *Quaestiones naturales* 2.49–50.1.

Nunc nomina fulgurum quae a Caecina ponuntur [per]stringam et quid de eis sentiam exponam. Ait esse postulatoria, quibus sacrificia intermissa aut non rite facta repetuntur; monitoria, quibus docetur quid cavendum sit; pestifera, quae mortem exiliumque portendunt; fallacia, quae per speciem alicuius boni nocent,–dant consulatum malo futurum gerentibus et hereditatem cuius compendium magno luendum sit incommodo–; dentanea, quae

speciem periculi sine periculo afferunt; peremptalia, quibus tolluntur priorum fulminum minae; attestata, quae prioribus consentiunt; atterranea, quae in cluso fiunt; obruta, quibus iam prius percussa nec procurata feriuntur; regalia, cum [f]orum tangitur vel comitium vel principalia urbis liberae loca, quorum significatio regnum civitati minatur; inferna, cum e terra exiliuit ignis; hospitalia, quae sacrificiis ad nos Jovem arcessunt et, ut verbo eorum molliore utar, invitant,–sed non irasceretur invitatus; nunc venire eum magno invitantium periculo affirmant–; auxiliaria, quae invocata sed advocantium bono veniunt.

Quanto simplicior divisio est qua utebatur Attalus noster, vir egregius, qui Etruscorum disciplinam Graeca subtilitate miscuerat.

Now I will briefly give the names proposed for lightning flashes by Caecina and explain what I think about them. He says that there are the “demanding” ones, which demand that sacrifices be redone if interrupted or not performed properly; the “admonitory,” which indicate what must be guarded against; the “deadly,” which portend death and exile; the “deceptive,” which do harm under the guise of some good; for example they give consulships which will be disastrous for the men in office, or bestow inheritance of which the profit must be compensated for by great trouble; the “threatening,” which bear the appearance of danger without danger. The “cancelling” lightning flashes cancel the threats of prior lightning. The “confirming” agree with prior lightning flashes. The “earthy” occur in a closed place. The “overwhelming” strike things already previously struck but not expiated. The “royal” smite the forum or the assembly ground or the government quarters of a free city, and their meaning for a state is the threat of monarchy. The “infernal” cause fire to leap out of the ground. The “hospitable” summon, or to use their gentler term “invite,” Jupiter to our company at sacrifices. But he would not be angry if “invited.” As it is, they say he comes with great dangers to those “inviters.” The “helping” lightning flashes are “called on,” but they come for the good of the callers.

How much simpler is the division which our Attalus used, an outstanding man who mixed the skill of the Etruscans with Greek accuracy.

(See credit under Section VIII.1 above.)

VIII.7. Servius, *Ad Aen.* 1.42.

Cum Varro divinarum quinto quattuor diis fulmina adsignet, inter quos et Minervae, quaeritur, cur Minerva

Jovis fulmen miserit. Antiqui Jovis solius putaverunt esse fulmen, nec id unum esse, ut testantur Etrusci libri de fulguratura, in quibus duodecim genera fulminum scripta sunt, ita ut est Jovis Junonis Minervae, sic quoque aliorum . . . in libris Etruscorum lectum est jactus fulminum manubias dici et certa esse numina possidentia fulminum jactus, ut Jovem Vulcanum Minervam. Cavendum ergo est, ne aliis hoc numinibus demus.

Since Varro in his fifth book on divine matters assigns the lightning bolt to four gods, among whom is Minerva, it is asked why Minerva sent the lightning of Jupiter. The ancients thought the lightning belonged to Jupiter alone, but that was not one kind, as attested by the Etruscan books on lightning, in which twelve types of lightning are described, so that there is one of Jupiter, one of Juno, one of Minerva and thus also of others . . . in the books of the Etruscans it is read that bolts of lightning are called *manubiae*. And certain divinities possess the bolts of lightning, such as Jupiter, Vulcan, Minerva. We must beware lest we attribute this to other divinities.

VIII.8. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 2.138–140.

Tuscorum litterae novem deos emittere fulmina existimant, eaque esse undecim generum; Jovem enim trina iaculari. Romani duo tantum ex iis servavere, diurna attribuentes Jovi, nocturna Summano, rariora sane eadem de causa frigidioris caeli. Etruria erumpere terra quoque arbitratur, quae infera appellat, brumali tempore facta saeva maxime et execrabilia, cum sint omnia, quae terrena existimant, non illa generalia nec a sideribus venientia, sed ex proxima atque turbidior natura. Argumentum evidens, quod omnia superiora e caelo decidentia obliquos habent ictus, haec autem, quae vocant terrena, rectos. E[t] qua[e] ex propiore materia cadunt, ideo creduntur e terra exire, quoniam ex repulso nulla vestigia edunt, cum sit illa ratio non inferi ictus, sed adversi. A Saturni ea sidere proficisci subtilius ista consecrati putant, sicut opulentissimum, totum concrematum est fulmine. Vocant et familiaria in totam vitam fatidica, quae prima fiunt familiam suam cuique indepto. Ceterum existimant non ultra decem annos portendere privata, praeterquam aut primo patrimonio facta aut natali die, publica non ultra tricesimum annum, praeterquam in deductione oppidi.

The Tuscan writers hold the view that there are nine gods who send thunderbolts, and that these are of eleven kinds, because Jupiter hurls three varieties. Only two of the deities have been retained by the Romans, who attribute

thunderbolts in the daytime to Jupiter and those in the night to Summanus, the latter being naturally rare because the sky at night is colder. Tuscany [lit. “Etruria”] also believes that some burst out of the ground, which it calls “low bolts,” and that these are rendered exceptionally direful and accursed by the season of winter, though all the bolts that they believe of earthly origin are not the ordinary ones and do not come from the stars but from the nearer and more disordered element: a clear proof of this being that all those coming from the upper heaven deliver slanting blows, whereas these which they call earthly strike straight. And those that fall from the nearer elements are supposed to come out of the earth because they leave no traces as a result of their rebound, although that is the principle not of a downward blow, but of a slanting one. Those who pursue these enquiries with more subtlety think that these come from the planet Saturn, just as the inflammatory ones come from Mars, as, for instance, when Bolsena [= Volsinii], the richest town in Tuscany, was entirely burnt up by a thunderbolt. Also the first ones that occur after a man sets up house for himself are called “family meteors,” as foretelling his fortune for the whole of his life. However, people think that private meteors, except those that occur either at a man’s first marriage or on his birthday, do not prophesy beyond ten years, nor public ones beyond the 30th year, except those occurring at the colonization of a town.

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VIII.9. Zosimos 5.41.

Περὶ δὲ ταῦτα οὖσιν αὐτοῖς Πομπηϊανὸς ὁ τῆς πόλεως ὑπαρχος ἐνέτυχέ τιςιν ἐκ Τουσκίας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικομένοις, οἱ πόλιν ἔλεγόν τινα Ναρνίαν ὄνομα τῶν περιστάτων ἐλευθερῶσαι κινδύνων, καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐχῇ καὶ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια θεραπείᾳ βροντῶν ἐξαισίων καὶ πρηστήρων ἐπιγενομένων τοὺς ἐπικειμένους βαρβάρους ἀποδιῶξαι. Τούτοις διαλεχθεὶς ἔπεισιν ὅσα ἐκ τῶν ἱερατικῶν ὄφελος· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κρατοῦσαν κατὰ νοῦν ἐλάμβανε δόξαν, ἀσφαλέστερον ἐθέλων πράξαι τὸ σπουδαζόμενον ἀνατίθεται πάντα τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπῳ· ἦν δὲ Ἰννοκέντιος· ὁ δὲ τὴν τῆς πόλεως

σωτηρίαν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς οἰκείας ποιησάμενος δόξης λάθρα ἔφηκεν ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ἅπερ ἴσασιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ἔφασαν τῇ πόλει τὰ γενόμενα συντελέσειν, εἰ μὴ δημοσίᾳ τὰ νομιζόμενα πραχθείη, τῆς γερουσίας εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναβαινούσης, αὐτόθι τε καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀγοραῖς ὅσα προσήκει πραττούσης, οὐκ ἐθάρρησεν οὐδείς τῆς κατὰ τὸ πάτριον μετασχεῖν ἀγιστείας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Τουσκίας παρήκαν, ἐτρέψησαν δὲ εἰς τὸ θεραπεῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον καθ' ὅσον ἂν οἰοί τε γίνωνται.

While this was the situation, Pompeianus, the prefect of the city, met some people who came from Tuscia to Rome who said that they had freed a city, Narnia by name, from its surrounding dangers and had chased away the attacking barbarians by means of both a prayer to the divine and by cultivating the occurrence of extraordinary thunder and whirlwinds according to their ancestral rites. Having been told this, Pompeianus was convinced how great the help would be from the priestly offices. Then he adopted an opinion according to reason, wishing to do the necessary business with greater safety, that is, to entrust all matters to the bishop of the city. This man was Innocentius. Placing the salvation of the city over domestic common opinion, secretly he allowed them [the Tuscans] to perform the rites which they knew. Then they said things were not going to turn out differently in the city, unless the customary rites were performed in public, when the Senate met on the Capitolium and conducted its usual business either there or in the fora of the city. No one dared to participate in the holy rites contrary to their own custom, but they sent away those men from Tuscia, and turned to dealing with the barbarian as best they could.

(Translated by Svetla Slaveva-Griffin.)

IX. DEMONS AND SPIRITS

IX.1. Servius, *Ad Aen.* 3.168.

Id est unde originem ducimus, ut deos Penates quasi Troianos intellegas, et ad ritum referri, de quo dicit Labeo in libris qui appellantur de diis animalibus: in quibus ait, esse quaedam sacra quibus animae humanae vertantur in deos, qui appellantur animales, quod de animis fiant. Hi autem sunt dii Penates et viales.

That is whence we take the origin, so that you may understand the Penates gods as Trojan, and to the rite is to be referred that concerning which Labeo speaks, in the books

which are named from the gods from whom there is an *animal* origin, in which he says that there are certain sacred acts by which human *animae* (souls) are turned into gods, who are called *animales*, because they come from *animae*. These, moreover, are the Penates gods and gods of the crossroads.

IX.2. Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 2.62.

Quod Etruria libris in Acheronticis pollicentur, certorum animalium sanguine numinibus certis dato divinas animas fieri et ab legibus mortalitatis educi.

(Source of text: Thulin 1, 9)

And they promise this in the *Acherontic Books* in Etruria, that by the blood of certain animals divine souls become endowed with certain numinous spirits and they are led away from the laws of mortality.

IX.3. Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 3.40.

Idem rursus [Nigidius] in libro sexto exponit et decimo, disciplinas Etruscas sequens, genera esse Penatium quattuor et esse Jovis ex his alios, alios Neptuni, inferorum tertios, mortalium hominum quartos. . . . Varro qui sunt introrsus atque in intimis penetralibus caeli deos esse censet quos loquimur (Penates) nec eorum numerum nec nomina sciri. Hos Consentes et Complices Etrusci aiunt et nominant, quod una oriantur et occidunt una, sex mares et totidem feminas, nominibus ignotis et miserationis parcissimae; sed eos summi Jovis consiliarios ac principes existimari.

(Text: Thulin 1, 29–30.)

Likewise (Nigidius) explains in his sixth book and in his tenth, following the Etruscan teachings, that there are four types of Penates, and that the first of these is of Jupiter, the second of Neptune, the third of the inhabitants of the lower world, the fourth of mortal men. . . . Varro thinks that those of whom we speak (the Penates) are inside and within innermost chambers, and neither their number nor their names are known. The Etruscans say and call them Consentes and Complices, because they arise together and they fall together, six males and six females, with unknown names and of the most meager compassion. But they are thought to be counsellors and princes of highest Jupiter.

IX.4. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 2.154.

Exstat annalium memoria sacris quibusdam et precationibus vel cogi fulmina vel impetrari. Vetus fama Etru-

riae est, impetratum Volsinios urbem depopulatis agris subeunte monstro, quod vocavere Oltam, evocatum a Porsina suo rege.

Historical record also exists of thunderbolts being either caused by or vouchsafed in answer to certain rites and prayers. There is an old story of the latter in Etruria when the portent which they called Olta came to the city of Bolsena [= Volsinii] when its territory had been devastated; it was sent in answer to the prayer of its king Porsina.

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vard University Press, 1938, pp. 277. Loeb Classical Library © is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.)

NOTES

1. Minor editing changes in punctuation and orthography have been introduced in the interest of consistency. Consonantal *u* in Latin has been written as *v*, and consonantal *i* as *j*. Quotation marks are not used within the Latin and Greek texts.

2. The word order and particular details of the text given in *TLL* have been adjusted to conform to the sequence and translation of details as given below.

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