Trace evidence for at least 6 different ethnic identities are traceable in the Etruscan texts from c. 700 BC onwards: I. Luwian, II. (pre- or non-Greek) East-Aegean, III. Italic, IV. Greek, V. Phoenician, and VI. Celtic. All these ethnic identities blend into the uniform Etruscan civilization as it is known to us also from c. 700 BC onwards.

In the following, the names in question, ordered according to their ethnic background, will be exemplified by presenting their earliest attestation in the Etruscan texts (cited according to Rixe e.a. 1991 unless indicated otherwise), or, in absence of an epigraphic attestation, the earliest historical source. Focus will be on the Orientalizing and Archaic periods (from c. 700 BC to beginning of the 5th century BC), because this is most revealing about the multi-ethnic origins of Etruscan civilization.

For brevity’s sake, use will be made in the enumeration of the names according to their different categories of the following abbreviations, modelled after Hadas-Lebel 2004: PR = praenomen, m = male, f = female, GE = gentilicium, CO = cognomen. It should be realized in this connection, that the gentilicium is a typicalItalic phenomenon, unparalleled for the eastern Mediterranean, where the praenomen as a rule is specified only by that of the father in the genitive, either with or without a word for “son”, cf. Luwian hieroglyphic Katuwasa Suḥisasa inamnamωwaṭsa “Katuwas, son of Sukhis” (Karkamis A2-3, phrase 1 [simplified version of the text by omitting the honorary titles])¹ and Lycian Kudali Zuhrija tideimi “Kudali, son of Zuhrija-” (TL 1) and Pulenjda Mullijeseh “Pulenja, (son) of Mullijesi-” (TL 6) (Houwink ten Cate 1961, 87-8). Also the distinction between male and female gender, which is foreign to Etruscan grammar, can be attributed to Italian influences (see further the section on morphology). Even though tripartite name formulas sometimes turn up in 6th century BC inscriptions, the cognomen, as stipulated by Hadas-Lebel (2004, 206), constitutes a development from

¹ For the Luwian hieroglyphic texts cited, see Woudhuizen 2004, except when indicated otherwise.
the 5th century BC onwards, so that it will not be of concern to us in the present
contribution.

I. LUWIAN

1. Tarḫna- [GE], Tarzi [PRw]
   Vc 7.33, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of c. 580 BC)
   Cneve Tarḫunies Rumaŋ “Gnaeus Tarquinius from Rome”
   Cf. Luwian hieroglyphic Tarḫuntasuwas (Kötükale, late 10th or early 9th century
   BC), Tarḫunasis, and Tarḫuwarwarpas (Bulgarmaden, late 8th century BC).
   These masculine personal names are derived from the divine name Tarḫu(nt)-,
   which in its turn is based on PIE *terh 2- “to overcome, surpass” (Woudhuizen
   1992a, s.v. tarchnalthi; Woudhuizen 1998, 181; 192). The diffusion of the
   Tarḫunt-cult to western Anatolia is evidenced by Lycian Trqqñt- or Trqqas
   (Houwink ten Cate 1961, 126), the demos Tarkundara at Mylasa in Caria
   (Woudhuizen 1992b, 7, note 28a), the epklesis Targuēnos of Zeus in Lydia
   (Woudhuizen 2005, 142), and the heroic name Tarkhōn as reported for Mysia by

2. Θihvarie-, Θefarie- [PRw]
   Cr 2.7, c. 675-650 BC
   mi Θihvariese Cisie “I (am) of Théfarie Cisie”
   Cf. Luwian hieroglyphic Asītiwatas or, rhotacized, Asītiwaras (Karatepe, c. 710
   BC), and Lydian Tivdas (Gusmani 1964, Lyd. no. 5). The onomastic element
tiwata- or tiwara- is derived from the name of the sun-god, Tiwata-, which con-
stitutes a reflex of PIE *dyēw- (cf. Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. thefarie(i); Woudhuizen
   1998, 185).

3. Mezentie- [GE], Mesnamer [PRw]
   Caere, c. 680/675-650/640 BC (Heurgon 1992)
   mi Laucies Mezenties “I (am) of Lūcius Mezenties”
   Vn 0.1, late 7th century BC
   ixo eme Mesnamer Tan śina<s> “I (am) the thank-offering (of)
mulu Mesnamer Tansinas”
   Cf. Luwian hieroglyphic Masanas and Masanasimis (Karatepe, c. 710 BC), and
   Carian Me 1sewe and Mesna- (Classical period) (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. mezen-
ties; Woudhuizen 1998, 186).

4. Velχa(i)na- [GE], Velχe [PRw]
   Cr 3.11, late 7th or early 6th century BC

2 For the gentilicium Cisie, cf. Vt 1.15.
mini mulvanice Mamerce  “Mamerce Velkhanas has offered me as a vow.”

Velžanas  
Cr 3.13, late 7th or early 6th century BC  
mi mulu Licinesi Velžainasi  “I (am) the thank-offering of Licinu Velkhainas”

La 3.1 and Cr 3.10, late 7th or early 6th century BC  
mi mulu Larisale Velžainasi  “I (am) the thank-offering of Laris Velkhainas”

Cf. Hittite wallḥ- “to strike, hit, smite” from PIE *wélh₂-, attested in onomastics for the epiklesis of Zeus at Phaistos, Velkhanos, and that of Apollo in the region of the Meander, Bilkonios (Pfiffig 1975, s.v. Velchans; Woudhuizen 1998, 182); this root is further present in the Cyprian month name wa-la-ka-ni-o ᾧλάκανιο as recorded for a Cypriote syllabic inscription (Neumann 1985; cf. Masson 1983, no. 299).

5.  Muḫsie- [GE]
Volterra TLE 386, c. 530 BC  
mi Avileš  “I (am) of Avle”

Tite Muḫsie muluenike  “Titus Mukhsie has offered as a vow”

Cf. Luwian hieroglyphic Muksas (Çineköy and Karatepe, late 8th century BC), and the historically related Lydian king Moksos, whose rule should probably be situated in the period of the Sea Peoples at the beginning of the 12th century BC (Houwink ten Cate 1961, 45; Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. muchsie; Woudhuizen 1998, 186).

6.  Velavešna- [GE]
Cl 2.3, c. 625-600 BC  
mi Aroṭia Velavešna zamaṭi  “I (am) for Arathia Velavesnas in gold (?)”

Manurke mulvenike Tursikina<s>  “Mamerce Tursikinas has offered as a vow”

Cf. Luwian hieroglyphic Piḥawalwas and Walwazitis as attested for Late Bronze Age seals, both showing the onomastic element walwa- “lion” (Laroche 1960, s.v. *97), which lingers on in Lydian in the form of Valve- as attested for coins from the 7th century BC (Gusmani 1964, no. 52; for the dating, see ibid., 17; cf. Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. velavešnaš).

7.  Arnθ, Arruns [PR^a], Arnθi [PR]
Praenomen of the brother of Tarquinius Priscus (616-579 BC) as recorded by Livius, History of Rome I, 34, 2.  
Cr 3.20, beginning of the 6th century BC  
mi(ni) Arnθ Ramuθasi  “Arnθ has offered me as a vow”

Vestiricinala muluvanice  to Ramtha Vestiricianas”
Cf. the Hittite royal name Arnuwandas (Late Bronze Age), which appears in Luwian hieroglyphic in the centre of royal disc seals as Arnutas. This Hittite royal name lingers on among the Neo-Hittites of the Early Iron Age as Aranu-Â•466-s (Karkamis, late 10th century BC) or Arawatas (Darende, late 10th or early 9th century BC) (cf. Woudhuizen 1998, 185-6).

8. **Romis [PR=]**
In an inscription on a lead lamina from the Malophoros sanctuary in Selinunte, Sicily, dated to the beginning of the 5th century BC mention is made of an Etruscan named Romis, son of Kailos (Albanese Procelli 2004, 303).
Cf. the Lycian masculine personal name Romos (Herbig 1914, 28), which is based on the divine name Ru(m/n)i- in like manner as Luwian hieroglyphic Ruwantas, see discussion of the next name.

9. **Râvnθu [PR'], Râvnθu- [GE]**
   Ta 7.46 and 7.51, c. 350-325 BC
   Râvnθu Aprθnai
   “Ravnthu Aprtnai”
Cf. Luwian hieroglyphic Ruwantas (Gürün and Kötükale, late 10th or early 9th century BC, and Topada, latter half of the 8th century BC [Woudhuizen 2005, 55]). This personal name is based on the divine name Ru(m/n)i- or earlier Kuruntas, which ultimately derives from PIE *κερθ-.

10. **Θarnie- [GE]**
   Vt 1.85, late 6th century BC
   mi Lârθia Θarnieś
   “I (am) for Larthia Tharnies”
Cf. Luwian hieroglyphic Tarnatispas (Karkamis, late 9th or early 8th century BC), of which the second onomastic element derives from the Hurritic divine name Tesup. Perhaps also relevant in this connection is the Lydian place name Tarnē.

11. **Camitlna- [GE]**
   Vc 7.32, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of c. 580 BC)
   Mârce Camitlnas
   “Mârcus Camitlnas”
This gentilicium consists of a derivation in -na- of the honorory title camθi- or canθ(i)-, indicative of a federative magistrate. The title in question derives from Luwian hieroglyphic hanta- “first” as applied in the titular expression hanta'tawat- “king” and, as an onomastic element, in the name of a Hittite general, Ḥantilis (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. camitlnas; Woudhuizen 1998, 186).

12. **Nanas [PR=]**
Name of the leader of the Pelasgian colonists of Cortona and son of Teutamides according to a passage in the Phoronis of Hellanikos of Lesbos as preserved in Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Roman Antiquities I, 28, 3.
Cf. the Luwian names Nnš “Nanas” and Mwnnš “Muwananas” as attested in
Semitic writing for seals from the same workshop as the Lyre Player Group, dated to the late 8th or early 7th century BC (Lemaire 1991). The onomastic element nana- originates from PIE n-ǵenh- “brother” (Woudhuizen 1998, 186-7).

13. **Laris [PR]**
   La 3.1 and Cr 3.10, late 7th or early 6th century BC
   "I (am) the thank-offering of Laris Velkhainas"

   Vc 7.27, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of c. 580 BC)
   "Laris Papaθnas Velznay"

   Ve 3.10, c. 600-550 BC
   "Laris Velkasnas has given me"

   Cf. Luwian hieroglyphic La(ra)s (Cekke, about the middle of the 8th century BC, and Topada, latter half of the 8th century BC) (Woudhuizen 2005, 20; 67).

14. **Kurtina- [GE]**
   Cl 2.4, c. 650-625 BC
   "I (am) of [ ]kina Kurtinas"

   "Do not take me (away), I (am) in use for dedication(s)!”

   Cf. Luwian hieroglyphic Kurtias (Bohça, late 8th century BC). This masculine personal name is of ultimate Phrygian origin (Gordias), and based on the same root as the place name Gordion (related to Pelasgian Gyrtone, Gortyns, etc.). The root in question is PIE *gʰord h- (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. kurtinaś; Woudhuizen 1998, 190).

II. EAST-AGEDAN

A. **Tursikina- [GE], Θuska [ethnonym]**
   Cl 2.3, c. 625-600 BC
   "I (am) for Aratha Velavesnas in gold (?)"

   "Mamerce Tursikinas has offered as a vow"

   Ta 3.1, c. 700 BC
   "I (am) of Vel Numasios, the Etrusco-Greek"

   "Drink, Kratilēs, drink two times"

   The two given forms present various phases in the development of the root of the ethnonym Tursēnoi or Turrhēnoi, recorded for the Aegean region among the pre-or non-Greek population groups. (To all probability, this ethnonym is an alternative indication for the people usually addressed as Pelasgians, see Woudhuizen 2006, section 12.) The first form presented here is marked by Celtic -kina-, rela-
ted to kinship terms like Greek *genos* and Latin *genus* originating from PIE *ǵeh₂*- “to procreate”, which will be discussed below. The second form shows the loss of medial [r], which also characterized the Latin name for the Etruscans, *Tusci*, and the related name of the later province, *Toscana* “Tuscany” (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *thuska* and *tursikina*).

1. *Kuleniie-* [GE]
   Fs 6.1, late 7th century BC
   *mi zinaku Larθuzale Kuleniieši* “I (am) the product of Larth Kuleniie”

   Cf. the name of the Trojan Idaean Dactyl, *Kyllēnos* (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopadie* s.v.). Note, however, that this name and others based on the same root are also attested for mainland Greece, especially the province of Arkadia (Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* VIII, 4, 6; 17,1), for which reason it is also grouped with the category of names of Greek origin below.

2. *Larθ, Lars* [PR*], *Larθi(a)* [PR]
   AO 2.1, c. 650 BC
   *mi Larθaia Telicles legiμuza* “I (am) the λεκυθος for Larthia Telicles”

   Cf. the Rhodian masculine personal name *Lartos* (Fick 1905, 47).

3. *Leθe* [PR*]
   REE 59 (1993) no. 22, 6th century BC
   *Leθaiemuluvanike mine Vhulves* “Lethaie Fulvus has offered me as a vow”

   Cf. the Pelasgian masculine personal name *Lethos* (Homer, *Iliad* XVII, 288).

4. *Larice, Larce* [PR*], *Larcna-* [GE]
   Cr 2.2, c. 700-675 BC
   *mi spanti Larices* “I (am) the plate of Larice”
   Po 2.21, late 4th or early 3rd century BC
   *Larcēs [t]a θafna* “This (is) the θafna of Larce”

   Cf. the masculine personal name *Larkas* as attested for a Phoenician from Rhodes (Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* VIII, 360).

5. *Vel* [PR*], *Velia* [PR*], *Velianas* [GE]
   Ta 3.1, c. 700 BC
   *mi Velel Θuska Criqu Numesiesi* “I (am) of Vel Numasios, the Etrusco-Greek”
   *putes Kratilies θis putes* “Drink, Kratilēs, drink two times”

   Cf. the place name *Velia* (= Hyele > Elea), a foundation by the Phokaians after their naval battle against Caere c. 540 BC (Herodotos, *Histories* I, 167). To all probability, the onomastic element in question is related to the Phrygian name of the sun-god, *Ouelas* (NPhr-87), and to be traced back to PIE *seh₂wöl*- “sun”.

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6. Θuker [PR=], Θucerna- [GE]
   AV 6.1, beginning of the 6th century BC
   (Θ)ucer itane zinace Titenas
   “Thucer Titenas has made this”
Cf. the Trojan ethnynom Teukroi, which is already attested for early 12th century BC Egyptian texts in the form of Tjeker (Woudhuizen 1998, 187).

7. Porsenna [GE]
The king of Clusium, Lars Porsenna, is offered the regalia at Rome in the course of the expulsion of the Tarquins and the foundation of the republic at 509 BC (Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Roman Antiquities V, 35, 1).
   The name Porsenna is a gentilicium in -na- derived from the honorary title purθ-ne or purtśvana, the root of which corresponds to the Greek magistracy prytanos, especially attested for the Greeks of western Anatolia and even their indigenous neighbors like the Kaunians (see discussion of Ramθa below). The real family name of Porsenna probably was Velθana- as attested for the bilingual inscription from Delphi (Woudhuizen 1992b, 181-2). For other gentilicia based on honorary titles, cf. Camitnana- (discussed sub I above) and Macstrna (< Latin magister).

8. Ramuθa, Ramθa [PR=]
   Cr 3.20, beginning of the 6th century BC
   mi(ni) Aranθ Ramuθasi
   Vestiricinala muluvanice
   “Arnth has offered me as a vow
   to Ramtha Vestiricinas”
   Cr 1.13, recent
   Ramθa Anini M. seɔ
   “Ramtha, the daughter of
   M(ārcus) Anini”
Cf. the family name Rmθ as attested for a 4th century BC inscription from Kaunos, reading poruθ Akχel Rmθ “Akhkel Rmth, prytanos” (Best 1981, 49); note that the use of a family name is exceptional for the eastern Mediterranean.

9. Murina- [GE]
   AS 1.409, recent
   Arnθ Murina L. Spurinal
   “Arnth Murina, (son) of L(ūcius) Spurina”
Cf. the Aiolian place name Myrina, also recorded in form of Morina- for the text of the Lemnos stele, dated c. 600 BC (Woudhuizen 1992a, 109-12).

10. Ocrisia [PR=]
    Mother of Servius Tullius (Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie, s.v.).
    Cf. the Phrygian epiklesis of Zeus, Akrisias, and the Pelasgian masculine perso-

3 Note that in texts of recent date, like, for instance, the Tabula Cortonensis, the ending of the nominative singular in -s (by the way, a clearly Indo-European feature) of the gentilicium tends to be dropped. Possibly early instances of this phenomenon may well be provided by Vn 1.1. and Cl 2.3, both from the latter half of the 7th century BC.
nal name Akrisios. These names are based on the PIE root *akr- or aker- “high”. For the interchange between [a] and [o], compare the correspondence of Greek Atreus to Phrygian Otreus.

III. **Italic**

A. *Latine*- [ethnonym]  
Ve 2.4, late 7th or early 6th century BC  
*mi Tites Latines* “I (am) of Titus Latinus”  
Evidently, the name in position of the gentilicium corresponds to the ethnonym of the Latins.

B. *Sepune*- [ethnonym]  
Cm 2.2, c. 600-550 BC  
*mi zavena Apulas Sepunes* “I (am) the θανα of Apula Sabinus”  
Also in this instance the name in the position of the gentilicium appears to be an ethnonym, this time corresponding to Osco-Umbrian Safina- “Sabine” (Woudhuizen 1998, s.v. †sapunes).

C. *Ṣarṣina*- [ethnonym]  
Ta 2.5, beginning of the 6th century BC  
*mi Lardha Ṣarṣinaia* “I (am) for Larth Sarsina”  
The root of the name in position of the gentilicium strikingly recalls that of the Sarsinates, an Umbrian tribe originally inhabiting Perugia (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. ṣlarinaṣ).

1. *Kaviie*- [PR*]  
AT 3.1, c. 650 BC  
*mi nulu Kaviiesi* “I (am) the thank-offering of Kavios”  
Faliscan Kavios and Oscan Gaavis. In Latin, this praenomen develops into Gaius, with loss of the intervocalic [v], on which see further below.

2. *Mamerce* [PR*]  
Cr 3.11, late 7th or early 6th century BC  
*mini mulvanice Mamerce* “Mamerce Velkhanas has offered Velχanas me as a vow.”  
Cr 2.40, late 7th or early 6th century BC  
*mi Mamerces Larnas Sayus* “I (am) of Mamerce Larnas Sakhus”

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Cl 2.3, c. 625-600 BC

*mì Aràthia Velaveśnaś zamāṭi* “I (am) for Arathia Velavesnas in gold (?)”

*Manurke mulvenike Tursikina<s>* “Mamerce Tursikinas has offered as a vow”

*Cf.* Faliscan *Mamercos (eco urna Tita<s>* Vendias Mamer[cos m]ed vhe[vhaked]*

“I (am) the urn of Tita Vendia, Mamercos has made me”, latter half of the 7th century BC, see Woudhuizen 1992b, 189, note 83) and Oscan *Mamerks*. In Latin, only a hypercoristicon of this praenomen occurs, *Mārcus*, on which see further below.

3. *Numesie-* [GE]

Ta 3.1, c. 700 BC

*mì Velel Òuska Criqu Numesiesi* “I (am) of Vel Numasios, the Etrusco-Greek”

*putes Kraītīles ðīs putes* “Drink, Kratilēs, drink two times”

*Cf.* Latin *Numasios* (Praeneste fibula: *Manios med vhevhaked Numasioi* “Manios has made me for Numasios”, latter half of the 7th century BC, see Gordon 1983, 75-6) and Oscan *Niūmsis*. The root of this name is also present in the Latin royal name *Pompilius Numa*, and, in the light of its relationship to the Celtiberian personal name *Numat(os)* and place name *Numantia* appears to be of clear Italo-Celtic antecedents (Woudhuizen 1998, *s.v.* numesiesi).

4. *Vetusia* [PR]

La 2.1, c. 650-625 BC

*Vetusia* “Vetusia”

*Cf.* the Latin masculine praenomen *Vetus*.

5. *Φapena-* [GE]

Cr X.3, c. 650-625 BC

*mì Kalaturus Φapenas (…)* “I (am) of Kalatur Fabius”

Etruscanized variant (gentilicium in -na-) of the Latin family name *Fabius*, derived from the Latin word for “bean”, *faba*.

6. *Hvlave-* [PR*]

REE 57 (1991) no. 45, c. 700-650 BC

*mì Hvlaves spanti* “I (am) the plate of Flāvus”

Praenomen related to the Latin gentilicium *Flāvius* and likewise derived from Latin *flāvus* “blond”.

7. *Laive-* [PR*]

AV 2.1, first half of the 7th century BC

*mì Laives Sukisnas* “I (am) of Laivus Sukisnas”

Praenomen derived from Latin *laevus* “left”.

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8. **Licine-** [PR=]
   
   Cr 3.13, late 7th or early 6th century BC
   
   *mi mulu Licinesi Velqinasi*  
   “I (am) the thank-offering of Licinus Velkhainas”

   Praenomen derived from Latin *licinus* “with tight up hair”.

9. **Tite** [PR=], **Titela**- [PR=]
   
   Ve 2.4, late 7th or early 6th century BC
   
   *mi Tites Latines*  
   “I (am) of Titus Latinus”

   Cr 2.9, c. 675-650 BC
   
   *mi Titelas ōina*  
   “I (am) the deinos of Titela”

   *mla m[la]χ mlakas*  
   “A beautiful (vase) for a beautiful (person)”

   Note that *Titela* is a diminutive in -*la* (a suffix of Latin background) of *Tita*, first attested for the Faliscan urn of *Tita Vendia*, referred to in the discussion of *Mamerce* above.

10. **Spurie-** [PR=], **Spuriana-** [GE]
    
    Cr 3.4-8, c. 650-625 BC
    
    *mi Spurieisi Teiðurnasi aliu*  
    “I (am) the (vase name) of Spurius Teithurnas”

    Cr 3.9, late 7th century BC
    
    *mini Špurie Utaʃ mulvanice*  
    “Spurius Utas offered me as a vow”

    La 2.3, 6th century BC
    
    *Araz Silqetenas Špurianas*  
    “Arnth Silqetenas³ Spurianas”

    Cf. Oscan *Spuriís* and Latin *Spurius*.

11. **Caile** [PR=]
    
    Vc 7.24, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of c. 580 BC)
    
    *Caile Vipinas*  
    “Cailes Vibenna”

    Note that *Caile* is a diminutive in -*le* (a suffix of Latin background) of *Cai*, corresponding to Latin *Gaius*.

12. **Vipie** [PR=], **Vipienna-**, **Vipina-** [GE]
    
    Ve 3.11, c. 550 BC
    
    *mine muluv[an]ece Avile*  
    “Avle Vibenna has offered me as Vipienas a vow”

    Vc 7.24, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of c. 580 BC)
    
    *Caile Vipinas*  
    “Cailes Vibenna”

³ Considering the fact that the inscription is written on a tessera hospitalis, this gentilicium may well be analyzed as being based on the Sardinian place name *Sulcis* — a suggestion which receives further confirmation if we realize that the root in question occurs in combination with the ethnic morpheme -*te*- “from the place” (Bernardini 2004, 287; Woudhuizen 1992a, 80).
Vc 7.31, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of c. 580 BC)

Avle Vipinas “Aule Vibenna”

Cf. Oscan Vîbis.

13. Vhulve-, Vhulvena- [GE]
Narce, 6th century BC (REE 59 (1993) no. 22)

Leðaie mulvanike mine Vhulves “Lethaie Fulvus has offered me as a vow”

Ve 3.9, first half of the 6th century BC

mini mulvanike Larice Hvuluves “Larice Fulvus offered me as a vow”

Ve 3.30, 6th century BC

mini Θanirsii turice Hvuluves “Thanirsiiie Fulvus has given me”

Gentilicium derived from Latin fulvus “chestnut”.

14. Lusce- [PRm], Luscinate- [GE]

Cm 2.16, c. 550-500 BC

mi Lusces “I (am) of Luscus”

Cr 2.69, c. 550-500 BC

mi Luscinaies “I (am) of Luscinaie”

Gentilicium derived from Latin luscus “squint-eyed”.

15. Plavte- [PRm]

Cr 2.67, c. 530 BC

mi Plavtes “I (am) of Plautus”

Praenomen derived from Latin plautus “flatfoot”.

16. Rutile [PRm]

Ta 6.1, late 7th century BC

Acapri Rutile Hipucrates “Rutilus Akhapri, (son) of Hippokratēs”

Praenomen related to the Latin gentilicium Rutilius and likewise derived from Latin rutillus “reddish”.

17. Cneve

Vc 7.33, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of c. 580 BC)

Cneve Tarχunies Rumaχ “Gnaeus Tarquinius from Rome”

Cf. Latin Gnaeus.

18. Macstrna [GE]

Vc 7.25

Macstrna “Macstrna”

The name Macstrna, which corresponds to later Latin Mastarna as an alternative form of address for Servius Tullius (578-534 BC), shows the Etruscan formation of gentilicia in -na- attached to the Latin honorary title magister in Etruscanized
variant. For other gentilicia based on honorary titles, cf. the discussion of Porsenna and Camitlna-.

19. *Marce* [PR]
   Vc 7.32, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of c. 580 BC)
   *Marce Camitlnas* “Mārcus Camitlnas”
   Cf. Latin Mārcus.

20. *Venθi* [PR]
   Vc 7.30, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of c. 580 BC)
   *Venθi Cauleś Felsaχs* “Venthi Caules of the Faliscans”
   Cf. the Faliscan gentilicium Vendia as attested for the urn of Tita Vendia, referred to in the discussion of Mamerce above.

IV. **GREEK**

A. *Criqu* [ethnonym]
   Ta 3.1, c. 700 BC
   *mi Velel Θuska Criqu Numesiesi* “I (am) of Vel Numasios, the Etrusco-Greek”
   *putes Kraitiles θis putes* “Drink, Kratilēs, drink two times”
   The ethnonym *Criqu* “Greek” appears in texts of later date as *Craica* (Vc 2.33-4, middle of the 5th century BC), *Kraikalu* (Fe 2.7, 5th or 4th century BC, with diminutive -l-), or *Creice* (Ta 1.17, first half of the 2nd century BC). Note that the closest comparable evidence for the present form is provided by Salentine Greek *Griko* (Woudhuizen 1990-1, 156).

1. *Kraitiles* [PR]
   Ta 3.1, c. 700 BC
   *mi Velel Θuska Criqu Numesiesi* “I (am) of Vel Numasios, the Etrusco-Greek”
   *putes Kraitiles θis putes* “Drink, Kratilēs, drink two times”
   The praenomen *Kraitiles* corresponds to Greek *Kratulos, Kratilas or Kratilēs* under consideration of the fact that the diphthong ai results from secondary Etruscan influences. The phrase in which it occurs is not Etruscan at all, but a Greek adhortation to drinking in Etruscan script, compare for *putes* Aiolic Greek *pōthi* “drink” (though a 2nd person singular of the imperative aorist in -s is attested for Greek, the present form may perhaps be influenced by Latin *potes*) and for θis Greek *dis* “two times” (Woudhuizen 1990-1, 158-9).

2. *Telicles* [GE]
   AO 2.1, c. 650 BC
   *mi Larθaia Telicles leχtumuza* “I (am) the lekythos for Larthia Teliclēs”
Cf. Greek names in -klēs like Heraklēs.

3. **Kalatur** [PR^n]
   
   Cr X.3, c. 650-625 BC
   
   mi Kalaturus Φapenas (…)
   
   “I (am) of Kalatur Fabius”

   The praenomen *Kalatur* is derived from the Greek magistracy *kalētōr* “herald”, which is attested in the Italic context in form of *kalatoras* as recorded for a Messapic inscription on a herald’s staff (Whatmouth 1968, 295 f. [= no. 393]).

4. **Hipucrato-** [PR^n]
   
   Ta 6.1, late 7th century BC
   
   Aχapri Rutile Hipucrates
   
   “Rutilus Akhapri, (son) of Hippokratēs”

   Cf. Greek Hippokratēs.

5. **Kuleniie-** [GE]
   
   Fs 6.1, late 7th century BC
   
   mi zinaku Larθuzale Kuleniieśi
   
   “I (am) the product of Larth Kuleniie”

   The gentilicium Kuleniie-, which is also grouped with the names of East-Aegean origin above for its relationship with the name of the Trojan Idaean Dactyl *Kyllēnos*, corresponds to the cult name of Hermēs, *Kyllēnios*, after his sanctuary at Mt. Kyllēne in Arkadia (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. kuleniieśi).

6. **Dēmaratos** [PR^n]
   
   *Dēmaratos* was a wealthy Greek merchant from Corinth, who, as a member of the Bakkhiad family, had been driven from home by political upheaval and settled with his servants and artisans in Tarquinia sometime in the 7th century BC, where he married an Etruscan wife and begot two sons, Lucomo and Arruns, the first of which was to become king of Rome under the name Tarquinius Priscus (616-578 BC) (*cf.* Livius, *History of Rome* I, 34, 2 ff.). Note that the name *Dēmaratos* is also attested for a Spartan king who lost his bid for power with his co-regent Kleomenēs during the late 6th and early 5th century BC (Herodotos, *Histories* V, 75; etc.).

V. **Phoenician**

A. **Feluske-** [ethnonym]
   
   Vn 1.1, c. 650-600 BC
   
   mi Avleś Feluskeś
   
   “I (am) for Avle Tusnutnie, the
   
   Tişnutnie[s] panalaś
   
   mini muluvanike Hirumina<s>
   
   “The Perugian Hiruminas has
   
   Fersnays
   
   offered me as a vow”

   The ethnonym *Pelasgians* from Greek literary tradition to all probability corre-
In the 7th century BC, the Philistines are fully Semiticized, but their ultimate origin is Indo-European, as the numerous Pelasgian names based on Indo-European roots may illustrate (see Woudhuizen 2006, section 12; add that Goliath is likely to be analyzed in line with Lydian royal names like Alyattes and Sadyattes as a compound of Anatolian Ḫulaia- with Attes and Picol as a reflex of Anatolian Piğa-Lû).

1. **Avile, Avle-** [PR=]
   Vn 1.1, c. 650-600 BC
   
   *mi Avleš Feluskeš*
   “I (am) for Avle Tusnutnie, the

   *Tušnutnie[s] panalaš*
   Pelasgian, (…)”

   *mini muluvanike Hirumina<s>*
   “The Perugian Hiruminas has

   *Φersnaχs*
   offered me as a vow

   Ve 3.11, c. 550 BC
   
   *mi muluv[an]ece Avile*
   “Avle Vibenna has offered me as

   *Vipiennas*
   a vow

   The praenomen Avile- or Avle- originates from Semitic awīlu- “man, citizen” (Woudhuizen 1998, 187, note 388). Note, however, that a reflex of this same root is also found in Thracian onomastics as may be exemplified by the man’s name Avilopolis or Auloporis (Detschew 1976, s.v. Aulo-; Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. avile).

2. **Hirumina-** [GE]
   Vn 1.1, c. 650-600 BC
   
   *mi Avleš Feluskeš*
   “I (am) for Avle Tusnutnie, the

   *Tušnutnie[s] panalaš*
   Pelasgian, (…)”

   *mini muluvanike Hirumina<s>*
   “The Perugian Hiruminas has

   *Φersnaχs*
   offered me as a vow

   Cr 3.12, late 7th or early 6th century BC
   
   *mi Hirumesi mulu*
   “I (am) the thank-offering of Hirume”

   The gentilicium Hirumina- shows the formation in -na- attached to the praenomen Hirume-, the closest comparative evidence for which is provided by Phoenician Hiram (cuneiform Ḫirumu-, alphabetic ḥrm) (Woudhuizen 1998, s.v. hirumesi).

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* In the 7th century BC, the Philistines are fully Semiticized, but their ultimate origin is Indo-European, as the numerous Pelasgian names based on Indo-European roots may illustrate (see Woudhuizen 2006, section 12; add that Goliath is likely to be analyzed in line with Lydian royal names like Alyattes and Sadyattes as a compound of Anatolian Ḫulaia- with Attes and Picol as a reflex of Anatolian Piğa-Lû).
VI. CELTIC

1. *Numesie-* [GE]
   Ta 3.1, c. 700 BC
   *mi Velēl Θυσκα Criqu Numesiesi*  “I (am) of Vel Numasios, the
   Etrusco-Greek”
   *putes Kraitiles ὑσ putes*  “Drink, Kratilēs, drink two times”
   Apart from the Italic parallels discussed above, the root of this gentilicium can
   also be traced in the Celtiberian man’s name *Numat(os)* and place name
   *Numantia*, for which reason we have attributed to it an Italo-Celtic origin (cf.
   Woudhuizen 1998, s.v. *namesiesi*).

2. *-kina-, -cina-
   Cl 2.3, c. 625-600 BC
   *mi Araθia Velavešnaž samaθi*  “I (am) for Arathia Velavesnas in
   gold (?)”
   *Manurke mulvenike Tursikina<s>*  “Mamerce Tursikinas has offered
   as a vow”
   *Cr 3.20, beginning of the 6th century BC*
   *mi(ni) Aranθ Ramuθasi*  “Arnth has offered me as a vow
   Vestiricinala muluvanice* to Ramtha Vestiricinas”
   The gentilicia *Tursikina-* and *Vestiricina-* are is marked by Celtic *-kina-*, related
   to kinship terms like Greek *genos* and Latin *genus* originating from PIE *ǵenh1-

3. *Nemetie-* [PR n]
   Li 1.2, c. 500-450 BC
   *mi Nemetieś*  “I (am) of Nemetie”
   *Cf. Celtic nemeton* “sanctuary (< holy wood)”, also present as first element in the
   Celtiberian place name *Nemetobriga* (Woudhuizen 1998, 187, note 389; cf.

**Morphology**
As we have noted above, the gentilicium is a development typical for the Italian
theatre and unparalleled in the eastern Mediterranean region. The Etruscan genti-
icium is distinguished as such by the element *-na-* attached to the praenomen of
a founding father. With good reason, it has been argued that this element functions
in the same manner as Latin *-ius* in, for example, the family name *Brutius* from
the praenomen *Bruttus*, which means nothing else than “son of Brutus” (Torelli
1988, 83; de Simone 1989). Though the practice of distinguishing gentilicia may
be Italic, the element *-na-* used to this end in Etruscan is of definite Luwian origin,
as it corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *na-* “son” as attested for the Cekke text
(c. 750 BC) (Woudhuizen 2005, 19-20). In the course of time, Etruscan *-na-* be-
comes contaminated by the reflex of Latin \textit{-ius}, \textit{-ie-}, and thus gentilicia in \textit{-nie-} are developed (Hadas-Lebel 2004, 261-9).
Yet another Italic morphological feature of Etruscan onomastics is formed by the
distinction between masculine and feminine names. As we have already noted
such a distinction is foreign to Etruscan grammar, which only marks the distinc-
tion between communal gender and neuter. The marker of masculine names is
formed by the suffix \textit{-ie}, probably a reflex of Latin \textit{-ius}, whereas that of feminine
names consists of \textit{-(i)a-}, likewise of Latin or Italic origin. As exemplified by,
amongst others, \textit{Θihvarie-} and \textit{Titela}, these suffixes of Italic background are already
incorporated in the repertoire of Etruscan onomastics from the very start of
its attestation as a distinct category of names, i.e. from \textit{c. 700 BC} onwards. To
these two suffixes, Hadas-Lebel (2004, 259-92) adds the diminutive suffix \textit{-le}
(masculine) or \textit{-la} (feminine), which also can plausibly be traced back to a Latin
origin.

In the preceding survey of Etruscan onomastics covering the period of \textit{c. 700 BC}
to \textit{c. 475 BC}, I have in sum catalogued 14 names of Luwian origin (category I),
10 names plus one ethnonym of East-Aegean provenance (category II), 20 names
plus three ethnonyms of Greek background (category III), 6 names and one eth-
nonym of Semitic origin (category IV), 2 names and one ethnonym stemming from
a Semitic environment (category V), and 2 names plus one morpheme of Celtic
ancestors (category VI). In two instances from categories I and II (\textit{Ravnθu} and
\textit{Murina-}), the names in question are only attested in a later source, but their
eastern Mediterranean origin favors their introduction together with the other
names of these particular categories, in the early 7th century BC. In two other
instances, \textit{Kuleniie-} and \textit{Numesie-}, there is an overlap between two categories, as
the first can either belong to the East-Aegean (II) or Greek (IV) category, where-
as the second fits in with both the Italic (III) and Celtic (VI) evidence.

Among these 6 different categories, I, II, and III are, from their sheer numbers,
most important. If, on the basis of their shared eastern Mediterranean origin, we
are allowed to take categories I and II together, we arrive at a total number of 25
names which represent what are likely to be identified eastern foreigners in an
Italic milieu. As opposed to this, we are confronted with 23 names of local Italic
background, among which can be distinguished ones of Latin (the majority of the
cases), Faliscan (\textit{Vendia}), Oscan (\textit{Kaviie-} and \textit{Mamerce}), and Umbrian (\textit{Ṣarṣina-})
type. The general impression is that the various categories thoroughly mixed,
since names of eastern Mediterranean background occur in combination with
those of Italic origin, etc. (\textit{cf. Cneve Tarχunies, Tite Muχsie, Manurke Tursikina<s>,}
and so on).

How are we to explain this situation? Apparently, we are dealing with an influx
of eastern Mediterranean colonists in line with the tradition as preserved by
Herodotos, \textit{Histories} I, 94. As I hope to have convincingly demonstrated in my
treatment of the longer Etruscan texts (Best & Woudhuizen 1989, 153-79;
Woudhuizen 1992a; Woudhuizen 1992b, 154-236 (Chapter III); Woudhuizen

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1998 (Part I); Woudhuizen 2005, 155-62), these colonists planted their language, as the Etruscan language largely follows the parameters set by Luwian grammar. No doubt, they are also responsible for the introduction of the Orientalizing culture, epitomized as it is by chamber tombs under tumulus of Anatolian type (Woudhuizen 2002-3). But obviously these oriental colonists—apart from driving out those locals who were not willing to submit to the new regime, like many of the Umbrians who are said to have lost 300 oppida to the Etruscans—thoroughly mixed with the local population by mixed marriages (note in this connection that even the Greek Dēmaratos is recorded to have married an Etruscan wife). We can even go further than this and surmise that the colonization of Etruria by oriental settlers attracted people from various locations, like, most conspicuously, Oscans from southern Italy, but also Greeks, Phoenicians, and Celts. In this sense, the colonization in question reminds us of that of North America, in which the British took a leading part (hence the language is a form of English) but were by far outnumbered by colonists from various regions of Europe and the former Soviet Union, not to speak of the influx of slaves from Africa, now constituting the rather substantial Afro-American group among the originally foreign population, or workers from India and China.

What strikes us about the Greeks is that their numbers, in view of the crucial role attributed to them in the orientalization of Etruria by the adherents of the autochthonous thesis, are relatively modest. No doubt, their “civilizing” contribution has to be scaled down accordingly.

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Fred C. Woudhuizen
Het Hoekstuk 69
NL-1852 KX Heiloo
The Netherlands
woudhuizen@yahoo.com

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