TRACES OF ETHNIC IDENTITIES IN ETRUSCAN ONOMASTICS

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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 Rix 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 typical Italic 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 Suḫisasa* [infans]*namuwaīsa* "Katuwas, son of Sukhis" (Karkamis A2-3, phrase 1 [simplified version of the text by omitting the honorary titles])[1] and Lycian *Kudali Zuhrijah tideimi* "Kudali, son of Zuhrija-" (TL 1) and *Pulenjda Mullijeseh* "Pulenjda, (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 Italic 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

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[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. *Tarχna-* [GE], *Tarχi* [PRᵐ]
    Vc 7.33, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of *c*. 580 BC)
    Cneve Tarχunies Rumaχ   "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 **terh₂-* "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 Lykophron, *Aleksandra* 1248 (*cf*. Woudhuizen 2002-3, 66, note 11).

2. *Θihvarie-*, *Θefarie-* [PRᵐ]
    Cr 2.7, *c*. 675-650 BC
    mi Θihvariese Cisie   "I (am) of Thefarie Cisie"[2]
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 constitutes a reflex of PIE **dyēw-* (*cf*. Woudhuizen 1992a, *s.v. thefarie(i)*; Woudhuizen 1998, 185).

3. *Mezentie-* [GE], *Mesnamer* [PRᵐ]
    Caere, *c*. 680/675-650/640 BC (Heurgon 1992)
    mi Laucies Mezenties   "I (am) of Lūcius Mezenties"
    Vn 0.1, late 7th century BC
    iχ eme Mesnamer Tanśina<s>   "I (am) the thank-offering (of)
    mulu   Mesnamer Tansinas"
Cf. Luwian hieroglyphic *Masanas* and *Masanasimis* (Karatepe, *c*. 710 BC), and Carian *Me₁sewe* and *Mesna-* (Classical period) (Woudhuizen 1992a, *s.v. mezenties*; Woudhuizen 1998, 186).

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

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[2] For the gentilicium *Cisie*, *cf*. Vt 1.15.

| *mini mulvanice Mamerce* | "Mamerce Velkhanas has offered |
| *Velχanas* | me as a vow." |

Cr 3.13, late 7th or early 6th century BC

| *mi mulu Licinesi Velχainasi* | "I (am) the thank-offering of |
| | Licinus Velkhainas" |

La 3.1 and Cr 3.10, late 7th or early 6th century BC

| *mi mulu Larisale Velχainasi* | "I (am) the thank-offering of |
| | Laris Velkhainas" |

Cf. Hittite *walḫ-* "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* Ϝαλχανίω as recorded for a Cypriote syllabic inscription (Neumann 1985; *cf*. Masson 1983, no. 299).

5. *Muχsie-* [GE]

Volterra TLE 386, *c*. 530 BC

| *mi Avileś* | "I (am) of Avle" |
| *Tite Muχsie 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. *Velaveśna-* [GE]

Cl 2.3, *c*. 625-600 BC

| *mi Araθia Velaveśnaś zamaθi* | "I (am) for Arathia Velavesnas in gold (?)" |
| *Manurke mulvenike Tursikina\<s\>* | "Mamerce Tursikinas has offered as a vow" |

Cf. Luwian hieroglyphic *Piḫawalwas* 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. velaveśnaś*).

7. *Arnθ*, *Arruns* [PRᵐ], *Arnθi* [PRᶠ]

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) Aranθ Ramuθasi* | "Arnth has offered me as a vow |
| *Vestiricinala muluvanice* | to Ramtha Vestiricinas" |

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-*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^m]

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)t-* in like manner as Luwian hieroglyphic *Ruwantas*, see discussion of the next name.

9. *Ravnθu* [PR^f], *Ravnθu-* [GE]
    Ta 7.46 and 7.51, *c.* 350-325 BC
    Ravnθu Aprθnai   "Ravnthu Aprthnai"

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/nt)-* or earlier *Kuruntas*, which ultimately derives from PIE *$\hat{k}erh_1$-.

10. *Θarnie-* [GE]
    Vt 1.85, late 6th century BC
    mi Larθia 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 Ḫurritic divine name *Tesup*. Perhaps also relevant in this connnection is the Lydian place name *Tarnē*.

11. *Camitlna-* [GE]
    Vc 7.32, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of *c.* 580 BC)
    Marce Camitlnas   "Mārcus 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 *ḫanta-* "first" as applied in the titular expression *ḫantawat-* "king" and, as an onomastic element, in the name of a Hittite general, *Ḫantilis* (Woudhuizen 1992a, *s.v. camitlnas*; Woudhuizen 1998, 186).

12. *Nanas* [PR^m]

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 omomastic element *nana-* originates from PIE *n-ǵenh₁-* "brother" (Woudhuizen 1998, 186-7).

13. *Laris* [PRᵐ]
     La 3.1 and Cr 3.10, late 7th or early 6th century BC
     mi mulu Larisale Velχainasi   "I (am) the thank-offering of
                                            Laris Velkhainas"
     Vc 7.27, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of *c*. 580 BC)
     Laris Papaθnas Velznaχ   "Laris Papathnas from Volsinii"
     Ve 3.10, *c*. 600-550 BC
     Laris Velkasnas mini turice   "Laris Velkasnas has given me"
Cf. Luwian hieroglyphic *La(r)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
     [mi   ]kinaś Kurtinaś   "I (am) of [   ]kina Kurtinas"
     en mini pi kapi mi nunar   "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 **gʰordʰ-* (Woudhuizen 1992a, *s.v. kurtinaś*; Woudhuizen 1998, 190).

II. EAST-AEGEAN

A.   *Tursikina-* [GE], *Θuska* [ethnonym]
     Cl 2.3, *c*. 625-600 BC
     mi Araθia Velaveśnaś zamaθi   "I (am) for Arathia Velavesnas in
                                            gold (?)"
     Manurke mulvenike Tursikina<s>   "Mamerce Tursikinas has offered
                                            as a vow"
     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 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 *ǵenh₁-* "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<s>*).

1. *Kuleniie-* [GE]
    Fs 6.1, late 7th century BC
    mi zinaku Larθuzale Kuleniieśi   "I (am) the product of Larth Kuleniie"
Cf. the name of the Trojan Idaean Dactyl, *Kyllēnos* (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie 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* [PRᵐ], *Larθi(a)* [PRᶠ]
    AO 2.1, *c*. 650 BC
    mi Larθaia Telicles leχtumuza   "I (am) the lēkythos for Larthia Teliclēs"
Cf. the Rhodian masculine personal name *Lartos* (Fick 1905, 47).

3. *Leθe* [PRᵐ]
    REE 59 (1993) no. 22, 6th century BC
    Leθaie muluvanike mine Vhulves   "Lethaie Fulvus has offered me as
                                            a vow"
Cf. the Pelasgian masculine personal name *Lethos* (Homer, *Iliad* XVII, 288).

4. *Larice, Larce* [PRᵐ], *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
    Larceś [t]a θapna   "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* [PRᵐ], *Velia* [PRᶠ], *Velianas* [GE]
    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"
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 *seh₂wōl-* "sun".

6. *Θuker* [PRᵐ], *Θucerna-* [GE]
   AV 6.1, beginning of the 6th century BC
   [Θ]ucer itane zinace Titenas   "Thucer Titenas has made this"
Cf. the Trojan ethnonym *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*. *Camitlna-* (discussed sub I above) and *Macstrna* (< Latin *magister*).

8. *Ramuθa*, *Ramθa* [PRᶠ]
   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"
   Cr 1.13, recent
   Ramθa Anini M. seχ   "Ramtha, the daughter of
                                  M(ārcus) Anini"
Cf. the family name *Rmθ* as attested for a 4th century BC inscription from Kaunos, reading *poruθ Aχχel Rmθ* "Akhkhel 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"[3]
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* [PRᶠ]
Mother of Servius Tullius (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, *s.v.*).
Cf. the Phrygian epiklesis of Zeus, *Akrisias*, and the Pelasgian masculine perso-

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[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 *aḱer-* "high". For the interchange between [a] and [o], compare the correspondence of Greek *Atreus* to Phrygian *Otreus*.

III. ITALIC[4]

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 *θafna* 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.　*Şarşina-* [ethnonym]
　　　Ta 2.5, beginning of the 6th century BC
　　　mi Larθa Şarşinaia　　　　　　　"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.* *şlarinaş*).

1.　*Kaviie-* [PRᵐ]
　　　AT 3.1, *c*. 650 BC
　　　mi mulu 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* [PRᵐ]
　　　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 Saχus　　　"I (am) of Mamerce Larnas
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Sakhus"

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[4] I am drawing to a large extent from the excellent book by Hadas-Lebel (2004), my review of which just appeared in *Gnomon* 79 (2007), 465-6.

Cl 2.3, *c*. 625-600 BC

| *mi Araθia Velaveśnaś zamaθi* | "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

| *mi Velel Θuska Criqu Numesiesi* | "I (am) of Vel Numasios, the Etrusco-Greek" |
| *putes Kraitiles θis 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 *Niumsis*. 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^f]
   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

| *mi 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^m]
   REE 57 (1991) no. 45, *c*. 700-650 BC

| *mi 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^m]
   AV 2.1, first half of the 7th century BC

| *mi Laives Sukisnas* | "I (am) of Laivus Sukisnas" |

Praenomen derived from Latin *laevus* "left".

8. *Licine-* [PRᵐ]
   Cr 3.13, late 7th or early 6th century BC
   mi mulu Licinesi Velχainasi   "I (am) the thank-offering of
                                            Licinus Velkhainas"

Praenomen derived from Latin *licinus* "with tight up hair".

9. *Tite* [PRᵐ], *Titela-* [PRᶠ]
   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 θina   "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-* [PRᵐ], *Spuriana-* [GE]
    Cr 3.4-8, *c*. 650-625 BC
    mi Spurieisi Teiθurnasi aliqu   "I (am) the (vase name) of
                                             Spurius Teithurnas"
    Cr 3.9, late 7th century BC
    mini Śpurie Utaş muluvanice   "Spurius Utas offered me as a vow"
    La 2.3, 6th century BC
    Araz Silqetenas Spurianas   "Arnth Silqetenas[5] Spurianas"

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

11. *Caile* [PRᵐ]
    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* [PRᵐ], *Vipienna-*, *Vipina-* [GE]
    Ve 3.11, *c*. 550 BC
    mine muluv[an]ece Avile   "Avle Vibenna has offered me as
    Vipiennas   a vow"
    Vc 7.24, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of *c*. 580 BC)
    Caile Vipinas   "Cailes Vibenna"

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[5] 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 *Viíbis*.

13.   *Vhulve-*, *Vhulvena-* [GE]
    Narce, 6th century BC (REE 59 (1993) no. 22)
    Leθaie muluvanike 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 Θanirsiie turice Hvuluves   "Thanirsiie Fulvus has given me"
Gentilicium derived from Latin *fulvus* "chestnut".

14.   *Lusce-* [PR^m], *Luscinaie-* [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-* [PR^m]
    Cr 2.67, *c*. 530 BC
    mi Plavtes   "I (am) of Plautus"
Praenomen derived from Latin *plautus* "flatfoot".

16.   *Rutile* [PR^m]
    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 *rutilus* "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^m]
    Vc 7.32, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of *c*. 580 BC)
    Marce Camitlnas   "Mārcus Camitlnas"
Cf. Latin *Mārcus*.

20. *Venθi* [PR^m]
    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 sentury BC). Note that the closest comparable evidence for the present form is provided by Salentine Greek *Griko* (Woudhuizen 1990-1, 156).

1. *Kraitiles* [PR^m]
    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* [PRᵐ]
    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. *Hipucrate-* [PRᵐ]
    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* [PRᵐ]
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
    Tuśnutnie[s] panalaś   Pelasgian, (…)"
    mini muluvanike Hirumina<s>   "The Perugian Hiruminas has
    Φersnaχs   offered me as a vow"
The ethnonym *Pelasgians* from Greek literary tradition to all probability corre-

sponds to that of the Biblical *Philistines*, who are referred to in the Egyptian texts on the Sea Peoples from the early 12th century BC as *Peleset* (Woudhuizen 2006, section 12). The fact that in the present text from Vetulonia two names of Semitic background occur, namely *Avle* and *Hirumina*, seems to confirm our suggestion that *Feluske-* "Pelasgian" has a bearing on a Semitic population group[6].

1. *Avile*, *Avle-* [PR^m]
   Vn 1.1, *c*. 650-600 BC

mi Avleś Feluskeś	"I (am) for Avle Tusnutnie, the
Tuśnutnie[s] panalaś	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 examplified 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 Avleś Feluskeś	"I (am) for Avle Tusnutnie, the
Tuśnutnie[s] panalaś	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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[6] 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 *Piḫa-*LÚ).

VI. CELTIC

1. *Numesie-* [GE]
   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"

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. numesiesi*).

2. *-kina-*, *-cina-*
   Cl 2.3, *c*. 625-600 BC
   mi Araθia Velaveśnaś zamaθi   "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 *$\acute{g}enh_1$-"to procreate" (de Simone 1978; Woudhuizen 1998, 141; 187, note 389; 191).

3. *Nemetie-* [PR^m]
   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.* Delamarre 2003: 233-4).

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 gentilicium 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 *Brutus*, 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 *-ius*, *-ie-*, and thus gentilicia in *-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 distinction between communal gender and neuter. The marker of masculine names is formed by the suffix *-ie*, probably a reflex of Latin *-ius*, whereas that of feminine names consists of *-(i)a-*, likewise of Latin or Italic origin. As exemplified by, amongst others, *Θihvarie-* and *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 *c*. 700 BC onwards. To these two suffixes, Hadas-Lebel (2004, 259-92) adds the diminutive suffix *-le* (masculine) or *-la* (feminine), which also can plausibly be traced back to a Latin origin.

In the preceding survey of Etruscan onomastics covering the period of *c*. 700 BC to *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 Italic background (category III), 6 names and one ethnonym of Greek origin (category IV), 2 names and one ethnonym stemming from a Semitic environment (category V), and 2 names plus one morpheme of Celtic antecedents (category VI). In two instances from categories I and II (*Ravnθu* and *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, *Kuleniie-* and *Numesie-*, there is an overlap between two categories, as the first can either belong to the East-Aegean (II) or Greek (IV) category, whereas 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 (*Vendia*), Oscan (*Kaviie-* and *Mamerce*), and Umbrian (*Şarşina-*) 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. (*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, *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

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 Sovjet 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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