

ETRUSCAN AS A COLONIAL
LUWIAN LANGUAGE:
THE COMPREHENSIVE VERSION



FRED C. WOUTHUIZEN

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FRED C. WOULDHUIZEN

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THE COMPREHENSIVE VERSION

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“Je tiens mon affaire!”
Jean-François Champollion
(Doblhofer 2008: 83-84)

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Etruscan mirror with the image of the sun-god
(Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES* V, 158)

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PREFACE

This book aims at presenting a comprehensive overview of my work on Etruscan, which started almost four decades ago in 1980 and of which in these years I have presented interim results in four previous monographs on the topic (thanks to the late Han Gieben, publisher at Amsterdam, and professor Wolfgang Meid of the University of Innsbruck) as well as various articles and other sorts of contributions.

From the title, it is clear that I consider Etruscan as a colonial Luwian language, which means that in my view the key to a proper understanding of Etruscan texts is provided by the representatives of the Luwian language group, in particular the ones from the Early Iron Age, *i.e.* Luwian hieroglyphic, Lycian, and Lydian. Accordingly, I make use of the etymological method, which to some is entirely unreliable or even unscientific. Against such an opinion it may be pointed out that some highly respected scientific disciplines, like for example Indo-European linguistics, are based on the etymological method. From this it follows that the method itself is not unreliable as such, but that its validity depends on the framework in which it is used. Now, given the fact that a framework similar to that of Indo-European linguistics according to the present *communis opinio* is lacking for Etruscan, I was forced to spend much of my time and energy during the given period to the relevant archaeological, epigraphical, and historical evidence in order to establish such a framework in its basic outlines (see Prolegomena, chapters 1 and 3). Whatever one's position may be as to whether I succeeded in this undertaking, if one prefers to apply alternative *comparanda* to the elucidation of Etruscan, like Sanskrit or Basque or whatever, one is, at least in my opinion, obliged to present more convincing data from archaeology, epigraphy, and the historical sources for close contacts between, *e.g.*, India or Spain on the one hand and Tuscany on the other hand than those presented by me on the contacts between southwest Anatolia and Etruria.

To this comes that the rejection of the etymological method as unreliable or even unscientific is based on a *reductio ad absurdum* of the actual line of approach. No sensible person, namely, would rely on formal resemblances between different languages without checks and balances from other methods at hand, like the results from close

analysis of bilingual texts or recurrent patterns emanating from a structural analysis. For this reason, I have in connection with the longer texts first treated the bilingual (see Part II) and the structurally transparent ones (see Part III) before engaging on those falling outside the scope of the latter two approaches (see Part IV).

Furthermore, it deserves our attention that also while applying the etymological method, various levels of varying degree of reliability can be distinguished, one concerning vocabulary, which is most sensible to foreign influences and hence least to be trusted, others concerning morphology, grammar, and syntax, which, though in principle not impenetrable by foreign influences, are increasingly less affected by it and as such increasingly trustworthy. For this reason, I have opted to construct the paradigms of (pro)-nominal declension and verbal conjugation from the most elementary texts in the form of legends on portable objects and from graves (see Part I) to the more complicated ones as presented by the longer texts. Note in this connection that especially the distinction of introductory particles with chains of enclitics attached to them, which belongs to the realm of syntax (see especially the overview in the appendix to chapter 14), is highly significant for the Luwian, or Indo-European Anatolian nature more in general, of the Etruscan language.

In order to enhance the workability of the book, overviews are presented of the evidence for (pro)nominal declension and verbal conjugation, culminating in the grand total paradigms, and of the relevant etymological evidence in order to determine the position of Etruscan within the Luwian language group and, more in general, within the overarching Indo-European language family (see Part V). Special attention is given to the relationship of Etruscan to its closest cognate in the Aegean, the Lemnian language (see Part VI). Finally, the analytical part is completed by a comprehensive index of Etruscan words and elements discussed (see Part VII, chapter 22).

Although the number of 10.000 inscriptions generally ascribed to Etruscan is somewhat inflated by the percentage of onomastics in this field, it may be stressed that the present study entails more than 600 phrases, the lion share of which consists of the remains of a linen book, the so-called *Liber linteus*. Notwithstanding the fact that the level of literacy is raised by the remains of this book, Etruscan ranks among the fragmentary Indo-European languages below Luwian hieroglyphic, with more than 1500 understandable phrases, but above

Mycenaean Greek, as recorded for the Linear B tablets with their dry administrative records, generally lacking real phrases. Nevertheless, as Greek belongs to the curriculum of the average grammar school and Luwian does not, the impact of the identification of Etruscan as a colonial Luwian language will no doubt be less than that of the language of Linear B as Greek. Still, if this identification applies, it entails the greatest watershed in the history of the Mediterranean region since the decipherment of Linear B in 1952. Furthermore, the once formidable scientific approach which departs from the view that a non-Indo-European substrate language preceded the introduction of Indo-European languages in the Mediterranean, of which Etruscan and Lemnian are the most important representatives, crumbles into insignificance.

Fred C. Woudhuizen
Heiloo, August 1, 2019

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Grammar

N: nominative	m: masculine
A: accusative	f: feminine
D: dative	n: neuter
G: genitive	pres.: present
Abl.: ablative	fut.: future
Instr.: instrumental	subj.: subjunctive
Loc.: locative	imp.: imperative
sg.: singular	inf.: infinitive
pl.: plural	part.: participle
pers.: person	act.: active
	pass.: passive

General

Akk.: Akkadian	Lat.: Latin
CL: cuneiform Luwian	LH: Luwian hieroglyphic
CM: Cypro-Minoan	LL: <i>Liber linteus</i>
CO: <i>cognomen</i>	Lyc.: Lycian
CT: Capua tile	Lyd.: Lydian
DB: Delphi bilingual	Osc.: Oscan
Eg. hier.: Egyptian hieroglyphic	PB: Pyrgi bilingual
Etr.: Etruscan	PC: Perugia <i>cippus</i>
ES: Etruskische Spiegel	PIE: Proto-Indo-European
GE: <i>gentilicium</i>	PR: <i>praenomen</i>
GN: god's name	REE: <i>Rivista di Epigr. Etr.</i>
Hit.: Hittite	Sid.: Sidetic
IE: Indo-European	TC: <i>tabula Cortonensis</i>
MD: Magliano disc	TN: town name
MN: man's name	TLE: <i>Testimonia Linguae</i>
L: Luwian hieroglyphic sign-number	<i>Etruscae</i>
according to Laroche 1960a	Umbr.: Umbrian

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PROLEGOMENA

1. ETRUSCAN ORIGINS*

1. MODELS

The problem of Etruscan origins has received scholarly attention already in Antiquity. First of all, there is the testimony of Herodotos of Halikarnassos (5th century BC) according to which the Etruscans were Lydian colonists from western Asia Minor. Hard pressed by a famine, so the story goes, half of the Lydian population under the leadership of king Atys' son Tyrsenos mustered on ships at Smyrna and sailed to Italy, where they settled in the territory of the Umbrians (*Histories* I, 94). Opposed to this, we have the opinion of Dionysios of Halikarnassos (1st century BC), who, on the basis of a comparison between the customs and the languages of the Etruscans and the Lydians, reached the conclusion that these two peoples were unrelated. He extrapolated from this conclusion that the Etruscans were no Lydian colonists, but had always lived in Italy (*Roman Antiquities* I, 25-30).

As divided as opinions were on the subject of Etruscan origins in Antiquity, so they are at present. A majority among scholars in the field holds that the Etruscans were autochthonous. In accordance with this view, the Etruscans are considered a remnant population surviving the onset of Indo-European migrations which brought the Umbrians, Oscans, Latins, and Faliscans to the Italian peninsula. Their language, so this line of approach continues, is not comparable to any other in the world, except for the one attested for the famous stele from Kaminia on the island of Lemnos in the Aegean. This only linguistic relationship acknowledged by the adherents of the autochthonous thesis receives meaningful explanation in two ways. In the first place, Lemnian is, on the analogy of Etruscan in Italy, considered a remnant of a once widely dispersed Mediterranean language surviving the onset of Indo-European migrations into the Aegean basin (Pallottino 1988: 98). Second, Lemnian is seen as the

* My thanks are due to Wim van Binsbergen and Frits Waanders for proofreading the manuscript and saving me from some errors. This chapter also appeared separately as Woudhuizen 2002-3 and within the frame of my dissertation on the Sea Peoples (= Woudhuizen 2006a) as section 10.

result of a colonization by Etruscans from Italy into the north-Aegean region (Gras 1976; Drews 1992; de Simone 1996).

A minority among scholars, but a persistent one, is of the opinion that the Etruscans were colonists from western Asia Minor. These so-called orientalist can be subdivided into two groups: those who situate the colonization of Etruria at the end of the Late Bronze Age, c. 1200 BC (Hencken 1968), and those who rather place this event in the Early Iron Age, c. 750-675 BC (Schachermeyr 1929). A representative of the first mentioned group of orientalist is the Indo-Europeanist Robert Beekes. However, he is exceptional in combining the idea of an oriental origin with the linguistic analysis of the adherents of the autochthonous thesis. Thus, Beekes likewise considers Etruscan and Lemnian relics of a language once spoken in the Aegean before the Indo-European migrations (Beekes & van der Meer 1991; Beekes 1993; Beekes 2002: 219-220; cf. Steinbauer 1999: 389). Much more common among orientalist is it to consider Etruscan related to the Indo-European languages of Asia Minor, and in particular to Luwian (Meriggi 1937; Laroche 1961). The latter language was spoken in southern and western Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, and, in its western extremity, was subject to a dialectal development which resulted in Lycian and Lydian of the Classical period (for Lydian as a Luwian dialect, see Woudhuizen 1984-5a; Woudhuizen 1990; Woudhuizen 2005: 140-147; Woudhuizen 2011: 424-432).

Now, there is some evidence of non-Indo-European languages in Asia Minor, originally going back to the time before the Indo-European migrations. In the first place, mention should be made of Hattic, the language of the inhabitants of Hattusa before this city was taken over by the Hittites, as recorded in Hittite texts dating from the 2nd millennium BC. Next, there is Hurrian, the language of the realm of Mitanni, once a formidable rival of the Hittites in their strife for hegemony in eastern Anatolia and North Syria. This language developed into Urartian of the Early Iron Age. Finally, we cannot omit the Semitic language, which in the form of Akkadian was used as a *lingua franca* for international correspondence between the empires of the 2nd millennium BC—a function taken over by Aramaic during the Early Iron Age. But, except for some bilinguals with Aramaic for Lycian and Lydian, this evidence has a bearing on eastern Asia Minor only. In western Asia Minor the linguistic situation is much less com-

plicated. Here we find evidence—apart from an Old Indo-European substrate—of two language groups, both of them Indo-European, namely Luwian, which, as we have seen, developed into Lycian and Lydian of the Classical period, and Thraco-Phrygian, presumably the vernacular of the common people of the Troas already in the Bronze Age and, after the fall of the Hittite Empire c. 1180 BC, introduced further east into the Anatolian highland (Woudhuizen 2017a). If, for the sake of argument, we have to allow for remnants of a non-Indo-European language in western Anatolia, this can only entail small pockets, incapable of providing the amount of people necessary for the colonization of Etruria as envisaged by the orientalist. As a matter of fact, Beekes' tenet of non-Indo-European survivals in the Aegean is entirely based on the linguistic analysis of the Lemnos stele as common among the adherents of the autochthonous thesis.

2. AUTOCHTHONOUS THESIS

The statement by Dionysios of Halikarnassos that the Etruscans differed in customs and language from the Lydians is perfectly true for the period in which he lived, the 1st century BC. But, if a colonization of Etruria from Lydia had taken place, as Herodotos wants us to believe, then this event happened some 6 to 11 centuries earlier. We should believe that in this period the customs and language had developed independently in Lydia and Etruria, which would explain the differences. It is of much greater importance, therefore, to know whether the Etruscan customs and language were more closely related to those of the Lydians when these first manifested themselves, in the late 8th and early 7th century BC.

At the same time, it is interesting to determine what exactly is Dionysios' drive to disconnect the Tyrrhenians, as the Etruscans are called by the Greeks, from the Pelasgians. Although of origin distinct (Pelasgian = Old Indo-European and Tyrrhenian = Indo-European Anatolian), in earlier sources, like, for instance, Thucydides (5th century BC), these two population groups are persistently identified (*Peloponnesian War* IV, 109). The answer to this question is given by Dionysios himself in the introduction to his work: he wants to prove that the founding fathers of Rome were actually Greeks (*Roman Anti-*

quities I, 5, 1; cf. I, 17, 1; I, 60, 3).¹ Now, the Pelasgians, who played a role in the earliest history of Rome, according to literary tradition originate from Greece. For Dionysios, this is reason to assume that they are in fact a Greek *ethnos*. In reality, however, the Pelasgians are a pre-Greek population group, already present in Greece before the Greeks came into being. As they are so different from the Greeks, Dionysios cannot use the Tyrrhenians to the same effect: to declare them Greeks would be preposterous. The unprecedented and rather forced distinction between Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians leads to absurd consequences, like, for instance, the assumption that the language of the inhabitants of Cortona, whom Dionysios considers to be Pelasgians, was distinct from that of the Tyrrhenians (*Roman Antiquities* I, 29, 3).² Dozens of inscriptions disprove this: the language of the inhabitants of Cortona was straightforwardly Etruscan (Rix 1991: 301-304; Agostiniani & Nicosia 2000; cf. Briquel 1984: 133). Another question which arises from Dionysios' distinction between Pelasgians and Tyrrhenians is where the latter were living at the time that the Pelasgians are said to have occupied their country (*Roman Antiquities* I, 20, 5). Finally, the way in which Dionysios disposes of the Pelasgians in order to make room for the Tyrrhenians is extremely suspect: he simply, so to say, lets them evaporate into thin air (*Roman Antiquities* I, 24, 4; 26, 1)! In short, the story on which the adherents of the autochthonous thesis base themselves suffers from many flaws.

Also the explanation of the relationship between Etruscan and Lemnian within the frame of the autochthonous thesis leads to unsurmountable difficulties. The first option, according to which the Etruscans and Lemnians were both remnants of population groups surviving the onset of Indo-European immigrations, collides with the fact that the two languages were so closely related that such a long period of independent development is highly inconceivable (the Indo-European invasions in the Aegean date back to at least *c.* 3100 BC). The second option, according to which the north-Aegean region was colonized by Etruscans from Italy in the late 8th or early 7th century

¹ This point of view is common among Hellenistic poets, see Sakellariou 1977: 98, note 3.

² This view, based on a misreading of †Crotoniats for Crestoniats in the manuscript of Herodotos' text, is followed, amongst others, by Briquel 1984: 101-140 (esp. 126 ff.) and Beekes 2002: 221, in the latter case without realizing the consequence. For further literature, see Sakellariou 1977: 88, note 6.

BC, is, considering the slight dialectal differences, *a priori* possible, but lacks a proper archaeological and historical basis.

3. COLONIZATION AT THE END OF THE BRONZE AGE

If the autochthonous thesis turns out to be flawed, what about the thesis of oriental origins? As we have seen, one group of orientalist situates the colonization of Etruria from Asia Minor at the end of the Bronze Age. These scholars base themselves on the chronology of Herodotos, who places the rulers descending from Atys' son Lydos prior to those of the Heraclids. The reign of the latter, Herodotos continues, lasted as many as 22 generations or 505 years in sum before the last representative, Kandaules, was set aside by Gyges, the first ruler of the Mermnades, at the beginning of the 7th century BC (*Histories* I, 7). Accordingly, it follows that the descendants of Atys' son Lydos were in power before the beginning of the 12th century BC. Herodotos, however, amplifies this information with the remark that the population of Sardis and its surroundings were called Lydians after Lydos, whereas prior to his rule they were known as Maeonians. Now, Maeonians is the form of address for the Lydians in the epic songs of Homeros, which primarily reflect Late Bronze Age history. Hence the name Lydians can only be surmised to have come into currency in the Early Iron Age. Ergo: Herodotos' chronology is flawed.

Also from an archaeological perspective, the colonization of Etruria at the end of the Bronze Age is highly unlikely. It is true that at this time Italy is characterized by the introduction of a new culture, the so-called proto-Villanovan (= an earlier phase of Villanovan),³ but, as demonstrated convincingly by Hugh Hencken, the latter shows close affinities with the European urnfields. Thus, the typical biconical urns relate to counterparts primarily discovered in the region of Oltenia and the Banat, Hungary (see Fig. 1). Furthermore, the house urns, which are so well-known a feature of the Latial variant of (proto-)Villanovan, find their closest parallels in northern Germany

³ Note that Hencken 1968 wrongly applies the term pre-Villanovan instead; cf. Fugazzola Delpino 1979; Ridgway 1988: 628 ff.

(Behn 1924: 90-91; Tafel 6, d-e) (see Fig. 2).⁴ In line with these observations, it seems reasonable to assume that new population groups have entered Italy, as Hencken does, only not from the Aegean, but from Europe. These new population groups can plausibly be identified as the forefathers of the historical Italic peoples of the Umbrians, Oscans,⁵ Latins, and Faliscans, whose languages show the closest affinity to Celtic and Germanic. At any rate, the Umbrians have the same name as the German tribe of the Ambrones as recorded for Jutland in Denmark (Altheim 1950: 56-57), branches of which can be traced, on the basis of related place and river names, as far afield as France, Spain, and even northern Italy (Schmoll 1959: 83; 119), whereas that of the Oscans or Ausones is obviously related to the Celtic ethnonyms Ausci of the people near Auch in southern France and Ausetani reported for Ausa-Vich in Catalonia (Bosch-Gimpera 1939: 40).—Note in this connection that, as demonstrated by Hans Krahe (1964: 90-91; 43-44), both ethnonyms are rooted in his Old European river names, the first being based on **emb^h-*, **omb^h-* “moist, water” and the second on **av-*, **au-* “source, stream”.

This reconstruction of Italian prehistory at the end of the Bronze Age, which assumes a relation between urnfield culture and the historical peoples of the Umbrians, Oscans, Latins, and Faliscans, collides with the view of the distinguished protagonist of the autochthonous thesis, Massimo Pallottino. He put much effort in an attempt to disconnect the Italic Indo-European languages from the (proto-)Villanovan culture, the bearers of which he considers to be the forebears of the Etruscans. To this end he presents a map showing the distribution of archaeological cultures of Italy in the 9th and 8th centuries BC, which he compares with the distribution of the various languages as attested in about the 5th century BC (Pallottino 1988: 68; Abb. 1-2). This is a dangerous procedure. In the first place, it leaves out the proto-Villanovan phase, which cannot be separated from Villanovan and which spread far to the south, reaching Apulia, the Lipari islands, and even northern Sicily—regions where later evidence

⁴ Note, however, that the northern German house urns postdate the Latial ones.

⁵ Note in this connection that the introduction of proto-Villanovan in Lipari and at Milazzo in Sicily can be attributed to the Ausones (= variant form of Osci) who according to Diodoros of Sicily, *The Library of History* V, 7, invaded Lipari and Sicily from the Italian peninsula, see Hencken 1955: 31.

of Italic languages is found (see Fig. 3).⁶ Secondly, the use of the distinction between cremation and inhumation burial rites as an ethnic marker is, as far as the 8th century BC is concerned, an oversimplification. After the introduction of proto-Villanovan at the end of the Bronze Age, there is a revival of the rite of inhumation spreading from the south of Italy to the north, reaching Caere in the 9th and 8th centuries BC. Similarly, the Etruscans are also acquainted with both rites—be it that their cremation burials are clearly distinct from the Villanovan ones (see further below). Hence, the distinction is rather Villanovan style cremations and inhumations versus Etruscan style cremations and inhumations—a line of approach actually applied by Ingrid Pohl in her publication of the Iron Age cemetery of Caere (Pohl 1972). Finally, the identification of the bearers of Villanovan culture in Etruria with the forebears of the Etruscans disregards the historical evidence according to which the Etruscans colonized the land of the Umbrians and drove them out of their original habitat (Pliny, *Natural History* III, 14; 112). As a matter of fact, there are numerous reminiscences of the Umbrians originally inhabiting the region later called Etruria, like the river name *Umbro*, the region called *tractus Umbriae*, the association of the Umbrian tribes of the *Camertes* and *Sarsinates* with the inland towns Clusium and Perugia, and the identification of Cortona as an Umbrian town (Altheim 1950: 22-23). At any rate, the sites which have yielded Umbrian inscriptions mostly lie along the eastern fringe of the Villanovan style cremation area (Poultney 1959: 3) and there even have been found Umbrian type inscriptions in Picenum on the other side of the Apennines, whereas literary sources speak of Umbrians in Ancona, Ariminum, Ravenna, and Spina to the north (Briquel 1984: 33; 51; 88; Salmon 1988: 701)—regions where (proto-)Villanovan is attested (cf. Fig. 3).

The repercussions of the urnfield migrations into Italy are archaeologically traceable to well into the Aegean region. Thus urnfield material of Italian or European type is attested for the islands of Crete, Kos, Euboia, and Cyprus as well as for various locations on the Greek mainland and in the Levant (Popham 2001; Jung 2017: 28, Fig. 2 [Handmade Burnished Ware of Sicilian, Sardinian, and mainland Italian background]). Apparently, some population groups in

⁶ For Ausones (= Oscans) on the Lipari islands and in Milazzo, see Diodoros of Sicily, *The Library of History* V, 7.

Italy were displaced at the time, or some of the European immigrants, whose maritime nature has already been extrapolated by Hencken (1968: 634), went straight on to the Aegean. This is exactly the situation recorded by the Egyptian sources on the so-called Sea Peoples, which inform us about raids by the Shekelesh, Sherden, and Weshesh, in which we can recognize the Italic peoples of the Sicilians, Sardinians, and Oscans (Chabas 1872: 299; for the Sea Peoples in general, see Sandars 1978 and, most recently, Woudhuizen 2006a [market edition van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 191-330]). These western raiders made common cause with colleagues from the east-Mediterranean basin, like the Ekwesh or Akhaians from the Greek mainland, Peleset or Pelasgians from the Aegean, Tjekker or Teukrians from the Troas, and Lukka or Lycians from western Asia Minor. The importance of bearers of the urnfield culture, like we have suggested for the Oscans, among these Sea Peoples is stressed by the fact that their boat(s) as depicted in Ramesses III's memorial at Medinet Habu are characterized by bird-head devices at both the bow and the stern—as convincingly shown by Shelley Wachsmann a typical urnfield feature.⁷ Furthermore, this element among the Sea Peoples can even be shown to have settled in the Levant at Hamath, where urnfield cemeteries with more than 1000 urns have been dug up.⁸ Within the frame of the autochthonous thesis, the Teresh (*Twršš*) or Tyrsenians (= Tyrrhenians) are, on the analogy of the Sicilians and Sardinians, likewise supposed to have come from Italy, but considering their association with the Ionians in the personal name *Iun-Turša* as attested for an Egyptian text from the 14th century BC⁹ and Aegean location in early Greek literary sources¹⁰ this is unlikely.

⁷ Wachsmann 1998: 178 (with reference to de Boer 1991 who, with due reference to Hencken 1968 [in turn going back to Kimmig 1964: 223-224, Abb. 1], already noted the connection); Wachsmann 2000: 122.

⁸ Wachsmann 2000: 123; Drews 1993: 201, note 104 points out that a substantial number of the European Naue type II sword, mostly of iron, were found in these cremation graves.

⁹ Brandenstein, *PW*, s.v. *Tyrrhener*; Pallottino 1947: 53. Cf. the association of *Iunia A'a* "Great Ionia" with *R/Luwana* "Luwia" on a recently discovered statue base from Amenhotep III's temple tomb at Kom el-Hetan, see Souzourian & Stadelmann 2005: 82, Abb. 6.

¹⁰ Herodotos, *Histories* I, 94 (Lydia); I, 54 (south of Kreston in Khalkidike); Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War* IV, 109 (Akte in Khalkidike, Lemnos, Attika); Lykophron, *Alexandra* 1248 (Mysia).

At any rate, the direction of the migrations at the end of the Bronze Age is clearly from west to east, and not the other way round. Therefore, the colonization by the forebears of the Etruscans of Italy from Asia Minor as recorded by Herodotos does not fit into the period of the Sea Peoples.

4. COLONIZATION IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

The question which remains to be answered is whether the colonization of Italy by the forebears of the Etruscans from Asia Minor as recorded by Herodotos does fit into the period of the Early Iron Age. This is the period of exploration and colonization of the west-Mediterranean basin by Phoenicians and Greeks. Was there among these explorers and colonists of the far west a third party, namely Luwians from western Anatolia?

First of all, it is important to note that only from *c.* 700 BC onwards Etruria is characterized by an archaeological culture that with certainty can be identified as Etruscan, because from that date onwards inscriptions conducted in the Etruscan language are found (Hencken 1968: 631). One of the most outstanding features of this Etruscan culture is formed by the chamber tomb under tumulus for multiple burials. The burial rites may consist of inhumation or a special form of cremation, according to which the remains of the pyre are collected in a gold or silver container which, wrapped in a purple linen cloth, is placed in a *loculus* of the grave. The closest parallels for such élite-cremations are found in Anatolian style chamber tombs under tumulus at Salamis on Cyprus (D'Agostino 1977: 57-58).¹¹ The rite in question is meticulously described by Homeros in connection with the burial of Patroklos, for which reason one often speaks of an Homeric burial. As far as mainland Greece is concerned, similar élite-cremations are attested for the hero of Lefkandi and the burials at the west gate of Eretria. The element which is missing here, however, is the characteristic chamber tomb under tumulus (the hero of Lefkandi is discovered in an apsidal building secondarily used as a grave and

¹¹ Note that the Etruscan nature of the élite-cremations at Pontecagnano is deducible from the fact that the earliest inscriptions from this site are conducted in the Etruscan language, see Rix 1991: Cm 2.2, Cm 2.7, and Cm 2.19, all of 6th century BC date.

covered by a tumulus) (Bérard 1970; Popham, Touloupa & Sackett 1982).

Chamber tombs under tumulus for multiple burials are a typical Mycenaean feature. During the Late Bronze Age this type of burial is disseminated by Mycenaean colonists from mainland Greece to western Asia Minor, where it is subsequently taken over by the indigenous population groups like the Carians, Lycians, Lydians, and ultimately the Phrygians. The earliest indigenous examples are pseudo-cupolas in Caria, dated to the period of *c.* 1000 to 800 BC. These graves are characterized by a rectangular groundplan and a concentrically vaulted roof. The problem of the dome resting on a square is solved by the so-called pendentive. This very same construction is typical of chamber tombs in Populonia during the 7th century BC (Schachermeyr 1929: 89-91; 100-101; cf. Demus-Quatember 1958: 63). Similarly, in Lydia a chamber tomb has been found with a roof vaulting lengthwise, in the same way as for example the famous Regolini-Galassi tomb at Caere, dating to the 7th century BC. Furthermore, Mysia has produced a chamber tomb which is entirely hewn out of the soft tufa with mock roof beams in place as if it were a wooden construction. The same technique is so common for Etruria that if the photos of the Mysian example would have had no caption one could easily be mistaken to be dealing with an Etruscan grave (Kaspar 1970: 71-83). Unfortunately, the Anatolian examples in the last mentioned two cases were so thoroughly robbed that they cannot be properly dated. Next, it deserves our attention that Lycia from the 6th century BC onwards is typified by façade graves hewn out of the natural rock, which bring to mind the façade graves hewn out of the natural rock of Norchia and its immediate surroundings to which a similar date is assigned as to the Lycian counterparts (*contra* Åkerström 1934: 104-107). Like the Mysian tomb mentioned above, the façade graves imitate wooden constructions. Hence, it is interesting to note that actual wooden constructions have been dug up in Phrygia. Here large wooden boxes, dating to the late 8th and early 7th century BC, serve as a replacement of the stone built chamber tomb in a similar manner as in Vetulonia during the 7th century BC. Finally, mention should be made of a Lycian chamber tomb from the 5th century BC with paintings bearing a strong resemblance to the Etruscan ones in Tarquinia—be it that the Lycian paintings, in con-

trast to their Etruscan counterparts, show Persian motifs (Mellink 1972: 263 ff.).

In summary, on the basis of the preceding survey of relations in funeral architecture one gains the impression that Etruria was in close contact with various regions of western Anatolia during the Early Orientalizing period and beyond.¹² Possibly, a crucial role was played by Mysia, the Aeolian coast, and the offshore islands like Lesbos, because here the typical local pottery, just like in Etruria from the 7th century BC onwards, consists of bucchero (Pfuhl 1923: 153 f.).

The inference that colonists from various regions of western Asia Minor migrated to Etruria may receive further emphasis if we take a look at the script. As mentioned in the above, the earliest inscriptions in the Etruscan language date from *c.* 700 BC onwards. In general, it is assumed that the Etruscans have borrowed their alphabet from the Greeks, in particular from the Euboians at Pithecussae and Cumae. This view, however, runs up against serious difficulties, since the local Etruscan alphabets are characterized by signs and sign-forms unparalleled for Greek inscriptions. In the first place we have to consider in this connection the sign for the expression of the value [f] as attested for an early 7th century BC inscription from Vetulonia (TLE 363 = Rix 1991: Vn 1.1) in north-Etruria, which consists of a vertical stroke with a small circle on either end. As time goes by, this sign develops into the well-known figure-of-eight [f], which spreads from the north of Etruria to the south ultimately to replace the digraph of *wau* and *ēta* (< *hēta*) for the same sound in the south-Etruscan alphabets (see Fig. 12; see now Woudhuizen 2016a). The origin of this sign can be traced back to the Lydian alphabet, where during the same time it knows exactly the same development! Next, a late 7th century BC inscription from Caere (TLE 55 = Rix 1991: Cr 9.1) in south-Etruria bears testimony of a variant of the *tsade* which is closer in form to the Phoenician original than the Greek *san*. The closest parallel for this sign can be discovered in the local script of Side in Pamphylia. On the basis of these observations it lies at hand to infer that various groups of colonists from various regions in western Asia Minor, ranging from Lydia in the north to Side in the south, simply

¹² This contact needs to be distinguished from, and can at the same time be underlined by, Etruscan post-colonial trade with the Aegean as attested by the presence of Etruscan bucchero at, amongst other sites, Smyrna and Pitane (Briquel 1991: 80).

have taken (features of) their script with them (Woudhuizen 1982-3: 97; for the Sidetic *tsade*, see Woudhuizen 1984-5b: 117, fig. 5).

The colonists not only introduced their own type of grave and their own type of alphabet, they also settled themselves, just like the Phoenicians and Greeks, in urban centres founded according to neatly circumscribed rituals (Woudhuizen 1998: 178-179). An often heard argument in favor of the continuity between the Villanovan and Etruscan Orientalizing periods is that the Etruscan cities are founded on locations where in the previous period Villanovan villages were situated (Hencken 1968: 636). It should be realized, however, that the Greek colony in Cumae is also preceded by an indigenous Italic settlement and that there is ample evidence for intermingling between the original inhabitants and the newly arrived (Müller-Karpe 1959: 36-39).¹³ The same model is applicable to the Etruscan colonization, as suggested by the large number of Italic names in Etruscan inscriptions dating from the 7th and 6th centuries BC onwards. To give some examples, one might point to: *Cventi*, *Eknate*, *Venelus*, *Vete*, *Vipie*, *Kavie*, *Kaisie*, *Mamerce*, *Numesie*, *Petrus*, *Punpu*, *Pupaia*, *Puplie*, *Spurie*, *Flavie*, and tribal names like *Latinie*, *Sapina*, and *Sarsina* (cf. Vetter 1953 and see further chapter 4). As a matter of fact, the colo-nists from western Asia Minor constitute an élite, who impose their superior culture on the by far more numerous indigenous Italic popu-lation. A vital component of the colonial culture is formed by their language.

A first hint at the nature of the language can be derived from the name of some of the newly founded cities. Thus Tarquinia (= Etr. *Tarχna*-) is, on the analogy of Greek colonial names like Posidonia, Apollonia, and Herakleia, which are also based on a divine name, named after the Luwian storm-god *Tarhunt*-.¹⁴ In addition, a number

¹³ Note that there are also Etruscans among the new settlers as indicated by the Etruscan nature of an élite-cremation in the so-called Fondo Artiano dated c. 700 BC, see Strøm 1971: 146 and Strøm 1990, and an Etruscan inscription on an oinokhoe, dated c. 700-675 BC and reading (with the Caeretan variant of the *tsade* to be distinguished from the almost identical *nun*) *hica meše Tinnuša* “this for the god Dionysos”, which is not included in the corpus Rix 1991, see Woudhuizen 1992b: 158-161.

¹⁴ Evidence for a *Tarhunt*-cult in western Anatolia is provided by Lycian *Trqqñt*- or *Trqqas* (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 126), whereas the remains of such a cult are indicated by the demos *Tarkondara* at Mylasa in Caria (Woudhuizen 1992b: 7, note 28a), the epiklesis *Targuēnos* of Zeus in Lydia (Woudhuizen 1990: 101;

of Etruscan personal names, like *Arnθ*, *Mezentie*, *Muxsie*, *Θifarie* or *Θefarie*, can be traced back to Luwian counterparts (*Arnuwanta*-, *Mukasa*-) or Luwian onomastic elements (*masana*- “god”, *Tiwata*- or *Tiwara*- “sun-god”); the same applies to family names like *Camitlna* (< Luwian *hanta*- “in front of”) and *Velaveśna* (< Luwian *walwa*- “lion”), be it that the diagnostic element *-na*- —though originating from Luwian hieroglyphic *ná*- “son” (Woudhuizen 2005: 19-20)—is an Etruscan innovation unparalleled for Anatolian onomastics. Furthermore, Etruscan vocabulary shows many correspondences with Luwian, like for instance the very common verb *muluvane*- or *muluvani*- “to offer as a vow”, the root of which is related to Luwian *maluwa*- “thank-offering”. Of a more profound nature are similarities in morphology (adjectival suffixes *-s*- and *-l*-), the system of (pro)nominal declension (genitive-dative singular in *-s* or *-l*, ablative-instrumental and locative in *-θ(i)* or *-r(i)*, nominative and accusative of the communal gender plural in *-i*, genitive plural in *-ai* > *-e*) and verbal conjugation (3rd person singular and plural of the present-future of the active in *-θ(i)* or *-ti* and *-nθ(i)* or *-nt*), the use of sentence introductory particles (*va*-, *nac*, *nu*-), enclitic conjunctions (*-c* or *-χ*, *-m*), negative adverbs (*na* or *ne* and prohibitive *nes* or *nis*), etc. On the basis of these features, Etruscan can be classified as most closely related to Luwian hieroglyphic of the Early Iron Age (genitive plural in *-ai* or *-aī* [Woudhuizen 2016b], adjectival suffixes *-asi*- and *-ali*-, accusative plural of the communal gender in *-i*, sentence introductory particle *wa*-, negative adverbs *na* and prohibitive *nas*), but in certain aspects already showing developments characteristic of Lycian (genitive plural in *-āi* > *-ē*) and Lydian (dative singular in *-λ*, loss of closing vowel in the ablative(-instrumental) and locative endings, sentence introductory particle *nak*, enclitic conjunction *-k*) of the Classical period. Finally, Etruscan shows a number of deviations from Luwian which it shares with Lemnian, like the 3rd person singular ending of the past tense of the active in *-ce*, *-ke* or *-χe*, the vocabulary word *avi*- “year” and the enclitic conjunction *-m* “and”. Considering the fact that the Lemnos stele contains a dating-formula bearing ref-

Woudhuizen 2005: 142), and the heroic name *Tarkhōn* as reported for Mysia by Lykophron, *Aleksandra* 1248. The attempts by Briquel 1984: 181 ff. (who does not even refer to the long standing [since Herbig 1914: 20-21] and well-known equation of Etruscan *Tarχna*- to Luwian *Tarhunt*- in a note) to dissociate Mysian *Tarkhōn* from its proper Anatolian background are altogether futile.

erence to a certain Holoie from Phokaia, who is specified as king (*vanacasial* < Greek (F) ὄναξ) over the Myrinians and Seronians, the places of which, on the analogy of Phokaia, are likely to be situated in Aiolia, these deviations may plausibly be ascribed to the dialect of the indigenous population of Mysia (Best & Woudhuizen 1989; Woudhuizen 1992a; Woudhuizen 1998; Woudhuizen 2001; on the Lemnos stele, see further chapter 21). If so, the linguistic evidence coincides remarkably with the results from our archaeological investigation according to which we were already able to posit a crucial role for Mysia in the colonization process. Notwithstanding his mistaken chronology, Herodotos, while not telling the whole story in all its nuances, has certainly transmitted a tradition which in its nucleus may safely be considered historically correct!

We still have to answer the following question: why did Luwian population groups from western Asia Minor take the boat and sail to Italy in order to settle in the country of the Umbrians? In an attempt to address this question, it is important to note that the excavations at the island of Pithecussae, alongside Phoenician (to be more specific Aramaic) (Buchner 1982: 293) and Greek inscriptions, have produced what should be called proto-Etruscan ones dating to the period of c. 750 to 700 BC, one of which is characterized by the simultaneous use of *san* and *sigma* as common for Etruscan inscriptions but extremely rare for Greek ones (I have come across only a singular Greek example, namely an inscription from Thera dated to the late 8th or early 7th century BC, see Powell 1996: 129-130), and the other by the legend *mi Maion*, starting with *mi* “I” in typical Etruscan fashion (Woudhuizen 1992b: 154 ff.).¹⁵ Apparently, the Luwians of western Asia Minor were involved in trade with the indigenous population of Italy for the same reasons as the Phoenicians (to be more specific Aramaeans) (Bernal 1991: 192 with reference to Homeros, *Iliad* II, 783)¹⁶ and Greeks: the metalliferous (especially iron) nature of the

¹⁵ *Contra* Johnston 1983: 63, who tries to get rid of the un-Greek features by reading the combination of *sigma* and *san* in the one inscription as *sigma* and four stroked unstemmed *mu* and by emending the sequence *[mi maion]* in the other inscription as *ei]mi + MN* [in the genitive, but the four stroked unstemmed *mu* occurs only in inscriptions of later date and the verbal form *e(i)mi*, in all of its occurrences in Jeffery 1998, turns up *after* the personal name it is associated with. Similar criticism also applies to Bartoněk & Buchner 1995.

¹⁶ For the distinction of Phoenicians at Pithecussae by their burial rites, see now Docter 2000.

regions of the Tolfa hills near Tarquinia, Elba, and Populonia. This situation of precolonial offshore trade in Italy is described by one of our earliest sources with respect to the Tyrsenians, namely Hesiodos. In his *Theogony*, which dates from the 8th century BC, he informs us that the indigenous kings Agrios and Latinos ruled over the famous Tyrsenians who live very far off $\mu\upsilon\chi\omega\ \nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega\nu\ \iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ “in a recess of the holy islands” (*Theogony* 1011-1016)! The motivation to let these trade contacts culminate into actual colonization comes from domestic difficulties: at the end of the 8th century BC Anatolia suffered heavily from the Kimmerian invasion, which overthrew the Phrygian realm of king Midas and terrorized the Lydian realm of the tyrant Gyges (Sauter 2000). If you were living along the coast and were acquainted with the route to more peaceful regions, this was the time to pick up your belongings, board on a ship, and settle in the metalliferous zone of Italy, where, from a military point of view, the indigenous population was by far inferior!

Postscriptum

In an article about Etruscan origins which appeared in *BABesch* 79 (2004) 51-57, the Etruscologist Bouke van der Meer speaks out in favor of the orientalist thesis, but he does not choose between the two variant models of colonization as presented here, viz. at the end of the Bronze Age or during an advanced stage of the Early Iron Age: in fact, he posits three waves of colonization in sum, namely one c. 1100 BC, a second c. 900 BC, and the third c. 700 BC (p. 55).

For a Lycian tumulus tomb discovered at Phellos, dated to the 7th or 6th century BC, which is comparable the counterparts in esp. Caere, see Hüllden 2016: Pl. 238, Fig. 2.

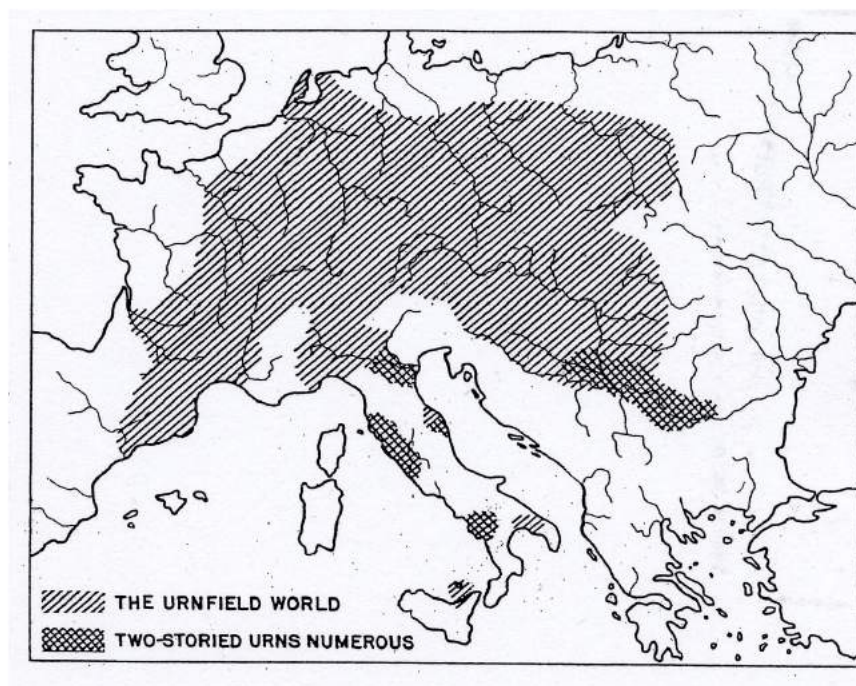


Fig. 1. Distribution of biconical urns in the urnfield world
(from Hencken 1968: fig. 452).



Fig. 2. Distribution of house urns
(from Bouzek 1997: fig. 49).

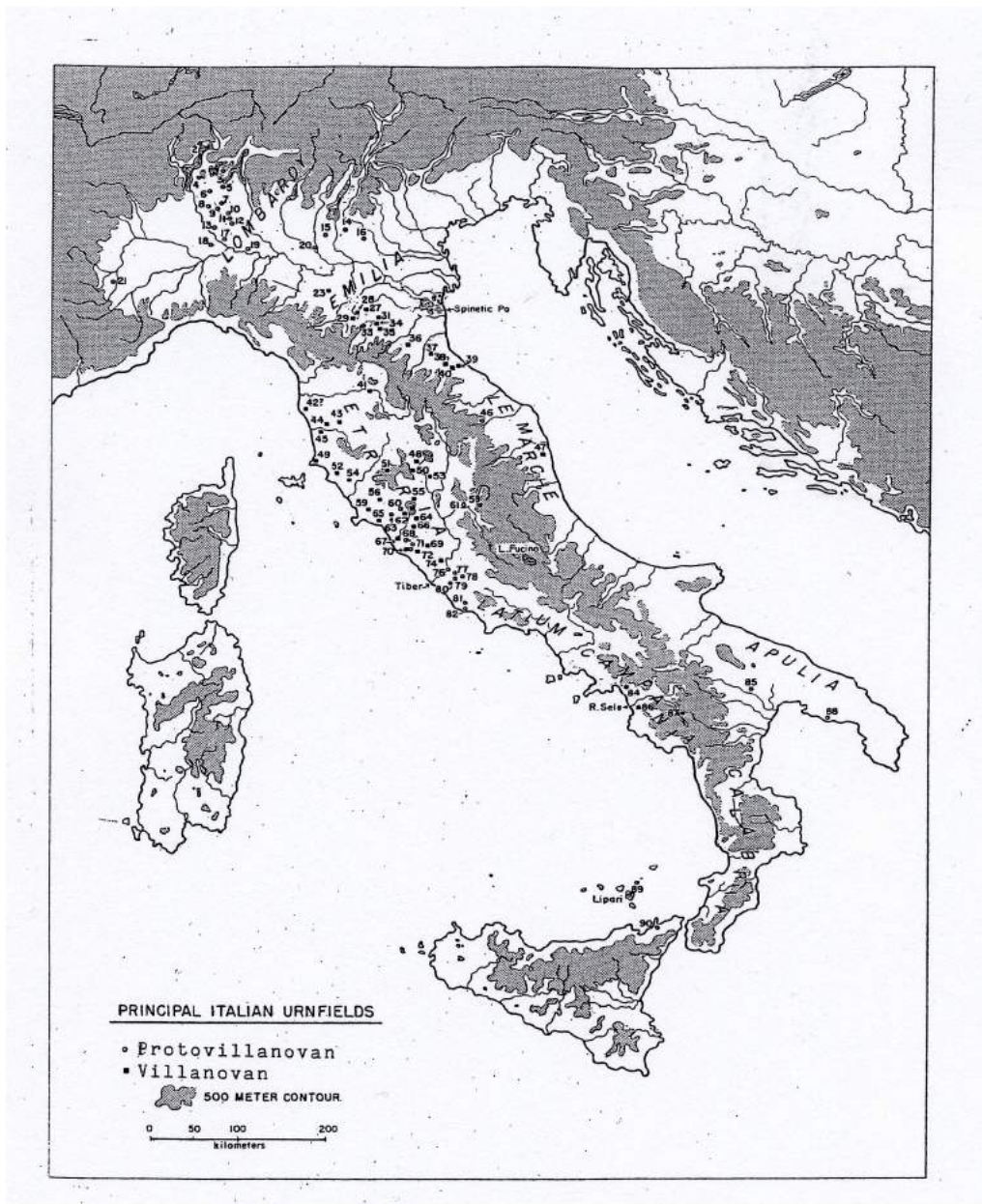


Fig. 3. Distribution of (a) proto-Villanovan and (b) Villanovan sites (after Hencken 1968: fig. 466).

2. TOPONOMY AND THE URBANIZATION OF ETRURIA*

1. URBANIZATION IN ETRURIA

The process of urbanization in the western Mediterranean region can be variously explained. In some cases cities were founded by Phoenician and Greek colonists from the east-Mediterranean basin, where the urban life style has a much longer history. In other cases rural communities gradually developed into cities under the influence of economic and social changes triggered by the colonial foundations. Unfortunately, it is not always clear which model applies, so that the controversy of “Stadtgründung” versus “Stadtwerdung” may occasionally arise.¹

This is especially the case for Etruria because of uncertainty about the background of Etruscan culture. With respect to this region, then, both explanatory models have at times been applied. Before the middle of the previous century it was commonly held that the Etruscan towns were deliberately planted by Lydian or Tyrrhenian colonists from the west coast of Asia Minor and the neighboring Aegean islands. After this date the balance was shifted to the diffusionist approach according to which the Etruscan towns developed without a break from the earlier Villanovan villages under influence of Phoenician and Greek overseas commerce and colonization.

The situation here is further complicated by the fact that archaeological research has traditionally been focused on the quick and easy gains from the necropolises and has neglected the arduous task of exploring the settlements. Consequently, archaeological data concerning the problem of urbanization in Etruria are as yet insufficiently available to help us out.²

* This chapter is a reworked and updated version of Woudhuizen 1994-5b, which in adapted form also appeared as Woudhuizen 1998: 177-183.

¹ See, for example, Pallottino 1972 on the urbanization of Rome.

² The important Etruscan towns Tarquinia and Caere are now being excavated, see Pallottino 1988: 489. Note that the very fact that a site is continuously occupied, as Pallottino 1988: 498 triumphantly stresses for Tarquinia, by no means implies “Stadtwerdung”; the site of Cumae, for example, had been occupied by Oscan tribes before the arrival of the Greek colonists who officially founded the city. For excavations at Veii see Bartoloni, Berardinetti, Drago & De Santis 1994 and, most recently, at Tarquinia see Bagnasco Gianni 2018.

For the time being a much more rewarding category of evidence on the topic is formed by the literary sources. If these are taken at face value, it appears that the Etruscans themselves had a well-defined notion of the concept of a city. Our main source on the Etruscan concept of a city is Plutarch's version of the foundation myth of Rome, for which reason it seems worthwhile to cite the relevant passage here in extenso.

“[When Romulus founded the city he had] men come from Tuscany 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 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 towards the city, and suffer no clod to lie turned outwards. With this line they mark out the course of the wall (...). And where they purposed to put 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 walls 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.”³

This passage shows that within the Etruscan concept cities were founded in accordance with certain religious rites. These rites were executed by a single, no doubt highly respected, member of the community and seem to have required a considerable amount of town-planning, because one needs to know exactly the direction of the main roads before the gates in the walls can be ritually secured.

Plutarch's picture of the Etruscans as experienced founders of cities coincides remarkably with the fact that there are foundation

³ Vacano 1960: 24; cf. Pfiffig 1975: 59.

myths for a large number of cities in Etruria itself. Moreover, many of these myths are likewise centered around a founding father or hero after whom the city is named. Thus Tarquinia is reported to have been founded by a certain Tarkon, who is credited with the foundation of the other cities of the Etruscan twelve-city league in Tuscany as well.⁴ For Mantua, the foremost member of the Etruscan twelve-city league in the Po-valley, no less than four different versions of its foundation myth have been preserved, some of which consider Manto, the daughter of the Theban seer Teiresias, as the heroine after whom the town is named.⁵ Finally, Capua and the other members of the Etruscan twelve-city league in Campania are also explicitly stated to have been founded.⁶

The literary evidence on Etruscan urbanization, then, strongly favors the model of “Stadtgründung”. Incidentally, cities may have invented foundation myths at a later time in order to enhance their status and modelled these on the current mythical concept of the colonial founding father.⁷ But only if there has been a widespread conspiracy among Classical authors to fool later historians, which in my opinion is a very unlikely option, all these foundation myths can be dismissed. Therefore it seems permissible to conclude that there may very well be some truth in the ancient traditions about the origins of the Etruscan cities.

⁴ Strabo, *Geography* V, 2, 2 (translation of the Loeb edition): “And when Tyrrhenus came, he not only called the country Tyrrhenia after himself, but also put Tarco in charge as “colonizer”, and founded twelve cities; Tarco, I say, after whom the city of Tarquinia is named (...).” Cf. Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Ταρχώνιον.

⁵ Servius *ad Aeneid* X, 198: foundation of either Ocnus or his brother Aulestis; as an alternative their mother Manto is also considered to be the daughter of Herakles; according to the fourth version the town is founded by Tarkon, again, and named after the god Mantus. Cf. Pfiffig 1975: 320; de Simone 1993: 200 (prefers the last option mentioned).

⁶ Strabo, *Geography* V, 4, 3 (translation of the Loeb edition): “(...) and the Tyrrheni founded twelve cities in the country [= Campania] and named their capital city “Capua”. Note that Voltturnum is the epichoric Etruscan name for Capua and that therefore the myth about the eponymous hero Capys is likely to be a later invention, though it might alternatively be pointed out in this connection that Homeros, *Iliad* XX, 239 mentions a certain *Kapys* as the father of Ankhises.

⁷ As Pallottino 1972: 33 believes to be the case with the Roman foundation myth; cf. also our remark on Capua in the previous note.

2. TOPONOMY

Today the study of place names is not exactly a highly respected line of research. Just recently an American scholar described toponyms as “a favorite hunting ground when all else has failed”, in short the last resort of the desperate (Drews 1993: 57). This loser’s image is symptomatic for the position of toponymy in the field of Etruscology as well. Massimo Pallottino still puts it politely: “Trotz der reichen Materialsammlungen (...) erlauben uns die Probleme bezüglich der etruskischen Toponomastik in Mittel- und Oberitalien noch lange nicht, systematische Daten zu gewinnen und sichere Schlüsse zu ziehen.” (Pallottino 1988: 403). However, a glance at the references may suffice to show that very few studies indeed have been devoted to the subject, and most of these are heavily outdated—an ever going classic being Gustav Herbig’s *Kleinasiatisch-etruskische Namengleichungen* published in 1914 (Pallottino 1988: 473, note 47 “dem fundamentalen Werk”)!

Yet, there can be no doubt whatsoever that place names may function as significant indicators of a specific cultural background. This is true especially for places of which the name results from a deliberate choice instead of subconscious common usage. Such toponyms, namely, are often purposely selected to convey a sense of ethnic identity. Thus a scholar of the late 19th century AD aptly remarked: “As the Phoenicians occupied headlands and islands from which they withdrew before the Greeks, nothing more likely than that some Phoenician names should cleave to those headlands and islands. That it should be so is no more wonderful than when we find at New York that *Harlem* and *Staten Island* keep up the memory of a time when the land was New Netherlands.” (Freeman 1891: 559). Toponyms like Phoenician *Qart Ḥadašt* (= Carthage) and Greek *Νεάπολις* (= Napels), both meaning “New Town”, are clear instances of this latter type of conscious naming (cf. Eisler 1939: 449).

Etruscan cities which have been founded in like manner as described by Plutarch for Rome may well have received their names, just like Rome, in the course of the foundation rites.⁸ This would

⁸ Cf. Plutarch, *Romulus* 1-2. Being a Latin city, the case of Rome falls outside the scope of this chapter. It is interesting to note, however, that the place name Roma (Etr. *Ruma-*) has been suggested to be of Etruscan origin (see Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie, s.v. *Etrusker*) and, since the time of Herbig, connected with the name of a Lycian hero, *Romos* (see Herbig 1914: 28)—a derivative of the Luwian divine name *Rum/nt-* (see Houwink ten Cate 1961: 128-131).

imply that these names probably are purposely selected for their ethnic connotations. Therefore it may be worthwhile to have a closer look at this particular group of Etruscan toponyms and try to determine its cultural background.

Among this group of place names, then, there can be distinguished two different categories of root types: (1) divine or heroic names, and (2) vocabulary words. To the first category belong Vulci (Etr. *Velc-*), Tarquinia (Etr. *Tarχna-*), and Mantua (Etr. *Manθua-*), which are related with or derived from the divine name *Velkhans*,⁹ the divine name *Tarc* or heroic name *Tarkon*, and either the heroic name *Mantō* or the divine name *Mantu*, respectively (cf. notes 4 and 5 above). The second category includes Clusium (Etr. *Clevsins-*), Pyrgi, Alsium (both without epichoric Etruscan attestation), and Cortona (Etr. *Curtun-*), related to or derived from the vocabulary words *cleva-* “enclosure, precinct”,¹⁰ *parχi-* “high”, *als-* “salt, sea”,¹¹ and a widely dispersed root for “citadel” without epichoric Etruscan attestation, respectively.¹²

From a comparative point of view, it has been suggested since the times of Herbig that Tarquinia may very well be related to the Luwian divine name *Tarhunt-*.¹³ In a recent contribution, Carlo de Simone has scrutinized this correspondence and reached the verdict that it must be regarded as highly questionable, mainly for the fact

⁹ Pfiffig 1975, s.v. *Velchans*. Other examples of toponyms based on the root of a divine name are Populonia, Volsinii, and Voltumnus, cf. Pfiffig 1975, s.v. *Fufluns*, and *Veltune/Vertumnus*, respectively. Note that this category may be compared to Greek colonial names like Posidonia, Apollonia, and Herakleia.

¹⁰ Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. Note that Clusium is referred to in TLE 233 = Rix 1991: Vs 1.179 as the seat of the confederate assembly and therefore its main sanctuary may have been of more than local importance, see Pallottino 1988: 226-227; Vacano 1960: 38-41. For the Italic name of Chiusi, *Kamar-* (< the Umbrian tribal name *Camartes*), see Maggiani 1999: 52-54 or chapter 8 below.

¹¹ Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.; *parχi-* is used in TLE 169 = Rix 1991: AT 1.105 from Musarna as the opposite of *etera-* “lower, inferior”. Pyrgi and Alsium are not independent towns, but harbors of Caere.

¹² Note the correspondence of this type of naming to Semitic *Migdol* and Phoenician *Gadir*, which are likewise based on a word for “tower” or “fortress, bastion”, see van Seters 1967: 190; Harrison 1988: 96.

¹³ Herbig 1914: 20-21. For the use of this divine name in the realm of Anatolian toponymy, cf. the important Hittite province *Tarhuntašša-*, which in Luwian hieroglyphic occurs as *Tarhumina-* (lit. “Tarhunt town” after the capital), from which in turn the Etruscan family name *Tarχumenaia-* (TLE 480 = Rix 1991: Cl 2.8) is derived by means of adjectival *-ia-*.

that it remains fully isolated.¹⁴ The latter statement, however, disregards other relationships with the languages of western Asia Minor which have been noted in the relevant literature. Thus Cortona has convincingly been compared to a series of related place names in the Aegean region and ultimately traced back to the same Proto-Indo-European (= PIE) root as Hittite *gurta*- “citadel”.¹⁵ Next, Pyrgi likewise has been connected with numerous equivalents in the Aegean and derived from a Proto-Indo-European root which is duly represented in Hittite (*parku*- “high”) and Luwian (TN *Parḫa*- [= Classical *Perge* in Pamphylia] as recorded for the bronze tablet from Boğazköy-Ḫattuša).¹⁶ Finally, Ambros Pfiffig has shown that comparative data for Mantua and Vulci also point in the general direction of the east-Mediterranean region, where the stories about *Mantō*, the mythical prophetess of Thebes, are situated¹⁷ and the cult name *Ἐλχάνος* (= epiklesis of Zeus at Phaistos) or *Bilkonios* (= epiklesis of Apollo in the region of the Meander) can be found.¹⁸

To these correlations noted in the literature two others may be added. First, the Etruscan vocabulary word *cleva*- “enclosure”, from which Clusium is derived, corresponds to Indo-European (= IE) Anatolian *ḫila*- “enclosure” and Lycian *qla*- “precinct” (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.). Second, Alsium is difficult to separate from *Halesium* in

¹⁴ De Simone 1982: 406. The author further expresses (p. 405) his doubts about the phonetic development of PIE *[h₂] and Anatolian [h] into Etruscan [χ] implied by the given correspondence. This phonetic development, however, also applies to the correspondence of Etruscan forms like *canθ(i)*- (honorific title), *casθial*- “mausoleum”, and *ceḫa*- “senate” to IE Anatolian *ḫanta*- “in front of” (< PIE **h₂enti*), *É ḫaštiya*- “bone house” (< PIE **h₂ost-*), and *ḫuḫḫa*- “grandfather” (< PIE **h₂euḫ₂-*), respectively. It should be noted in this connection that the development of PIE *[h₂] into velar [k], [g], [q], [χ] is a typical feature of the later Luwian dialects Lycian (*Trqqñt-*, *ḫñtawata*- “king”, *ḫuga*- “grandfather”) and Lydian (Zeus *Targuēnos*, *Kandaules*, *Gyges*).

¹⁵ Furnée 1972: 65 (Gortys); cf. also Fick 1905: 19 ff. (Gyrtonia, Gyrton, Kroton, etc.) and Kannengiesser 1911: 30. Hittite *gurta*- originates from PIE **g^hord^h-*, see Tischler *HEG*, s.v.; for Phoenician *qart* “town” as a loanword from this PIE root, see Eisler 1939: 449.

¹⁶ Krahe 1954: 158; Furnée 1972: 64; cf. Fick 1905: 16 (*Pergamon*). Hittite *parku*- originates from PIE **b^hr̥g^h(i)-*; for Luwian *Parḫa*, see Otten 1988: 37 (= commentary to VIII, 61).

¹⁷ Only one of the various options, see note 5 above.

¹⁸ Pfiffig 1975, s.v. *Velchans*. As observed by Forrer (1930-2: 144-145; 158-159), the root of this divine name corresponds to Hittite *walh-* “to strike, hit, smite” (< PIE **wélh₂-*), thus showing yet another instance of the development of PIE *[h₂] > IE Anatolian [h] > Etruscan [χ] referred to in note 14 above.

the east-Greek province of Aiolia, which, in view of its similar location near natural salt deposits, likewise originates from the root of Greek ἄλς “salt, sea” (< PIE **seh₂l*-) (see Tables I-II).¹⁹

toponym	comparison
<i>Tarquīnia</i> (<i>Tarχna</i> -)	<i>Tarḫuntašša</i> (< Luw. <i>Tarḫunt</i> -)
<i>Vulci</i> (<i>Velc</i> -)	Ἐλχάνοϛ (< Hit. <i>walḫ</i> - “to smite”)
<i>Mantua</i> (<i>Manθua</i> -)	<i>Mantō</i> (Gr.)

Table I. Toponyms based on divine or heroic names.

toponym	word	comparison
<i>Clusium</i> (<i>Clevsins</i> -)	<i>cleva</i> -	<i>ḫila</i> - > <i>qla</i> - “enclosure” (IE Anat.)
<i>Cortona</i> (<i>Curtun</i> -)		<i>Gordion</i> (cf. Hit. <i>gurta</i> - “citadel”)
<i>Pyrgi</i>	<i>parχi</i> -	<i>Parḫa</i> (cf. Hit. <i>parku</i> - “high”)
<i>Alsium</i>	<i>als</i> -	<i>Halesium</i> (< Gr. ἄλς “salt, sea”)

Table II. Toponyms based on vocabulary words.

On the basis of the given examples, then, it may safely be concluded that Etruscan toponyms are rooted in the cultural environment of the eastern Mediterranean basin, especially that of the Luwian regions of southwest Asia Minor. This being the case, the people responsible for the foundation of these cities are likely to be identified as colonial settlers originating from the regions in question.

¹⁹ Note that Silius Italicus, *Punica* VIII, 476 preserves the memory to a Pelasgian *Halaesus* as founder of the Faliscan town Faleria.

3. THE AENEAS SAGA: ETRUSCAN ORIGINS *IN PARVO**

If we are right in our conclusion that Luwian population groups from western Asia Minor colonized Etruria in the late 8th or early 7th century BC, there may also well be a kernel of truth in the colonization by Trojans of the coastal region of Latium as transmitted to us by the famous Aeneas' saga.

According to Virgil's version of this myth, the Trojans set out with 20 ships from Antandros, which lies at the northern side of the same bay that also harbors Smyrna—the starting point, as we have seen, of the Lydians in their colonization of Etruria according to Herodotos. From here, they first went to the Thracian coast, where they built a city called Aeneadae after their leader Aeneas (in Hellanikos' version this first stopping place is specified as Pallene in Khalkidike).¹ Next, the journey proceeded via Delos to Crete, where again the Trojans built a city, this time called Pergamea after Pergama—an alternative name of their hometown of Troy. After this intermezzo, they moved on to the realm of Hellenus in Chaonia, Epirus, which was inhabited by kinsmen who likewise escaped from Troy after the fall of the city at the end of the Trojan war (Virgil, *Aeneid* III). Sailing along the eastern coast of Italy and Sicily, their next major stopping place was the realm of Acestes in the region of Eryx and Segesta, northwest Sicily, where, just like in Chaonia, the population consisted of kinsmen from Troy. As a matter of fact, in the part of the trip between Crete and Sicily the main concern of the expedition was to avoid the hostile Greek settlements along the shores and on the islands of the Ionian sea. After their stay with Acestes, Aeneas and his companions were driven by a storm to the coast of Africa, where they visited Carthago, the town newly founded by Phoenicians from Tyre under the leadership of queen Dido (Virgil, *Aeneid* I; IV). From here, they returned to the realm of Acestes in Sicily, where games were held in honor of Aeneas' father Anchises, who had died there during their first stay (Virgil, *Aeneid* V). Finally, after a visit of the underworld in the region of the Euboian colony Cumae (Virgil, *Aeneid* VI), Aeneas and his Trojan colonists reached

* This chapter is a slightly adapted version of section 11 of Woudhuizen 2006a.

¹ *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 4 F 31; cf. Galinsky 1969: 111-112.

their final destination, Latium at the mouth of the Tiber (Virgil, *Aeneid* VII).

Having pitched their camp in Latium, there a war evolved with the local population, who wanted to get rid of the intruders. The war entailed a truly epic coalition of forces. On the side of the Latins fought the Caeretan king Mezentius with his son Lausus, who had been driven out of their hometown and had taken refuge with the Rutulians, Aventinus with followers from the Aventine hill, Catillus and Corus with followers from Tibur, Caeculus with followers from Praeneste, Messapus with Faliscan Aequi, Clausus with Sabins, Halaesus with Osci from the region of Cales and the Volturnus, Oebalus with Teleboans from Capri, Ufens with Aequiculi, Umbro from the Marsian hills, Virbius from Egeria's woods, Camilla with Volsci, Volcens with Latins, and Turnus with his Rutulians (Virgil, *Aeneid* VII, 647-817; IX, 367-370). The help of the Greek hero Diomedes (Aeneas' foe in the Trojan war), residing at Arpi, was called upon, but he refused to join in. On the side of the Trojans fought Evander with his Arcadians, declared enemies of the Latins, Tarchon with an Etruscan army of undetermined origin, Massicus with followers from Clusium and Cosae, Abas with men from Populonia and Elba, Asilas with men from Pisae, Astyr with followers from Caere, Pyrgi, and Graviscae, Cinyrus with Ligurians, and Ocnus and Aulestis with an army from Mantua. In sum, this basically Etruscan coalition is reported to comprise 30 ships (Virgil, *Aeneid* X, 146-214). The war ended with the death of the leader of the Italic coalition, Turnus, by the hand of the Trojan leader, Aeneas. (In the version by Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* I, 64, Aeneas—who is married with Latinus' daughter Lavinia and rules both the Trojans and the Latins at the time of the war with the Rutulians and Mezentius—simply disappeared, and the Latins subsequently built a hero-shrine for him.) In the course of the following peace, preluded to in Vergil's version of the myth, the native Latins refused to change their name into Trojans, change their language and alter their attire and customs, but the Trojans sank down and merged in the mass, leaving them only the introduction of some new religious rites (Virgil, *Aeneid* XII, 819-843).

Some of the elements of the Aeneas' saga as summarized above can be corroborated by archaeological, epigraphical or historical data. Thus, the reported sojourn of Aeneas with his Trojans on the Thracian

coast, according to Hellanikos in Pallene on the Khalkidike, is reflected in the archaeological record by tetradrachms from the nearby city of Aineia, dated to the period before 525 BC, which depict the flight of Aeneas and his wife Creusa from Troy (Galinsky 1969: 111-112, Fig. 87). Next, their stay at the court of Dido in the newly founded city of Carthago can only be dated to the period after 814/3 or 813/2 BC—the historical foundation date of the city according to Timaios.² Since the fact that, according to Homer's *Iliad*, Aeneas already fought in the Trojan war (which may well be assigned to c. 1280 BC), which is incompatible with a visit by the same person of Carthago in the late 9th or early 8th century BC, i.e. some 5 centuries later, Dionysios of Halikarnassos, whose focus is on chronology, quite consistently rejected the historical validity of this event (Loeb edition, p. 160-161, note 1). It should be realized, however, that we are dealing with myth and that in this category of evidence episodes from various periods can be telescoped into a single lifetime. Furthermore, the historical validity of one of the adversaries of the Trojans in their war with the Latins is greatly enhanced by the discovery of an Etruscan inscription from Caere, dated to c. 680/675-650/640 BC, reading:

mi Laucies Mezenties “I (am) of Lūcius Mezentius”³

Again, this evidence points to a date in the Early Iron Age for the vicissitudes of Aeneas and his Trojans in the west. Finally, in Lavinium, 100 metres southeast of the 13 altars of the Latin League, a *heroon* has been found dated to the 4th century BC, which has been identified as the hero-shrine of Aeneas reported by Dionysios of Halikarnassos in his version of the myth. Now, this *heroon* is connected with a grave from c. 675-650 BC, containing a few fragments of bone, some 60 vases of impasto and bucchero sottile, and the remnants of a chariot (see Fig. 4) (Somella 1974; Ross Holloway 1994: 135-138). Clearly, it was believed that the person commemorated by means of the *heroon* had been buried in the grave underlying the monument, which once again points to a date in the Early Iron Age of Aeneas' arrival in Latium.

² Der Neue Pauly, s.v. *Karthago*; cf. Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* I, 74, 1. Note that the given foundation date is now confirmed by radiocarbon data, see Docter, Niemeyer, Nijboer & van der Plicht 2004.

³ Heurgon 1992: 24.

More in general, the alliance of Aeneas with the Etruscans finds its expression in the archaeological record in form of a scarab (Galinsky 1969: 60; 103; Fig. 44) and a large number of vases from Etruria with scenes from the Aeneas' legend, dated to the late 6th and/or early 5th century BC (Galinsky 1969: 122-123). The Etruscan town of Veii even produced cult statues depicting Aeneas carrying his father Anchises, dated to the early or mid 5th century BC (Galinsky 1969: 125; 133; Fig. 111). As it seems, then, the Etruscans considered the Aeneas' saga as part of their cultural heritage. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the poet who fashioned the legend into its most famous form, *Publius Vergilius Maro* (= Virgil) from Andes near Mantua, ultimately originates from an Etruscan background, his family name being derived from Etruscan *Vercna*.⁴ Yet, the aforementioned *heroon* at Lavinium should warn us against the oversimplified conclusion of Karl Galinsky, written, it must be admitted, before this sensational find, that "when Aeneas appeared in Italy, (...) he belonged to the Etruscans." (Galinsky 1969: 131). Rather, we are dealing with a genuinely Latial tradition, which radiated to south Etruria.

The earliest historical source connecting Aeneas with the west is provided by the work of Stesikhoros (early 6th century BC) as preserved for the *Tabula Iliaca*, which shows Aeneas with his father Anchises (holding the *cista sacra*) and son Ascanius boarding a ship εἰς τὴν Ἑσπέρειαν (Galinsky 1969: 106-107; Figs. 85-86). Next, Hellanikos of Lesbos holds that Aeneas came to Italy from the land of the Molossians, either with Odysseus or after him, and founded the city of Rome, which he named after a Trojan woman called *Rōmē*.⁵ When the date of the foundation of Rome became fixed at 753 BC, however, chronographers and historians faced the problem that one person could not possibly be staged as a combattant in the Trojan war and at the same time be held responsible for the foundation of Rome some five centuries later. Hence, authors from the 4th century BC onwards prefer to attribute the foundation of Rome to a descendant of Aeneas (or of a woman from his Trojan followers),⁶ culminating into

⁴ Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie, s.v. *Vergilius*; Schulze 1966: 101; 379; cf. Rix 1991, s.v. (esp. Perugia).

⁵ Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* I, 72, 2; cf. Galinsky 1969: 103.

⁶ Galinsky 1969: 142-143; cf. Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* I, 72, 5.

Dionysios of Halikarnassos' calculation that Romulus is the 17th in descent from Aeneas!⁷ This process of filling up the time between the Late Bronze Age and an advanced stage of the Early Iron Age is of doubtful historical value: the Italic people had, for instance, no recollection at all of the arrival of the ancestors of the Umbrians and Oscans in Italy c. 1200 BC. Rather, therefore, we should face the fact that, as noted above, Aeneas as a hero and pious person became associated in myth with widely separated historical episodes.

Considering the aforesaid hero-shrine, the association of Aeneas with Lavinium seems prior to the one with Rome. According to the inscription reported by Dionysios of Halikarnassos to belong to this hero-shrine, Aeneas was worshipped here as a god (*Roman Antiquities* I, 64, 5). Further evidence for an Aeneas cult is provided by a *cippus* from Tor Tignosa, 5 miles inland from Lavinium, dated to the late 4th or early 3rd century BC, which carries the legend:

Lare Aineia d(onum) "Dedication to Lar Aineias"⁸

One of the outstanding deeds with which Aeneas is credited concerns his introduction of the cult of the ancestral Trojan gods, the Penates.⁹ According to the imagery, he was responsible for saving the *sacra* of the Penates, carried either by his father Anchises in a *cista* as we have just noted in the above or by his wife Creusa in a *doliolum* (Galinsky 1969: Fig. 45), from destruction at the time of the fall of Troy. Now, Timaios (early 3rd century BC) informs us that the holy objects of the sanctuary at Lavinium were kept in a *keramos Trōikos* "a Trojan earthen jar".¹⁰ Rightly, Galinsky connected this information with Livy's account that during the Gallic invasion in 390 BC the *sacra* of the Roman Penates were placed in two *doliola*, earthen jars (*History of Rome* V, 40, 7-8). That the sanctuary of the Latin League at Lavinium with its 13 altars, which, as we have noted above, lies at a 100 metre distance of Aeneas' *heroon*, was indeed dedicated (at least

⁷ Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* I, 45, 3; see for the discussion of the intervening kings *ibid.* I, 71 and cf. Livy, *History of Rome* I, 3, 6-11: all very shadowy figures, indeed.

⁸ Galinsky 1969: 158.

⁹ See Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* I, 69, 4 for their identification with the *Kabeiroi* or *Megaloi Theoi* of Samothrace.

¹⁰ *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 566 F 59; cf. Galinsky 1969: 155.

partly) to the cult of the Penates is confirmed by a 6th century BC inscription associated with altar no. 8, reading:

Castorei Podlouquei-que “to the kouroi Castor and Pollux”¹¹
quouis

the Greek Dioskouroi, namely, being identified in literary tradition with the Penates.¹² In Etruria, these were also venerated, as testified to by an early 5th century BC inscription from Tarquinia, reading:

itun turuce Venel Atelinas “Venel Atelinas has given this to the
Tinas cliniaras sons of Tin (= Greek Zeus)”¹³

It is therefore no contradiction that the inscription of the Dioskouroi is Greek inspired, whereas the altars of the sanctuary are of Etruscan type (Alföldi 1963: 266; Pl. XVI; cf. Woudhuizen 1992b: 194, note 104). On the contrary, this threefold identification facilitates us to further explain the popularity of the Aeneas’ saga in southern Etruria.

In our summary of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, we have seen that as a corollary to the peace between the Trojan colonists and the native Latins, there would be, with the exception of some new religious rites, no change of the name of the inhabitants of Latium, nor in their language, customs, and dress. Evidently, the Trojan colonists, in contrast to their Lydian colleagues in Etruria, were not numerous enough to cause a language shift: at any rate the epigraphical evidence shows decisively that the current language remained Latin, not to say that there is not a trace of the language of the Trojan colonists left. What could it have been? To answer this question, it is interesting to note that the name “Trojans” is used to indicate a motley crowd from various regions. Most explicit is the distinction of Lycians, whose ships are specified to be under the command of Orontes (Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, 113; VI, 334; cf. X, 751; XII, 516). But there are also names

¹¹ Gordon 1983: 76-77; cf. Galinsky 1969: 151; 154.

¹² Cassius Hemina frg. 6 = Servius *ad Aeneid* I, 378; cf. Galinsky 1969: 154; Fig. 119 (Dioscuri) = Fig. 120 (Penates).

¹³ TLE 156 = Rix 1991: Ta 3.2; note in this connection that according to Myrsilos of Lesbos (3rd century BC) F 8 the Kabeiroi of Samothrace are considered Tyrrhenian gods, see Lochner-Hüttenbach 1960: 102.

of Lydian (Atys, Gyges, Palmus)¹⁴ and Thracian (Ismarus [of a Maeonian = Lydian], Tereus, Thamyrus)¹⁵ type. Both latter elements may be expected in the Troad, as the region was overrun by Thraco-Phrygians from the Balkans at the end of the Bronze Age¹⁶ and under the control of the Lydians at the time of Gyges.¹⁷ The only hard evidence comes from another direction: Elymian. In this language, once spoken by the, according to literary tradition, related population of Eryx and Segesta in northwest Sicily, some inscriptions have been found, among which coin legends. One of these coin legends consists of a bilingual, according to which Elymian *Erukazie* corresponds to Greek *Eruginōn* “of the Erycinians”; the other, *Segestazie*, shows exactly the same formation, but then for the town Segesta (Lejeune 1969). Now, these Elymian legends are characterized by the Lycian ethnic formation in *-z(i)-* (*Sppartazi* “Spartans”; *Atānazi* “Athenians”) and likewise Lycian ending of the genitive plural *-ē* (*Pttarazē* “of the Patarians”) (Kinch 1888: 193-194; cf. Melchert 1993b, s.v.)—a combination which is also attested for Etruscan *Karθazie* “of the Carthaginians” (TLE 724 = Rix 1991: Carthago Af 3.1; Woudhuizen 1992a: 83; 90; 95). Apparently, therefore, the language of these particular Trojans, and hence probably of followers of Aeneas related to them as well, was closely related to Lycian, *i.e.* of Luwian type. This inference coincides with the fact that the place name *Roma* is based on the same root as that of the Lycian heroic name *Romos*, being likewise derived from the Luwian name for the stag-god, *Rum/nt-* (Herbig 1914: 28; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 128-131).

To conclude, the main contribution of the Trojan colonists is the introduction of the cult of their ancestral gods, the Penates. Furthermore, there may be a grain of truth in the tradition that leading families of Rome traced their origin back to a Trojan follower of Aeneas, like the Atii from Atys (Virgil, *Aeneid* V, 568-569; cf. Briquel 1991: 471-476), Sergii from Sergestus (Virgil, *Aeneid* V,

¹⁴ Virgil, *Aeneid* V, 568; IX, 762; X, 697, 699; cf. Gusmani 1964, s.v. *qalmlu-* (note that †q = p).

¹⁵ Virgil, *Aeneid* X, 139; XI, 675; XII, 341; cf. Detschew 1976, s.v.

¹⁶ For the Balkan affinities of the Trojan “Buckel” ceramic (= Troy VII B2), see Rutter 1975.

¹⁷ Strabo, *Geography* XIII, 22, 1; cf. Pedley 1972: 19 (Milesians asking for permission from Gyges to colonize Abydos on the Hellespont); note also with Briquel 1991: 83 that Daskyleion in the Troad is called after the father of Gyges, Daskylos.

121)—a Phrygian or Lydian name¹⁸—, and the Cluentii from Cloanthus (Virgil, *Aeneid* V, 122-123), though the identification of Aeneas' son Ascanius with Iulus, the ancestor of the Iulii, seems, on the basis of the double naming, a little bit forced (Virgil, *Aeneid* I, 267, etc.).

APPENDIX I

AENEAS' REALM IN THE TROAD

In the preceding section, we have observed that Aeneas and his Trojan followers boarded their ships in Antandros, which is situated on the southern coast of the Troad, just south of mount Ida, looking out over the Aiolian gulf. Now, Aeneas is particularly linked up with the region of mount Ida in the southern Troad, as this is the spot where he is reported to have been conceived by Ankhises and Aphrodite (Homer, *Iliad* II, 819-821). However, if we want to be more specific, it is interesting to observe that according to a passage in Homer's *Iliad* Aeneas is said at a time before the Trojan war to have been driven from the Ida, where he guarded the cattle herd, by Akhilleus, who next plundered Lyrnessos and Pedasos in the plain of Adramyttion—an attack from which Aeneas is saved by the protection of Zeus.¹⁹ This passage, then, seems to suggest an association of Aeneas, not only with the region of mount Ida itself, but also with the river valley to the south of it.

This very same region south of mount Ida with which Aeneas seems to be associated, is also reported to be inhabited by Leleges and/or Kilikes. Thus according to one passage, Altes, the king of the Leleges, is stated to have his residence in Pedasos along the river Satnioeis (Homer, *Iliad* XXI, 86-87), whereas according to another Eëtion, king of the Kilikes, once lived in Thebes at the foot of the wooded Plakos, where he was killed by Akhilleus during his aforementioned raid in the region (Homer, *Iliad* VI, 396-397; 415-416).

¹⁸ Beekes 2002: 214, with reference to Phrygian *Surgastoy*, see Brixhe & Lejeune 1984: Dd-102, and Lydian *Srkstu-*, see Gusmani 1964, s.v. For the related Thracian *Sergesteus*, see Detschew 1976, s.v.

¹⁹ Homer, *Iliad* XX, 89-93; 188-194. This ties in with an earlier section of the *Iliad*, in which Akhilleus is stated to have captured Briseïs in Lyrnessos and to have demolished the walls of Thebes in the same plain, killing the local leaders Mynes and Epistrophos, the sons of Euenos, Homer, *Iliad* II, 688-693.

Both the ethnonyms Leleges and Kilikes are indicative of Luwian speaking population groups—the Kilikes for their origin from Cilicia and the Leleges for their being identified with Carians (Herodotos, *Histories* I, 171). The latter inference receives further confirmation from the fact that the region south of mount Ida is characterized by place names in *-ss-* (Lyrnessos) and *-nth-* (Sminthe) (Woudhuizen 1989: 194, Fig. 2; 197). Evidently, we are dealing here with settlers from Luwian speaking areas to the south and southeast, who moved across the language border as determined by Dainis (< Luwian *tāini-* “oily”) being the indigenous name of later Greek Elaia (= harbor of Pergamon) (Starke 1997: 457; Högemann 2000: 10) into a presumably Thraco-Phrygian milieu.²⁰

If our association of Aeneas with a Luwian speaking region south of mount Ida is correct, the information from the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite that the Trojan language as spoken by Aeneas’ father Ankhises differs from Phrygian need not be representative for the entire Troad (*Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 111-115). Furthermore, his later relationship to the Etruscans in Italy receives a meaningful explanation as being one of a kinship nature!

APPENDIX 2

DARDANIANS: A FORM OF ETRUSCAN SELF-DESIGNATION

Confirmation of our inference that the Etruscans considered the Aeneas saga part of their cultural heritage is provided by a set of eight identical Etruscan inscriptions on three boundary stones from Smindja in the territory of Carthago. These inscribed boundary stones were set up by the followers of the democratic consul Gn. Papirius Carbone from the Etruscan city of Chiusi who fled their home-town to Africa in 82 BC after having sided with Marius in the civil war between the

²⁰ For the Thraco-Phrygian nature of the Trojan language already during the Late Bronze Age, see Gindin 1999, Woudhuizen 2006a: 108, note 520, and most recently Woudhuizen 2017a (of origin Old Indo-European). For another Luwian speaking enclave in the Troas, cf. the Lycians under the leadership of Pandaros along the Aisepos and in Zeleia, see Homer, *Iliad* II, 824-827; IV, 88; 103; 121; for the Lycian nature of Pandaros, see Homer, *Iliad* V, 105 (*Lukiēthen*) and cf. Strabo, *Geography* XIV, 3, 5 reporting his temenos at Pinara in the Xanthos valley; furthermore, his name corresponds to Lycian **Pñtra-* (Melchert 1993b, s.v. *Pñtreñne/i-*). Both Luwian speaking areas are already acknowledged by Gindin 1999: 261.

latter and the ultimately victorious Sulla (Heurgon 1969: 286; Colonna 1980: 4).

The inscriptions run in retrograde direction and read as follows (Rix 1991: Af 8.1-8.8):

1. <i>M(arce) Vnata</i>	“Marcus Unata Zutas
2. <i>Zvtas tvl(ar)</i>	(dedicated) the boundaries (of
3. <i>Dardanivm</i>	the territory) of the Dardanians
4. <i>Tins</i>	to Dionysos,
5. <i>Φ</i>	1000 (paces).”

In this text, then, the Etruscan settlers in question call themselves *Dardanians* (*Dardanivm*, characterized by the Latin genitive plural *-om* in Etruscan disguise),²¹ after *Dardanos*, the mythical ancestor of Aeneas (Der Neue Pauly, s.v. *Dardanidae*). Now, in form of *Drdny* the latter ethnonym is first recorded as an indication of the allies of the Hittites from the Troad in the Egyptian memorial of the battle at Kadesh (1274 BC). Furthermore, Dardanians is synonymous with Trojans in Homer’s *Iliad* (III, 456; VII, 348), and more in specific used here for the followers of Aeneas (*Iliad* II, 819 ff.). The ultimate homeland of their mythical ancestor Dardanos is reported by the literary sources to be situated in Arkadia in the Greek Peloponnesos—which coincides with our assumption that the inhabitants of the Troad were kinsmen of the Thraco-Phrygian or Pelasgian population groups of Middle Helladic Greece.²² Whatever the extent of this latter deduction, there can be little doubt that Vergilius’ location of Dardanos’ ultimate homeland in Italy results from a secondary

²¹ Colonna 1980: 3; cf. Leuhmann 1977: 428; note also the *ad hoc* device for the distinction of the un-Etruscan sound [d] from regular [t]. For the identification of *Tins* as Dionysos, see Woudhuizen 1998: 26, note 56, and the appendix to chapter 13 below, but note that a mixing-up between *Tins* (= Dionysos) and *Tinia* (= Zeus)—the latter being the protector of the territorium according to the *corpus of gromatici veteres* (see Camporeale 2003: 203)—in this late period is altogether possible (though yet another god, Selvans, also acts as protector of the boundaries in the legend on a bronze statuette from Bolsena, see discussion of REE 55, 128 in chapter 6 below); for the interpretation of the symbol *F* as 1000 *passuum*, see Heurgon 1969: 285 and cf. Bonfante & Bonfante 2002: 184-185.

²² See Woudhuizen 2006a: section 13 and cf. section 7 as well as section 12 with additional note 1.

intervention to stage Aeneas' peregrination as a return to his ancestral lands (*Aeneid* III, 167-171; VII, 205-211).

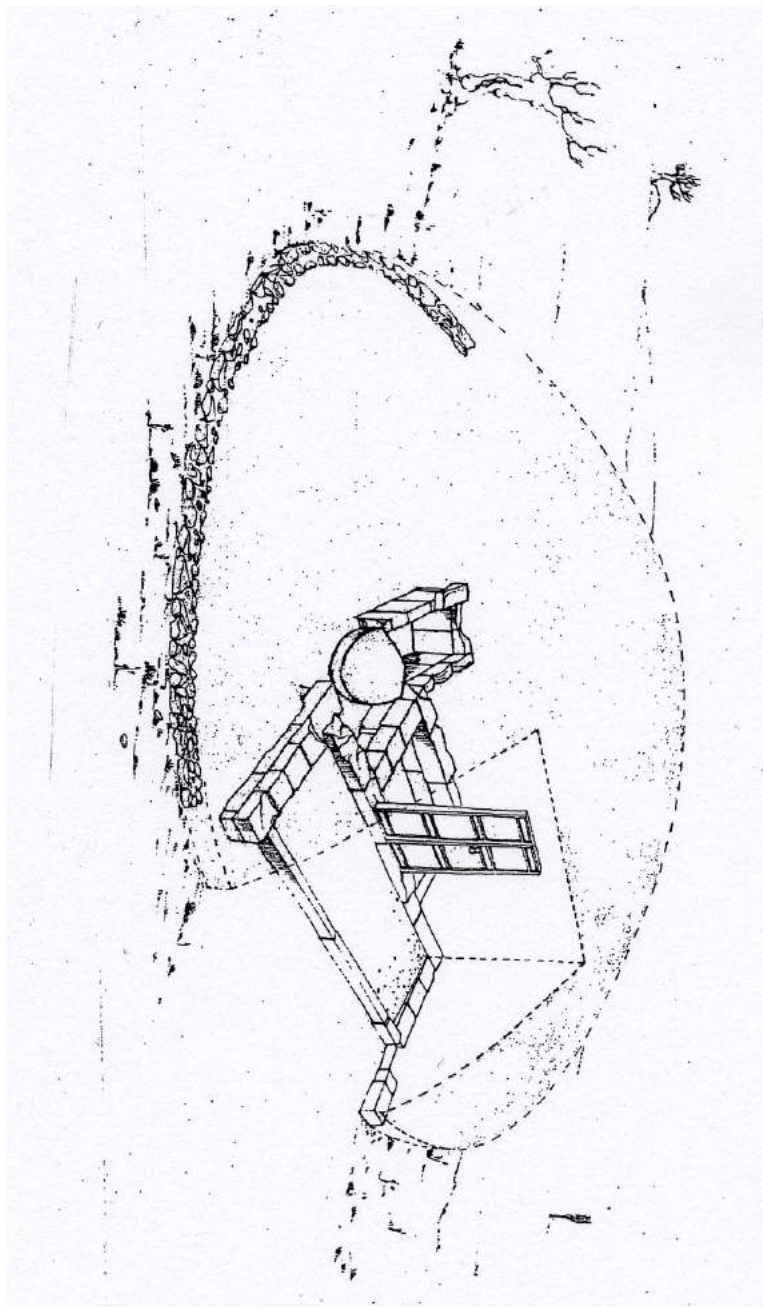


Fig. 4. The heroon of Aeneas at Lavinium
(from Somella 1974: Taf. VII).

PART I

LEGENDS ON PORTABLE OBJECTS & FROM GRAVES

4. TRACES OF ETHNIC IDENTITIES IN ETRUSCAN ONOMASTICS

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 the beginning of the 5th century BC), because this is most revealing era regarding 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 Suḫis" (Karkamis A2-3, phrase 1 [simplified version of the text by omitting the honorary titles]),¹ Lycian *Kudali Zuhrijah tideimi* "Kudali, son of Zuhrija-" (TL 1) and *Pulenjda Mullijeseh* "Pulenjda, (son) of Mullijesi-" (TL 6) (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 87-88), and Lydian *Ataλ Kitvaλ* "to Atas, (son) of Kidys" (Lyd. no. 30) (Gusmani 1964). 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 stressed by Hadas-Lebel (2004: 206), constitutes a development from the 5th century BC onwards, so that it will not be of concern to us in the present section.

¹ For the Luwian hieroglyphic texts cited, see Woudhuizen 2011, except when indicated otherwise.

1. LUWIAN

1.1. *Tarχna-* [GE], *Tarχi* [PR^m]

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 *Tarkondara* at Mylasa in Caria (Woudhuizen 1992b: 7, note 28a), the epiklesis *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).

1.2. *Θihvarie-*, *Θefarie-* [PR^m]

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).

1.3. *Mezentie-* [GE], *Mesnamer* [PR^m]

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>
mulu*“I (am) the thank-offering (of)
Mesnamer Tansinas”

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

Cf. Luwian hieroglyphic *Masanas* and *Masanasimis* (Karatepe, c. 710 BC), and Lycian *Mēsewe* (Classical period) (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *mezenties*; Woudhuizen 1998: 186; Melchert 2004: 99).

1.4. *Velχa(i)na-* [GE], *Velχe* [PR^m]

Cr 3.11, late 7th or early 6th century BC

<i>mini mulvanice Mamerce</i>	“Mamerce Velkhanas has offered
<i>Velχanas</i>	me as a vow.”

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

<i>mi mulu Licinesi Velχainasi</i>	“I (am) the thank-offering of
	Licinus Velkhainas”

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

<i>mi mulu Larisale Velχainasi</i>	“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 monthname *wa-la-ka-ni-o* *Ἰαλχανίω* as recorded for a Cypriote syllabic inscription (Neumann 1985; cf. Masson 1983: no. 299).

1.5. *Muxsie-* [GE]

Vt 1.154, c. 530 BC

<i>mi Avileś</i>	“I (am) of Avile”
<i>Tite Muxsie<s> muluenike</i>	“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; on this name of ultimately Phrygian background see now Zangger & Woudhuizen 2018 on the Luwian hieroglyphic text Beyköy 2 from this period).

1.6. *Velaveśna*- [GE]

CI 2.3, c. 625-600 BC

mi Araθia Velaveśnaś zamaθi“I (am) the votive offering for
Arathia Velavesnas”*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 1960a, s.v. L 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 p. 17; cf. Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *velaveśnaś*).

1.7. *Arnθ*, *Arruns* [PR^m], *Arnθi* [PR^f]

Praenomen of the brother of Tarquinius Priscus (616-579 BC) as recorded by Livy, *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
to Ramtha Vestiricinas”*Vestiricinala mulvanice*

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-L 466-s* (Karkamis, late 10th century BC) or *Arawatas* (Darende, late 10th or early 9th century BC) (cf. Woudhuizen 1998: 185-186).

1.8. *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.

1.9. *Ravnθu* [PR^f], *Ravnθu-* [GE]

Ta 7.46 and 7.51, c. 350-325 BC

Ravnθu Aprθnai

“Ravnthu Aprθnai”

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* for the sag-god, which ultimately derives from PIE **krh₂-wo-* “horn”.

1.10. *Θarnie-* [GE]

Vt 1.85, late 6th century BC

mi Larθia Θarnieś

“I (am) for Larθia 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*. For the first element, compare the Lydian place name *Tarnē* and the second element of the Luwian hieroglyphic form of the southwest Anatolian place name Kaunos, *Kwalatarna* “army camp” (Woudhuizen 2018: 31, note 40).

1.11. *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 honorary title *camθi-* or *canθ(i)-*, indicative of a federative magistrate. The title in question derives from Luwian hieroglyphic *hanta-* “first” (< PIE **h₂enti*) as applied in the titular expression *hantawat-* “king” and, as an onomastic element, in the name of a Hittite general, *Hantilis* (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *camitlnas*; Woudhuizen 1998: 186).

1.12. *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 onomastic element *nana-* originates from PIE *n̥-g̑enh₁-* “brother” (Woudhuizen 1998: 186-187).

1.13. *Laris* [PR^m]

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 Papatnas from Volsinii”

Ve 3.10, c. 600-550 BC

Laris Velkasnas mini turice “Laris Velkasnas has given me”

Ve 3.44, c. 570-560 BC (cf. Turfa 2012: 228, note 118)

mini muluwanice Laris Leθaies “Laris Lethaies has offered me as
a vow”

mi(ni) zinace Velθour A]cinies “Velthur Acinies has made 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), and Hittite *Lariya-* (Gilan 2015: 213-214).

1.14. *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 give (or) take me
(away), I (am) in use for
dedications!”

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 **g^hord^h-* (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *kurtinaś*; Woudhuizen 1998: 190).

2. EAST-AEGEAN

2.A. *Tursikina*- [GE], *Θuska* [ethnonym]

CI 2.3, c. 625-600 BC

mi Araθia Velaveśnaś zamaθi“I (am) the votive offering for
Arathia Velavesnas”*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. (Although the ethnonyms are of origin distinct, *Tursēnoi* is used as an alternative indication for the people addressed as Pelasgians or more in specific a group among them in the Classical period, see Woudhuizen 2006a: section 12.) The first form presented here is marked by Celtic *-kina-*, related 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>*).

2.1. *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, *Kullēnos* (Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyclopädie*, 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.

2.2. *Larθ*, *Lars* [PR^m], *Larθi(a)* [PR^f]

OA 2.2, c. 650 BC

mi Larθaia Telicles lextumuza “I (am) the little lēkythos for
Larthia, (daughter) of Teliclēs”

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

2.3. *Leθaie* [PR^m], *Leθaies* [GE]

REE 59 (1993) no. 22, 6th century BC

Leθaie muluvanike mine Vhulves “Lethaie Fulvus has offered me as
a vow”

Ve 3.44, c. 570-560 BC (cf. Turfa 2012: 228, note 118)

mini muluvanice Lariš Leθaies “Laris Lethaies has offered me as
a vow”

mi(ni) zinace Ve[lθur A]cinies “Velthur Acinies has made me”

Cf. the Pelasgian masculine personal name *Lēthos* (Homeros, *Iliad* XVII, 288).

2.4. *Larice*, *Larce* [PR^m], *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 cup of Larce”

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

2.5. *Vel* [PR^m], *Velia* [PR^f], *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”

In all probability, the onomastic element in question is related to the Phrygian name of the sun-god, *Ouelas* (NPhr-87), and can likewise be traced back to PIE **seh₂wōl-* “sun”.

2.6. *Θuker* [PR^m], *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).

2.7. *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 *purθne* or *purtśvana*, the root of which corresponds to the Greek magistracy *πρύτανις*, 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: 181-182; see chapter 10). For other gentilicia based on honorary titles, cf. *Camitlna-* (discussed sub I above) and *Macstrna* (< Latin *magister*).

2.8. *Ramuθa*, *Ramθa* [PR^f]

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 Aχχέλ Rmθ* “prytanis Akhilles Ramtha” (Best 1981: 49); note that the use of a family name is exceptional for the eastern Mediterranean.

2.9. *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: 109-112; see chapter 20).

2.10. *Ocrisia* [PR^f]

Mother of Servius Tullius (Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyclopädie*, s.v.).

Cf. the Phrygian epiklesis of Zeus, *Akrisias*, and the Pelasgian masculine personal name *Akrisios*. These names are based on the PIE root **akr-* “sharp, high”. For the interchange between [a] and [o], compare the correspondence of Greek *Atreus* to Phrygian *Otreus*.

3. ITALIC⁴

3.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.

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., Vn 0.1, and Cl 2.3, all three from the latter half of the 7th century BC.

⁴ I am drawing to a large extent from the excellent book by Hadas-Lebel (2004), for my review of which see *Gnomon* 79 (2007): 465-466.

3.B. *Sepune*- [ethnonym]

Cm 2.2, c. 600-550 BC

mi zavena Apulas Sepunes“I (am) the cup 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 *Safīna*- “Sabine” (Woudhuizen 1998, s.v. †*sapunes*).

3.C. *Šarsina*- [ethnonym]

Ta 2.5, beginning of the 6th century BC

mi Larθa Šarsinaia

“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. *šlarinaš*).

3.1. *Kaviie*- [PR^m]

AT 3.1, c. 650 BC

mi mulu Kaviiesi“I (am) the thank-offering of
Kavios”

Cf. Faliscan *Kavios* and Oscan *Gaavis*. In Latin, this *praenomen* develops into *Gaius*, with loss of the intervocalic [v], on which see further below.

3.2. *Mamerce* [PR^m]

Cr 3.11, late 7th or early 6th century BC

*mini mulvanice Mamerce**Velxanas*“Mamerce Velkhanas has offered
me as a vow.”

Cr 2.40, late 7th or early 6th century BC

mi Mamerces Larnas Saxus“I (am) of Mamerce Larnas
Sakhus”

Cl 2.3, c. 625-600 BC

mi Araθia Velaveśnaś zamaθi“I (am) the votive offering for
Arathia Velavesnas”

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

Cf. Faliscan *Mamarcos* (*eco urna Tita*<*s*> *Vendias Mamar[cos m]ed vhe[vhaked]* “I (am) the urn of Tita Vendia, Mamarcos 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.

3.3. *Numesie-* [GE]

Ta 3.1, c. 700 BC

mi Velet 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 vhevoked Numasioi* “Manios has made me for Numasios”, latter half of the 7th century BC, see Gordon 1983: 75-76) 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*).

3.4. *Vetusia* [PR^f]

La 2.1, c. 650-625 BC

Vetusia “Vetusia”

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

3.5. *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*.

3.6. *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”.3.7. *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”.3.8. *Licine-* [PR^m]

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”.3.9. *Tite* [PR^m], *Titela-* [PR^f]

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”*m̐la m̐[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.

3.10. *Spurie-* [PR^m], *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 Špurie Utaš muluvanice

“Spurius Utas offered me as a
vow”

La 2.3, 6th century BC

Araz Silqetenas Spurianas

“Arnth Silqetenas⁵ Spurianas”

Cf. Oscan *Spuriīs* and Latin *Spurius*.

3.11. *Caile* [PR^m]

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*.

3.12. *Vestiricina-* [GE]

Cr 3.20, beginning of the 6th century BC

mi(ni) Aranθ Ramuθasi

“Arnth has offered me as a vow
to Ramtha Vestiricinas”

Vestiricinala muluvanice

Cf. Oscan *Vestirikīīs* (de Simone 1964).

3.13. *Vipie* [PR^m], *Vipienna-*, *Vipina-* [GE]

Ve 3.11, c. 550 BC

mine muluv[an]jece Avile

“Avle Vibenna has offered me as
a vow”

Vipiennas

Vc 7.24, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of c. 580 BC)

Caile Vipinas

“Cailes Vibenna”

Vc 7.31, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of c. 580 BC)

Avle Vipinas

“Aule Vibenna”

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).

Cf. Oscan *Viibis*.

3.14. *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”.

3.15. *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”

Onomastic element derived from Latin *luscus* “squint-eyed”.

3.16. *Plavte*- [PR^m]

Cr 2.67, c. 530 BC

mi Plavtes “I (am) of Plautus”

Praenomen derived from Latin *plautus* “flatfoot”.

3.17. *Rutile* [PR^m]

Ta 6.1, late 7th century BC

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

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

3.18. *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*.3.19. *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-*.

3.20. *Marce* [PR^m]Vc 7.32, late 4th century BC (reflects historical event of *c.* 580 BC)*Marce Camitlnas* “Mārcus Camitlnas”Cf. Latin *Mārcus*.3.21. *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.

4. GREEK

4.A. *Criqu* [ethnonym]Ta 3.1, *c.* 700 BC*mi Velet Θuska Criqu Numesiesi* “I (am) of Vel Numasios, the Etrusco-Greek”*putes Kraitiles θis putēs* “Drink, Kratilēs, drink two times”

The ethnonym *Criqu* “Greek” appears in texts of later date as *Craica* (Vc 2.33-34, 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).

4.1. *Kraitiles* [PR^m]

Ta 3.1, c. 700 BC

mi Velev Θuska Criqu Numesiesi “I (am) of Vel Numasios, the Etrusco-Greek”

putes Kraitiles θis putēs “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 *putēs* Aiolic Greek πῶθι “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 δῖς “two times” (Woudhuizen 1990-1: 158-159).

4.2. *Telicles* [GE]

OA 2.2, c. 650 BC

mi Larθaia Telicles lextumuza “I (am) the little lekythos for Larthia, (daughter) of Teliklēs”

Cf. Greek names in *-klēs* like *Heraklēs*.

4.3. *Kalatur-* [PR^m]

Cr X.3, c. 650-625 BC

mi Kalaturus Φapenas (...) “I (am) of Kalatur Fabius”

The praenomen *Kalatur* is derived from the Greek magistracy καλήτωρ “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]).

4.4. *Hipucrate*- [PR^m]

Ta 6.1, late 7th century BC

Aḡapri Rutile Hipucrates

“Rutilus Akhapri, (son) of Hippokratēs”

Cf. Greek *Hippokratēs*.4.5. *Kuleniie*- [GE]

Fs 6.1, late 7th century BC

mi zinaku Larθuzale Kuleniieši

“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 *Kullēnos*, corresponds to the cult name of Hermēs, *Kullēnios*, after his sanctuary at mount *Kyllēne* in Arkadia (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *kuleniieši*).

4.6. *Dēmaratos* [PR^m]

Dēmaratos was a wealthy Greek merchant from Corinth, who, as a member of the Bakchiad 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. Livy, *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.).

5. PHOENICIAN

5.A. *Feluske*- [ethnonym]

Vn 1.1, c. 650-600 BC

*mi Avleś Feluskeś**Tuśnutnie[s] panalaś**mini muluvanike Hirumina<s>*

“I (am) for Avle Tusnutnie, the Pelasgian, (...)”

“Hiruminas of the Perugians has

Φερσναχς

offered me as a vow”

The ethnonym *Pelasgians* from Greek literary tradition in all probability corresponds 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 *prwst* or *Peleset* (Woudhuizen 2006a: 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 here on a Semitic population group.⁶

5.1. *Avile*, *Avle*- [PR^m]

Vn 1.1, c. 650-600 BC

*mi Avleś Feluskeś**Tuśnutnie[s] panalaś**mini muluvanike Hirumina<s>**Φερσναχς*

“I (am) for Avle Tusnutnie, the Pelasgian, (...)”

“Hiruminas of the Perugians has offered me as a vow”

Ve 3.11, c. 550 BC

*mi muluv[an]ece Avile**Vipiennas*

“Avile Vibenna has offered me as 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. *Αυλο*-; Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *avile*).

5.2. *Hirumina*- [GE]

Vn 1.1, c. 650-600 BC

*mi Avleś Feluskeś**Tuśnutnie[s] panalaś**mini muluvanike Hirumina<s>*

“I (am) for Avle Tusnutnie, the Pelasgian, (...)”

“Hiruminas of the Perugians has

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 2006a: section 12; Woudhuizen 2018: 139-143); add that *Goliath* is likely to be analyzed in line with Lydian royal names like Alyattes and Sadyattes as a compound of Anatolian *Hulaia*- with *Attes* and *Picol* as a reflex of Anatolian *Piḫa*-LÚ.

Φερσναχς 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*).

6. CELTIC

6.1. *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*).

6.2. *-kina-*, *-cina-*

Cl 2.3, c. 625-600 BC

mi Araθia Velaveśnaś zamaθi “I (am) the votive offering for Arathia Velavesnas”

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

Vs 1.165, c. 600-575 BC

mi Aviles Katacinas “I (am) of Avile Katacinas”

The *gentilicia* *Tursikina-* and *Katacina-* are marked by the Celtic morpheme *-kina-*, related to kinship terms like Greek *genos* and Latin *genus* originating from PIE **ǵenh₁-* “to procreate” (de Simone 1978; Woudhuizen 1998: 141; 187, note 389; 191).

6.3. *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: 233-234).

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-* becomes contaminated by the reflex of Latin *-ius*, *-ie-*, and thus *gentilicia* in *-nie-* are developed (Hadas-Lebel 2004: 261-269).

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: 259-292) 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), 21 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 24 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 (*Šarsina-*) 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 Muxsie<s>*, *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 we will see in the discussion of the longer Etruscan texts, these colonists planted their language, as the Etruscan language largely follows the patterns 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; see chapter 1 above). 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 the Greek *Dēma-*

ratos 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.

5. INTERIM LINGUISTIC INFERENCES

In the preceding chapter on onomastics, we have come across very rudimentary phrases with elementary grammatical relations. Thus the nominative singular is attested for dedicatory inscriptions of the type *praenomen* + *gentilicium* and verb in the 3rd person singular of the past tense of the active, often supplemented by a pronominal form in the accusative singular to indicate the object in question. Compare the basic *Manurke mulvenike Tursikina<s>* “Mamerce Tursikinas has offered as a vow” (Rix 1991: Cl 2.3), or, with additional pronominal forms, *mini mulvanice Mamerce Velxanas* “Mamerce Velkhanas has offered me as a vow” (Rix 1991: Cr 3.11) and *[Θ]ucer itane zinace Titenas* “Thucer Titenas has made this” (Rix 1991: AV 6.1). In one instance, the dedicatory inscription of the given type is augmented by the *praenomen* and *gentilicium* of the recipient, this time characterized by forms of the adjectival suffixes *-l(i)-* and *-s(i)-* as a substitute for the dative singular case: *mi(ni) Aranθ Ramuθasi Vestiricinala muluvanice* “Arnth has offered me as a vow to Ramtha Vestiricinas” (Rix 1991: Cr 3.20). From this type of dedicatory inscriptions, we may deduce that as a rule the nominative singular of the *praenomen* is endingless, whereas that of the *gentilicium* in most instances is characterized by the ending *-s*. Note, however, that this latter ending is sometimes omitted owing to oversight or sloppiness of the scribe, in which cases it may plausibly be emended: hence *Tursikina<s>* (Rix 1991: Cl 3.11) and *Muxsie<s>* (TLE 386), while in texts of recent date it tends to be dropped altogether.

The second type of dedicatory inscriptions we have come across, which is even more basic than the aforesaid one, consists of a pronominal form in the nominative with the *praenomen* and/or *gentilicium* in the genitive singular. This type of inscription may be exemplified by instances like *mi Laucies Mezenties* “I (am) of Lūcius Mezenties” (Heurgon 1992) or *mi Avileś* “I (am) of Avile” (Rix 1991: Vt 1.154). In some instances, the indication of the object in question is added to this basic pattern, as in case of *mi spanti Larices* “I (am) the plate of Larice” (Rix 1991: Cr 2.2), *mi Titelas θina* “I (am) the deinos of Titela” (Rix 1991: Cr 2.9), *mi zavena Apulas Sepunes* “I (am) the cup of Apula Sabinus” (Rix 1991: Cm 2.2), or *Larceś ta θapna* “This (is) the cup of Larce” (Rix 1991: Po 2.21). Note that in the case of *eme Mesnamer Tanśina<s> mulu* “I (am) the thank-offering (of) Mesnamer Tansinas” (Rix 1991: Vn 0.1) the

praenomen and *gentilicium* are irregularly undeclined, possibly because of sloppiness of the scribe. From these examples, it may be deduced that the genitive singular is expressed by the ending *-s* or *-ś*. In some instances of this second type of dedicatory inscriptions, however, the *praenomen* and/or *gentilicium* do/does not appear in the genitive singular in *-s* or *-ś*, but is/are rather characterized by an ending in *-a*, as in case of *mi Larθa Śarsinaia* “I (am) for Larth Sarsina” (Rix 1991: Ta 2.5). Obviously, as expressed in the translation, we are dealing here with a variant in which the name of the dedicator stands in the *dative* instead of the genitive singular. Note, however, that a *praenomen* in this dative singular in *-a* may occur with a *gentilicium* in *-s* or *-ś*, as in case of *mi Araθia Velaveśnaś* “I (am) for Arathia Velavesnas” (Rix 1991: Cl 2.3) and *mi Larθia Θarnieś* “I (am) for Larthia Tharnies” (Rix 1991: Vt 1.85), or with a patronymic in the genitive singular as in case of *mi Larθaia Telicles lextumuza* “I (am) the little lēkythos for Larthia, (daughter) of Telikles” (Rix 1991: OA 2.1), which can only lead us to the conclusion that the last mentioned ending, which we have already identified as that of the genitive singular, in the first two examples serves as a subsidiary function for the expression of the dative singular as well. Finally, the *praenomen* or the combination of *praenomen* and *gentilicium* in our second type of dedicatory inscriptions may also be characterized by forms of the adjectival suffixes *-l(i)-* and *-s(i)-* or *-ś(i)-* as an alternative means to express this time the genitive singular. This variant is exemplified by *mi Θihvariese Cisie* “I (am) of Thefarie Cisie” (Rix 1991: Cr 2.7), in which the *gentilicium* is undeclined, or, with the indication of the object, *mi mulu Kaviiesi* “I (am) the thank-offering of Kavios” (Rix 1991: AT 3.1), *mi mulu Licinesi Velxainasi* “I (am) the thank-offering of Licine Velkhainas” (Rix 1991: Cr 3.13), *mi Spurieisi Teiθurnasi aliqu* “I (am) the (vase name) of Spurius Teithurnas” (Rix 1991: Cr 3.4-8), and *mi zinaku Larθuzale Kuleniieśi* “I (am) the product of Larth Kuleniie” (Rix 1991: Fs 6.1). Note that in the case of *mi Velel Θuska Criqu Numesiesi* “I (am) of Vel Numasios, the Etrusco-Greek” (Rix 1991: Ta 3.1) the *praenomen* rather appears to bear testimony of the genitive ending in *-l* than a form of the adjectival suffix *-l(i)-*, whereas the ethnonyms *Θuska* and *Criqu* happen to be undeclined (note that in the chapter on the bilingual Pyrgi-texts, we will see that the genitive ending in *-l*, like its counterpart in *-s* or *-ś*, is also used for the expression of the dative singular).

Finally, we came across a formulaic expression against stealing, *en mini pi kapi mi nunar* “do not give (or) take me away, I (am) in use for dedications” (Rix 1991: Cl 2.4) in which the form *nunar* is most likely to be analyzed as an ablative-instrumental of the plural in *-r* of a noun *nuna-* “dedication”, related to the verbal root *nunθ(e)-* “to dedicate” (cf. Woudhuizen 1998: 118). Note that the verbal forms *pi* and *kapi* in this expression render the endingless 2nd person singular of the imperative of the active.

The foregoing overview of the evidence for nominal declension from the two types of dedicatory inscriptions can be summarized as follows (see Table III):

	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	—, <i>-s</i>	
D	<i>-a</i>	
D(-G)	<i>-s/-ś</i>	
G	<i>-l, -s/-ś</i>	
Abl.-Instr.		<i>-r</i>

Table III. Declension of the noun.

To this overview it should be added that both the genitive and dative singular may alternatively be expressed by the following forms of the adjectival suffixes *-l(i)-* and *-s(i)-* or *-ś(i)-* (see Table IV):

adj. suf. 1	adj. suf. 2
<i>-la/-le</i>	<i>-se</i>
	<i>-si/-śi</i>

Table IV. Various forms of the adjectival suffixes.

Furthermore, the information in the preceding survey of the grammatical evidence from the two types of dedicatory inscriptions on the declension of the pronoun may be summarized as follows (see Table V):

	sg.
N(m/f)	<i>mi/eme, ta</i>
A(m/f)	<i>mine/mini, itane</i>

Table V. Declension of the pronoun.

Finally, it deserves our attention that we have been confronted with the following evidence for the conjugation of the verb (see Table VI):

	past tense	imperative
2nd pers. sg. act.		—
3rd pers. sg. act.	<i>-ce/-ke</i>	

Table VI. Conjugation of the verb.

In the realm of vocabulary, we have encountered the nouns *mulu* “thank-offering”, *zinaku* “product”, *zamaθi* “votive offering”, *nuna-* “dedication”, and *seχ* “daughter” (Rix 1991: Cr 1.13), the verbal roots *muluva-*, etc., “to offer as a vow”, *zina-* “to make”, and *turu-* “to give” (Rix 1991: Ve 3.10; 3.30), of which the root of the first is also traceable in the noun *mulu* and that of the second in the noun *zinaku*, and the vase names *θina* “deinos”, *leχtumuzā* “little *lēkythos*”, *spanti* “plate”, *zavena/θapna* “cup”, and *aliqu* (cf. Colonna 1973-4). In addition to this, there is evidence for suffixes, namely *-χ* “from the place” as in *Cneve Tarχunies Rumaχ* “Gnaeus Tarquinius from Rome” (Rix 1991: Vc 7.33)¹ and *-te-* likewise “from the place” as in *Araz Silqetenas Spurianas* “Arnth Silqetenas (< the Sardinian place name Sulcis) Spurianas” (Rix 1991: La 2.3). Finally, it deserves our attention here that we came across two expressions, *mλαχ mlakas* “a beautiful (vase) for a beautiful (person)” (Rix 1991: Cr 2.9), corresponding, as first realized by Luciano Agostiniani (1981), to Greek *καλός καλῶ* and Latin *duenos duenoi*, and *ei mini pi kapi mi*

¹ Note that this suffix is probably also present in *Felsaχs* “of the Faliscans” (Rix 1991: Ve 7.30) and *Φersnaχs* “of the Perugians” (Rix 1991: Vn 1.1).

nunar “do not give (or) take me (away), I (am) in use for dedications!” (cf. Rix 1991: Cl 2.4), the negative nature of which has been established by the aforesaid author as well (1984).

From a comparative point of view, it is noteworthy that with respect to the realm of nominal declension, the loss of the inherited nominative singular of the communal gender in *-s* (< cuneiform Luwian *-š*, Luwian hieroglyphic *-sa*, Lydian *-s* or *-ś*) except in the special case of the *gentilicium*, where it is preserved, recalls the situation in Lycian, where this ending in general is lost with the exception of some special cases like, for instance, *arus* “citizenry” (Laroche 1979: Xanthos-trilingual, § 4). Similarly, the dative singular in *-a* is likewise paralleled for Lycian as far as the *a*-stems is concerned (Meriggi 1980: 275), as well as for its ancestral Luwian hieroglyphic, where it can even be traced in the realm of the *i*-stems (Woudhuizen 2011: 136; 313). Next, the genitive singular in *-s* or *-ś* corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *-sa* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2011: 136; 313), which develops into Lycian *-h* (*Zuhrijah* “of Zuhrija-”, *Mullijeseh* “of Mulliesi-”), whereas the genitive singular in *-l* cannot be dissociated from Lydian (= a Luwian dialect in similar manner as Lycian) *-l* or *-λ* for this particular function (Woudhuizen 2005: 146-147; Woudhuizen *forthc.*). The alternative use of these two endings for the dative as well concords with the progressive extension of the genitive singular in *-l* to the dative singular in form of *-l* or *-λ* in Lydian, which in fact completely ousted the from an Indo-European point of view expected ending in **-i* (Woudhuizen 2005: 146-147). As a final comparison in the present category of evidence it may be pointed out that the ablative-instrumental plural in *-r* is obviously related to the rhotacized variant of the Luwian hieroglyphic ablative plural in *-ti(a)*, *+r(i)* or *+r(i)a* (Woudhuizen 2011: 313).

In addition to these comparisons in the realm of nominal declension, it should be noted that, as duly stressed by Marcello Durante (1967), the adjectival suffixes *-s(i)* or *-ś(i)-* and *-l(i)-*, which, as we have seen, in their variant forms are used as an alternative means to express both the genitive singular and dative singular, correlate to the Luwian adjectival suffixes *-ašši-* (as in the cuneiform Luwian expression *anniš maššanaššiš* “mother of the gods”) and *-ali-* (as in Hittite, but no doubt ultimately originating from cuneiform Luwian, ¹⁰*tapariyali-* and Luwian hieroglyphic *TAPARriāli-* “governor” < *tapar-* “to rule”), offshoots of which are attested for Lycian (as in *ēni mahanahi* “mother of the gods” and *Trēmili-* “Termilians”) and Lydian (as in *Ibšimsis* “Ephesian” and *Maneli-* “of Manes”) (cf.

Woudhuizen 1992a: 81-82). As such, it is highly relevant to our comparative purposes that the Lycian variant of the Luwian adjectival suffix *-ašši-* is used as an alternative means to express the dative case in the sequence *ebēhi sttali* “on this stele” in the trilingual text from Xanthos (Laroche 1979: lines 22-25 = § 14).

If we turn to the evidence for the pronoun, there can be little doubt that the Etruscan personal pronoun of the 1st person singular, *mi-*, which is so prominent in the “redende Inschriften” of the archaic period, is related to the Luwian hieroglyphic possessive pronoun of the 1st person singular, *(a)mi-* “my” (Woudhuizen 2011: indices, s.v.). The more so, because in the western Luwian dialect of Lydian an offshoot of this particular pronoun was decidedly used to render services as personal pronoun as well, as in the case of Lyd. no. 30 (600-550 BC): *Titis-in ēmi ti-Sardi, fabil Ataλ Kitvaλ* “Titis has dedicated me in Sardis to Atas, (the son) of Kidys” (Gusmani 1964; cf. Woudhuizen 1982-3: 112-114 [note that Gusmani is correct in analyzing the verb *fabi-* as a compound of the preverb *fa-* with the verbal root *bi-* < Luwian *piya-* “to give” as acknowledged in Woudhuizen 2010-1a]). In Lydian this personal use of the pronoun in question even resulted in the shorthand enclitic *-m* “I”, as in Lyd. no. 56 *Maneli-m* “I (am) of Manes”, etc. (Woudhuizen 2010-1a: 209). Mention should also be made in this connection of Sidetic *m_i* “I” as in Sid. no 1: *m_i Athana* “I (am) for Athena” (Woudhuizen 1984-5b: 121-122). In similar vein, the demonstrative pronoun *ita-*, which later develops into *ta-*, may reasonably be analyzed as a combination of the Luwian hieroglyphic demonstrative pronoun *ī-* “this” (also traceable in cuneiform Luwian in form of *i(ya)-* [Woudhuizen 2016-7: 348-349] and Sidetic in form of *i* [Woudhuizen 1984-5b: 124]) with yet another demonstrative *ta-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ta-* (Woudhuizen 2011: 143) and Lycian *θθ-* (trilingual §§ 5 and 11) < PIE **to-*, attached to it. At any rate, such an analysis would go a long way to explain the variant form *ica-*, which likewise later develops into *ca-*, as a combination of this very same Luwian hieroglyphic demonstrative pronoun but now with the demonstrative *ca-*, corresponding to Hittite *ka-* and cuneiform Luwian *za-* < PIE **kī-*, attached to it. Note that only the attached demonstrative forms are liable to declension and that in the course of time the first element in both instances was dropped altogether (cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 23). Whatever the extent of this latter observation, the pronominal ending of the A(m/f) sg. in *-ne* or *-ni* corresponds to common Luwian *-n(a)*. Note that the for alphabetic writing superfluous final vowel [e] or [i], presumably just like in case of Lycian *-ñnē*, may receive explanation

as a remnant of the syllabic writing practices of Luwian hieroglyphic—provided that the vowel [e] which is lacking in the latter script serves as a substitute of [a]. Finally, it seems not farfetched to ascribe the aberrant form *eme* of the nominative of the personal pronoun of the 1st person singular to secondary Greek influences.

In line with this latter observation, the verbal ending of the 3rd person singular of the past tense of the active in *-ce* or *-ke*, which is paralleled in the Luwian dialects only for its most westerly representative Lemnian in the form *θoke* (< Luwian *tu(wa)-* “to erect”, see chapter 21), may well be explained in terms of a velarization of original [t] (note that the Luwian ending of the 3rd person singular of the past tense of the active is in *-d/ta* or, in the case of Lycian, *-d/tē*)—perhaps under influence of the Greek *kappa*-perfect or -aorist. If so, we are obviously dealing with an instance of code-mixing here, no doubt resulting from the substantial Greek influence on the Tyrrhenians already in their Aegean homeland (Woudhuizen 2006a: 140). As far as verbal endings are concerned, the endingless 2nd person singular of the imperative of the active, finally, is straightforwardly paralleled in cuneiform Luwian (Woudhuizen 2016-7: 355; 358) and Luwian hieroglyphic (Woudhuizen 2011: 314).

If we turn to the realm of vocabulary, the noun *mulu* and the related verbal root *muluva-*, etc., can, as first observed by Heiner Eichner (1985: 14), not be dissociated from Luwian hieroglyphic *maluwa-* “thank-offering”, derivations of which are attested for Sidetic in form of *malvam₁a*, corresponding to Greek *χαριστήρια* in a bilingual inscription (Sid. no. 1), and Lydian *mlvëndai₁* (dative plural in *-ai₁*), bearing reference to the *mobilia* in the grave (Lyd. no. 2) (Woudhuizen 1984-5b: 121-122; Woudhuizen 1984-5a: 96; cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 44). The same verdict holds good for the noun *zamaθi*, which originates from Luwian hieroglyphic *zāmatia-* “votive offering” (Woudhuizen 2010-1b: 222-223). Next, the verbal root *pi-* can be traced back to Luwian *piya-* “to give”, which is represented in Lycian in form of *pije-* and in Lydian in form of *bi-* (Woudhuizen 2011: 428). Similarly, the suffix *-χ* “from the place” recalls Lydian *-k* as in *šfardak* “from Sardis, Sardian” (Woudhuizen 1992b: 188), whereas the suffix *-te-* “from the place” is clearly affiliated to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ti-* as in *Kir(a)ti-* “from Kira, Kiraean” (Assur e, § 29, see Woudhuizen 2005: 45), Cypro-Minoan *-te-* as in *Ulimute-* “from Uramu(wa)’s town”, *Ri₁tisite-* “from Rhytiassos”, and *Katarite-* “from Gadara”, and Lycian *-de-* as in *Hlṃmide* “from Salamis” (Woud-

huizen 1992b: 110; 113; cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 83-84). Apart from these important Luwian connections, there is a strong Greek current represented by the verbal root *turu-*, which corresponds to that of Greek δωρέω “to give” (Charsekin 1963), and the vase names *θina* and *lextumuza*, corresponding to Greek δεινός and λήκυθος (Colonna 1973-4), respectively. Furthermore, Latin substrate influences appear to be present as well in the form of the vessel name *spanti*, which recalls Latin *spondeum*, and the verbal root *kapi-*, which brings to mind Latin *capio* “to take (away)”. Finally, the origins of the adjective *młax* “beautiful” may well be traced back to Phoenician, as this form is strikingly paralleled by Ugaritic *mlḥ* “beautiful” (Woudhuizen 2006a: appendix II).

In summary, then, it may be concluded on the basis of the linguistic evidence from the inscriptions presented in the preceding chapter on onomastics, that Etruscan grammar, as far as unveiled in this manner, basically adheres to the Luwian paradigm. It can not be denied, however, that Luwian falls short to explain all aspects of Etruscan grammar, some elements of which should rather be traced back to a deep layer of Greek, which, by the way, is also observable in the realm of vocabulary. As far as the latter category is concerned, it appears that we should also reckon with Latin and Phoenician adstrate influences. Accordingly, then, it seems that most of the ethnic groups we were able to distinguish in our chapter on onomastics in varying degrees left their imprint on the Etruscan language.

6. SOME MORE INSCRIPTIONS ON PORTABLE OBJECTS

In this chapter I will discuss some more inscriptions of the types distinguished in the two preceding chapters, but this time with a focus on the subsidiary linguistic evidence they provide rather than on their onomastic relevance.

The inscriptions in question, all on portable objects, can be divided in vase inscriptions, often of a possessive nature, and dedicatory ones, sometimes also on vases but mostly on bronze statuettes.

Rix 1991: Cr 2.27, c. 625-600 BC (oinokhoe)

<i>mi mlaχ mlakas pruxum</i>	“I (am) a beautiful prokhous for a beautiful (person)”
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Rix 1991: Fa 2.3, c. 600 BC (aryballos)

<i>mlakas Se La aska mi eleivana</i>	“I (am) an oil-askos for a beautiful (person), S.L. (?)”
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Caere, aryballos, 7th century BC (Poetto & Facchetti 2009)

<i>mi mlaχ mlakas Larθus elaivana Araθia Numasianas</i>	“I (am) a beautiful (vase) for a beautiful (person); (from the side) of Larth: the oil-container to Arathia Numasianas.”
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Rix 1991: Fa X.1, c. 650 BC (oinokhoe)

<i>mi qutun Lemausnas Renazu zinace</i>	“I (am) the kōthōn of Lemausnas” “Renazu has made”
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Rix 1991: Cm 2.13, c. 500-450 BC (Attic kylix)

<i>mi χulixna Cupes Alθrnas ei mini pi capi</i>	“I (am) the kylix of Cupe Althrnas” “Do not give (or) take me (away)!”
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Dallas, gold fibula, c. 630 BC (Facchetti 2002: 18)

<i>mi mulu Araθiale Θanaχvilus Prasinaia</i>	“I (am) the thank-offering of Arathia, (daughter) of Thanakhvil Prasinaia”
--	---

Pontecagnano, vase, c. 650 BC (Pellegrino & Colonna 2002)

<i>mi mulu Venelasi Velχaesi Rasuniesi</i>	“I (am) the thank-offering of Venel Velkhaie, the Etruscan.”
--	---

Rix 1991: Cm 2.46, c. 500-450 BC (Attic kylix)

Qupes Fuluśla mi “I (am) for Qupe, (son) of Fulus”
ei min pi capi mi nunar “Do not give (or) take me (away), I
 (am) in use for dedications!”

Rix 1991: Ad 6.1, recent (patera)

Kulśnuteraś Šminθiakś-ke “To Kulśnutera and the Sminthian”

Rix 1991: Vc 4.1-2, recent (vase)

Fuflunsul Paxies Velclθi “To Fufluns the Bakkhian in the
 (territory) of Vulci”

Rix 1991: Ta 3.2, c. 500-450 BC (Attic kylix)

itun turuce Venel Atelinas “Venel Atelinas has given this to the
Tinas cliniaras sons of Tin”

Rix 1991: OB 3.2, second half of the 4th century BC (bronze statuette of Apollo [Fig. 5])

mi flereś spulare Aritimi “I (am) the statuette for the municipal
Fasti Rufriś t(u)rce clen ceḡa Artemis; Fasti Rufris has given (as)
 representative (of) the senate.”

Rix 1991: Co 3.3, 4th or 3rd century BC (bronze statuette)

V. Cvinti Arntiaś Culśanśl “V(el) Quīntus, (the son) of Arnti, has
Alpan turce given to the Alban Culsans”

Bolsena (REE 55, 128), 3rd century BC (bronze statuette)

ecn turce Avle Havrnas “Avle Havrnas has given this in
tuθina apana Selvansl accordance with his people’s
tularias (decision) to Selvans, protector of the
 boundarie(s)”

Rix 1991: Ta 3.9, recent (bronze statuette)

ecn turce Larθi Leθanei “Larθi Lethanei has given this to
Alpnu Selvansl canzate the Alban Selvans during (her) term
 of office as president”

Rix 1991: Vt S.2, recent (mirror)

eca sren tva “Place this as a *sren*!”
iḡ-nac Hercle Unial clan “It has been engraved with Herakles,
θrasce son of Uni.”

As far as the declension of the noun is concerned, we are again confronted here in the inscriptions of dedicatory nature with *prae-nomina* in the endingless nominative singular of the communal gender, like *Avle*, *Venel*, *Fasti* (a female praenomen), *Larθi* (a female praenomen, again), and *Cvinti*, the latter corresponding to Latin *Quintus*. In three instances, *Atelinas*, *Havrnas*, and *Rufriś*, the *gentilicium* (in the last mentioned case without the typical Etruscan formans *-na-*, so perhaps we may alternatively be dealing here with the genitive singular in *-ś* of the name of the father, *Rufer*, functioning as patronymic) shows the regular nominative singular in *-s* or *-ś*, whereas in the other instances either an aberrant *gentilicium* in *-i* (*Leθaneī*) or a metronymic in the genitive singular in *-ś* (*Arntiaś*) is preferred. Note in this connection that a *praenomen* in the endingless nominative singular is further attested for the maker-formula *Renazu zinace* “Renazu has made”. Further evidence for the endingless nominative singular is likely provided by the vase names *pruxum*, *aska*, *qutun*, and *χulixna* as well as the apposition *clen ceχα* “representative (of) the senate” and the adjective *eleivana* or *elaivana* “(container for) oil”. The indication of the object in Rix 1991: OB 3.2, *flereś* “statuette”, also stands in the nominative, but in this case we may rather be dealing with the nominative-accusative singular of the neuter in *-ś* than the nominative singular of the communal gender in *-s* or *-ś*. As opposed to this, in Rix 1991: Vt S.2 we are confronted with the endingless accusative of the neuter (*eca sren* “this (as a) *sren*”). Next, the vase inscriptions with a possession-formula provide us with further evidence for the genitive singular in *-s*, as in case of the *praenomen* *Larθus*, the *gentilicium* *Lemausnas* and the combination of *praenomen* with *gentilicium* *Cupes Alθrnas*. Alternatively, the genitive singular may, as we have seen in the preceding section, be expressed by adjectival *-le* or *-si*, as in case of *Araθiale* in the legend of the gold fibula from Dallas (where the metronymic *Θanaχvilus* in the genitive singular is associated with the *cognomen* *Prasinaia* probably in the nominative singular as a result of sloppiness by the scribe or just for the sake of convenience) and *Venelasi Velχaesi Rasuniesi* in the legend of the vase inscription from Pontecagnano (where *Rasunie-* confronts us with a reflex of the Greek ethnic *Ῥασέννα* “Etruscan”). As we have noted in the preceding chapter, the ending in *-s* serves as a subsidiary function for the expression of the dative singular as well, as exemplified by the *praenomen* *Qupes*, the *gentilicium* *Numasianas*, and the vocabulary words *tularias* “to the protector of the boundarie(s)” and *mlakas* “for

a beautiful (person)”, and, as far as recipient deities in the dedicatory inscriptions are concerned, by *Paxies*, and, in variant form *-ś*, by *Kulśnutteraś* and *Šminθiakś*. The same verdict holds good for the genitive singular in *-l* as encountered in the preceding chapter, which in the dedicatory inscriptions qualifies the recipient deities as being in the dative singular, as in the case of *Fuflunsul*, *Culśanśl*, and *Selvansl*. Furthermore, the dative singular in *-a*, which we already came across in the preceding chapter, is further represented by the *praenomen* *Larθia* in the inscription from Caere (Poetto & Facchetti 2009), the patronymic *Fuluśla* from the vase inscription Rix 1991: Cm 2.46, and the sequence *tuθina apana* from the dedicatory inscription REE 55, 128. Alternatively, the dative singular may also be expressed by the ending in *-e* or *-i*, as it is the case with the recipient deity and her apposition in Rix 1991: OB 3.2, which, in view of *spura-* being the regular form for the Etruscan equivalent of Latin *urbs*, no doubt correctly reads *spurale Aritimi* “for the municipal Artemis”. In addition, we find evidence for the ablative-instrumental singular in *-te* as in *canzate* (< the honorific title *camθi-* or *canθ-* “president”, cf. Woudhuizen 1998: 99), whereas we are already familiar with the rhotacized plural of this case in *-r* as attested for *nunar* from the formulaic expression against stealing. Finally, in one of the dedicatory inscriptions we are newly confronted here with evidence for the locative singular ending in *-θi* of which the form *Velclθi* bears testimony, whereas another such an inscription shows us evidence of what appears to be the dative dual in *-as* in the form of the indication of the recipient deities as *Tinas cliniaras* “to the (two) sons of Tin”.

In combination with the evidence for declension of the noun from the preceding chapter, we thus arrive at the following overview (see Table VII):

	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	—, <i>-s/-ś</i>	
N-A(n)	—, <i>-ś</i>	
D	<i>-a, -e, -i</i>	<i>-as</i> (dual)
D(-G)	<i>-l, -s/-ś</i>	
G	<i>-l, -s/-ś</i>	
Abl.-Instr.	<i>-te</i>	<i>-r</i>
Loc.	<i>-θi</i>	

Table VII. Declension of the noun.

If we turn to the realm of the pronoun, we encounter in the inscriptions of a possessive nature the nominative and accusative of the communal gender of the personal pronoun of the 1st person singular, *mi* "I" and *min(i)* "me", respectively, with which we are already familiar, be it that the last mentioned form appears here also without superfluous closing vowel. In addition, three of the dedicatory inscriptions bear testimony of the accusative of the communal gender of the demonstratives *ita-* and *ica-* "this", in the first case in form of a graphic variant of *itane*, viz. *itun*, and in the second case in form of a late variant characterized by the substitution of initial [e] for [i], viz. *ecn* (note in this connection that, as we have already observed in the preceding chapter, the initial vowel is mostly dropped altogether in the late variants of this pronoun). Finally, the form *eca* renders the accusative singular of the neuter.

In combination with the evidence for pronominal declension from the preceding chapter, this leads us to the following summary (see Table VIII):

	sg.
N(m/f)	<i>mi/eme, ta</i>
A(m/f)	<i>min(e)/min(i), itane/itun, ecn</i>
N-A(n)	<i>mi, eca</i>

Table VIII. Declension of the pronoun.

With respect to the conjugation of the verb, we come across two verbal forms characterized by the 3rd person singular of the past tense of the active in *-ce* with which we are already familiar, viz. *zinace* "he has made" and *tur(u)ce* "he has given", whereas we are likewise already familiar with the endless forms of the 2nd person singular of the imperative of the active, *pi* "give!" and *capi* "take (away)!", from the formulaic expression against stealing *ei min(i) pi capi mi nunar* "do give or take me (away), I (am) in use for dedications!". With respect to the latter category, we are newly confronted with *tva* "place!" as attested for Rix 1991: Vt S.2.

In combination with the evidence for verbal conjugation from the preceding chapter, this leads us to the following summary (see Table IX):

	past tense	imperative
2nd pers. sg. act.		—
3rd pers. sg. act.	-ce/-ke	

Table IX. Conjugation of the verb.

Unlike the situation in the preceding chapter, the adjectival suffix *-l(i)-* does not figure in the present set of texts in form of its secondary function as an alternative means to express the combined dative-genitive singular, but only appears in its original adjectival function, as in the patronym *Fuluśl-* “(the son) of Fulus” and the toponym *Velcl-* “(the territory) of Vulci”. Yet another morpheme we are already acquainted with owing to its treatment in the preceding chapter, albeit in variant form *-χ*, is the suffix *-k* “from the place” in the form *Šminθiakś*, based on the Trojan place name *Sminthē*. Note that, as in the case of *Felsnaχs* and *Φersnaχs*, this particular form is liable to further inflexion. Finally, the sequence *tuθina apana* most likely testifies to the use of the morpheme *-na-*, which, on the analogy of formations like *śuθina* or *suθina* “grave-gift” < *śuθi-* or *suθi-* “grave” and *muluvana* “the (...) pertaining to the thank-offerings” < *mulu(va)-* “thank-offering” (see next chapter), indicates that we are dealing with a derivative of the basic root. Accordingly, we arrive at the interpretation that *tuθina apana* implies reference to a decision by the people or popular assembly of the dedicator in question, in accordance with which he made his dedication.

A final feature of grammar to be noted here is formed by the enclitic conjunction *-ke* “and”, which usually appears in form of *-c* or *-χ*.

If we confine ourselves to grammatical features not yet observed in the preceding chapter, it deserves our attention that from a comparative point of view the nominative-accusative singular of the neuter in *-ś* corresponds to cuneiform Luwian *-ša* and Luwian hieroglyphic *-sa* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2016-7: 357; Woudhuizen 2011: 313). Furthermore, the dative singular in *-i* is matched by cuneiform Luwian *-i* (Woudhuizen 2016-7: 357), Luwian hieroglyphic *-i* (Woudhuizen 2005: 78), and Lycian *-i* (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 53-54) for the same function. As far as the ablative-instrumental is concerned, we have already seen that the plural in *-r* corresponds with the rhotacized variant of the Luwian hieroglyphic ablative

plural in *-ti(a)*, viz. *+r(i)* or *+r(i)a* (Woudhuizen 2011: 313). The singular of this ending in *-te* is in like manner related to the ablative singular in cuneiform luwian, *-ti*, Luwian hieroglyphic, *-ti(a)* or *-ta* (Woudhuizen 2011: 313), Lycian, *-di* or possibly also *-de* (Meriggi 1980: 275; 287), and Lydian, *-di*, or *-d* (Woudhuizen 2005: 146-147), respectively. Next, the locative singular in *-θi*, which—apart from its attestation already during the Late Bronze Age in Cypro-Minoan in form of *-ti* (an ending which sometimes occurs here, closely analogous to Etruscan *Velclθi*, in combination with the adjectival suffix *-s(i)-* as in *Umi(a)tisiti* “at (the region) of Amathus”) (cf. Woudhuizen 2006a: 44)—happens to be most strikingly paralleled by the locative singular in *-ti* or rhotacized *+r(i)* as traceable in Luwian hieroglyphic exclusively for the Cekke text from about the middle of the 8th century BC (Woudhuizen 2005: 11). Opposed to this, the dative dual in *-as* falls outside the scope of comparisons with the Luwian hieroglyphic nominal declension and can only be linked up, if at all, with the Hittite dative plural in *-aš* (Woudhuizen 1992a: 96). Finally, the enclitic conjunction *-ke* “and”, although distantly related to Latin *-que*, can not be dissociated from Luwian hieroglyphic *-ḫa(wa)*, Lycian *-ke*, and Lydian *-k* with the same meaning (cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 18; 35).

Although, as we have already noted in the preceding chapter, the aspects of grammar basically adhere to the Luwian paradigm, it can not be denied that in the realm of vocabulary we are confronted with a strong current of Greek. The latter is further represented here by the vase names *pruxum*, *aska*, *χulixna*, and *qutun*, which correspond with Greek πρόχους, ἄσκος, κυλίχνη, and κώθων, respectively (Colonna 1973-4). Similarly, the adjective *eleivana* or *elaivana* is obviously based on the Greek ἐλαί(φ)α “oil”. It should be warned, however, that the vase names in question may well have had a wider circulation, as the correspondence with Etruscan *qutun* and Greek κώθων to Luwian hieroglyphic *katina-* “bowl” duly exemplifies (Woudhuizen 2011: 340; cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 50). In line with the latter observation, it deserves our attention that the root of the form *apana* strikingly recalls the Luwian personal pronoun of the 3rd person, *apa-* “(s)he, that; they” (Woudhuizen 2011: indices, s.v.; cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 16-17), even though it should be noted that we would rather have expected an equivalent of the possessive variant *apašši-* (> Lycian *ehbi-*) “his/her”, as actually recorded in form of *apasi* in the grave inscription Rix 1991: AT 1.108 (see chapter 8). In like manner, the root of *ceḫa* corresponds with Luwian

huhha- “grand-father”, obviously used here in the political sense as a reference to the *senate* (< *senex* “old man”). Furthermore, the root of the form *tuθina*, which also appears in graphic variant as *θuta-*, may for its close affinity to Osco-Umbrian *touta* or *tuta* “people” perhaps be traced back to an Italic origin, though the attestation of related forms in Lycian (*tuta*) and Phrygian (*totos*, *teutous*) should refrain us from hasty conclusions as it does not exclude the alternative possibility of an ultimate Anatolian background in this case as well (Woudhuizen 1992a: 58-59; Woudhuizen 2006a: 99).

Finally, it is noteworthy that the definite female nature of some of the praenomina leads us to the conclusion that Etruscan women could exercise public functions and rise to high position, like Larthi Lethanei having reached the office of *canθi-* or *camθi-*, which on account of its use in the gentilicium *Camitlna* may reasonably be argued to be identical to the Latin *magister populi* or *dic(t)ator*, and Fasti Rufriś who, on account of the apposition *clen ceχa*, had joined the rank of the senators (note that *clen* obviously does not render the kinship term “son” here, but the derivative sense “representative” in like manner as this is the case with Luwian hieroglyphic *na(waī)-* “son” in the Cekke text (political “deputy”) and Assur letters (commercial “representative”) as well as with Semitic *bn* “son” in Ugaritic *bn Lky* “representative of the Lycians” (Hadas-Lebel 2004: 203; Woudhuizen 2005: 10; 41)).

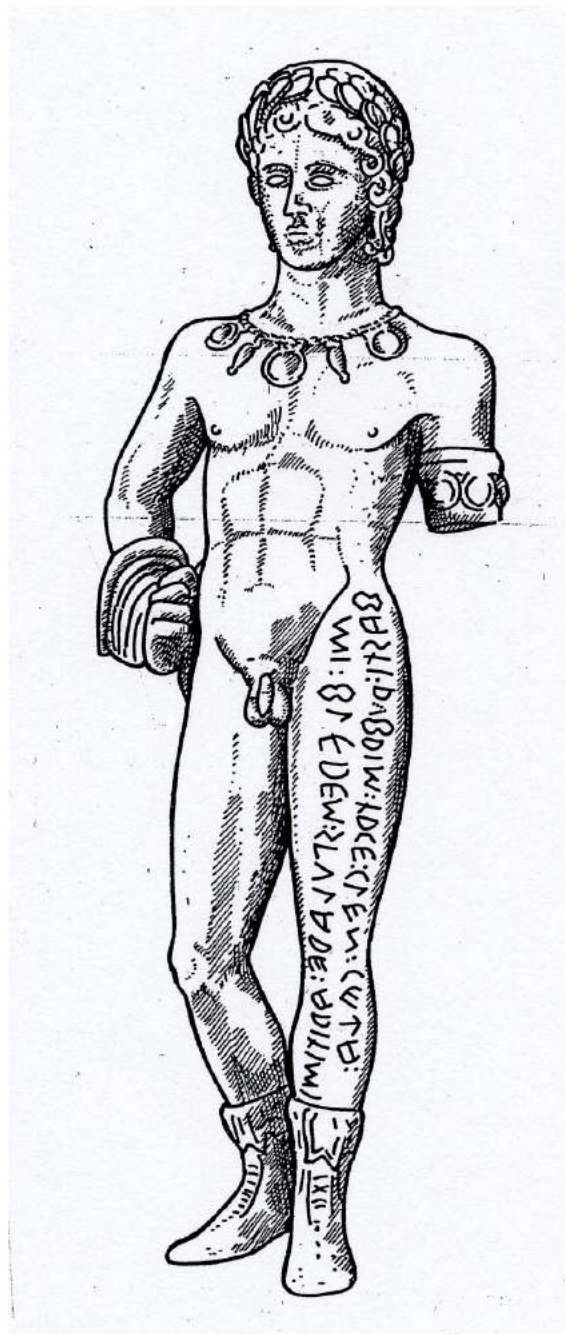


Fig. 5. Inscribed bronze statuette of Apollo
(from Pfiffig 1975: 254, Abb. 110).

7. ETRUSCAN: FOUR HUNDRED YEARS OF EXTRA HISTORY FOR AFRICA*

On the front side of a stone bed with decorated legs in a chamber tomb from San Giovenale, dated to the late 7th century BC, the following text has been incised in retrograde direction of writing and *scriptio continua*, starting at about the top middle side of the bed and running downwards to the left leg near the end for lack of space (Colonna 1984: 290-291; cf. Rix 1991: AT 3.2):

mihanϕinasiavhircinasimuluvana

On the basis of dedicatory inscriptions of similar type on vases dating from about the same period, like *mi mulu Kaviiesi* (Tarquinia, c. 650 BC) and *mi Hirumesi mulu* (Caere, late 7th or early 6th century BC)¹ we can easily divide the given sequence in four distinct entities:

mi Hanϕinasi Avhircinasi muluvana

Of these four entities, the first, *mi*, is the nominative of the pronoun of the 1st person singular “I”, which characterizes archaic dedicatory inscriptions being usually conducted in the first person singular as if the object itself speaks to the reader (so-called “iscrizioni parlanti”). Next, the last word, *muluvana*, is obviously related with *mulu* of the given vase inscriptions and therefore likewise denotes the object being dedicated. Now, the root *mulu-* or *muluva-*, which is also present in the central verb of dedicatory inscriptions, *muluvanike*, *muluvanece*, etc. “(s)he has offered as a vow”, as first observed by Heiner Eichner (1985: 14) ultimately originates from Luwian hieroglyphic *maluwa-* “thank-offering”, derivations of which are attested for Sidetic in form of *malvam₁a*, corresponding to Greek χαριστήρια in a bilingual inscription, and Lydian in form of *mlvēndai₁* (dative plural in *-ai₁*), bearing reference to mobilia in the grave (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *mulveni*). What strikes us in the

* My thanks are due to Wim van Binsbergen and Frits Waanders for references and linguistic aid.

¹ Rix 1991: AT 3.1; Cr 3.12. Cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 104 (no. 6); Woudhuizen 1998: 157 (no. 42). For more inscriptions with *mulu*, see Rix 1991: index, s.v.

present form *muluvana*, which probably renders N-A(n) sg. (note that *mi* as a reference to the object is restricted to the singular) of the root form or, less likely, in *-a*, is the preservation of root-final *-va-* in like manner as in the related verb, which, in the light of the Luwian background, forms an integral part of the root and hence has been dropped in the abridged *mulu*. Furthermore, it is characterized by an additional element *-n(a)-*, which likely classifies it as a nominal or adjectival derivation in the same manner as *śuθina* or *suthina* “grave-gift” is derived from *śuθi* or *suθi* “grave”, in short as something pertaining to the thank-offering(s). Finally, the two corresponding forms in the middle render the name of the deceased person for which the bed was—apart from the thank-offering(s)—intended, both elements of which show the adjectival genitive in *-si*, originating, as most extensively argued by Marcello Durante in 1967, from Luwian *-ašši-* (Woudhuizen 1992a: 79; 81-82; cf. Durante 1967). In sum, this leads us to the following translation:

“I (am) the (...) pertaining to the thank-offering(s) of Hanphinas
Afircinas”

As far as the name of the deceased person is concerned, the first element, *Hanφina-*, recalls the family name or *gentilicium* *Hamφna-* as attested for later inscriptions primarily from the region of Perugia. Contrary to the opinion of the editor of our inscription, Giovanni Colonna, however, I do not think that it actually constitutes the first name or *praenomen*, which would collide with the given comparative evidence, but rather maintain that the latter is omitted.² This inference coincides with the fact that the second element of the name, *Avhircina-*, is not a family name or *gentilicium*, but an ethnonym of similar type as *Tursikina-* as attested for a dedicatory inscription on a gold fibula from Chiusi dating to the last quarter of the 7th century BC (Rix 1991: Cl 2.3; cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 104 [no. 10]). The latter form shows the root *Tursi-* “Etruscan” in combination with the element *-kina-*, which is paralleled in variant form *-cina-* or *-cena-*, for *Katacina-*, *Melacina-*, *Peticina-*, and *Atacena-*, *Laricena-*, respectively. As rightly observed by Carlo de Simone, the morpheme *-kina-*, *-cina-* or *-cena-* probably bears testimony of Celtic adstrate influences

² Colonna 1984: 291; cf. Rix 1991: Pe 1.42; Pe 1.43; Pe 1.143; Pe 1.619; Pe 1.1217; etc. For *gentilicia* in *-na-*, see Woudhuizen 1992a: 81.

on Etruscan, and therefore may likely be traced back to Proto-Indo-European **ǵenh₁*- “to procreate”—a root frequently applied in kinship terms (de Simone 1978; cf. Woudhuizen 1998: 141; 191). Accordingly, we are left with the residual element *avhir*-, which, as Colonna keenly observed, should be compared with the root of the family name *Afrēna*- and *Afrēce*- (note that 7th century BC *vh* = later *f*) as recorded for the region of Chiusi, and as such actually confronts us with an unsuspectedly early reflex of the ethnic *Africus*,³ based on the root *Āfer* “African” or *Āfrī* “an African” (Lewis & Short 1975, s.v. *Āfer*). To be more precise: four hundred years before the earliest attestation of *Afer* (viz. as a cognomen of the Carthaginian born Publius Terentius Afer, a playwright in the 160s BC)⁴ or *Africa* (used by the poet Ennius who lived from 239 to 169 BC) in Latin!⁵ Given the fact that in its earliest use *Africa* refers to the region of Carthage,⁶ it may reasonably be inferred that our African buried in the chamber tomb at San Giovenale originated from the latter region, with which Etruria was in close contact from the very beginning of the Etruscan civilization during the late 8th and early 7th century BC onwards.⁷ However, the Etruscan nature of his family name, showing the characteristic element *-na*-, should warn us against oversimplified conclusions: the person in question may well have been fully Etruscanized already during his lifetime.

³ Colonna 1984: 291 (“insospettata antichità”); cf. Rix 1991: CI 1.2593; CI 1.558; CI 1.2437; CI 1.550; CI 1.1321.

⁴ Hornblower & Spawforth 1996, s.v. *Terence*.

⁵ Vahlen 1903: 55 (*Annalium* 310); 205 (*Saturarum* 11); cf. Hornblower & Spawforth 1996, s.v. *Ennius*.

⁶ Ashmore 1961, s.v. *Africa, Roman*. Cf. the surname *Africānus* attributed to P. Cornelius Scipio major after the defeat of Hannibal at Zama in 201 BC, and to P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus minor after the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC. Note also that the Roman province *Africa*, later *Africa vetus*, consists of the region of Carthage.

⁷ One may think in this connection of the mythical visit of Aeneas on his trip from Troy to Latium to the Carthaginian queen Dido, considering the fact that Aeneas is not only a Roman hero, but also an Etruscan cult figure. Archaeologically, the relations of Etruria with Carthage are reflected in the attestation of Etruscan bucchero in Carthage during the period of 630 to 580 BC, whereas epigraphically these are further underlined by an Etruscan inscription on an ivory plaque found at Carthage, dating from the 6th century BC (Rix 1991: Af 3.1); historically, finally, the Etrusco-Carthaginian alliance against the Phocaiaans at Alalia also in the 6th century BC may serve as a telling example.

8. SOME GRAVE INSCRIPTIONS

Another important genre among the extant Etruscan repertoire is formed by funeral inscriptions written either on the outer side of the grave or found inside, often on or near the funerary bed or on the sarcophagus or container of the cremation remains.

In order to illustrate this category of texts, I have selected the examples following below. As to categories of information to be distinguished, we first of all are, of course, confronted with the name (or names) of the person(s) buried in the grave. Sometimes, the age of this person at the time of death is added by what may be called the age-formula characterized by the word *avil* or *ril* in combination with numbers or numerals. Furthermore, the *cursus honorum* of the deceased person during his lifetime is often related, in which, of course, figure prominently titular expressions, sometimes in combination with numerals to specify how many times an office has been exercised, and in which one can further trace a verb like *ten(u)*- “to hold, exercise” or verbal derivatives of a title as well as a place name indicating the regional extent of the function. Next, provisions may have been made by the founder of the grave for at the time of his own death still living relatives, mostly wife and children, the latter sometimes with their spouses or husbands. These provisions might entail fire places or places for smoke offerings. In one instance (Maggiani 1999: 52-54) a son, resident in Caere, had the grave for his father made in the region of Saturnia, no doubt the latter’s residence, by a craftsman from Chiusi. Finally, we come across regulations about the proper use of the grave by the living relatives, especially in connection with the cult of the dead, and, incidentally, a dating formula.

Rix 1991: Ta 1.17, recent

*L<a>ris Pulenas Larces clan
Larθal Papacs Velθurus nefts
prumts Pule<na>s Larisal
Creices*

an-cn ziχ neθśrac acasce

*creals Tarχnalθ spureni
lucairce*

“Laris Pulenas, son of Larce,
grandson of Larth Papac Velthurus,
great-grandson of Laris Pulenas,
the Greek.”

“During (his lifetime) he has
written this *liber haruspicinus*.”

“He exercised the priest-kingship
on behalf of the municipal
(collegium), the third time at

Tarquinia.”

Rix 1991: Ta 1.164, recent
Spitus Larθ Larθal <clan>
svalce <avil> LXIII
huśur maχ acnanas
arce maniim
mlace farθne faluθras

“Larth Spitus, (son) of Larth,
lived 63 years.”
“He erected the memorial (and)
fire place for (his) five boy(s)
(and) place for smoke offerings
for (his) beautiful girls.”

Rix 1991: Ta 1.9, c. 350-325 BC
Velθur Partunus Larisaliśa
clan Ramθas Cuclnial
zilχ ceχaneri tenθas
avil svalθas LXXXII

“Velthur Partunus, son of the
Larisian (and) Ramtha Cuclnias.”
“Having held the praetorship over
the members of the senate.”
“Having lived 82 year(s).”

Rix 1991: Ta 1.96, second half of the 4th century to 2nd century BC
Lartiu Cuclnies Larθal clan
Larθial-c Einanal
camθi eterau

“Lartiu Cuclnies, son of Larth
and Larthia Einanas.”
“Leader of the commons.”

Rix 1991: Vc 1.94, c. 250-225 BC
Tutes Śeθre Larθal clan
Pumplial-χ Velas
zilaχnu ciz zilcti purtśvavcti
lupu avils maχs zaθrums

“Sethre Tutes, son of Larth and
Velas Pumplias.”
“He exerciz(ed) the praetorship
three times (and) die(d) in the
presidency praetorship (at the age)
of twenty five year(s).”

Rix 1991: AT 1.100, recent
Aleθnas Arnθ Larisal
zilaθ Tarχnalθi amce

“Arnth Alethnas, (son) of Laris.”
“He was praetor in (the region) of
Tarquinia.”

Rix 1991: AT 1.108, recent
Avle Aleθnas Arnθal clan
Θanχvilus-c Ruvfial
zilaχnce spureθi apasi
svalas
marunu-χva cepen tenu

“Avle Alethnas, son of Arnth and
Thanaquil Ruvfia.”
“While living he exercized the
praetorship in his own town,
he held the (the office of) priest

eprθnevc eslz tenu
eprθieva eslz

over what(ever members of) the
 magistrature,
 he once held the (office of) the
 presidency,
 (he) once (held) the (office of) the
 presidency.”

Rix 1991: AT 1.105, recent
Aleθnas V.V. Θelu
zilaθ parχis zilaθ eterav

“V.V. Thelu Alethnas, praetor of
 the lords (and) praetor of the
 commons.”

clenar ci acnanasa
eslśi zilaχnu Θeluśa
ril XXVIII
papalser acnanasa VI
manim arce / ril LXVI

“He has erected the memorial
 (and) fire place for (his) three
 sons—(a son) of Thelu for the first
 time exercised the praetorship (at
 the age of) 29 year(s old)—(and)
 fire place for his 6 grandsons; 66
 year(s old).”

Rix 1991: AT 1.96, recent
Arnθ Aleθnas Ar<nθal> clan
ril XXXXIII
ei tva tamera śarvenas

“Arnth Alethnas, son of Arnth,
 43 year(s old).”

“Do not place (things related to
 smoke offerings in) the chamber
 during a smoke offering ceremony!”

clenar zal arce acnanasa
zilc marunu-χva tenθas

“He has erected a fire place
 for (his) first (born) son.”

“Having exercised the praetorship
 over what(ever members of) the
 magistrature.”

Rix 1991: Ta 5.5, c. 350-300 BC
zilci Velusi Hulχniesi

“During the praetorship of Vel
 Hulkhnie:”

Larθ Velχas Velθurus
Aprθnal-c clan
sacniśa θui eclθ śuθiθ acazr

“Larth Velkhas, son of Velthur
 and Aprthna.”

“Place sacrificial animals to be
 sacrificed in this (part of the)
 grave!”

Rix 1991: Cr 5.2, 4th century BC

<i>Laris Avle Larisal clenar sval cn suθi cerixunce</i>	“Laris (and) Avle, sons of Laris, while living have built this (part of the) grave.”
<i>apa-c ati-c sani-sva θui cesu</i>	“Place both their younger as well as older relatives (in this) chamber!”
<i>Clavtieθurasi</i>	“For the brotherhood of the Claudii.”

Rix 1991: Ta 1.182, 3rd century BC

<i>Camnas Larθ Larθal Šatnal-c clan</i>	“Larth Camnas, son of Larth and Satna.”
<i>an šuθi lavtni zivas cerixu</i>	“Below he has built a family grave (on behalf of its) living (members).”
<i>tešamsa šuθiθ atrsrce scuna</i>	“He has authorized to walk in procession at the time of the foundation of a burial.”
<i>calti šuθiti munθ zivas muršl XX</i>	“In this grave (there is) a place of interment (for) living (family members) comprising of 20 urn(s).”

Bagno near Terme di Saturnia, c. 525-500 BC (Maggiani 1999: 52-54)

<i>Larθ Laucies θamuqu Larecesi Kaiserithesi celeniarasi mini zinece Ve<l>θur Kamarteθi</i>	“Larth Laucies. The building (is) of Larece from Caere, (his) son.” “Velthur, (stationed) in Chiusi, has made me.”
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As far as the evidence for declension of the noun is concerned, we are already familiar with a number of endings. In the first place we have come across in the preceding chapters the endingless N(m/f) sg., further exemplified here by the personal names *Avle*, *Arnθ*, *Velθur*, *θelu*, *Larθ*, *Laris*, *Lartiu*, and *Šeθre*. Next, we once more experience that the inherited N(m/f) sg. ending in *-s* is preserved in the realm of the *gentilicia*, as exemplified by *Aleθnas*, *Camnas*, *Cuclnies*, *Velxas*, *Laucies*, *Partunus*, *Pulenas*, *Spitus*, and *Tutes*. Moreover, the endingless A(m/f) sg. is further represented by *-cn zix* “this book” and *cn suθi* “this grave”, as assured by the corresponding form of the pronoun. Then we come across yet other in-

stances of the D sg. in *-i* in the form *zilci* “during the praetorship” from the dating-formula of Rix 1991: Ta 5.5 and *spureni* “on behalf of the municipal (collegium)” from Rix 1991: Ta 1.17, of the D(-G) sg. in *-s* in *śarvenas* “during a smoke-offering ceremony” (for the identification of the root *śar-*, see discussion of *seril* and *śar* in our treatment of the texts of the Capua tile and the *tabula Cortonensis* below), and several instances of the G sg. in *-l* and *-s*, cf. *Arnθal*, *Aprθnal*, *Cuclnial*, *Einanal*, *Larθal*, *Larθial*, *Larisal*, *Pumplial*, *Śatnal*, and *Rufvial* alongside *Creices*, *Velas*, *Velθurus*, *Θanxvilus*, *Larces*, *Papacs*, and *Ramθas*. For this latter ending in the realm of the noun, note *murśl*. Furthermore, we also encounter in this set of texts instances of the adjectival suffix *-si-* used as an alternative means to express the D(-G) sg., like in the sequence *Larecesi Kaiseriθesi celeniarasi* “of Larece from Caere, (his) son” as attested for the inscription from Bagno near Terme di Saturnia and *Clavtieθurasi* “for the brotherhood of the Claudii” in Rix 1991: Cr 5.2. Note in this connection that *Kaiseriθesi* confronts us with a writing variant *-θe-* of the morpheme *-te-* “from the place” we already came across in chapter 5, whereas *Clavtieθurasi* is most likely to be analyzed as a formation in *-θur-* “brotherhood” of the D(-G) pl. in *-e* (see below) of the family name *Clavti-* “Claudius”. Finally, the Loc. sg. is abundantly represented by *zilcti purtsvavcti* “in the presidency praetorship”, *Kamarteθi* “in (the territory of) the Camartes (= Chiusi)”, *śuθiθ*, *calti śuθiti*, and *eclθ śuθiθ* “in (this) grave”, *spureθi (apasi)* “in (his own) town”, and *Tarχnalθi* “in (the region) of Tarquinia”.

As opposed to these endings we are already familiar with, we are confronted here with three newly attested ones. In the first place, *cexanerī* “over the members of the senate” in Rix 1991: Ta 1.9 bears testimony of the D pl. in *-ri*, whereas both components of the combination *mlace farθne* “for beautiful girls” from the indication of the relatives in Rix 1991: Ta 1.164 show the D(-G) pl. in *-e*. Next, *sacniśa* “sacrificial animals” from the regulation concerning the cult of the dead in Rix 1991: Ta 5.5 exemplifies the N-A(n) pl. in *-a*, whereas *acnanas(a)*, a derivative in *-na-* of the root *acna-* or *acni-* “fire” (< PIE **ṇ-gni-*) as attested for the infinitive of the active *acnina* from the text of the Perugia *cippus* (see chapter 16), probably renders the N-A(n) sg. in *-s*. Finally, the forms *ati* and *sani* from the indication of the relatives in Rix 1991: Cr 5.2 likely render the A(m/f) pl. in *-i*. On aggregate, therefore, we arrive at the following overview of the nominal declension (see Table X):

	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	—, -s/-ś	
A(m/f)	—	-i
N-A(n)	—, -s/-ś	-a
D	-a, -e, -i	-ri, -as (dual)
D(-G)	-l, -s/-ś	-e
G	-l, -s/-ś	
Abl.-Instr.	-te	-r
Loc.	-θ(i)/-ti	

Table X. Declension of the noun.

If we turn to the declension of the pronoun, we are confronted with welcome additional evidence for the A(m/f) sg. in *-n* owing to the combinations *-cn ziχ* “this book” from Rix 1991: Ta 1.17 and *cn suθi* “this grave” from Rix 1991: Cr 5.2. As far as endings attested here for the first time are concerned, mention should be made first of all of the Loc. sg. as represented by the combinations *calti suθiti* from Rix 1991: Ta 1.182 and *eclθ suθiθ* from Rix 1991: Ta 5.5, both rendering the meaning “in this grave”. Perhaps less clear cut at first sight, but still plausible is the evidence for the N-A(n) pl. in *-a* as exemplified by the enclitic forms of the relative *-χva* in Rix 1991: AT 1.108 and the reflexive of the 3rd person *-sva* in Rix 1991: Cr 5.2. In combination with the evidence from the preceding chapters, we hence arrive at the following overview (see Table XI):

	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	<i>mi/eme, ta</i>	
A(m/f)	<i>min(e)/min(i), itane/itun, (e)cn</i>	
N-A(n)	<i>mi, eca</i>	<i>-χva, -sva</i>
Loc.	<i>eclθ, calti</i>	

Table XI. Declension of the pronoun.

In connection with the conjugation of the verb, there is abundant additional evidence for the 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense of the active

in *-ce* as exemplified by *amce* “he was”, *arce* “he erected”, *zilaχnce* “he exercised the praetorship”, *zinece* “he has made”, *lucairce* “he exercised the priest-kingship”, and *svalce* “he lived”. Next, there is confirmatory evidence as well for the endingless 2nd pers. sg. of the imperative of the active in form of *tva* and perhaps of a variant in *-i* in form of *θui*, both expressing the meaning “place!”.

Among the newly encountered forms, pride of place goes to the 3rd pers. pl. of the past tense of the active in *-nce* as attested for *ceriχunce* “they have built” in Rix 1991: Cr 5.2. Apart from this, we are also newly confronted with infinitives, one of the active, *scuna* “to hold a procession” in Rix 1991: Ta 1.182, and the other of the passive, *acazr* “to be sacrificed” in Rix 1991: Ta 5.5. Finally, the funeral inscriptions presented in the above bear the testimony of participles of the active, as in case of *svalas* or *svalθas* “while living” from Rix 1991: At 1.108 and Ta 1.9, respectively, *tenθas* “having held” from Rix 1991: AT 1.96 and Ta 1.9, and possibly *faluθras* from Rix 1991: Ta 1.164, apparently based on the root *fal-* “to elevate, bring as a fire or smoke offering” as encountered in the texts of the Capua tile, Magliano disc, and Perugia *cippus*. All in all, we arrive at the following overview (see Table XII):

	present/future	past tense	imperative
2nd pers. sg. act.			—, <i>-i</i>
3rd pers. sg. act.		<i>-ce/-ke</i>	
3rd pers. pl. act.		<i>-nce</i>	
	active		passive
infinitive	<i>-na</i>		<i>-r</i>
participle	<i>-as</i>		

Table XII. Conjugation of the verb.

As far as comparative evidence is concerned, of the endings we are confronted with for the first time in the present chapter the D(-G) pl. in *-e* corresponds with the Lycian D pl. in *-e* (or G pl. in *-ē*) as in *Trñmīle* “for the Termilians” (or *Pttarazē* “of the Patarians”) (Woudhuizen 1992a: 95). Note that this ending originates from Luwian

hieroglyphic *-aī* or *-āī* (Woudhuizen 2011: 313) by monophthongization. Next, the D pl. in *-ri* may reasonably be argued to originate from the rhotacized variant of the Luwian hieroglyphic Abl. pl. in *-ti*, *+r(i)* (Woudhuizen 2011: 313). Furthermore, the N-A(n) pl. in *-a*, being a very common Indo-European feature, is paralleled for all the Luwian dialects, from cuneiform Luwian, where it occurs as *-a*, via Luwian hieroglyphic in form of *-a* or *-ā* and Lycian in form of *-ā*, to Lydian where it appears as *-a*, again (cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 94). Finally, the A(m/f) pl. in *-i* can be traced back to Luwian hieroglyphic *-i* for the same function. As Lycian and Lydian are characterized by the A(m/f) pl. in *-is*, the variant in *-i* may safely be considered as a typical Luwian hieroglyphic feature.

If we turn to the realm of the pronoun, endings which we have not yet encountered in the preceding chapters are the Loc. sg. in *-θ* or *-ti* and the N-A(n) pl. in *-a*, which, however, coincide with those of the nominal declension and as such their antecedents have already been discussed.

In connection with the conjugation of the verb, it lies at hand to consider the 3rd pers. pl. of the past tense of the active in *-nce* as a for some reason velarized variant of Luwian *-nta*. Note that in connection with the singular *-ce* we have suggested that the velarization of dental [t] may have occurred under the influence of the Greek *kappa*-aorist or -perfect. Next, we are first confronted here with the infinitives of the active in *-na* and the passive in *-r*, the first of which corresponds with cuneiform Luwian *-una*, Luwian hieroglyphic *-(u)na*, and Lycian *-na* or *-ne*, whereas in the latter case comparative data are only provided by Latin *-ri*.

With respect to the vocabulary there can also be pointed out some further correspondences with Luwian. In the first place, the verbal root *acas-* “to finish”, which, as we will see in the discussion of the text on the Capua tile, in a religious context is used for the finishing off of sacrificial animals, can be traced back to Luwian hieroglyphic *aka-*, which in combination with the preverb *kata* expresses the meaning “to subdue”; note that the root-final *-s-* can be positively identified as a marker of the iterative corresponding with cuneiform Luwian *-šš-* and Luwian hieroglyphic *-s-* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2005: 176; Woudhuizen 1992a: 81; 84-85). Next, the root of the imperatives *tva* and *θui* corresponds with cuneiform Luwian *tūwa-*, Luwian hieroglyphic *tuwa-*, Lycian *tuwe-*, Lydian *t₁u(ve)-*, and Lemnian *θo-* “to place, to put”. Yet another verbal root of Luwian background appears to be *sva-* “to live”, which strikingly recalls cuneiform Luwian *šūwa-* and Luwian hieroglyphic

suwa- “to fill” and as such allows for the explanation of the change in meaning through an intermediary “to fulfill”. Furthermore, the first element of the verbal root *atrśr-* “to authorize”, *atr-*, cannot be dissociated from Luwian hieroglyphic *atara-* and Lycian *atra-* or *atla-* “person, image”, so that the original meaning of the Etruscan verb may be reconstructed as “to personally allow for”, or the like. In case of *tesamsa*, moreover, we appear to be dealing with a composite form, again, of which, in like manner as with the day name *tesiametale* “on the day of the burial of the god(dess)” from the longer Etruscan version of the texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets (see discussion of this text in chapter 9 below), the first element corresponds with Luwian hieroglyphic *tasa-* and Lydian *tašē-* “stele, grave” and the second element with cuneiform Luwian *šamnai-* which by means of [s] > [h] > ∅ developed into Lycian *hñmei-*, *ñmai-* and Lydian *amē-* “to found”. If we realize, then, that the final element *-s-* presents us with a by now familiar adjectival derivative, the entire formation allows for the translation “at the time of the foundation of a burial”, in other words when an at the time of writing still living member of the family will die and will be buried in the family vault. What is allowed at the time of a new burial in this inscription is expressed by the infinitive of the active *scuna*, the root of which is composed of a reflex of Lycian *ese* “with” in combination with Luwian hieroglyphic *hwá-* “to walk, stride, run” and Lycian *χuwa-* “to follow” and as such expresses the meaning “to hold a procession, walking or gathering together” (cf. discussion of *scuvse* from the text on the Capua tile in chapter 13 below and note that the form *scuvune* from the same text rather presents us with a variant writing of the infinitive of the active, as do *ścuna* and *ścune* from the text on the *cippus* of Perugia). Another word with a bearing on the funear rituals is *śarvena-* “smoke offering ceremony”, which confronts us with a compound of the Luwian morpheme *-wani-* or *-wana-* with the Luwian hieroglyphic nominal root *sar-* “smoke offering” as attested for Emirgazi § 27 (Woudhuizen 2011: 119) and Çalapverdi 3, § 1 (Woudhuizen 2014). A last verbal root to mention here is *zine-* “to make”, which in form of *zina-* (with nominal derivative *zinaku* “product”; for a similar formation, cf. *θamuqu* “building” < Luwian *tama-* “to build”) we already came across in the preceding chapters, and which ultimately originates from Hittite *zinna-* “to finish, complete” (Woudhuizen 1992a: 29). Similarly, the closest comparable evidence for the noun *parχi-* “noble” is provided by Hittite *parku-* “high” (Woudhuizen 1998: 120), though a related form features in Luwian

toponymy in form of the place name *Parḥa* or *Pergē*. Note that the same verdict might apply as well to *ril* “year” if its Lydian cognate *borl-* indeed originates from Hittite *purulliya-* “new year’s feast”. Typically Lydian, on the other hand, appears to be the honorific title *zilaθ-* “praetor”, or in nominal derivative *zilc-* or *zil(a)χ-* for the magistracy, the latter form of which corresponds to Lydian *siluka-* (Woudhuizen 2005: 133-135). This honorific title is ultimately derived from a nautical background, as indicated by Cretan hieroglyphic and Cypro-Minoan *zelu* “nauarkh” (Woudhuizen 2016c: 118; Woudhuizen 2017b: 141). Moreover, it deserves attention in this connection that the element *θur-* “brotherhood” in *Clavtieθur-* from Rix 1991: Cr 5.1 can be traced in Lycian *θurtta-*, glossed with the kinship terms (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 146) but more in specific rendering the same sense as its Etruscan equivalent, viz. “brotherhood” (Woudhuizen 2012: 418; Woudhuizen *forthc.*). Of the pronouns occurring in our selection of grave inscriptions, we have already noted that *apasi* can be traced back to the Luwian possessive *apašši-* “his”, whereas the element *-χva-* corresponds with the Luwian hieroglyphic relative *ḫwa-* “who, what”, the related form of which in Lycian likewise occurs as an enclitic. In the discussion of the Tuscan dice in chapter 11 below, it will be argued that the numeral *maχ* “5” is linked up with common Luwian **mekki-* “numerous” and that the root of *zal*, *sal*, *esl-*, etc. corresponds with Luwian hieroglyphic *sa-* “1”, which is further traceable in the Lydian day name *isl-* “first” (Woudhuizen 2005: 177; 135-138). Finally, the element *an*, although its positioning at the start of a phrase might tempt us to think otherwise, is not an introductory particle but rather a preposition, corresponding with Luwian *annan* “under”, the related form of which in Lycian, *ēnē*, likewise can be used to express the temporal notion “during” (Woudhuizen 1998: 96), whereas other examples of prepositions most closely paralleled in Lycian are provided by *etera-*, corresponding to Lycian *ētri* “lower, inferior”, and *apa-*, corresponding with Lycian *epñ* “behind, after” as in *epñnēni-* “younger brother” (Woudhuizen 1998: 97; note also that *apa nac-na* “younger son” contrasts with *ati nac-na* “older son” in Rix 1991: Vt 7.2, and that *ati* may well originate from Hittite *atta-* “father” as a senior).¹

¹ For the analysis of *nac* as a separate element, compare *nac-nvaiasi* in Rix 1991: Ta 5.2. In this form, which is characterized by adjectival *-(a)si* for the expression of the D sg., the kinship term *nvai-* “son” can be distinguished, the meaning of which is assured by its correspondence with Luwian hieroglyphic *nawar-* “son”. Interestingly,

Apart from words of a Luwian background, however, we are also in the grave inscriptions confronted with vocabulary of Greek antecedents. In this connection, then, mention should be made of *farθn-* “girl”, corresponding to the Aiolic variant of Greek παρθένος, φαρθένος (Woudhuizen 1992a: 64), the titular expression *purtś-* or *eprθ-*, which cannot be dissociated from Greek πρύτανις even though in form of *poruθ* it can also be found in a Carian inscription from Kaunos (cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 48), *maniim* “memorial” which strikingly recalls Greek μνήμα (Woudhuizen 1992a: 38), and perhaps *san-* “relative” if indeed we are dealing here with a reflex of Greek σύν “with”. Moreover, the verbal root *am-* is clearly related to the Aiolic Greek variant of the infinitive of the verb “to be”, ἔμμεναι (Woudhuizen 1992a: 16). In like manner we once more can distinguish vocabulary words of Latin background, like *cesu* “chamber” corresponding to Latin *casa*, *munθ* “place of interment” related to Latin *mundus*, the verbs *tenu-* “to hold, exercise” and *sacni-* “to sacrifice”, which strikingly recall Latin *teneo* and *sacro*, respectively, and the reflexive pronoun *-sva-* reminding one of Greek σφέ and Latin *suus*. More in general of Indo-European nature, but with close cognates in both Greek and Latin, is the kinship term *neft-* “grandson” and its Lemnian equivalent *naφoθ*, which bring to mind Greek νέπους, pl. νέποδες, and Latin *nepos*—the latter of which is also traceable in the composite *prumt-* “great-grandson”, recalling Latin *pro-nepos*. To this category may perhaps also be classified *murs-* “urn”, which is evidently based on the same root as Latin *morior*, but also note the Lycian equivalent of Greek Hades, *Murñna-* (Woudhuizen 2012: 428), and Lydian *mru-* “stele” (Woudhuizen 2005: 133).

As final categories of comparisons we may once again draw attention on the one hand to Semitic on account of the fact that *huśur-* “son” appears to be a reflex of Ugaritic *ḡzr* and Hebrew *ʾzr* “boy”, and on the other hand to Celtic in view of the fact that the root of *maru-* “great one, magistrate” corresponds to Celtic *mār(o)-* “great”, whereas the verb *cerixu-* “to build” smacks of Celtic *karni-* “to build (a tomb)”.

this Luwian hieroglyphic word for “son” also occurs in short hand form *na-*, like it does in the given Etruscan text. For *nac*, cf. the Lydian introductory particle *nak*.

PART II

BILINGUAL INSCRIPTIONS

9. THE PHOENICIAN AND ETRUSCAN TEXTS OF THE PYRGI GOLD TABLETS—AN UPDATE*

1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

In the course of the 1964 excavations of the sanctuary at Pyrgi, one of the harbor towns of Caere, three sheets of gold leaf were discovered in a rectangular stone “basin” overlaying the eastern wall of an open-air altar-site in between temples A and B (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 55-56; see Figs. 7-8). On account of the holes along their margins, these gold sheets had once been nailed to presumably a wooden wall or door of some building within the temple complex (Colonna 1966b: 21; Morandi 1991: 120; 121). After the destruction of this building by fire, the plaques, now marked by traces of melting along their margins (Morandi 1991: *loc. cit.*; 124-125, Abb. 11-13), were collected from the debris, folded into rolls in order to contain the gilded nails that belonged to them and subsequently buried together with some other precious remains—an event variously dated to the late 4th or early 3rd century BC.¹ The finds from the stone “basin” further included fragments of terracotta antefixes and *acroteria*, which, for stylistic reasons, could positively be assigned to the oldest of the two temples (= temple B; Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 55-56; Colonna 1966b: 21; Serra Ridgway 1990: 521). Accordingly, the three gold plaques are generally attributed to the same provenance (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 56; Colonna 1965: 286-292; Cristofani 1966: 103, note 11; Colonna 1966b: 21; Weeber 1985: 32; Serra Ridgway 1990: 521).

One of the most sensational aspects of the discovery of the plaques (apart from the material being gold) is formed by the fact that these are inscribed with bilingual inscriptions, two in Etruscan and one in Phoenician or Punic. At first, scholars in the field expected that the long-abided key to the understanding of the Etruscan lan-

* This chapter consists of a reworked and updated version of Woudhuizen 1998: 163-176 in order to include some improvements ventilated in Woudhuizen 2005: 155-162. My thanks are due to professor Wolfgang Röllig for kindly lending me some guidance in matters of Phoenician grammar and syntax in a letter.

¹ Colonna 1966b: 21: early 3rd century BC; Cristofani 1981b: 56: late 4th century BC; Serra Ridgway 1990: 512-514: early 3rd century BC; Morandi 1991: 121-122: notes the discrepancy and complains about the impossibility of verification.

guage eventually had emerged (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 59-63). Later on, however, they came to realize that the texts are not truly bilingual in the sense that one version offers a literal translation of the other: at best each text reproduces basically the same contents in its own specific style and wording (Colonna 1966b: 21; cf. Heurgon 1966: 10; Höfner & Pfiffig 1966: 254-255; Weeber 1985: 32; Morandi 1991: 126). Anyhow, it is absolutely clear that the Phoenician or Punic version of the text is most closely related to the longest of the two Etruscan ones, whereas the shorter Etruscan version appears to present only an abstract of the basic text.

The relationship between the Phoenician or Punic text and the longer Etruscan one is emphasized by the fact that the gilded nails of the former were found inside the roll formed by the folded sheet of the latter (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 59; 65; Heurgon 1966: 6). Moreover, the association of the shorter Etruscan text with the other two inscriptions also receives additional confirmation. In the first place, namely, its sheet is about identical in size to that of the Phoenician or Punic one and may even have been cut from the same piece of foil (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 59; 65-66; Morandi 1991: 120). Secondly, its type of lettering resembles that of the larger Etruscan text to the extent that both are probably executed in one and the same scribal hand (Cristofani 1981b: 60; Morandi 1991: 83; *contra* Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 55-56; Pfiffig 1965: 35). As far as epigraphic criteria are concerned, the Phoenician inscription dates to the first half of the 5th century BC (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 76; cf. Heurgon 1966: 7; Knoppers 1992: 108). This dating is compatible with the one independently established for the Etruscan texts, which according to local Caeretan standards should be assigned to c. 500-480 BC.²

2. THE PHOENICIAN TEXT

As it is conducted in the better known language, the Phoenician or Punic text obviously forms the starting point for a discussion of the two Etruscan ones. Consequently, we may praise ourselves lucky

² Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 81; Cristofani 1966: 109; Colonna 1966b: 21; Heurgon 1966: 7-8; Cristofani 1981b: 61; *contra* Morandi 1991: 123-124 and Höfner & Pfiffig 254: 254 who favor a lower dating, i.e. to the second half of the 5th century BC.

that this text has received renewed attention by Giovanni Garbini, the author of its primary edition (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 66-76). In 1989, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the discovery of the Pyrgi inscriptions, the latter scholar presented a general survey of remaining problems of interpretation and various solutions proposed. Accordingly, then, it appears that scholarly debate has been focused on the following five issues (Garbini 1989: 180):

- (1) the reading of *bmtw* or *bntw* in lines 5-6;
- (2) the interpretation of *'rš bdy* in line 6;
- (3) the correlation of *lmlky* “during his reign” in line 7;
- (4) the gender of *'lm* “deity” in line 9;
- (5) the interpretation of *hkkbm 'l* “these stars” in line 11.

Of these issues, the first one has definitely been decided in favor of the reading *bntw*, which, in line with Johannes Friedrich’s suggestion, is commonly interpreted as *bn tw* “he has built a cella”.³ Next, with respect to the fourth issue a growing number of scholars appears to be inclined to the view that the gender of the deity in question cannot be determined positively.⁴ Such a solution may not appeal to students of religion, but it has in fact no repercussions on our understanding of the text *per se*. A comparable degree of consensus, however, has as yet not been reached in connection with the three remaining points of controversy.

One of the major obstacles to fully comprehend of the Phoenician or Punic text is formed by the interpretation of the sequence *'rš bdy* in line 6. Even though the explanation of the verb *'rš* as “to request, wish” and of the composite form *bdy* in line with *yd* “hand” has won a fairly wide acceptance,⁵ one still wonders how all

³ The reading of *nūn* instead of *mēm* was first suggested by Pfiffig 1965: 9, and subsequently accepted by Garbini & Levi Della Vida 1965: 41-42; cf. Heurgon 1966: 10. For the interpretation of the new reading, see Friedrich 1969a: 206-208; Friedrich 1969b: 232-233; Donner & Röllig 1968: 331-332; Werner 1974: 263; 280; Garbini 1989: 180; for an alternative interpretation, see Knoppers 1992: 113.

⁴ Donner & Röllig 1968: 332; Werner 1974: 280; Hvidberg-Hansen 1988: 60; Garbini 1989: 183-185; cf. Knoppers 1992: 114-117, who even doubts whether the word refers to a deity at all. If the Phoenician or Punic cult is not radically different from the Etruscan and Greek ones in this respect, as the association of Astarte with Uni in the longer Etruscan version of the text and the substitution of Athena for the latter in the shorter Etruscan one suggests, the dying divinity can on the analogy of Dionysos and Attis positively be identified as *male*.

⁵ Garbini 1989: 180; cf. Donner & Röllig 1968: 332; Werner 1973: 265-271; 280; *contra* Knoppers 1992: 113-114, who adheres to Février’s by now largely obsolete interpretation of *'rš* as “to betroth, marry”.

this fits in with the context.⁶ For general considerations, namely, the immediately following date from the reign of the dedicator is more likely to have a bearing on a favor granted by the goddess than on some request she made (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 72). Similarly, the relation of the formation *lmlky* “during his reign” to this particular date, which seems contextually expedient, is jeopardized by the fact that in that case its position appears strangely proleptical (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 72; Garbini 1989: 183; cf. Garbini & Levi Della Vida 1965: 52). Finally, the interpretation of the wish-formula at the end of the text is severely complicated by the use of the demonstrative pronoun *’l* “these” in connection with the noun *hkkbm* “stars” (with prefixed *h* for the definite article). As this demonstrative definitely expresses proximity, it is generally believed that the associated noun rather refers to some star-like decoration of the cella (often identified with *bullae* found in the vicinity of the gold plaques) than the stars in heaven (Garbini 1989: 170-180; 185-186; cf. Donner & Röllig 1968: 332; Knoppers 1992: 118-119). But then, again, would the ancients consider reference to some man-made device an acceptable simile for perpetual duration—clearly the notion this section intends to convey (Dupont-Sommer 1964: 297; Heurgon 1966: 11; cf. Pfiffig 1965: 47-48)? As an alternative possibility, Manfred Kropp (1994: 193) suggests reference to a particular stellar constellation, namely the Pleiades, by taking the entry *km* for Hebrew *kīmā* “Pleiades” instead of the Phoenician preposition *km* “like”.

As it seems, then, apart from the given uncertainties in interpretation we have a fairly accurate picture of the contents of the Phoenician or Punic version of the Pyrgi texts, which is presented in extenso below in our Table XIII.

Before we turn our attention to the Etruscan side of the evidence, one more aspect of the Phoenician or Punic version of the text needs to be clarified, namely the precise nature of the language. In order to decide in this matter, it is important to realize that the text

⁶ Garbini 1989: 182 “ora a me sembra più probabile che un dono alla divinità venga offerto come ringraziamento per qualcosa che è stato concesso o che si spera sarà concesso anziché come esecuzione di una richiesta”; Pfiffig 1966: 221 “Wenn die Text die Weihung des *’šr qdš* an Astarte durch den Herrscher von Caere in offizieller, feierlicher Form bekundet und sie damit begründet, dass an einem mit Jahr, Monat und Tag genau fixierten Datum etwas durch ein Eingreifen der Astarte geschehen ist, so kann sich dies nur auf einen besonderen Gnadeakt der Gottheit beziehen, auf Hilfe, Rettung, Unterstützung, sichtbare Begnadigung.”

shows some definite Cyprian dialectic features.⁷ On the basis of this observation, namely, the text may safely be assumed to have been written by a Phoenician from Cyprus.⁸

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>l-rbt l-štrt</i>
<i>šr qdš 'z</i>
<i>š p'l w-'š ytn</i>
<i>Tbr'y' Wlnš</i>
<i>mlk 'l Kyšry'</i>
<i>b-yrḥ zbh šmš</i>
<i>b-mtn' b-bt</i> | “To the lady Astarte (is dedicated) this holy place, which Thefarie Velianas, king of Caere, has made and has given in the month of sacrifice(s) to the sun-god as a gift in the temple.” |
| 2. <i>w-bn tw</i>
<i>k-štrt 'rš b-d-y</i>
<i>l-mlk-y šnt šlš III</i>
<i>b-yrḥ krr</i>
<i>b-ym qbr 'lm</i> | “And he has built the niche, because Astarte has granted (a victory) by his hand: in the third year of his reign, in the month of the dances, on the day of the burial of the god(dess).” |
| 3. <i>w-šnt l-m' š 'lm</i>
<i>b-bty šnt km</i>
<i>h-kkbm 'l</i> | “And may the years for the statue of the goddess in her temple be (numerous) like these stars.” |

Table XIII. Text and translation of the Phoenician version of the inscriptions on the Pyrgi gold tablets (problematic sections in bold type; Fig. 6 [left]).

3. THE ETRUSCAN TEXTS

In his treatment of the two Etruscan inscriptions, Massimo Pallottino has demonstrated that the tripartite division of the Phoenician text is traceable in the longer Etruscan one as well (Colonna, Garbini,

⁷ Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 68; Dupont-Sommer 1964: 292-293; Garbini & Levi Della Vida 1965: 37; 39; 49; Ferron 1965: 193; Donner & Röllig 1968: 331; Friedrich 1969a: 205; cf. Pugliese Carratelli 1965: 222; Fischer & Rix 1968: 70-71; Hvidberg-Hansen 1988: 64; Knoppers 1992: 119-120.

⁸ Donner & Röllig 1968: 332 “Die Inschrift dürfte auf Grund ihrer Sprache und Orthographie von einem Phönizier verfaßt worden sein, dessen Herkunft aus Zypern zumindest sehr wahrscheinlich ist.” Although Garbini initially preferred an alternative explanation for the Cyprian influences in the dialect, his silence on the topic in his 1989 update and consistent qualification of the text as Phoenician here may well indicate that he has eventually dropped his Punic theory altogether.

Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 99). In so doing, he was able to identify the corresponding forms of the name of the dedicator, *Øefariei Velianas* (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 87; cf. Pfiffig 1965: 28; 53; Heurgon 1966: 10; Pfiffig 1966: 255; Fischer & Rix 1968: 79), the indication of the dedicated object, *ita tmia ica-c heramasva* (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 83-84; cf. Pfiffig 1965: 24-25; Pfiffig 1966: 255), the name of the recipient deity, *unial-Astres* (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 85; cf. Pfiffig 1965: 26; 53; Heurgon 1966: 10; Pfiffig 1966: 255; Fischer & Rix 1968: 78), and the verb rendering the meaning “he has given”, *turuce* (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 62; 86; 92; cf. Pfiffig 1965: 53; Heurgon 1966: 13; Fischer & Rix 1968: 81), which all belong to the first section of the text. Furthermore, he established the correspondence of *ci avil* with Phoenician *šnt šlš III* “in the third year” and of *zilacal* with Phoenician *l-mlky* “during his reign”, which forms—though occurring in a different order and after an interval absent in Phoenician—obviously represent the middle section of the text (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 61; 92; cf. Heurgon 1966: 10; 12-13; Fischer & Rix 1968: 86; note that Pfiffig 1965: 31; 53 and Pfiffig 1966: 255 exclude *zilacal*). Finally, he keenly observed that the recurrence of one of the components of the indication of the dedicated object in declined variant *heramve* in combination with *avil* in the closing lines of the text is matched by Phoenician *šnt l-m’š’lm* “the years for the statue of the goddess”, so we are likely to be dealing here with a comparable wish-formula (= section 3) (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 84; 95-97; cf. Pfiffig 1965: 53; Heurgon 1966: 10; Pfiffig 1966: 255; Fischer & Rix 1968: 86-87; Olzscha 1969: 212).

Two years later, in 1966, Jacques Heurgon elaborated Pallottino’s solid framework of bilingual interrelations by noting some further correspondences between the two texts. Thus he drew attention to the fact that the word *χurvar* which follows *ci avil* in the second section of the text is likely to be considered the equivalent of the Phoenician month name *krr* “month of the dances”, which likewise follows *šnt šlš III* “in the third year”.⁹ Furthermore, he suggested that an approximation of Phoenician *mlk ‘l Kyšry* “king of

⁹ Heurgon 1966: 14 with reference to Karl Olzscha’s attractive identification of the apparently related *χuru* from the text of the *Liber linteus* (LL X, 4; 16-17; cf. also *χurve* in X, 6) as a loan from Greek χορός “dance”.

Caere” might be concealed in the related couple *mex θuta*, which, for the fact that *mex* definitely refers to some governmental body and *θuta* bears a striking resemblance to Osco-Umbrian *touto-* or *tuta-*, conceivably receives meaningful interpretation after the pattern of Latin *populus civitas-que* or the like (Heurgon 1966: 13; cf. Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 86; Pallottino 1988: 420-421; cf. also Carnoy 1952: 319). Finally, Heurgon suspected in *cluvenias* the counterpart of Phoenician *b-yrḥ zbh šmš* “in the month of sacrifice(s) to the sun-god”, which, if not the name of a month itself, probably denotes some kind of festival (Heurgon 1966: 13; cf. Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 88-89; 101-102).

Even at this point, however, the bilingual interrelations between the two texts have not yet been explored to the full. As rightly remarked by Ambros Pfiffig, Pallottino’s hesitations about the verbal nature of *vatiexe*, which shows the ending *-xe* instead of *-ce*, are unfounded because interchange between [c] and [χ] is definitely paralleled for texts from the same chronological horizon.¹⁰ As a consequence, we likely have here the corresponding form of Phoenician *p’l* “he has made”. Next, Phoenician *w* “and” at the start of the third section of the text is evidently matched by the enclitic copula *-m* “and” attached to the demonstrative *itani*, which likewise marks the beginning of the wish-formula (Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 156; cf. Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 95-96; 99; Fischer & Rix 1968: 85). Moreover, from the aforementioned alignment of *ci avil χurvar* to Phoenician *šnt šlš III krr* “in the third year, in the month of the dances” it may safely be deduced that the immediately following *tesiamitale* constitutes the counterpart of Phoenician *b-ym qbr ’lm* “on the day of the burial of the god(dess)” (Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 171-172; see also Woudhuizen 1998: 28-30 or chapter 13 below for day-names of similar construction as the present one in *-tale* from the text of the Capua tile). Finally, on the basis of a similar process of deduction it may reasonably be argued (as Marcello Durante and Karl Olzscha have done) that *pulumχva* represents a near equivalent of Phoenician *h-kkbm ’l* “these stars”.¹¹

¹⁰ Pfiffig 1965: 26; 53; cf. Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 84; Fischer & Rix 1968: 81-2. Note that Rix’s analysis of *-xe* as a distinct ending for middle forms or intransitive verbs, a line of approach initiated by Carlo de Simone in 1970, departs from his defective assumption that *ita tmia* and *ica heramasva* render the nominative of the communal gender instead of the accusative of the neuter.

¹¹ Durante 1965: 308-321; Olzscha 1969: 208-209; cf. Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 174. It is particularly relevant to note in this connection that *pulumχva* recurs in

With respect to the shorter Etruscan text, Pallottino has duly stressed that from a structural point of view this is easy to analyze because it shows three verbs in *-ce*, *θamuce*, *selace*, and *amuce*, each of which governs a separate phrase or clause (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 100; cf. Fischer & Rix 1968: 90). Of these phrases or clauses, the last one, *vacal tmial avilχval amuce pulumχva snuiaφ*, definitely corresponds with the final section of the longer Etruscan text, *itanim heramve avil eniaca pulumχva*, and hence to the wish-formula in Phoenician (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 103; Olzscha 1969: 210; Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 157). Alternatively, the first two phrases or clauses contain elements which rather suggest a connection with the first section of the longer Etruscan text and, by implication, correspondence to the dedication proper in Phoenician. In this environment, namely, we encounter the name of the dedicator, *Θefarie Veliunus* (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 87; 100; cf. Pfiffig 1965: 36; Heurgon 1966: 10), an indication of the dedicated object, *cleva* (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 100-101; Pfiffig 1965: 36), an indication of the recipient deity, *Etanal* (Pfiffig 1965: 36; *contra* Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 101, where this form is wrongly taken for a variant spelling of the demonstrative *itani*), and an indication of the month possibly corresponding with Phoenician *b-yrh zbḥ šmš* “in the month of offering(s) to the sun-god”, *tiurunias* (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 101-102; note that Pallottino’s alternative option *b-yrh krr* “in the month of the dances” may safely be eliminated for the lack of an indication of year and day). As a consequence, it may safely be assumed that the middle section of the text is lacking (Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 157).

All in all, we thus arrive at the network of correlations between the Phoenician text on the one hand and the two Etruscan ones on the other hand as presented below in our Table XIV.

PHOENICIAN	ETRUSCAN I	ETRUSCAN II
1. <i>l-rbt l-‘štrt</i> <i>’šr qdš’z</i>	<i>unial-Astres</i> <i>ita tmia ica-c heramasva</i>	^[nac] <i>Etanal masan<a></i> <i>cleva</i>

combination with a derivative of *avil* and one of the indications of the dedicated object in declined variant in the final section of the shorter Etruscan version of the text, whereas the one remaining alternative candidate, *eniaca*, does not (see below).

'š p' l w- 'š ytn Tbry' Wlnš mlk 'l Kyšry' b-yrh zbḥ šmš b-mtn' b-bt	vatieḫe-turuce Θefariei Velianas θemiasa meḫ θuta sal cluvenias <small>[munistas θuvas]</small> tameresca	θamuce-selace Θefarie Veliunas tiurunias
2. w-bn tw k- 'štrt 'rš b-d-y l-mlk-y šnt šlš III b-yrh krr b-ym qbr 'lm	ila<ce>-cve <small>[tulerase]</small> <small>[nac]</small> ci avil ḫurvar tesameitale <small>[ila<ce>-cve]</small> <small>alsase nac Atranes zilacal</small> <small>seleitala Acnasvers]</small>	
3. w-šnt l-m' š 'lm b-bty šnt km h-kkbm 'l	itani-m heramve avil en-iaca pulum-ḫva	va-cal tmial avil-ḫval amuce pulum-ḫva snuiaφ

Table XIV. Correlations between the Phoenician and Etruscan versions of the text (problematic Phoenician sections in bold type).

In an earlier discussion of the Pyrgi texts, I have tried to demonstrate that this reasonably tight framework of bilingual correspondences allows us to verify the etymological relationship of Etruscan with the Luwian language group in southwest Asia Minor—a thesis defended by various scholars in the past.¹² It occurs, namely, that the conditions as set for Etruscan forms by bilingual evidence are closely met by Luwian equivalents. As this is not the place to go into the details of this matter, I will only present a list of the most significant bilingually verifiable correspondences between Etruscan and Luwian in Table XV below,¹³ which are complemented by further etymological correspondences relevant to our understanding of the Etruscan texts.

¹² Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 153-176, esp. 156-162, with reference to the relevant works of Bedřich Hrozný (1929), Piero Meriggi (1937), Emmanuel Laroche (1961), and Vladimir Georgiev (1979), to which should be added Carruba (1977); most recently the topic has received renewed attention by Neu 1991 (undecided), Adrados 1989 & 1994 (affirmative, but for the wrong reasons), Steinbauer 1999 (for my opinion about this for its promising work due to its starting point, see Woudhuizen 2001), and Lebrun 2006 (offers some nice examples but is far from exhaustive).

¹³ In a letter of August 8, 1995, the late professor Erich Neu kindly informed me that he considered the bilingually verifiable correspondences between Etruscan and Luwian as presented in Woudhuizen 1998: 171-172, which I had sent him in advance of their publication, "recht aufschlußreich".

ETRUSCAN	IE ANATOLIAN	MEANING
1. <i>-c</i>	<i>-ḥa, -ce, -k</i>	“and”
2. <i>-c(a)-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	“this”
3. <i>cleva</i>	<i>ḥila-</i>	“enclosure, precinct”
4. <i>-cve</i>	<i>ḥwa</i>	“because”
5. <i>en-</i>	<i>anan, ēnē</i>	“under”
6. <i>va-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	introductory particle
7. <i>vatie-</i>	<i>weda-/wete-, vit₁i₁-</i>	“to build”
8. <i>zilac-</i>	<i>siluk-</i>	“praetorship”
9. <i>heram(v)-</i>	<i>ārma-, hr̥mā</i>	“altar”
10. <i>ṭamu-</i>	<i>tama-</i>	“to build”
11. <i>Ṭefarie-</i>	<i>Tiwat/ra-</i>	“sun-god”
12. <i>ṭuva-</i>	<i>tuwa-</i>	“two”
13. <i>i-</i>	<i>ī-</i>	“this”
14. <i>ia-</i>	<i>iya-, iye-</i>	“to make, do”
15. <i>ila-</i>	<i>īla-</i>	“to favor”
16. <i>*-li-</i>	<i>-ali-, -li-</i>	adjectival suffix
17. <i>-m</i>	<i>-ma-, -m</i>	introductory particle
18. <i>masan<a>-</i>	<i>masana-</i>	“god”
19. <i>mex</i>	<i>*mekki-, miñti-</i>	“league, assembly”
20. <i>-na-</i>	<i>ná-</i>	“son (of)” ¹⁴
21. <i>nac</i>	<i>nak</i>	introductory particle
22. <i>sal</i>	<i>isl-</i>	“first” ¹⁵
25. <i>sela-</i>	<i>sarla-</i>	“to offer as a sacrifice”
23. <i>*-si-</i>	<i>-ašši-, -ahi-, -si-</i>	adjectival suffix

ETRUSCAN	IE ANATOLIAN	MEANING
24. <i>snuiaϕ</i>	<i>šannapi</i>	“sporadic”

¹⁴ On the analogy of Italic *Brutius* being literally “the son of Brutus”, the Etruscan gentilicia in *-na-* are derived from the Luwian hieroglyphic word for “son” as attested for the Cekke text, *na-*.

¹⁵ It is interesting to note in this connection that the Luwian hieroglyphic sign L 380, consisting of a vertical stroke also used for the numeral “1”, in the Topada text renders the acrophonic value *sa*₉, from which it follows that the Luwian word for the numeral “1” starts with the syllable *sa*. See further chapter 11.

26. <i>-t(a)-</i>	<i>ta-, θθ-</i>	“this”
27. <i>tesi-amei-</i>	<i>tasai</i>	“grave”
28.	<i>šamnai-, hñme-/ñmai-, amē-</i>	“to found”
29. <i>tiurunia-</i>	<i>Tiwat/ra-</i>	“sun-god” ¹⁶
30. <i>tmia-</i>	<i>tamaia</i>	“building”
31. <i>uni-</i>	<i>wana(tti)-</i>	“woman”
32. <i>-χva-</i>	<i>hwa-</i>	“who, what”

Table XV. Correspondences between Etruscan and IE Anatolian (bilingually verifiable ones in bold type).

Now, if we plug in the meaning of the words and forms recovered in this manner by the etymological method, a text appears which, apart from some small differences in expression, by and large corresponds to its Phoenician counterpart (see Table XVI).

LONGER ETRUSCAN VERSION

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. <i>ita tmia ica-c herama-sva</i>
 <i>vatiexe unial-Astres</i>
 <i>θemiasa meχ θuta</i>
 <i>Θefariei Velianas</i>
 <i>sal cluvenias turuce</i>
 <i>munistas θuvas</i>
 <i>tameresca</i></p> <p>2. <i>ila<ce> -cve tulerase</i>
 <i>nac ci avil</i>
 <i>χurvar</i>
 <i>tesiamēitale</i></p> <p><i>ila<ce> -cve alsase</i>
 <i>nac Atranēs zilacal</i>
 <i>seleitala Acnasvers</i></p> | <p>“This holy place and these altars belonging to it, Thefarie Velianas, legislator of the senate (and) people, has built (them) for the lady Astarte (and) has given (them) as holy gifts on the first of (the feast) <i>cluvenia-</i> on account of two obligations: because she favored (him) on land: in year three (of his reign), (during) the month of the dances, on the day of the burial of the god(dess); because she favored (him) at sea: during the praetorship of Artanès (and) the sultanate of Xerxes.”</p> |
|--|--|

¹⁶ Note in this connection that the praenomen *Θefarie-*, which also originates from Luwian hieroglyphic *Tiwat/ra-*, developed independently from the name of the month *tiurunia-*.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 3. <i>itani-m heramve avil</i>
<i>eniaca pulum-χva</i> | “And may what(ever number of)
stars yield to (whatever number of)
years for these altars.” |
|---|--|

SHORTER ETRUSCAN VERSION

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>nac Øefarie Veliiunas</i>
<i>θamuce cleva</i>
<i>Etanal masan<a></i>
<i>tiurunias selace</i> | “Thefarie Velianas
has built the precinct
for the goddess Athena
(and) has offered (it) as a sacrifice
during the month of offering(s) to
the sun-god.” |
| 3. <i>va-cal tmial avil-χval</i>
<i>amuce pulum-χva snuiaϕ</i> | “And may what(ever number) of
stars be sporadic as compared to
what(ever number of) years for this
holy place.” |

Table XVI. Text and translation of the Etruscan versions of the inscriptions on the Pyrgi gold tablets (correspondences with IE Anatolian in bold type; Fig. 6 [middle and right]).

The large number of correspondences between Etruscan and Luwian (adding up to a total of 32, or even 44 when inflected and repeated forms are included) recorded for a single text (consisting of 61 words and elements in sum), and the fact that, when plugged in, these lead up to an almost identical text as the Phoenician version, to my view definitely proves the Indo-European Anatolian nature of Etruscan. It is interesting to note in this connection that the loss of initial *s* in *amei-* (< Luwian **šamnai-*) points to a particularly close relationship of Etruscan with the two Luwian successor dialects, Lycian (*hñme-* or *ĩmai-*) and Lydian (*amē-*), though it must be realized that the Etruscan form of the relative owing to its preservation of the original labiovelar is diagnostic for the splitting off of Etruscan from the ancestral Luwian before the labiovelar development affected Lycian ([*h^w*] > [*t*]) and Lydian ([*h^w*] > [*p*])—an event which is probably to be dated to sometime during the 7th century BC.

For those, however, who are still sceptical because in their opinion correspondences in vocabulary alone are not enough to prove the Luwian nature of Etruscan, we can even go a step further and

concentrate on aspects of the grammar, the declension of the noun and pronoun and conjugation of the verb. In the Pyrgi texts, then, we are confronted with the following endings as far as the noun is concerned (see Table XVII):

	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	—, -s	
N-A(n)	—	-a
D	-a	-as (dual)
D(-G)	-l, -s	-e

Table XVII. Declension of the noun.

With the exception of the D pl. (dual) in -as (*munistas θuvas*), for which possible comparative evidence is only provided by Hittite, all the given endings are paralleled in the Luwian dialects. Thus the restricted use of the N(m/f) sg. in -s in the realm of the *gentilicia* (*Velianas*, *Veliiunas*), whereas otherwise this ending has been dropped (*Θefarie(i)* [note that the distinction of masculine names by the morpheme -ie- constitutes an innovation modelled after Latin -ius]), recalls the situation in Lycian with its exceptional occurrence in, for example, *arus* “citizenry”. The original D sg. in -a is still attested (*masan<a>*), like in Luwian hieroglyphic and Lycian, but progressively being replaced by the D(-G) sg. in -l (*unial*, *zilacal*, *Etanal*, *tmial*) or -s (*Astres*, *cluvenias*, *Atranés*, *Acnasvers*, *tiurunias*) of adjectival (morphemes -li- and -si-) background. This process fully accomplished in Lydian, where we find no trace of the original dative left but only an oblique case sg. in -λ related to the G sg. in -l. The N-A(n) pl. in -a (*herama*, *tameresca*) is a common Indo-European feature, shared by all Luwian dialects used here as a frame of reference, whereas the D(-G) pl. in -e (*heramve*) corresponds to the Lycian D pl. in -e (and G pl. in -ē). Finally, an endingless N-A(n) sg. (*tmia*, *cleva*) can be found in Luwian hieroglyphic texts in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition and, chronologically more to the point, Lycian (*sttala* “stele” [trilingual § 20, referred to by the N-A(n) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. -ē], *arawā* “free” [trilingual § 8]).

In the realm of the pronoun, the following forms are of relevance (see Table XVIII):

	sg.	pl.
N-A(n)	<i>ita</i> , - <i>χva</i>	<i>ica</i>
D(-G)	- <i>cal</i> , - <i>χval</i>	<i>itani</i>

Table XVIII. Declension of the pronoun.

As far as the endings are concerned, those of the N-A(n) sg., D(-G) sg., and N-A(n) pl. are also encountered in the declension of the noun. Only the D(-G) pl. *itani* singles itself out as distinctive for the pronoun also for the additional infix *-n-*, for which, however, comparative evidence is provided by the pronominal declension in Lydian, where the possessive pronoun of the 1st pers. sg., *ēmi*- “my”, is characterized by forms like the A(m/f) pl. *ēminas* and the D pl. *ēminai*, (see Woudhuizen 2005: 146).

In connection with the conjugation of the verb, there can be distinguished only two endings, that of the 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense of the active in *-ce* or *-χe* (*vatiēχe*, *turuce*, *θamuce*, *selace*, *amuce*) and that of the 3rd pers. sg. of the subjunctive of the active in *-ca* (*eniaca*), which leads us to the following overview (see Table XIX).

	past tense	subjunctive
3rd pers. sg. act.	- <i>ce/-χe</i>	- <i>ca</i>

Table XIX. Conjugation of the verb.

Both these endings, however, fall outside the scope of the comparisons with Luwian proper—be it that the first is paralleled in Lemnian (*θoke* “he has erected”), the velarization of the expected dental [t] or [d] as we have noted perhaps being influenced by the Greek *kappa*-perfect or -aorist in *-κε*. Nevertheless, it may be of relevance that Luwian hieroglyphic uses the vowel [a] as a marker of the subjunctive—though the same holds good, of course, for Latin as well.

If we turn to vocabulary, once more, it may be illuminating to be point out that comparative data are not only drawn from the Luwian dialects of Anatolia, but subsidiary services are rendered in this respect by languages with which Etruscan had been in contact in the past or was in contact at the time of writing of the text under discussion. These substrate and/or adstrate influences, then, may be summarized as follows (see Table XX):

I. Correspondences with Greek

1. <i>als-</i>	ἄλς (G ἰάλος)	“salt, sea”
2. <i>amu-</i>	ἔμμεναι	“to be”
3. <i>Etana-</i>	Ἐθηνᾶ	divine name
4. <i>θemi-</i>	θέμις	“law, custom, right”
5. <i>pulum-</i>	πόλος	“pole(-star)”
6. <i>tameresc-</i>	θέμερος	“holy”
7. <i>-sva-</i>	σφέ	reflexive pronoun of 3rd person

II. Correspondences with Italic

1. <i>-ie</i>	<i>-ius</i>	formans of masculine names
2. <i>θuta</i>	<i>touto-, tuta-</i>	“people”
3. <i>munist-</i>	<i>munus</i>	“offering, tribute, duty”
4. <i>-sva-</i>	<i>suus</i>	reflexive pronoun of 3rd person

III. Correspondences with Semitic.

1. <i>Astre-</i>	ʾštr	divine name
2. <i>seleit-</i>	slṯ-	“power”
3. <i>χurvar</i>	krr	“month of the dances”

Table XX. Substrate and/or adstrate influences in vocabulary.

A remaining issue to be addressed here concerns the exact nature of the dedication commemorated in the Pyrgi texts. With

respect to this problem, it has been assumed that the Phoenician and longer Etruscan version of the text celebrate the foundation of a temple, presumably temple B,¹⁷ whereas the shorter Etruscan version is thought to stipulate ritual prescriptions for the proper use of this temple (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 104). As duly pointed out by the critics of this view, however, the expression *b-mtn' b-bt* “as a gift in the temple” in effect excludes the possibility that the indication of the dedicated object *'šr qdš 'z* “this holy place” has a bearing on the temple as a whole (Pfiffig 1965: 6; 11; Garbini & Levi Della Vida 1965: 37; Fischer & Rix 1968: 93; Knoppers 1992: 109; cf. Heurgon 1966: 15; Donner & Röllig 1968: 331-332). Hence, it has alternatively been suggested that the Phoenician and longer Etruscan version commemorate the building of a cella or niche within the temple (= presumably temple B) and that the shorter Etruscan one specifies sacrifices associated with this event (see locations just cited and cf. Pfiffig 1965: 35-38; Olzscha 1969: 216-218).

The crucial words in the longer Etruscan version of the text are *tmia* and *heramasva*. Of these two forms, the latter one recurs, as we have noted earlier, in declined variant *heramve* in the third section of the text, where it is lined with Phoenician *l-m'š 'lm* “for the statue of the goddess”. Accordingly, it is generally assumed to render the meaning “statue” as well.¹⁸ Next, the former one likely covers the semantic range of Phoenician *'šr qdš* “holy place” and is variously interpreted as “temple” or “cella, niche”.¹⁹ If, as we have just experienced, the second of the two options is to be preferred, it evidently follows that the dedication entails a newly built cella within the temple with a cult-statue placed inside it.

This inference, however, is not free from criticism either because it fails to explain why in the Phoenician version of the wish-formula the statue of the goddess is stated to be *b-bt-y* “in her temple” instead of *†b-tw-y* “in her cella”. A more sensible approach

¹⁷ Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 56; 67; 83; 99; 103; 112; Dupont-Sommer 1964: 292; Colonna 1965: 286-292; Colonna 1966b: 21; Serra Ridgway 1990: 521; cf. Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 155; 161; 173 (foundation of temple A).

¹⁸ Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 83-84, where a comparison to Greek Ἑρμῆς < GN *Hermēs* is proposed; Pfiffig 1965: 24-25, who rather prefers comparison to an assumed Greek *Ἑρᾶν < GN *Hera*.

¹⁹ Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 83, where a comparison to Greek τέμενος and Latin *templum* is proposed; Pfiffig 1965: 24-25, who rather prefers comparison to Greek ταμ(ι)εῖον.

to the problem seems to be offered by the realization that the various versions of the wish-formula are not identical, but highly similar. Thus in Phoenician the simile for perpetual duration is applied to the most essential part of the temple as a whole, *in casu* the statue of the goddess, whereas in Etruscan it has a bearing on the various elements of the dedication proper, namely *tmia* and *heramasva*. Needless to say that herewith the basis for the identification of *heramasva* as “statue” effectively falls into ruin.

The key word in the shorter Etruscan version of the text is *cleva*. This form is also attested for the text of the Capua tile, where, owing to the transparent nature of the context, it may reasonably be argued to bear reference to some sort of sacrificial animal.²⁰ In accordance with this observation, then, it has been commonly assumed that the same meaning likewise holds good for the present use of the word in the Pyrgi text.

As opposed to this, however, one may legitimately wonder whether the offering of a sacrificial animal, three of which were sacrificed at least once every year according to the aforementioned passage of the Capua tile, is an event exceptional enough to be commemorated on a gold plaque. In addition, it has been unjustly neglected that the form *cleva* may alternatively be related to the root of the place name *Clevisins*- “Clusium”.²¹ From a comparative viewpoint, the latter root appears to be linked up with common Anatolian *hila*- “enclosure” and its Lycian offshoot *qla*- “precinct” (Woudhuizen 1998: 182-183; cf. Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 174). If this is correct, we thus arrive at the conclusion that *cleva* conveys a similar meaning as *tmia* in the longer Etruscan version of the text. Along the same line of approach, moreover, the formally identical but functionally distinct *cleva* in the text of the Capua tile receives meaningful explanation as an abridged form of adjectival *clevia*- or

²⁰ Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 101; Pfiffig 1965: 36; both with reference to CT I, lines 3-4: *Leθamsul ci tartiria ci-m cleva acasri* “in honor of Lethams to be sacrificed three τριτῦες and three *cleva*”. For a similar context, see Woudhuizen 1998: 67-68, discussion of II, phrase 3b¹ or chapter 13 below.

²¹ TLE 233 = Rix 1991: Vs 1.179 from Volsinii; note that the town is recorded here to have been the seat of the confederate assembly, for which reason its chief sanctuary must have been of more than local importance, see Pallottino 1988: 226-227; Vacano 1960: 38-41; cf. chapter 2 above.

clevan(a)- which likewise bears reference to a certain type of offering.²²

Before we are in the position to conclude our argument, we need to discuss two more aspects of the text which are of relevance to the subject. In the first place, as rightly pointed out by Karl Olzscha, *heramve* definitely renders the dative plural (Olzscha 1969: 212). This is not only indicated by its ending in *-e*, but also emanates from the fact that it is qualified by *itani*, the dative plural of the demonstrative pronoun *ita-* (Woudhuizen 1992a: 90-91; Woudhuizen 1992b: 210; Woudhuizen 1998: 51-52). As a consequence, the foregoing *heramasva* may safely be assumed to show the accusative plural of the neuter in *-a*, which verdict still applies if the final *-sva*, absent in D pl. *heramve* of the third section, might turn out to be a distinct element, as we will see reason to argue below (Woudhuizen 1992a: 89; 91; cf. also our remark in note 10 above). Secondly, as convincingly demonstrated by Olzscha, again, the form *tameresca* provides us with yet another term bearing reference to the dedication.²³ More specifically, according to the network of bilingual correlations as presented above, we actually have here the counterpart of Phoenician *b-mtn' b-bt* “as a gift in the temple” (see Table XIV). Now, in line with the apparent etymological relationship of the root *tamer-* to Greek *θέμερος* as recorded for an Hesychian gloss and further represented by the hybrid Greek-Sidetic formation *temerizeus* “priest”, this form likely renders the accusative plural of the neuter in *-a* of a nominal derivative meaning “holy gift” or the like (Woudhuizen 1988-9a: 89-90; Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *tameres*). If so, it evidently follows that the corresponding Phoenician expression need not refer to something actually located in the temple, but may just as well be considered a figure of speech specifying the juridical status of the gift.

Taking the evidence at face value, then, I believe that the dedication commemorated in the Pyrgi texts may reasonably be identified with the open-air altar-site in between temples A and B (= area C, see Fig. 7). This construction, namely, consists of a roofless annex to temple B, which encloses the remains of a raised altar for

²² Woudhuizen 1998: 76-77 or chapter 13 below, discussion of CT IV, phrase 3⁴ (*clevia-*); LL VII, 11; 16 (*clevan(a)-*), see chapter 14; cf. Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 101; Pfiffig 1965: 36.

²³ Olzscha 1970: 266; cf. Morandi 1991: 125; Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 170; *contra* Pfiffig 1965: 53; Heurgon 1966: 13, where *tameresca* is wrongly taken for an element of the dedicator's magistracy; cf. also Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 90-91, where the matter is left undecided.

fire offerings and a drain for blood offerings (see Fig. 8) (cf. Pallottino 1970: 742, given as one of various options; *pace* Colonna 1989-90: 215, who wrongly considers area C as part of the original plan of temple B). As such, it not only accommodates the various descriptions used in the text, but also allows us to explain the plural nature of *herama* (D *heramve*) in terms of a reference to the two distinct types of altars—a suggestion which receives its ultimate validation from the etymological relationship of *heram-* to Luwian hieroglyphic *ārma-* (Sultanhan § 46, see Woudhuizen 2011: 239) and Lycian *hrmā* “altar” (TL 84, §§ 6 and 9; 149, line 13, see Woudhuizen 2012: 422-423; 428; cf. Finkelberg 1990-1: 67-68; Woudhuizen 2001: 507). As a consequence of the given etymological background of *heram-*, the element *-sva*, which we have already seen reason to consider as a distinct element, can positively be identified as an enclitic reflexive pronoun of the 3rd person, bearing a striking formal resemblance to Greek *σφέ* (or *ῥε*, *έέ*, *ě*, see Schwyzler 1939: 601-603) and Latin *suus* (cf. Woudhuizen 1998: 73). However this may be, what primarily concerns us here is that in view of the fact that the annex had no roof, even the simile with reference to the stars in heaven makes sense!

In his historical assessment of the Pyrgi texts, Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli has cogently argued that, in the light of international politics at the time, the official promotion of the cult of Phoenician Astarte by a Caeretan dynast in effect signifies his allegiance to the Persian royal house.²⁴ This being the case, it comes as no surprise that the one clause in the middle section of the longer Etruscan version of the text which according to our analysis lacks a corresponding expression in Phoenician presents a subsidiary dating formula relating the third year of Thefarie Velianas’ term of office to a specific year in the reign of the Persian great king Xerxes (= Biblical *Aḥasveros*)—that of his co-regency with his uncle Artanès as reported for the year 484 BC (identification first achieved by Jan Best in Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 178-179; cf. *ibid.* 172-173). The latter date, then, obviously provides us with a *terminus post quem* for the foundation of the annex to temple B which is rooted in absolute chronology. As elaborated in the next chapter, the commemorated victory on land and at sea will, given the sympathies for the Persian cause, no doubt have been accomplished against the nearest enemies

²⁴ Pugliese Carratelli 1965: 233 “e l’adorazione di un culto fenicio di Cipro di parte di un sovrano etrusco (...) era in definitiva una scelta politica, un segno di accettazione dell’egemonia degli Acheminidi”.

of the Persians and their Cartaginian allies, viz. the Greeks at Cumae. Four years later, the Carthaginians themselves did worse: they lost the battle of Himera against the Greeks of Syracuse ...

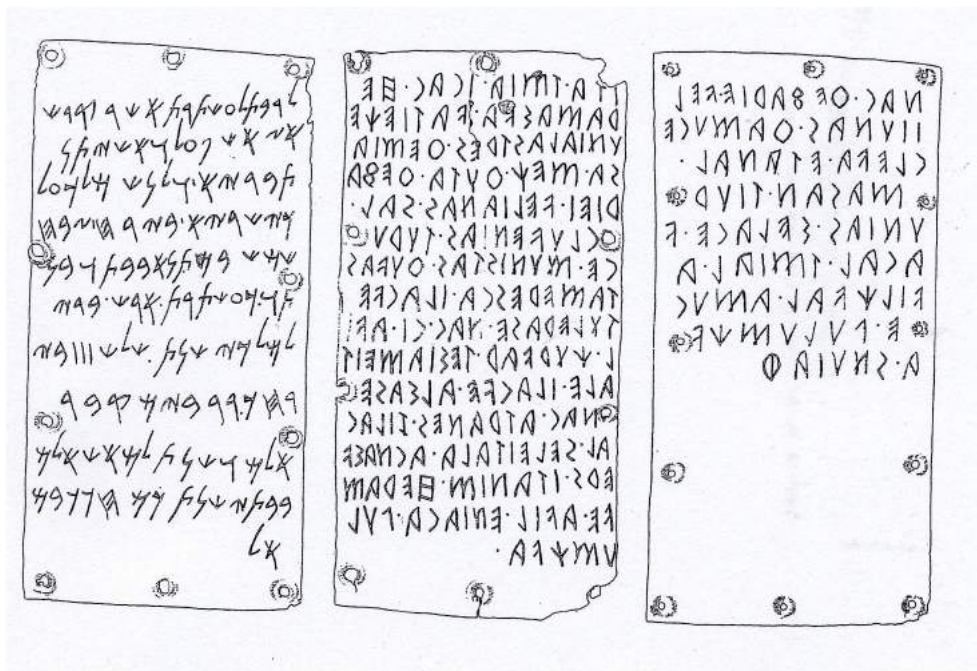


Fig. 6. The Pyrgi gold tablets
(from Bonfante & Bonfante 2002: 64, fig. 5).

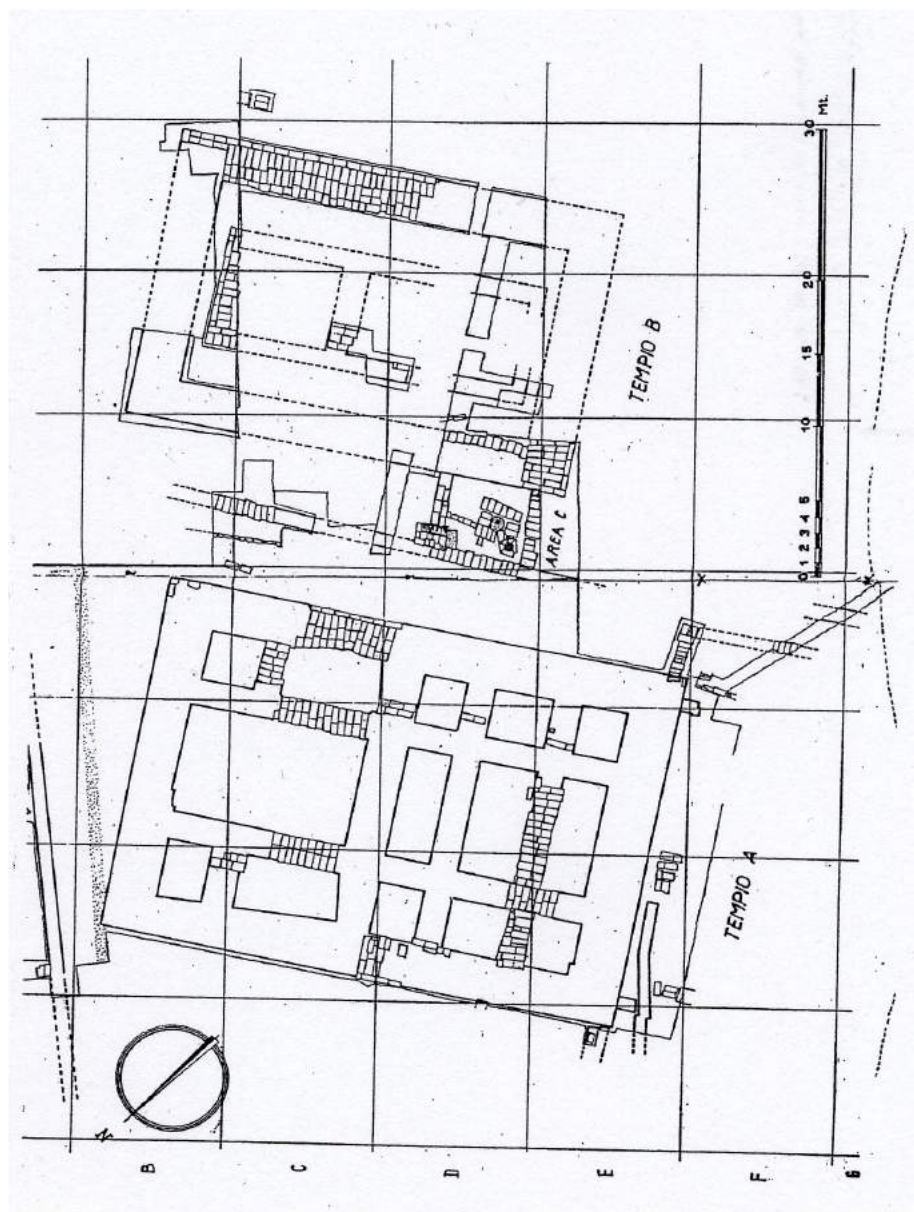


Fig. 7. Plan of the temples in Pyrgi
(from Colonna 1966a: Tav. XXXII).

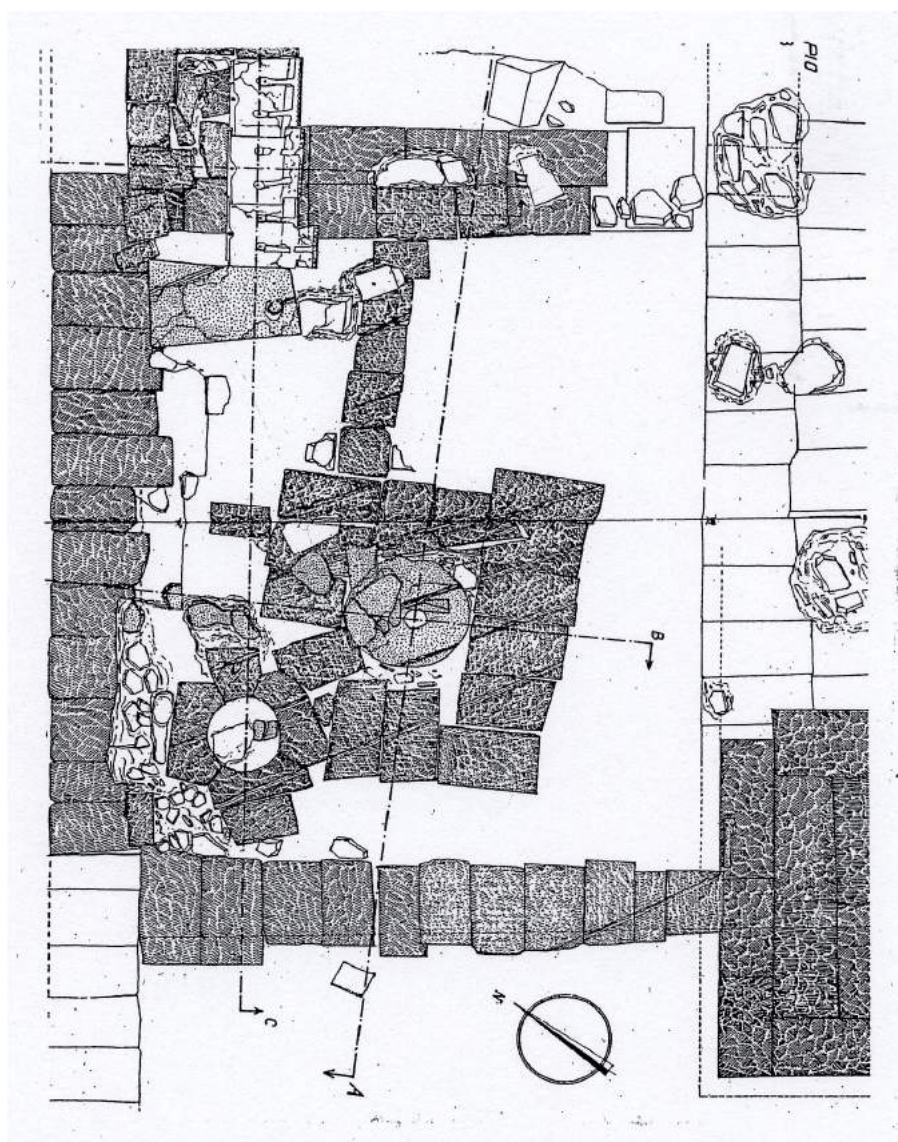


Fig. 8. Lay-out of area C
(from Colonna 1966a: Tav. XXXIII).

10. THE BILINGUAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM DELPHI*

1. INTRODUCTION

The “*cippus* of the Tyrrhenians” is a well-known historical document, which came to light more than a century ago as a result of the French expedition at Delphi at the time (Flacelière 1954: 199-200). In fact, the object in question is not a “*cippus*”, but a tripod-base, as inferable from the three rectangular holes still visible around the central circular impression on top of the stone. This tripod-base contains a dedicatory inscription on one of the shorter sides of the rectangular stone, which, being written in archaic script, is evidently connected with the original function of the object, whereas the inscriptions added in a much smaller type of lettering recording the winners of some musical contest during the Hellenistic period testify to its secondary use during the latter period, just like it is the case with the supporting stone on the right with an inscription on its upper surface (see Fig. 9). The original votive inscription, then, is written from left to right in archaic, local Delphian script, and for this reason can easily be dated to the first quarter of the 5th century BC on account of the following criteria:

- (1) second type of *rho*, used from *c.* 530 BC onwards;
- (2) second type of *thēta*, antedating *c.* 430 BC (?);
- (3) second type of *lambda*, introduced during the first decades of the 5th century BC;
- (4) the *omicron with central dot*, which is the result of the introduction of the cutting-compass possibly at the end of the 6th, but no later than the beginning of the 5th century BC;
- (5) the earliest type of punctuation mark in the form of three vertical dots, which is rarely attested in Delphian inscriptions, but, as elsewhere in Greece, can be shown to linger on during the first decades of the 5th century BC (Jeffery 1998: 99 ff.).

From the fact that the inscription is written according to a peculiar device to write the last sign of a word on the following line, so that, as all words end in the same consonant, every line starts with

* This chapter is an updated version of a contribution published earlier as Woudhuizen 1986-7 and, after reworking, Woudhuizen 1992b: 164-195. I am indebted to professor Claude Vatin and the late professor Helmut Rix for several valuable suggestions as to the improvement of the original draft, kindly communicated in their respective letters.

a *nu*, it is clear that the first readable line must have been preceded by yet another line, which has been lost because the top of the stone is damaged. Apparently, therefore, the inscription has been transmitted to us incompletely. For the restoration of this lost line at the top side of the stone, Robert Flacelière, who is responsible for the edition of the Delphian inscriptions recovered by the French expedition, suggests three possibilities:

- (1) the name of an individual dedicator;
- (2) the name of a defeated enemy in the genitive plural;
- (3) the indication of the object or votive-offering in question;

of which the one last mentioned appears to have his preference in the light of the parallels (Flacelière 1954: 199-200). Whatever the extent of this opinion, in the present state of conservation of the inscription it seems at least clear that the possibility first mentioned can be eliminated, because the *Turranoi* are most likely to be considered the subject of the verb *anethekan* and Etruscan personal names ending in *-n* are very rare, indeed.

New opportunities, however, for the determination of the correct reading of the inscription and an evaluation of its historical importance have been offered by the French expert epigraphist, Claude Vatin, who at the beginning of the eighties of the previous century undertook a careful re-examination of the “*cippus* of the Tyrrhenians”. To this aim, he armed himself with a more advanced method of studying inscriptions than the ones applied up till then, which he had developed during the course of his epigraphical field-work at the sanctuary of Delphi. Thanks to this method he was able to make a distinction between haphazard damaged spots and spots occurring according to a regular pattern, which formed the remnants of an earlier version of the inscription in question. Thus it turned out that the still visible text is in fact a restoration of an earlier version of the same text in the original type of lettering, placed slightly higher on the line and a little on the right side of it, and that the earlier version continued with the word *kumaion* in line 5 just after the *iota* of the preceding entry *turranoi*, whereas in the next line only two signs, *lambda* and *omicron*, directly following each other after some space for one extra sign at the beginning only, could be recovered, which are plausibly interpreted by Vatin as forming part of the participle (*h*)*elontes* (see Fig. 10a; Vatin 1985). If these results are correct, it is clear that the name of the defeated enemy in the genitive plural (*Kumaiōn*) originally followed the still visible part of the restored inscription and that therefore only the possibility of an indication of the object or votive-offering remains for the missing first line, pro-

posed by Vatin to be *kharistērion* “thank-offering” for reasons which will become clear below.

Encouraged by these results, Vatin subsequently undertook a re-examination of the other sides of the tripod-base as well. This re-examination resulted in the discovery of a bilingual inscription on the larger side to the left of the rectangular stone with the Greek text on the extreme right and an Etruscan one, running in the opposite direction, on the left (see Fig. 10b). In addition, he even extended his investigations to a building of foreign dark tufa, which is commonly known as the treasury of the Etruscans, on the obvious assumption that it might be connected with the tripod and its surviving base once dedicated by Etruscans. This assumption is apparently sustained by the fact that on the blocks from the walls of this *thesauros* he again traced the remnants of inscriptions which are connected with both the visible inscription on the shorter side of the tripod-base and the bilingual one on the larger side to the left of it (see Fig. 11; Vatin 1985). Now, before going into the details of the Greek-Etruscan bilingual inscription, which primarily concerns us here, it is necessary to pay some attention to the doubt which, soon after the results were made public, were raised about the authenticity of the inscriptions and the reliability of the intricate procedure according to which they were recovered. As always in matters of Etruscology, this criticism has been most authoritatively formulated by the leading scholar in the field, Massimo Pallottino, who in a contribution to the *Studi Etruschi* of 1987: 7-14 ventilated the following reasons for the unreliability of the readings of Vatin:

- (1) excellent photographs of the side of the tripod-base in question are only decisive with respect to the identification of the first two signs in the second line of the Etruscan text;
- (2) the GN *Aplu* and the ethnonym *Rasne-* in the third and fourth line of the Etruscan text, respectively, are characterized by syncope, whereas for the simple reason that we are dealing with an archaic inscription the forms *Apulu* and **Rasena-* (the latter being only hypothetically based upon Greek *Rasenna-* as recorded by Dionysios of Halikarnassos, but cf. 7th century BC *Rasunie-* p. 90 above), which are not characterized by syncope, would rather have been expected;
- (3) the historicity of an Etruscan victory over Khalkidian Greeks at Cumae is problematic in the light of the historical course of events as recorded by Greek and Roman authors, testifying only to three successive defeats (Pallottino 1987: 10-14).

The first of these three arguments is clearly deficient because it does no justice to the advanced epigraphical method developed by

Vatin. Not one attempt is made at studying the stone according to similar lines as set out by Vatin in order to verify or falsify his distinction between haphazard damaged spots and spots occurring according to a regular pattern, which form the remnants of purposely (in the process of restoration) or accidentally (as a result of natural erosion) faded inscriptions. Crucial in this respect is the fact that collation of the photographs leads to a confirmation of the readings of Vatin, as far as possible within the limitations of current epigraphical methods, which should rather be considered a stimulus for cross-examination of the stone according to the new procedure than an argument in favor of its repudiation. The second argument, then, which in the present state of our knowledge of Etruscan mainly has a bearing on the GN *Aplu*, presupposes the absence of the phenomenon of syncope in Etruscan texts dated to the period in question, *i.e.* the first quarter of the 5th century BC. This supposition, however, is not in accordance with the relevant data. It is generally acknowledged, namely, that the phenomenon of syncope is first attested for the so-called *Avles Vpinas*-inscription (TLE 942 = Rix 1991: Vc 3.9, according to the Sigle 5:m assigned here to the middle of the 5th century BC), written on a painted bowl of Vulcian workmanship and dated *c.* 470/460 BC—a date which is very close to the one attributed to the inscription under consideration (note that epigraphic criteria for dating are insufficient for the distinction of periods as short as 5-10 years; they usually lead up to assignment of an inscription to a period of 25 years at best).¹ But we could even go further than this. On a bronze tablet, for example, which, although stemming from the same rectangular stone “basin” overlaying the eastern wall of area C, the annex to temple B, as the famous gold tablets commemorating an event datable in terms of absolute chronology to 484 BC (see previous chapter),² should be assigned to an *earlier* period than these gold tablets for its less developed device to write [f] (see Fig. 12), the *gentilicium* *Ofarienas* and, possibly, the *praenomen* *Ofarie* (both written with the *wau* for the value [f]) can be traced (TLE 873 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.3, specified with the Sigle 6f5i as far as its dating is

¹ Rix 1981: 89 “Sie, Herr Kollege Cristofani, haben vorher die *naplan*-Inscription des *avle v(i)pina* auf 470/460 v. [Chr.] datiert. Der Text zeigt schon die Synkope; unsynkopiert müsste der Name des Besitzers *avele(-s) vipiena(-s)* lauten. Der Text stammt aus Vulci und würde für dieses Stadtgebiet das Jahr 460 v. [Chr.] als *Terminus ante quem* für das Eintreten bzw. Schriftlich-werden des Synkope liefern.”

² Pallottino 1966: 175 “frammenti di lamina di bronzo (...) venuti in luce insieme con le lamine d’oro”.

concerned, which means the end of the 6th or beginning of the 5th century BC), the root of which, characterized by syncope, is difficult to separate from the one in the name of the dedicator of the gold tablets of *later* date, reading *Θefarie(i)* in its various writing variants (written with the so-called “figure-of-eight” sign for the value [f]), which is not characterized by syncope (TLE 874-5 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.4-5, specified with the Sigle 5:i as far as their dating is concerned, which means the beginning of the 5th century BC).³ As it seems, therefore, the phenomenon of syncope was introduced in Caeretan writing at an even earlier date than at Vulci, though it evidently did not become standard procedure in the course of the immediately following period of several decades, so that we cannot but conclude that the Pyrgi tablets bear testimony of *a transitional period in which both forms, with and without syncope, appear side by side in the documents!*⁴ The third and last argument, finally, is of little value to scholars who are acquainted with the problems concerning the early history of Italy in general and Rome in particular, being so much complicated by partial and/or ethnocentric views of Greek and Roman authors responsible for the only literary sources to rely upon. So the capture of Rome, for example, by the legendary Etruscan king of Clusium, *Lars Porsenna*, at the end of the 6th century is virtually denied by Roman tradition as represented by, for example, Dionysios of Halikarnassos and can be reconstructed only on the basis of indirect information, which, notwithstanding the fact that it is apparently inconsistent with the general outline of the main story, is preserved in the narrative for traditional reasons (like the fact that,

³ An objection to the validity of the earlier evidence for syncope presented here, kindly formulated by the late professor Helmut Rix in a letter, is formed by the fact that it affects the first syllable, whereas according to the rules of Etruscan phonology it should affect non-initial syllables only. There are, however, notable exceptions to this rule, like, for instance, the writing variant *vpina-* for the *gentilicium* from the *naplan*-inscription referred to in the previous note 1, and the vocabulary word *tmia* (< Luwian hieroglyphic *tà-ma-ī-à* [Kululu 2, § 2]) from the Etruscan versions of the bilingual inscriptions on the Pyrgi gold tablets. At any rate, on account of examples like *Mesna-* (< Luwian *masana-*) and *Avle-* < *Avile-* as attested for 7th century BC inscriptions from Vetulonia, the regular type of syncope affecting non-initial syllables can already be traced in the north-Etruscan dialect from the very start of its being recorded onwards, see Woudhuizen 1992a: 71.

⁴ Note that this verdict also applies to the text of the Capua tile dating to the years just after the demarcation between archaic and recent texts of c. 480 BC, in which syncopated *laχθ* occurs alongside unsyncopated *laχuθ*, see Woudhuizen 1998: 19-20 and cf. chapter 13 below.

according to Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* V, 35, 1, after Porsenna had left Rome, the senate sent to him “a throne of ivory, a sceptre, a crown of gold and a triumphal robe, which had been the insignia of the kings”; cf. Alföldi 1963: esp. pp. 72-84; 234—a work still to be used as a healthy antidote against the Etruscophobic approach of the average specialist in Early Roman history like, for example, Cornell 1995). As a matter of fact, therefore, it should, on the contrary, be considered highly probable in this light that the sudden setback in the military fortunes of Cumae which emerges from the fact that it is forced to call in the help of Hieron of Syracuse in defending itself against the Etruscan attack of 474 BC, whereas formerly it had been able to rely on its own strength (524 BC) or even to take the initiative itself (504 BC), is the result of a previous defeat which is purposely concealed from the local chronicle of Cumae (on which the course of events as rendered by Dionysios of Halikarnassos is assumed to be ultimately based) for patriotic reasons (Alföldi 1963: 56-72).

Seen from this angle of incidence, there appears to be no reason to disqualify the readings of Vatin on the basis of the arguments put forward so far. Consequently, it might be considered legitimate, as I am not in the position to verify them by autopsy, to take Vatin’s readings at face value for the moment and to try to verify their authenticity by means of subsidiary epigraphic, linguistic, and historical data in order to determine their *a priori* probability.

2. THE GREEK-ETRUSCAN BILINGUAL INSCRIPTIONS

It has already been indicated that the Greek text of the bilingual inscription on the “cippus of the Tyrrhenians” is written on the extreme right of one of the larger sides of the tripod-base and that the Etruscan one, running in the opposite direction, is placed to the left of it (see Fig. 10b). To start with the Greek text, this is much more damaged than its Etruscan counterpart, but, can, with the help of the text on the shorter side of the tripod-base and the legends discovered by Vatin on the blocks of the wall of the Etruscan *thesauros*, be reconstructed easily. So we can emend: 1. *anethe[kan]* in lines 3-4 and 2. *A[p]o[ll]on[i]* in lines 6-7 on the basis of the corresponding forms on the adjacent side of the tripod-base, 3. *Ouelthane[s]* in lines 5-6 and 4. *Tur[r]ē[n]oi* in lines 7-9 on the basis of the corresponding forms from the treasury; all other reconstructions, comprising: 5. *[t]on t̃r[i]podā [t]onδ(’)* in lines 1-3, 6. *Khalkideon [en] Kume[i]* in lines 9-

11, 7. *(h)elontēs* in lines 12-13, and 8. *khar[is]tē[ri]o[n]* in lines 13-15, are more or less determined by the lacunae in the design (which in this way appears to be very exact, except for the omission of an extra line 15 to accommodate the remaining *nu* and the remnants indicated for the first *tau* in line 1 and the second *rho* in line 8), and by the rules of Greek grammar and syntax. Its comparatively inferior state of preservation is obviously due to the fact that it is written on the margin of the stone, taking much more space along the vertical axis than the horizontal one. In addition, it is conspicuous that the Greek text, as compared to its Etruscan counterpart with as a rule 7 signs in each line except for the residue of three in the final one, gives the impression of having been written down with much more freedom on account of the fact that alternatively 5 or 6 signs are used in one line, with the exception of lines 7 and 9, in the latter case of which the extra 7th sign, which clearly creates difficulties, is written across the first sign of the corresponding line in the Etruscan text, and line 15 for the remaining sign.

The Etruscan version of the bilingual inscriptions, on the other hand, is not only distinguished from its Greek counterpart by its more regular design and retrograde direction of writing, but also by a substantial number of differences in the type of lettering. Most important amongst these characteristics is the use of the so-called “figure-of-eight” sign for the expression of the value [f] (1) and the preservation of *qoppa* before the vowel *u* (2), of which the latter is remarkable for the fact that during the period in question it is attested only for Etruscan inscriptions from the, also in other respects, more backward regions of eastern Etruria, in particular those from Veii.⁵ Next to this, it is characterized by different forms of *thēta* (3), *mu* (4), *nu* (5), and *rho* (6). Furthermore, it regularly lacks the use of *omicron* (7). Finally, it includes the use of the *wau*, which is regularly absent from the Greek version of the text, being rendered here by the combination of *omicron* and *upsilon* according to the common practice of transcription (8). On the other hand, it must be observed that the use of *delta* in the word *Xalxedn* in line 6 is foreign to Etruscan writing and therefore has to be regarded as being due to Greek influence in a geographic name of Greek origin. Besides this parti-

⁵ Note in this connection the inscriptions found close to the altar of the Portonaccio temple of Apollo and dated c. 550 BC (cf. Pallottino 1939: 455 ff., esp. 458), running as follows: *mini mulvanice Mamarce Qutaniie[s]* (Rix 1991: Ve 3.12) and *mini mulva[nice] Veltur Qurtiniie* (Rix 1991: Ve 3.14), in the latter case of which the *gentilicium* is based on the TN *Curtun* “Cortona”!

cular correspondence in the manner of writing between the two versions of the bilingual text, it is also interesting to note that both share the same form of *alpha* (without horizontal bar) and *lambda*, because these two features form a marked distinction between the Greek version of the bilingual text and its counterpart on the lateral side of the tripod-base, which is characteristic of a more evolved type of writing, datable to post-archaic times.

In sum, all these observations seem to lead us to the conclusion that:

- (1) the bilingual inscriptions on the tripod-base, just like the one in archaic lettering on its lateral side, once had been restored in Antiquity, but this time in a more evolved type of lettering;
- (2) the Etruscan version of the bilingual text was probably written first on the stone and carefully copied after the original, with only a minimum of intrusive elements (at least the *alpha* without horizontal bar has slipped in), whilst a Greek translation was added in the space remaining to the right of it, which largely conforms to, but on minor points essentially differs from, the text in archaic lettering on the adjacent side.

Turning next to the linguistic elucidation of the Etruscan version of the bilingual inscriptions, it is, with the epigraphic conclusions still fresh in our mind, important to notice that the scribe, in adding the Greek translation to the primary Etruscan text, has done his very best to place the corresponding Greek forms on exactly the same level as their Etruscan equivalents or at least, if this plan was impossible to achieve, to let them start or continue at an equal level. So we read: 1. *Velθane* in line 2 of the Etruscan version of the text just opposite to the first half of *Ouelthane[s]* in lines 5-6 of the Greek version, 2. *Aplu* in line 3 just opposite the beginning of *A[p]o[ll]on[i]* in lines 6-7, 3. *Rasnele* in line 4 on an equal level with the first letter of *Tur[r]e[n]oi* in lines 7-9, and 4. *Xalχedn* in line 6 on the same level with the largest part of *Khalkideon* in lines 9-10. Moreover, Etruscan *χarste[r]iun* in lines 8-9, which is nothing but the Greek form *khar[is]te[ri]o[n]* in Etruscan disguise and is therefore to be considered a Graecism comparable with the intrusion of the use of *delta* in the realm of the script (see above), is just like its Greek equivalent placed in the closing lines (5), whereas the corresponding form of Etruscan *Qume-* in line 5, viz. Greek *Kume[i]*, could not possibly be placed opposite to it because the line in question was already occupied by another word and apparently there was a diver-

gence here in the mode of expression between the two languages (6).

If due attention is paid to this particular device of the scribe, it subsequently becomes possible to determine that the badly damaged word in the first line of the Etruscan version of the text is in fact the equivalent of Greek *anethe[kan]*, which is largely placed on a par with it (7). Thanks to the inscriptions on the blocks of the walls of the Etruscan treasury, this word can be reconstructed as *nunθek[e]*, that is to say: a 3rd person singular (or plural) of the past tense in *-ke* (cf. Etruscan *-ce* or *-χe* for the same function) of the verbal root *nunθe-*, known from Etruscan forms like *nunθen(a/e)*, *nunθenθ*, and *nunθeri*, attested for the *Liber linteus* (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL) and the Capua tile (TLE 2 = Rix 1991: TC).⁶ On account of its positional parity with Greek *anethekan* in the present bilingual text, this verbal form is no doubt translatable as “they have dedicated” (or, alternatively, “he has dedicated”). Furthermore, the striking formal similarity of this Etruscan verbal root to the one present in the Greek equivalent (a compound of the preverb *ana-* with the verbal root *thē-*) perhaps allows us to suggest that Etruscan *nunθe-* is nothing but a corruption of its Greek counterpart altogether. Whatever the extent of this latter suggestion, thanks to the given correspondences of the Etruscan version of the bilingual text with its Greek counterpart, it finally becomes clear that the remaining enigmatic entry *quθefas* in line 7 of the Etruscan version by means of deduction is the only possible candidate to provide the corresponding form of Greek *(h)elontes* (8).

Now, the Etruscan novelty *quθefas* is analyzed by Pallottino in his discussion of the Etruscan version of the text as consisting of two distinct elements, the second one of which, *fas*, already occurs in line 3 (Pallottino 1987: 10; 13). This assumption, however, must be considered superficial on the basis of the fact that it does not take into consideration that the space which is left in the design between the *sigma* at the end of the first entry *fas* and the *alpha* of the beginning

⁶ Note that the forms *nunθene* renders the 3rd person singular of the present/future of the active in *-e* of the factitive in *-n-* of the verbal root *nunθe-* (LL III, 17; VIII, f1), whereas *nunθena* (TLE 878 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.10) is probably to be analyzed as the 3rd person sg. of the subjunctive of the active in *-a* of the factitive in *-n-* of the same verbal root; the oscillation between [c] and [χ], to which interchange of these latter with [k] should be added in view of the variant writing *-ke* of the ending of the 3rd person singular of the past tense of the active in, for example, a form like *turke* in TLE 622 = Rix 1991: Pe 3.1, is treated more in detail in the chapter 12 on the text of the discus of Magliano.

of the second one, *Aplu*, in line 3, is definitely lacking between the two alleged components in line 7. Having realized this, we eventually are in the position to identify the word *quθefas* as a participle, too, on the analogy of Etruscan forms like *svalas*, *tenθas*, *zilaχnθas*, etc., which are likewise characterized by the ending *-as*. So far as it can be deduced from the relevant material, this participial ending is exclusively used in connection with a subject in the nominative *singular*, which leads us to the immediate implication that, contrary to the situation in the Greek translation, the Etruscan participle can *not* be grammatically related with “the Etruscans” as subject of the subordinate clause! As a matter of fact, this implication is strongly emphasized by the ending *-(e)le* which is attached to the corresponding form of Greek *Tur[r]ē[n]oi*, viz. *Rasnele* in line 4, because it constitutes an adjectival derivative in *-l-* of the ethnonym *Rasna* characterized by the D(-G) pl. in *-e* analogous to Lycian *Trm̃mile* “for the Termilians”.⁷ Consequently, we are forced to take the preceding GN *Aplu*, being the only extant nominative singular in the subordinate clause, into consideration for this particular function.

This is, of course, neither the time nor the place to treat the classification of the Etruscan language extensively, on which topic see now especially chapter 19 below. Nevertheless, in order to demonstrate that we are really not mistaken in identifying the GN *Aplu* as the subject of the subordinate clause in the Etruscan version of the bilingual text, it will be necessary to elucidate the meaning of the entry *fas* (compare Etruscan forms like *faśe*, *faśei*, etc., from the *Liber linteus*) and the root of the participle *quθefas* (as we have already hinted at a *hapax legomenon*), which are altogether crucial for our understanding of it. And this task can only be accomplished by means of etymological comparison of these forms with better known counterparts in the Luwian dialects of southwest Anatolia, which linguistic relationship has been tested already before, see especially the previous chapter on the bilingual Pyrgi text. Such line of approach may well be underlined here by reminding that the aforesaid adjectival suffix *-l-* is related to the Lydian *-(e)li-* and Lycian *-l-* as in the given *Trm̃mile* (< Luwian *-ali-*) for the same function (cf. Littmann 1916: 80; Durante 1967: 39-44; Cristofani 1981a: 99 f.; Woudhuizen 1992a: 79; 82).

⁷ Pallottino 1975: 214; for the adjectival suffix *-l-*, see Woudhuizen 1992a: 79; 82, or chapter 5 above. For the D(-G) pl. in *-e*, corresponding to the Lycian D pl. in *-e* (or G pl. in *-ē*), cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 94-95 or see chapter 8.

Considering this linguistic relationship, then, the entry *fas* can be analyzed as an introductory particle, corresponding to Lydian *fa-* (< Luwian *wa-*) for the same function with an enclitic pronominal form *-s* attached to it, corresponding to the nominative singular of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person *-sa* in Luwian hieroglyphic and *-ś* in Lydian—a feature of the IE Anatolian languages more in general—, which, like it is often the case with its Lydian equivalent, is used proleptically here in order to stress the relationship between the subject of the subordinate clause and the verbal form *quθefas* following after a number of other words (Gusmani 1964, s.v. *fa*;²; Meriggi 1980: 317-319). Needless to stress, with the identification of *fa-s* as an introductory particle with enclitic pronoun attached to it the interpretation of lines 3-7 of the Etruscan version of the text as a separate entity receives substantial support. Similarly, the root *quθef-* of the participle *quθefas*—with the proviso that due attention is paid to the *a/u*-vowel shift attested in Etruscan with respect to, for example, the gentilicium of the dedicator in the bilingual inscriptions on the Pyrgi gold tablets, reading *Velianas* in the longer, but *Veliunas* in the shorter version of the Etruscan text—bears a striking resemblance to the Anatolian root *kattaw-*, which occurs, for example, in cuneiform Luwian *kattawatnalli-* “vindictive, revengeful” (with adjectival *-alli-* attached to the “Obliquusstamm” *kattawatn-*, see Laroche 1959, s.v.) and Hittite *kattawatar-* “revenge, retribution, satisfaction” (Tischler HEG, s.v.), and is therefore likely to be interpreted accordingly.

Next, the form *Qumeθen* in line 5 is plausibly interpreted by Pallottino as a combination of the place name “Cumae” and a suffix *-θen*, compared by him to the formally identical Greek suffix *-θεν* “from, in”, which as a rule is attached to geographic names, for the apparent lack of comparable evidence from Etruscan documents (Pallottino 1987: 13). This opinion, however, does not take into account the morpheme *-θe-* or *-te-* of the same meaning and application, which during a later period is typical for Etruscan inscriptions from eastern Etruria, in particular those from Clusium, Perugia, and, to a lesser extent, Volsinii, and which, just like the adjectival morpheme already discussed in the preceding, is liable to further declension⁸—the latter observation preparing the way for the sup-

⁸ Rix 1963: 232-236, esp. *Veiatial* < **Veiate-*, *Felcinatial* < **Felcinate-*, where the morpheme is used in combination with the TNs *Veii* and *Fulginae* (Umbria), in inscriptions from Perugia; for the relationship of this particular morpheme to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ti-* (Woudhuizen 2005: 45), Lycian *-de-* (as in *Ajaka Hl̥m̥mide*

position that it is characterized by the accusative singular of the communal gender ending in *-n* here! If, in the light of this evidence, then, the apparently correlating form *Xalχedn* in line 6 may, on the analogy of *χarste[r]iun*, be considered as the Greek ethnon *Khalkideus* (3rd declension) in Etruscan disguise (syncope of the vowel *e*, accusative singular ending *-n*),⁹ it eventually becomes clear that the entire combination *Qumeθen Xalχedn* “the Khalkidian from Cumae” is not adequately rendered in either the Greek version of the bilingual text, reading *Khalkideon [en] Kume[i]* “from the Khalkidians in Cumae”, or the Greek text in archaic type of lettering on the adjacent side of the tripod-base, reading simply *Kumaion* “from the Cumaeans”, and that therefore the mode of expression in the different languages tends to diverge at this point—a conclusion strikingly corroborated by the structural analysis of the text presented above.

If finally due attention is paid to the fact that the name *Velθane* is most likely to be interpreted as a *gentilicium* on account of its striking resemblance to the family name *Velθi(e)na-* as attested for inscriptions from Orvieto (TLE 242 = Rix 1991: Vs 1.4, archaic) and Perugia (TLE 570 = Rix 1991: Pe 8.4, recent), thus providing us with the most plausible explanation for the eastern Etruscan influences observed in both the script (preservation of *qoppa* before *upsilon*) and the language (morpheme *-θe-* “from, in” attached to place names) of the inscription under consideration, these results lead up to the following transliteration and interpretation of the Etruscan version of the bilingual text on the “*cippus* of the Tyrrhenians”: 1-2. *nunθek[e] Velθane* “The Velthanes (or, less likely: the family Velthana) have (or: has) dedicated”, 3-7. *fa-s Aplu Rasnele Qumeθen Xalχedn quθefas* “because Apollo has taken revenge for the Etruscans on the Khalkidian from Cumae”, 8-9. *χarste[r]iun* “thank-offering”. Note that the entry *mene*, which according to the version of the Etruscan text on one of the blocks from the wall of the Etruscan

“Ajax from Salamis” from TL 29, line 9), and Cypro-Minoan *-te-* (Woudhuizen 1992a: 80; 84), see chapter 5 (p. 88) above.

⁹ The A(m/f) sg. *-n* has so far only been attested for the pronominal declension and not that of the noun, see Pallottino 1978: 454, where positive evidence for the loss of this ending in the nominal declension is presented. Experience in Lycian linguistics, however, which to my opinion is relevant for our understanding of Etruscan, warns us against the oversimplified assumption that definite evidence for the absence of the ending in question in certain instance rules out the possibility of its use in other instances. In Lycian, at least, the use of the inherited A(m/f) sg. ending *-ñ* turns up in the realm of the noun only in the exceptional case of *terñ < tere-* “territory, district”.

treasury precedes the entire legend and which, as we will see in chapter 12, is paralleled for the sequence *mene.mlaθce marni.tuθi*. “the magistrates (and) people have carried out properly” from section two of the text on the front side of the discus of Magliano, may, on account of its correspondence to Lycian *me-ne*, plausibly be interpreted as a combination of the introductory particle *me-* with the accusative singular of the communal gender of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person *-ne*, the latter referring to the dedicated object, the tripod (cf. Greek ὁ or ἡ τρίπους), so that we eventually arrive at the order of *introductory particle with enclitic pronoun + verb + subject* in exactly the same manner as in the given parallel (cf. Tables XXI-XXII).

1.	[kharisterio]	“As thank-offering
2.	n:anetheka	the Etruscans
3.	n:topollo	have dedicated
4.	ni:Turrano	to Apollo,
5.	i[:]Kumaion[:]	taken from
6.	[(h)e]lo[ntes]	the Cumaeans.”

Table XXI. Inscription on the shorter side of the tripod-base.

1.	[t]on tṛ[i]	“This tri-
2.	podq [t]	pod the
3.	oṇd(’)an	Velthanes
4.	ethe[kan]	have de-
5.	Ouelth	dedicated
6.	ane[s] A[p]	to Apollo
7.	o[ll]on[i] T	as thank-
8.	ur[r]e[n]o	offering
9.	i Khalkid	after the
10.	eon [en]	Etruscans
11.	Kume[i]	had taken
12.	(h)elonṭ	(it) from
13.	eṣ khar[i]	the Khalki-
14.	[s]tṛ[ri]o	dians in
15.	[n]	Cumae.”
0.	<me-ne>	
1.	nunṭeḱ[e]	“The Velthanes

2. <i>Velθane</i>	have dedicated it (= the tripod),
3. <i>fa-s</i> <i>Aplu</i>	because Apollo
4. <i>Rasnele</i>	has taken revenge
5. <i>Qumeθen</i>	for the Etruscans
6. <i>Xalχedn</i>	on the Khalkidian
7. <i>quθefas</i>	from Cumae;
8. <i>χarste[r]</i>	thank-offering.”
9. <i>iun</i>	

Table XXII. Bilingual inscription on the larger side of the tripod-base (Etruscan version emended in accordance with the version of it on one of the blocks from the wall of the Etruscan treasury; correspondences with IE Anatolian in bold type).

As far as the system of nominal and pronominal declension as well as that of verbal conjugation is concerned, the relevant data may be summarized as follows:

	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	—	-e
A(m/f)	-n	
N-A(n)	-n	
D(-G)		-e

Table XXIII. Declension of the noun.

	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	-s	
A(m/f)	-ne	

Table XXIV. Declension of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person.

	present/future	past tense
3rd pers. pl. act.		-ke

	active
participle	-as

Table XXV. Conjugation of the verb.

In order to recapitulate the main results from the preceding discussion of the epigraphic and linguistic evidence relevant for the verification of the readings as proposed by Vatin, it might be useful to stress that the conclusions drawn for each category independently are strikingly convergent in the following respects:

- (1) the Greek influence, which, from an epigraphical point of view, is indicated by the use of *delta*, foreign to Etruscan writing proper, is reflected in matters of linguistics by the words *χαρστε[r]iun* and *Xalχedn*, which are nothing but Greek forms in Etruscan disguise;
- (2) the eastern Etruscan influence of which the preservation of *qoppa* before *upsilon* bears witness in matters of epigraphy, is matched on the linguistic level by the morpheme *-θe-* attached to the place name “Cumae” and the family name **Velθana-*;
- (3) the priority of the Etruscan text, as deduced from the relevant epigraphic evidence, is strongly emphasized by the given linguistic analysis according to which the subject of the subordinate clause in Etruscan, the GN *Aplu*, is replaced by *Turrenoi* in the Greek translations—an intervention by the translator which tactfully deprives the text from its strong religious connotations and is probably induced by the desire to make it more acceptable to the Greek public;
- (4) the same conclusion (*i.e.* the priority of the Etruscan text) seems to be deducible from the fact that the expression *Qumeθen Xalχedn* from the same subordinate clause in the Etruscan version of the text is no longer faithfully rendered in either the Greek version of the bilingual inscription or the Greek text in archaic type of lettering on the adjacent side of the tripod-base, which with *Khalkideōn en Kumei* and *Kumaiōn*, respectively, as depending from the standard expression in Greek votive inscriptions after the pattern (*apo* +) *ethnicon in the genitive plural* + (*h*)*elontes*, follow an entirely different course (I am indebted to professor Claude Vatin for drawing my attention to parallels for the variant expression in which the preposition *apo* is dropped).

On the basis of these detailed convergencies between the results from the different disciplines, then, it may safely be concluded

that the readings of Vatin are genuine, because, even without invoking the elucidation of the novelties *fas* and *quθefas* by means of the corresponding evidence from the Luwian dialects of southwest Anatolia (a category of evidence of which the epigraphist Vatin is entirely ignorant) as a kind of *deus ex machina*, all this cannot be regarded seriously as “products of a lively imagination”.

3. HISTORICAL REMARKS

As a result of its partial and ethnocentric nature, the information from the literary sources unfortunately forms a less conclusive category of evidence for the verification of the readings of Vatin than straightforward facts of epigraphy and linguistics. Still, it might be considered a positive indication if a synthesis between the relevant data offered by the inscriptions on the Etruscan tripod-base and the treasury at Delphi on the one hand and the course of events as recorded by Greek and Roman authors on the other hand is within reach of a plausible reconstruction.

The historical relevance of the inscriptions on the tripod-base and the walls of the Etruscan treasury is determined by the following data:

- (1) the date of the inscriptions from the *first quarter of the 5th century BC* based upon the characteristics of the text restored in the original type of lettering on one of the shorter sides of the tripod-base;
- (2) the family name **Velθana-*, which is recorded as being responsible for the dedication of the tripod and (something in connection with) the treasury and which appears to be of *eastern Etruscan (the region of Orvieto and Perugia) provenance*;
- (3) the expression *Qumeθen Xalχedn* “the Khalkidian from Cumae” in the original Etruscan version of the bilingual text, which—even though it is not faithfully rendered in the two Greek versions of it, following, as we have seen, the Greek standard formula (*apo* +) *genitive plural of ethnon* + (*h*)*elontes*—for the simple fact that it is characterized by the accusative singular of the communal gender in *-n* must be assumed to refer to *one specific person in Cumae*, who, again according to the information of the original Etruscan version of the text, has to be regarded as an avowed enemy of the **Velθana*-family;
- (4) the reason of the dedication of the tripod and (something in connection with) the treasury, which, in combining the different versions of the votive-inscription, from an historical point of view

might adequately be defined as *the happy outcome of a personal feud* between members of the **Velθana*- family and a citizen of Cumae, who is not specified by name, owing to *a victory of the Etruscans over Cumae*.

On the other hand, we are actually informed by the historical sources about the following events concerning the relationship between Cumae and the Etruscans:

(1) in the year 524/3 BC the Etruscans from the Ionian Gulf, where they lived along the coastal regions of the Adriatic, but whence they were now driven by Gallic invasions, together with bands of Umbrians and Daunians launched an attack on Cumae for the sake of booty and plunder; their attempt, however, was successfully repulsed by the combined efforts of *Hippomedōn* as leader of the cavalry and *Aristodēmos* as leader of the infantry, although only the latter is recorded to have gained special fame by personally killing the leader of the host of the enemy;

(2) in the year 504/3 the Etruscan king of Clusium, *Lars Porsenna*, immediately after his capture of Rome in one of the preceding years, sent out half of his army, headed by his son *Arruns*, against Aricia in Latium, apparently in an attempt to restore Etruscan control over the Latin league; this attack, however, was frustrated by a highly efficient intervention of *Aristodēmos* from Cumae, who, being sent out by his city with second-rate ships and men in order to get rid of him, decisively defeated the Etruscan army and, again, personally killed the leader of their host, *i.e.* Arruns, the son of Porsenna (Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* VII, 3-5);

(3) in the year 474 BC the Cumaeans were forced to call in the help of Hieron of Syracuse in order to hold out against a seaborne attack the Etruscans had launched against them; coming to their aid with a considerable number of triremes, Hieron decisively defeated the Etruscan fleet and deprived them of their naval supremacy over the Tyrrhenian sea (Diodoros of Sicily, *The Library of History* XI, 51).

It is interesting to note that this course of events could, not without justice, be called the story of “the rise and fall of Aristodemos”, because it was owing to his victory that Aristodemos succeeded in obtaining tyranny for himself at Cumae. All the more remarkable, therefore, is the fact that his name is no longer mentioned in connection with the third and final event relevant to our cause of 474 BC. As it seems to be inferable from this observation, his downfall, discussed at length by Dionysios of Halikarnassos but unfortunately without any indication as to its date, must have taken place sometime during the period from the 14th year of his tyranny (=

490 BC), when he is recorded to have robbed Roman ambassadors on a mission for grain from their cargo under the pretext of being the lawful heir of the Tarquins (who ultimately had taken recourse to his court) and consequently must be considered to have been still in full power, to the event of the Etruscan seaborne attack in 474 BC (Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* VII, 9-11; 12).

If our next step, then, is to try to relate these episodes from the Cumaean chronicle to the given historically relevant data drawn from the inscriptions of the tripod-base and the walls of the treasury connected with dedication(s) of the **Velθana*- family to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, it turns out, as was already hinted at in the introduction, that any *direct* connection between the two categories of evidence is excluded on the basis of the fact that the one first mentioned relates Greek victories, whereas the one last mentioned celebrates an otherwise unrecorded Etruscan victory (4). But in case we are prepared to lower our expectations and look for *indirect* connections only, it subsequently becomes possible to eliminate the first historical episode concerning the surprise attack launched by the Etruscans in 524/3 BC, which, notwithstanding the intriguing connection with eastern Etruria in the form of Umbrian participation, apparently falls outside the scope of the date of the inscription (1), and the third historical episode concerning the seaborne attack from 474 BC, because the Etruscans have never really recovered from this decisive blow and, as a result of Syracusan intervention, it *de facto* puts an end to at least half a century of Cumaean-Etruscan antagonism and rivalry.

What remains therefore, by means of deduction, is the second historical event relating the vicissitudes of the battle of Aricia in 504/3 BC. Now, this particular event is especially interesting for the fact that it testifies to the personal involvement of *Aristodēmos the Effeminate* on the one hand, who embodies the anti-Etruscan policy of Cumae during the period of its greatness and has inflicted serious damage upon the military aspirations (blocking the way to Campania) as well as personal interests (killing a son) of his enemy, and *Lars Porsenna* on the other hand, who rules over the most powerful region of eastern Etruria at the time, viz. the *ager Clusinus*,¹⁰ and, as

¹⁰ According to Banti 1973: 167-176, the finds from Clusium (= present-day Chiusi) are particularly rich for the period covering the end of the 6th to the beginning of the 5th century BC, whereas those from Arezzo and Perugia are considered indicative of the dependence of these places on Clusium as the dominant cultural and political

we have seen, suffers most from the activities of Aristodemos during his attempts on behalf of the Etruscan league to restore control over Latium.¹¹ In short, we are closest here to the possible origins of a feud between a “Khalkidian from Cumae” (3)—who during the period in question can be identified with nobody else than Aristodemos the Effeminate!—and a powerful royal house upstream the Tiber in eastern Etruria (2). This theoretical deduction can be further substantiated by circumstantial evidence. It is a well-known fact, namely, that the form of address of the king of Clusium, *Porsenna*, is not a real personal name, but is based upon the Etruscan magistracy *purθne*, *purtsna*, *pursna*, wrongly taken for his proper name in the course of time (Pallottino 1975: 128-129). Now, an indication for the real personal name of the king of Clusium hidden behind the given titular expression is likely to be drawn from Porsenna’s mythological association with the name *Volθa* (< Etruscan **Velθa*-!),¹² which, as seems to me a most reasonable, though strictly speaking not provable reconstruction, had to be explained away by

center during the period in question; even the religious center Murlo, built c. 575-525 BC, is conjectured to have “probably belonged to the territory of Clusium”.

¹¹ Alföldi 1963: 75-76. Note that the defeat at Aricia does not mean the end of Porsenna’s hold on Rome, because, as Pfiffig 1972: 52-53 has convincingly shown, Roman politics are successfully dominated during the next period of about a quarter of a century by Etruscan families originating from Orvieto (Lat. *Larcus* < Etr. *Larcna*, Lat. *Herminius* < Etr. *Herm(e)na*), Perugia (Lat. *Verginius* < Etr. *Vercna*, Lat. *Volumnius* < Etr. *Velimna*), and possibly Chiusi (Lat. *Cicurinus* related to Etr. *Cicu* or *Cicuna*). Yet another indication for this influence may be provided by the fact that according to Livy, *History of Rome* II, 35 the plebs is kept alive during the year 492 BC according to the Roman chronology (= 490 in the work of the Greek author Dionysios of Halikarnassos) with grain arriving from regions upstream the Tiber. Therefore, Alföldi’s (1963: 53) assumption that the battle at *lacus Regillus* of 496 BC according to the Roman chronology between Rome and the Latin league is fought with Etruscan backing, seems fully justified!

¹² For Etr. [e] > Lat. [o] between [v] and [l], see Pfiffig 1972: 52. Cf. in this context especially the MN *Larθ Ulθes*, who is depicted as one of the victors in the historical scene of the François Tomb at Vulci, generally dated to the 4th century BC, and whose name is connected by Messerschmidt 1930: 151 with the patronymic *Ulθes* on late Etruscan urns from the *ager Clusinus* (CIE 749-750 from Chiusi; CIE 4506 and 4508 from Perugia) and its Latin derivation, the gentilicium *Ulteius* or *Volteius*. As the event in question for various reasons has to be dated to the first half of the 6th century BC (see the appendix to this section), the identity of this particular person with Porsenna, who we have just argued to be thus named, would lead to the assumption that this king of Clusium is already an old man at the time of his expedition against Rome; alternatively, therefore we may just as well be dealing here with a namesake predecessor.

ancient authors as “a monster endangering the neighborhood of Volsinii, which was killed by Porsenna by means of his lightning” in order to make some sense from the moment onwards that it was no longer properly understood by them as the patronymic or *gentilicium* connected with the praenomen *Larθ* and the title *purθne* in the original form of address of Clusium’s king.¹³ In other words: the patronymic of the king of Clusium, Lars Porsenna, may very well have been **Velθa-*, from which a *gentilicium* **Velθana-* as attested for the bilingual inscriptions from Delphi is regularly derived by addition of the element *-na-*, typical of Etruscan family names (see chapter 4 above)!

Some confirmation of the present proposition to establish a direct link between the Delphian inscriptions and the historical event of 504/3 BC may perhaps be provided by the fact that in the course of events concerning the downfall of Aristodemos (which we have already singled out as a remarkable event, occurring sometime during the period 490-474 BC) there is made implicit reference to Etruscan involvement or participation. It happens to be recorded, namely, that resistance against the Cumaean tyrant is coordinated, and thus made effective, under the supervision of the sons of Hippomedon, as leaders of the Cumaean aristocratic party, from their place of exile, *Capua* (Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* VII, 10). Now, it is generally acknowledged by both ancient and modern authorities that *Capua* remained under Etruscan control until the invasion of the Samnites, variously dated to either 445 BC or 424 BC (Diodoros of Sicily, *The Library of History* XII, 31; Livy, *History of Rome* IV, 37),¹⁴ and clearly therefore, the successful capture of the city by the Cumaean exiles, which resulted in the death of Aristodemos and the utter extinction of his family, could not have been accomplished without Etruscan support, be it openly professed or given in secret. Note in this connection that the landroute to *Capua* is seemingly reassured for the Etruscans owing to the shift of allegiance by Praeneste from the Latin league headed by Aricia to Rome, recorded by Livy, *History of Rome* II, 19 for the year 499 BC

¹³ Pliny, *Natural History* II, 140: *vetus fama Etruriae est inpetratum, Volsinios urbem depopulatis agris subeunte monstro quod vocavere Oltam, evocatum a Porsina suo rege.*

¹⁴ As hinted at in note 4 above and will be elaborated in a chapter 13 below, the second largest Etruscan text, which originates from *Capua* may safely be assigned to about the end of the first quarter of 5th century BC, so that Etruscan can be shown to be still the dominant local vernacular at the time.

according to the Roman chronology (see Fig. 13), and that signs for some recovery of the Etruscan position in Latium may reasonably be drawn from the outcome of the battle at *lacus Regillus*, fought between Rome, presumably with Etruscan backing, and the Latin league under the leadership of Aricia, no doubt supported by Aristodemian Cumae, in the year 496 BC according to the Roman chronology.

As we have already noted above, the event of the downfall of Aristodemos of Cumae must have taken place sometime between 490-474 BC, but this is as far as the literary sources can bring us. There is, however, one important epichoric Etruscan document which may be assumed to have a bearing on the episode under consideration and, if so, can be helpful with respect to the question of its date. This is the famous bilingual inscription on the Pyrgi gold tablets, which commemorates the fact that *Øefarie Velianas, mlk 'l Kyšry'* “king of Caere” according to the Phoenician version of the text, has been victorious in a combined land- and sea-battle: *ila<ce>-cve tulerase* “because she (= the goddess) has favored (him) on land”, *ila<ce>-cve alsase* “because she has favored (him) at sea”. These battles, then, by means of an additional dating-formula absent in Phoenician, are solemnly declared to have taken place *nac Atranes zilacal seleitala Acnasvers* “during the praetorship of Artanès (and) the sultanate of Aḥasveros”, which, given the fact that the Biblical *Aḥasveros* is identical to Greek *Xerxēs*, means during the co-regency of the Persian king Xerxes and his uncle Artanès in the first year of the former’s reign, *i.e.* 484 BC in terms of absolute chronology (for the given translations of the Pyrgi text, see the preceding chapter)!

In the light of international politics at the time, it is of course tempting to assume that reference to the Persian dynasty is deliberately made in this dating-formula in order to exhibit Persian consent with an attack on Greek interests in the west-Mediterranean region in connection with the Persian policy to safeguard the latter’s future campaign against the Greek mainland, according to which each Persian ally, viz. Cathage and Caere, had to eliminate its own Greek enemy, viz. Syracuse and Cumae (cf. Bury 1945: 298; 301 on the battle of Himera in 480 BC).¹⁵ If correct, this would be a clear

¹⁵ Diodoros of Sicily, *The Library of History* XI, 1, 4: “And Xerxes, being won over by him and desiring to drive all Greeks from their homes, sent an embassy to the Carthaginians to urge them to the effect that he would wage war upon the Greeks who lived in Greece, while the Carthaginians should at the same time gather armaments and subdue those Greeks who lived in Sicily and Italy.”

indication that the combined land- and sea-battle commemorated in the Pyrgi text has a bearing, indeed, on hostilities with Greek Cumae during the year 484 BC. But, whatever one may want to think of this tempting suggestion, within the framework of Italic politics as sketched in the above, which is so heavily preoccupied with the Cumaeon-Etruscan antagonism during the period in question, it seems difficult to imagine that as significant an Etruscan victory as the one celebrated on the Pyrgi gold tablets has nothing to do with its most important enemy, Cumae. Seen from this angle of incidence, it may safely be assumed that with the commemorated land-battle reference is made to Etruscan involvement in the expedition of the Cumaeon exiles from Capua, which ultimately resulted in the capture of their mother-city, and that with the commemorated naval victory reference is made to a concerted seaborne attack of the Caeretan fleet, which seriously exhausted the enemies defences and thus facilitated the attempts of the exiles to enter the city.¹⁶

According to the foregoing historical reconstruction, both the bilingual Pyrgi text and the bilingual inscriptions from Delphi have been set up in commemoration of one and the same event, namely: an Etruscan victory over Cumae in the year 484 BC which is purposely concealed from the local Cumaeon chronicle on which the ancient sources are ultimately based. In this case, however, it stands to reason that the generic term “Etruscan” covers at least two distinct spheres of influence, the one Caeretan, which no doubt has to be held responsible for the successful seaborne attack, and the other east-Etruscan, which, thanks to the fairly well-documented prolonged hold of Porsenna and his royal family on Rome during the first quarter of the 5th century BC, and thus on the inland route to Capua from 499 BC onwards according to the Roman chronology, may be assumed to have played a crucial role in the equally successful land-battle by sponsoring the activities of the Cumaeon exiles at Capua.¹⁷ Inter-

¹⁶ Note that Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* VII, 10 is forced to explain the capture of the city by the exiles with the help of successful trickery and a general state of drunkenness at Cumae as a result of a feast—though the latter observation coincides with the fact that Thefarie Velianas declares that the land- and sea-battle took place “on the day of the burial of the god(dess)”, which is one of the most important Etruscan religious feasts!

¹⁷ See note 11 above. It is fascinating to observe that Jannot 1988: 601 ff., along an entirely different line of approach, arrives at a strikingly similar conclusion. Here Porsenna’s prolonged involvement in warfare against the Greeks of Cumae is deduced from the artistic preoccupation with hoplites in Chiusian reliefs dating from c. 480 BC onwards!

estingly enough, such a coalition between a Caeretan sphere of influence and an eastern Etruscan one centred around the royal house of the Velthanes in the *ager Clusinus* is further indicated by at first sight unrelated literary evidence. According to the Greek historiographer Strabo, namely, it was the Caeretans who possessed a treasury at the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi (Strabo, *Geography* V, 1, 7; 2, 3). As a result of this information, it is generally held that the Etruscan *thesauros* at Delphi, which is so frequently referred to in the previous pages, is in fact the Caeretan one. Furthermore, the Caeretans are recorded to have built a sanctuary for Apollo in their own territory, located west of Caere along the road to the harbor town of Pyrgi, after consultation of the Delphian oracle in a desperate attempt to placate the anger of the god presumed to have been aroused by the ceremonial killing of Phokaian prisoners during the celebration of their naval victory at Alalia of 537 BC (cf. Prayon 1981: 39 f.). On the basis of these tiny pieces of evidence, modern authorities have founded their opinion that Roman consultations of the Delphian oracle, as recorded by Livy for the final year of the Tarquin dynasty, must have run through the medium of the Caeretans.¹⁸ A similar conclusion, then, seems to be particularly warranted for the dedications of the eastern Etruscan royal family of the Velthanes in the *Caeretan* treasury (sic!) at Delphi, of which the inscriptions discovered by Vatin bear testimony, thus emphasizing not only the state of cooperation which according to our present historical deductions existed between these two major Etruscan centers during the period in question, but, no doubt, also the leading part played by Caere in this coalition of forces.

To conclude, it must be admitted that much of the preceding attempt at a historical synthesis between the evidence of Greek and Roman authors on the one hand and epichoric Etruscan documents in the form of bilingual inscriptions from Pyrgi and Delphi on the other hand remains purely hypothetical, because:

(1) Cumae is not mentioned by name in the Pyrgi text;

¹⁸ Ogilvie 1983: 157; 164; add to the given examples the consultation of the oracle at Delphi by the sons of Tarquinius Superbus and Lucius Junius Brutus during the final years of the Tarquin dynasty as recorded by Livy, *History of Rome* I, 56. In similar vein, the first treaty between Rome and Carthage of 509/8 BC, for which Polybios, *The Histories* 3, 22, 1; 3 explicitly states to have consulted an archaic text still preserved at the time, is generally believed to have been actually drafted between the two maritime powers in the region at the time, Caere and Carthage, and to have affected Rome only as a Caeretan vassal.

(2) the king of Clusium, addressed to by his title as *Porsenna*, is not straightforwardly identified as **Larθ Velθes*, or connected with the family name **Velθana*- derived from this patronymic, in the literary sources;

(3) the tyrant of Cumae, Aristodemos the Effeminate, is not explicitly mentioned by name in the bilingual inscriptions from Delphi.

Yet, it must be stressed that, as we have indicated at the outset of the present section, only a *plausible* reconstruction is aimed at, which, according to the given survey, runs as follows:

(1) in the year 504/3 BC Porsenna's military aspirations to restore control over Latium on behalf of the Etruscan league were frustrated by the intervention of Aristodemos the Effeminate of Cumae, who defeated the Etruscan army in the battle at Aricia and personally killed their commander Arruns, the son of Porsenna;

(2) on his return from Rome after the battle of Aricia, Porsenna—without losing his hold on Roman politics—probably made a vow at the Portonaccio temple of Apollo in Veii on behalf of himself and his descendants and promised certain rewards to the god if he would grant him or his descendants the favor of divine retribution for the killing of his son Arruns by Aristodemos the Effeminate of Cumae;

(3) after some initial signs of recovery of the Etruscan position in Latium, amongst which the reassurance of the inland route to Capua thanks to the shift of allegiance by Praeneste from the pro-Cumaeon Latin league under the leadership of Aricia to a Rome still politically dominated by followers of Porsenna in the year 499 BC according to the Roman chronology must be singled out, an ever growing threat against the tyranny of Aristodemos of Cumae was formed by Cumaeon exiles at Etruscan Capua, which were headed by the sons of Hippomedon as leaders of the aristocratic faction, and presumably sponsored by Porsenna or some other members of his royal family or otherwise supported along the restored inland lines of communication;

(4) in the year 484 BC, the increasing threat formed by the Cumaeon exiles at Capua offered an excellent opportunity for the Caeretan leader, Thefarie Velianas, to attack his most important rival at sea in a concerted action by land troops and naval forces, which resulted in the capture of the city by the exiles and the death of Aristodemos;

(5) the death of Aristodemos and the extinction of his family as a result of the twofold Etruscan support to the cause of the Cumaeon exiles was regarded by the descendants of Porsenna, called Velthanes after the patronymic Velthes of the former king, as the enactment of divine retribution for the killing of Arruns and therefore

reason for them to fulfill their obligations to the god by sending thank-offerings to his sanctuary at Delphi; similarly, Thefarie Velianas fulfilled his obligations to the Phoenician goddess Astarte by building an open-air altar-site as an annex (= area C) to the temple (= temple B) in her honor at the Caetean harbor town of Pyrgi, no doubt in accordance with a preceding vow as well.¹⁹

APPENDIX:

TWO RIVALLING ETRUSCAN COALITIONS IN THE HISTORICAL PAINTINGS OF THE FRANÇOIS TOMB AT VULCI

On two adjacent walls of the chamber in the famous François Tomb at Vulci, used for the burial of a certain *Vel Saties* and his wife *Tanχvil* during the final decades of the 4th century BC, are depicted five pairs of men in a fighting scene (see Fig. 14; for the relevant literature, see Steingraber 1985: 385 f.). Four of these pairs represent a duel, in which one man is victorious over the other, whereas the fifth is concerned with the liberation of one man by another. All men in this scene are intended by the painter to represent individual, historical persons, as becomes clear from the fact that their names are added in writing to the images.

Owing to this device, we are in the position to determine that the losers in the duels, in contrast to their more fortunate adversaries, are further specified by an additional word, which in three of the four instances ends in *-χ* and is generally assumed by the specialists to constitute the name of the place from which the person in question originates. This view receives further emphasis from the fact that the final element *-χ* is identified by Bedřich Hrozný as an Etruscan suffix related to the ethnic morpheme *-hi* “from” attached to place names in the IE Anatolian languages, like in the case of *Samuḫaḫi* “from Samuḫa” (Hrozný 1929: 173). As noted by W.H. Buckler, this suffix lingers on in Lydian in form of *-k* in the formation *Šfardak* “from Sardis” (Buckler 1924: 65; 80). In addition, it can also be shown to be still in use in Eteo-Cyprian inscriptions from roughly the same period of time on account of the formation *a-ma-ti-ke-e* in text no. 195

¹⁹ A nice parallel for the hereditary character of obligations resulting from a vow during the period in question is offered by the inauguration of the temple of Castor by a son of the Roman dictator Postumius, who had promised it some 12 years earlier at the eve of the battle at *lacus Regillus*, but had died in the mean time, see Livy, *History of Rome* II, 41.

from Amathus (Masson 1983: no. 195; cf. Best & Woudhuizen 1988: 100). Its appearance in Egyptian in connection with the Cyprian place name Salamis in the form *Šrmšk*, probably in order to distinguish it from the other Cyprian toponyms of minor importance enumerated in the same text, is explained by G.A. Wainwright as being modelled on the Akkadian cuneiform determinative for “land”, KI, which explanation, if correct, may, with a view to further evidence of lenition of the voiceless velar [k] to aspirated [h] = [kh] like, for example, the Luwian hieroglyphic relative *hwa-* (Early Iron Age) < *kwa-* (Late Bronze Age), also hold good for the preceding instances of the ethnic (cf. Wainwright 1961: 76).

Whatever the details of its ultimate origin, these linguistic affinities of the Etruscan ethnic *-χ* enable us to translate *Laris Papaθnas Velznaχ* as “Lars (*praenomen*) Papathnas (*gentilicium*) from Volsinii (ethnic adjective)”, *Pesna Arcmsnas Sveamaχ* as “Pesna Arcmsnas from Sovana (= place northwest of Lake Bolsena)”,²⁰ and *Cneve Tarχu[nies] Rumaχ* as “Gnaeus Tarχunies from Rome”. Trouble starts, however, with the identification of the word added to the name of the fourth victim in the battles, not only because the first two signs of it are damaged, but also because, contrary to its counterparts, it ends in the genitive singular in *-s*. In sum, the name is generally read *Venθi Cau[le]ś [.]plsaxs*, but it is acknowledged by G. Körte that the reading of *t* for the second sign of the third word is equally possible (Körte 1897: 58-80). This being the case, it can only be surmised that the vertical hasta and a horizontal bar at its upper left side (the inscriptions are written in retrograde direction) are still visible, which, *inter alia*, also allows for the reading *e*. In the light of the latter possibility, the connection of the entry with the place name Falerii, as proposed by Jacques Heurgon, becomes hard to resist, with the proviso that, being distinguished from the other ethnics by the genitive singular in *-s* the ethnonym *Falisci* rather than the capital city in the habitation area of this people is used here (Heurgon 1961: 66). Such a view can be further underlined, moreover, by the fact that the closest comparable evidence for the formation is provided by *Φersnaχs* on the stele of *Avle Feluske* from Vetulonia dated to the late 7th century BC (TLE 363 = Rix 1991: Vn 1.1), which is translated by Emil Vetter as “Perusinus”, *i.e.* a reference to the inhabitants of the region of Perugia (literally: “from

²⁰ The *praenomen* *Pesna*, under due consideration of the fact that its archaic form reads *Pisna* (see Benelli 2012: 433), originates from Hittite *Piseni-*, see Laroche 1966, s.v.

(among the inhabitants) of the Perugian (territory)”), the validity of which is further enhanced by the fact that during the period in question Perugia had yet to develop into an urbanized center (Vetter 1955-6: 306). In addition to this, further confirmation for the connection of the name under discussion with the Faliscans may be afforded by the observation that the *praenomen* *Venθi* is obviously related to the patronymic or *gentilicium* *Vendias* as recorded for the earliest Faliscan inscription, probably originating from Caere and dated to the 7th century BC, which in its entirety reads as follows: *eco urna Tita<s> Vendias Mamar[cos m]ed vhe[(vha)ked]* “I (am) the urn of Tita Vendias, Mamarcos has made me” (Pallottino 1950-1: 397 ff.; cf. Peruzzi 1963: 90; Wallace 1989: 125 [alternatively prefers attribution to Rome], Fig. 3). If, then, our emendation of the inscription associated with the fourth victim in the historical scene from the François Tomb as *Venθi Cau[le]ś [F]ēlsaxs* applies, we arrive at its translation as “Venthi, (the son) of Caule, of the Faliscans”. Accordingly, we appear to have manoeuvred ourselves into the position to realize that all the men depicted as being slaughtered by their enemy originate from a *continuous geographical region*, covering the hinterland of central Etruria (Sovana and Volsinii) and, downstream the Tiber, the neighboring territory of the Faliscans and Rome (see Fig. 15 and note that Volsinii is identified with either Bolsena or Orvieto)!

As opposed to this defeated coalition, there are six names of victors which are not further specified by their place of origin. These comprise: *Caile* and *Avle Vipinas*, *Macstrna*, *Larθ Ulθes*, *Marce Camitlnas*, and *Rasce*. Now, according to literary evidence, the Vibenna brothers are said to originate from Vulci, whereas a certain *Mastarna*, which is nothing but a Latinized form of Etruscan *Macstrna*, is staged as a homeless soldier of fortune and loyal lieutenant of the Vibenna brothers before, under his Latin name *Servius Tullius*, he ascended to the Roman throne as the successor of Tarquinius Priscus.²¹ During the period of his loyal service to the Vulcian “condottieri”, moreover, *Mastarna* alias *Servius Tullius* is

²¹ Sextus Pompeius Festus, *De verborum significatione*, s.v. *Tusculus vicus*, reading, with the emendations by R. Garrucci, as follows: (...), [*aut quod Volci]entes fratres Caeles et [A.] Vibenn[ae], quos dicunt ad regem] Tarquinium Romam se cum Max[tarna contulisse colue]rint*. Cf. the pseudo-etymology of *Capitoleum* = *caput Oli Vulcentani*, referring to the burial of the head of Aulus Vibenna on Capitol Hill, in Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes* VI, 7.

reported to have either brought their army into safety or to have followed Caeles and Aulus Vibenna for the same purpose after some reverse, but in any case from Etruria to Rome.²²

From these tiny pieces of evidence, András Alföldi drew the conclusion that all these men were local Vulcian heroes, who did not need any further specification as to their place of origin in a Vulcian tomb (Alföldi 1963: 221). Though fully justified so far, this conclusion still has to be considered premature on the strength of some subsidiary information. Thus the name of the only person amongst the champions who according to the detailed analysis of the paintings by Alföldi is *dressed* and therefore must be credited with the act of having come to the aid of his *undressed* and hence imprisoned friends by means of supplying them with weapons, viz. *Larθ Ulθes* (Alföldi 1963: 223-224), is convincingly shown by F. Messerschmidt to be at home in the *ager Clusinus*, where the same patronymic appears on late Etruscan urns from, for example, Chiusi and Perugia, and persists in Latin form as the *gentilicium Ulteius* or *Volteius* (Messerschmidt 1930: 151; cf. note 12 above). In addition, the name of the man who frees Caeles Vibenna from his fetters, *Macstrna*, has been in a similarly convincing way explained already by S.P. Cortsen and Gustav Herbig as an Etruscan family name, singled out as such by the element *-na-*, based upon the Latin honorary title *magister* in Etruscan disguise, which latter also occurs in the root of the formation *macstrevc* as attested for an inscription from Tuscania (TLE 195 = Rix 1991: AT 1.1; cf. Heurgon 1961: 67; Alföldi 1963: 214, note 2). This identification is fully in accordance with the Roman tradition that, as we have already noted, *Mastarna*, i.e. the Latinized form of Etruscan *Macstrna*, is the Etruscan form of address of Servius Tullius, who according to Livy is a descendant of a ruling family in the Latin town of Corniculum, situated east of Rome (Livy, *History of Rome* I, 39, 5). But, what is more, on the analogy of *Porsenna* being the Latin form of address of the king of Clusium based upon the Etruscan magistracy

²² Orat. Claud. (CIL XIII 1668) 1, 17 ff.: *Huic* (viz. Tarquinio Prisco) *quoque et filio nepotique eius* (nam et hoc auctores discrepat) *insertus Servius Tullius, si nostros sequimur, captiva natus Ocrezia, si Tuscos, Caeli quondam Vivennae sodalis fidelissimus omnisque eius casus comes, postquam varia fortuna exactus sum omnibus reliquis Caeliani exercitus Etruria excessit, montem Caelium occupavit et a duce suo Caelio ita appellita[vit], mutatoque nomine* (nam Tusce Mastarna ei nomen erat) *ita appellatus est, ut dixi, et regnum summa cum rei p. utilitate optinuit.* Cf. Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* III, 65, 6: ξένον δὲ καὶ ἄπολιν.

purθne, etc., it seems to follow by means of implication from the given analysis of the name *Macstrna* that we are in fact dealing here with an *official functionary of the Latin league*, viz. the *magister equitum* (cf. Alföldi 1963: 42; 53). A similar reasoning, moreover, seems to be applicable for the name of *Marce Camitlna* as well. This person, who is depicted as being victorious over *Cneve Tarχu[nies]*, is characterized by the Latin *praenomen Marcus* in Etruscan disguise, but at the same time his *gentilicium*, distinguished as such by the element *-na-*, appears to be an Etruscan formation in its entirety, based upon the adjectival derivative in *-l-* of the root *camit-* which cannot be dissociated from the Etruscan magistracy *camθi-* (cf. TLE 145 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.96 and TLE 897 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.115).²³ Owing to the variant writing *canθ-* in its verbal derivative *canθce* (TLE 237 = Rix 1991: Vs 1.181), this honorific title can be straightforwardly linked to IE Anatolian *hanta-* or *hanti-* “first” as present in titular expressions like Luwian hieroglyphic *hantawat-* “king”, Lycian *χñtawat-* “king”, and Hittite *hantili-* “general”—which, by the way, in like manner gave rise to personal names like Hittite *Hantili-* and Lydian *Kandaulēs*—which fact, of course, strengthens our interpretation to a great deal (Laroche 1979: 104 f.; Woudhuizen 2005: 141-142). In combination with the earlier identification of *Macstrna* as a reflex in onomastics of the Latin functionary of the *magister equitum*, the name *Marce Camitlnas* may likewise be considered to represent an official of the Latin league, namely that of *dictator* or *dicator* (= *magister populi*), only this time in Etruscan translation.²⁴ With respect to the

²³ Cf. Heurgon 1957: 78; 90 f. Another viewpoint is taken by Ridley 1975: 166, who connects the present name with Latin *Camillus*, which in its turn, however, is considered to be of ultimate Etruscan or Tyrrheno-Pelasgian origin, again (< Pelasgian *Kasmilos* or *Kadmilos*, see Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyclopädie*, s.v.). But note that the development Pelasgian *Kasmilos* > Etruscan *Camitl-* > Latin *Camillus*, resulting from this line of approach, is seriously hampered by the additional [t] in the intermediate form. If, on the other hand, the connection between Pelasgian *Kasmilos* and Latin *Camillus* may be assumed to be unfounded, the relationship between Etruscan *Camitlnas* and Latin *Camillus* can easily be maintained by means of assimilation of Etr. *-tl-* into Lat. *-ll-*. It is also possible, of course, that Latin *Camillus* indeed originates from Pelasgian *Kasmilos*, but that both have nothing to do with Etruscan *Camitlnas*.

²⁴ Note that Etr. *Macstrna* is generally interpreted as *magister populi* instead of *magister equitum* as proposed here. The latter option, however, is substantially enhanced by, on the one hand, the *subordinate position* consistently ascribed to Mastarna/Servius Tullius in the literary sources and, on the other hand, the

only remaining name Rasce, how-ever, it must be admitted that for the apparent lack of comparative data it is not liable to a similar analysis as applied to the other members of the victorious party.

In all probability, therefore, the men who are depicted as being liberated and victorious also form a coalition of forces, originating from at least three different places or regions, namely: Vulci (Vibenna brothers), the *ager Clusinus* (Larth Ulthes), and Latium (Macstrna, alias Servius Tullius, and Marce Camitlnas). This inference from the analysis of the names is strongly supported by the fact that the memory of the Vulcian heroes has been kept alive not only in Vulci itself and in Rome, as acknowledged by Alföldi, but also in the *ager Clusinus*, where urns from Sarteano and Città della Pieve decorated in relief with a scene commemorating another famous deed of the Vibenna brothers, their “meeting” with the prophet *Cacu*, are decisive in this respect (Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES* V, commentary to no. 127 from Bolsena). The overall picture, then, which emerges from the foregoing analysis is that of a clash between a central Etruscan force, aided by its indigenous Italic allies from the territory of the Faliscans and Rome, and a coalition of the surrounding regions consisting of the Vulcian condottieri Caeles and Aulus Vibenna, their indigenous Italic ally, the Latin league as represented by its chief magistrates the *dictator* and the *magister equitum*, and, at a later stage of the events, the intervening power of Chiusi, which liberated the former two after their initial defeat and imprisonment (cf. Fig. 14).

What remains to be discussed is the question when this historical clash between two Etruscan coalitions with their respective indigenous Italic allies took place. Two indications for a possible date have already been hinted at in the preceding interpretation of the relevant data, namely: (1) the name of the Roman leader, *Cneve Tarχu[nies]*, clearly pointing to the period of the reign of the Tarquins over Rome, and (2) the identification of *Macstrna* or *Mastarna* with Servius Tullius, who succeeded Tarquinius Priscus, but preceded Tarquinius Superbus, to the Roman throne and whose reign is traditionally dated to the period 578-534 BC according to the Roman chronology (Livy, *History of Rome* I 40; 48). Now, in the present state of the evidence it can only be surmised that Mastarna/Servius Tullius arrived from Etruria with the remnants of the Caelian host (that means: directly after the initially lost battle and

identification of the title on which the gentilicium *Camitlnas* is based as one of *higher rank* on the basis of the relevant evidence.

subsequent liberation by the intervention of Chiusi as depicted or implied by the paintings of the François Tomb) at the end of the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, as is indeed recorded as a possibility by Tacitus in his annals (Tacitus, *Annals* IV, 65, 1-2). As a consequence, the Tarquin depicted in the paintings must be identified either with Tarquinius Priscus—an option which apparently conflicts with his praenomen, being recorded by Livius as *Lucius* instead of Gnaeus—or with some otherwise unrecorded member of his royal family, taking his place as leader of the host because he was already too old to fight himself. The problem of the praenomen, however, is reasonably dealt with by R.T. Ridley, who suggests that the praenomen Lucius is nothing but the Etruscan honorific title *lucumo* (= epichoric Etruscan *lauḫumi-*, *lauḫumne-*, etc.) “king” in Latin disguise—a secondary application of titles in the realm of onomastics duly attested so far—, so that the Cneve handed down by the Vulcian source might very well be the correct one (Ridley 1975: 166). Note that the traditional murder of Tarquinius Priscus by anonymous shepherds is of little value as an argument against the historicity of the paintings of the François Tomb, because it reflects the story of the Latin king Amulius too much.

Definite proof, however, for the historical setting of the given events in the first half of the 6th century BC comes from an entirely different category of evidence, *i.e.* epigraphy. During the excavations of the Portonaccio temple at Veii, namely, which is generally attributed to Apollo, a votive inscription was found in the neighborhood of the altar reading: *mini muluv[an]ece Avile Vipiennas* “Aulus Vibenna has dedicated me”. According to the excavator, the inscription dates around the middle of the 6th century BC (*c.* 550 BC) “at the very period attributed by tradition to the reign of Servius Tullius” (Pallottino 1975: 96)! This seems too much to be coincidental, but there is even more. According to literary tradition, Caeles and Aulus Vibenna could not return to their home town after the set-back, which we have identified above with their imprisonment and subsequent liberation as depicted in the paintings of the François Tomb, but went to Rome, where the Caelian Hill was named after the one and the head of the other was claimed to have been buried on the Capitol Hill (see notes 21 and 22 above). The same sources, however, inform us that Mastarna/Servius Tullius became king of Rome as a result of this action, and therefore we cannot follow Alföldi in postulating an *interregnum* by Aulus Vibenna between Tarquinius Priscus and Servius Tullius (Alföldi 1963: 216, note 2: “*caput Oli regis*” [*Chron. Vindob.* I, 144]; 217 f.). The solution

to this problem seems rather to be offered by his own identification of a mythical king of Veii, *Vel Vibe*, as an abridged form of Aulus Vibenna (Alföldi 1963: 230, note 1; 233-234)! As a consequence, the course of events may be reconstructed as follows:

(1) following a suggestion by Ridley, the Caelian Hill is probably named in memory of the previous leader of the host, who reasonably may be assumed to have died either before or soon after his arrival at Rome owing to his wounds received in battle (Ridley 1975: 166);

(2) Aulus, who replaces his brother as commander of the host, settles himself, after a temporary stay at Rome, as a ruler in Veii with the help of the army and in this manner makes the best of his position of homeless warlord; during the period of his reign, Aulus is said to have maintained good contacts with Latium, as appears from his visit to king *Amulius* of Alba Longa—a place with ancient claims on having been the center of the Latin league;²⁵

(3) Servius Tullius, the faithful Latin ally of the Vibenna brothers, who is also homeless probably as a result of the campaigns of Tarquinius Priscus east and southeast of Rome which culminated in the capture of, *inter alia*, his mother-city Corniculum (Livy, *History of Rome* I, 38, 4), is rewarded by his grateful patron for his loyal services with the rulership over the temporary station of the army, Rome;

²⁵ According to Alföldi 1963: 51-54 the center of the Latin league is transferred by Aristodemos of Cumae from Alba Longa or Lavinium to Aricia after the battle of Aricia of 504/3 BC. If so, it may safely be deduced that the two places first mentioned displayed a friendlier attitude to Etruscan interests than befitted Cumaeon politics at the time. The assumed transference can be backed up by archaeological evidence, testifying to a league cult of Diana at Aricia from c. 500 BC onwards. Claims of Lavinium as the center of the Latin league at an earlier date are likewise substantiated by archaeological evidence in the form of 13 altars discovered in the immediate surroundings of this place dating from c. 570-550 BC onwards. Even the pro-Etruscan sympathies of the Lavinium centered Latin league seem to be reflected in the archaeological record, since the aforesaid altars are definitely of Etruscan type, see Alföldi 1963: 266 and Pl. XVI. More in general, one time Etruscan dominance over Latium is signified by the myth of the Caeretan king Mezentius (now actually recorded for an early 7th century BC inscription from Caere, see Heurgon 1992 [chapter 3, p. 47 above]) forcing the Latins to pay tribute, see Alföldi 1963: 209 f.

(4) in the end, Aulus Vibenna may have been driven violently from Veii and forced to take recourse to his vassal Servius Tullius at Rome, thus accounting for his burial on the Capitol Hill.²⁶

Whatever one may think of the preceding reconstruction, most important for our present purposes about this historical epoch is the crucial role played by Larth Ulthes from the *ager Clusinus*, whose intervention on behalf of the Vibenna brothers and their Latin allies may very well be echoed by Dionysios of Halikarnassos' account of the north-Etruscan cities Clusium, Arretium, Volaterrae, Rusellae, and Vetulonia coming to the aid of the Latins in order to relieve them from the threat to their existence exercised by Tarquinius Priscus during his campaigns in Latium (Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* III, 51). It proves the involvement, namely, of the region centered around Chiusi in politics and military interests concerning regions downstream the Tiber more than half a century prior to the intervention of Lars Porsenna in internal Roman affairs at the time of the fall of the Tarquin dynasty in the last decade of the 6th century BC. But, above all, it testifies to the preeminence in this particular region from the first half of the 6th century BC onwards of a dynastic family which is named after its founding father either by the patronymic *Ulthes* (< **Velthes*) or the *gentilicium* **Velθana*-/*Velθi(e)na*-. The splendor of this family still shines from the *cippus* of Perugia (TLE 570 = Rix 1991: Pe 8.4; see chapter 16) from the period of the twilight of Etruscan culture. In this manner, then, it becomes all the more likely that we are not mistaken in taking this patronymic or *gentilicium* for the real name of Porsenna, being concealed, as we have duly argued in the above, by his honorary title!

²⁶ Cf. the war of Servius Tullius against Veii as reported by Livy, *History of Rome* I, 42, 2, who, within the frame of the given reconstruction, may be assumed to have come to the aid of his expelled patron.

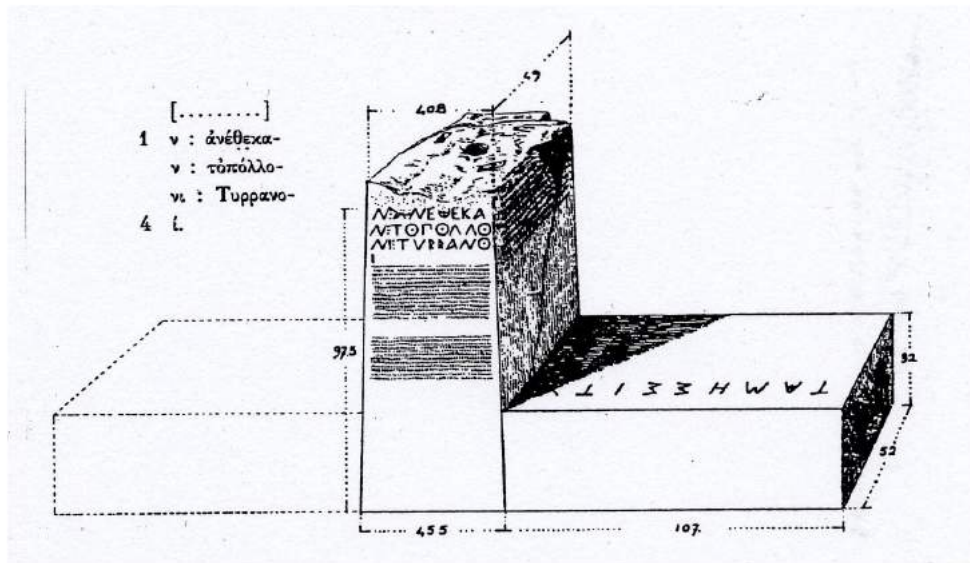


Fig. 9. "Cippus of the Tyrrenians"
(from Flacelière 1959: 199).

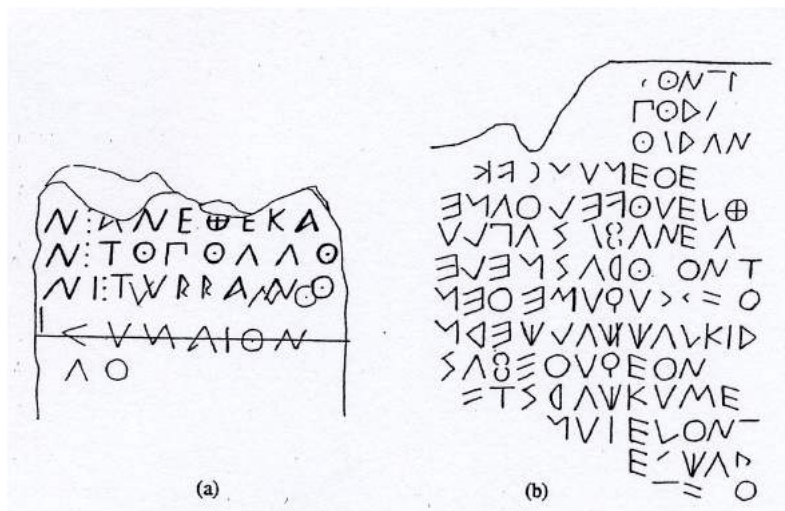


Fig. 10. (a) Inscription on the front side and
(b) bilingual inscriptions on the lateral side of the tripod-base
(from Vatin 1985: figs. 2-3).

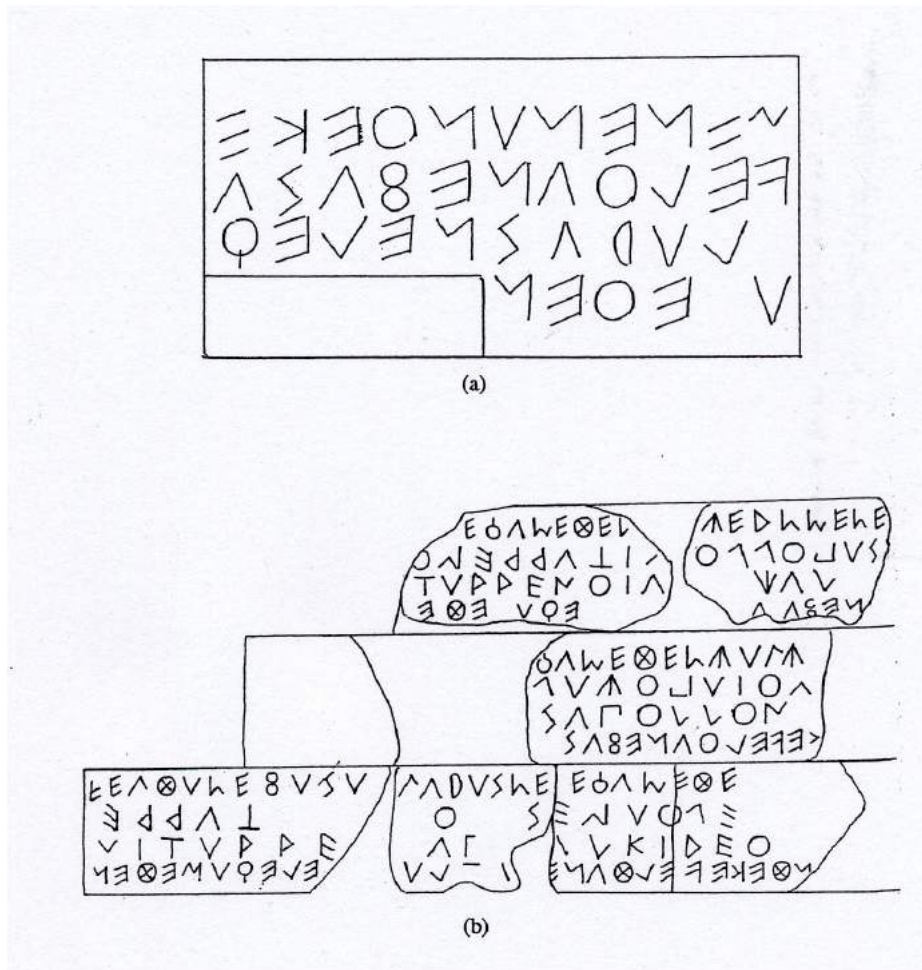


Fig. 11. (a) Etruscan inscription from the northwest corner and (b) *stoichedon* inscription in Greek and Etruscan from the wall of the Caeretan treasury at Delphi (from Vatin 1985: figs. 8-9).

symbol	period				
	700-650 BC	650-600 BC	600-550 BC	550-500 BC	500-450 BC
digraph <div> <div>⊞ F</div> <div>F ⊞</div> <div>F</div> </div>	CAERE	CAERE	VEII ORVIEITO	VULCI CAERE	ROME
figure of eight <div>⊞</div> <div>8</div>	<div>VEITULONIA</div> <div>TARQUINIA</div> <div>RUSSELLAE</div> <div>CAERE</div>				

Fig. 12. Formal development and regional diffusion of the symbols for [f] (from Woudhuizen 1992a: 70, Fig. 1).

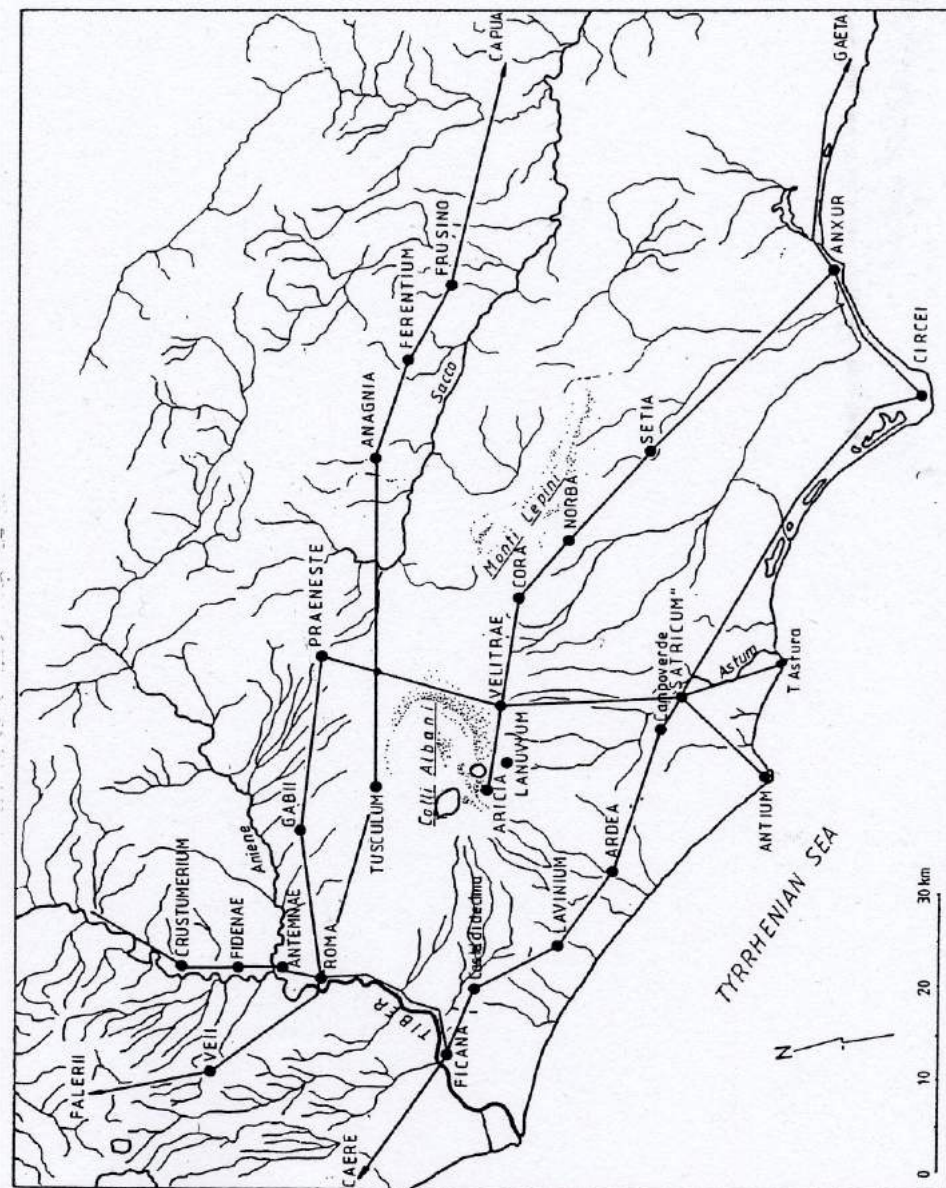


Fig. 13. Schematic reconstruction of the road system in Latium during pre-Roman times (from Maaskant-Kleibrink 1987: 12, Map VI).

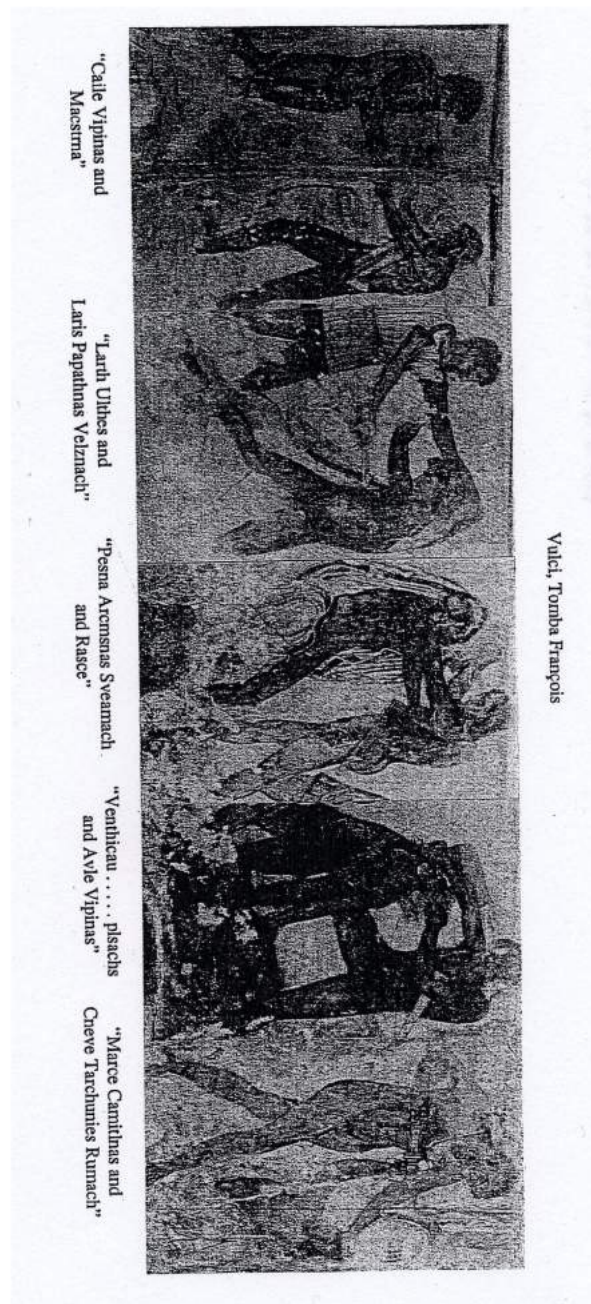


Fig. 14. Historical scenes among the paintings of the François Tomb at Vulci (from Woudhuizen 1992b: 237).



Fig. 15. Map of central Italy
(from Schade 1988: 8).

PART III

STRUCTURALLY TRANSPARENT TEXTS

11. ETRUSCAN NUMERALS IN INDO-EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE*

1. INTRODUCTION

As a demonstration of the non-Indo-European nature of the Etruscan language, James Mallory, in his stimulating monograph entitled *In Search of the Indo-Europeans* of 1989, depicts the following comparisons between Etruscan and Indo-European in a diagram with a number of other items (Mallory 1989: 89; cf. Cristofani 1981a: 88):

	ETRUSCAN	LATIN	PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN
1.	<i>θu</i>	<i>unus</i>	* <i>oinos</i>
2.	<i>zal</i>	<i>duo</i>	* <i>duwo</i>
3.	<i>ci</i>	<i>tres</i>	* <i>treyes</i>
4.	<i>śa</i>	<i>quattuor</i>	* <i>k^wettwores</i>
5.	<i>maχ</i>	<i>quinque</i>	* <i>penk^we</i>
6.	<i>huθ</i>	<i>sex</i>	* <i>s(w)eks</i>

It is obvious from these comparisons that the Etruscan system of basic numerals is entirely unrelated to the Indo-European one. As a consequence, there is little hope for classifying Etruscan among the Indo-European languages, as the members of the language-family last mentioned happen to be closely related precisely with respect to their system of basic numerals (see Fig. 17).¹ One may wonder, however, whether the identification of the Etruscan numerals in question is as certain as Mallory wants us to believe. Certainly, the given correspondences are fully in accordance with the opinion of the majority of the scholars in the field on the topic. Nevertheless, there are some nuances, which should not be neglected. Thus there is *communis opinio* among Etruscologists that the identification of *śa* and *huθ* as “4” and “6”, respectively, is extremely doubtful. There are indications, namely, seriously taken into consideration by authorities like Massimo Pallottino and Mauro Cristofani, that the situ-

* This chapter consists of a reworked and updated version of Woudhuizen 1988-9c.

¹ Mallory 1989: 12-13, Fig. 3, and cf. p. 14, Fig. 4 for the same numerals in other language groups.

ation in this particular instance might just as well be reversed, which would mean that *huθ* represents “4” and *śa* represents “6”.² As a consequence, it is just as obvious as the conclusion based upon the diagram rendered above that the picture can alter profoundly as a result of such mutations, because with *śa* at the position of “6” an Indo-European etymology for the word in question certainly comes into consideration. The same applies to the identification of *θu* and *zal*. Here also Indo-European etymologies lurk at the back-ground as soon as the positions of these two numerals might turn out to be mutually interchangeable, at least if we are willing to realize that Greek εἷς “1” is traced back to an altogether different Indo-European root as Latin *unus*, namely **sem-* (Meillet 1964: 409 f.).

Having observed this, it seems worthwhile to determine the various degrees of certainty for the identification of the different Etruscan numerals under consideration. This task will be undertaken along two different lines of approach, first by reviewing the relevant evidence from the corpus of Etruscan texts themselves (= *internal evidence*) and secondly by exploring the possibility of establishing an etymological relationship with numerals in the related Luwian dialects of southwest Asia Minor or IE Anatolian languages more in general (= *external evidence*). Furthermore, it will be assumed that if these two lines of approach happen to coincide, the matter is most likely to be settled accordingly.

2. INTERNAL EVIDENCE

All numerals presented in the diagram above are found together on two ivory dice discovered during clandestine excavations in the neighborhood of Tuscania, for which reason these have become known as the Tuscania dice (TLE 197a-b = Rix 1991: AT 0.14-15). The numerals are distributed over the six sides of the objects in such a manner that *maχ* appears opposite to *zal*, *θu* opposite to *huθ*, and *ci* opposite to *śa* (see Fig. 16).

In the light of parallels in the form of dice inscribed with dots to indicate the numbers, it is quite certain that the numerals we are dealing with are those from one to six.³ But how to determine the

² Pallottino 1975: 216; Pallottino 1978: 454; Cristofani 1981a: 91; 93; cf. Lejeune 1981: 241 ff.

³ Slotty 1937: 382 f.; note that dice based on the pattern 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, and 4-4, 5-5, 6-6 are not relevant in the present connection.

value of each numeral more in specific? To this aim there are various indications from other Etruscan documents at our disposal, which, as far as their relevance for our purpose is concerned, range from “decisive” to “indecisive”. Clearly decisive is the identification of *ci* as “3” on the basis of the correspondence of Etruscan *ci avil* to Phoenician *šnt šlš III* “in year three” in the bilingual inscriptions on the Pyrgi gold tablets (TLE 874-5 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.4-5) (Pallottino 1978: 445). Another convincing argument, though perhaps of a somewhat less irrefutable nature, is formed by the observation that the symbol \wedge for the numeral “5” in Roman script is also used as alphabet letter for the expression of [m] in late Etruscan inscriptions from eastern Etruria and the Po-valley. This phenomenon, namely, becomes understandable if the one numeral on the Tuscan dice starting with [m], viz. *maχ*, means “5”.⁴

Yet another piece of valuable information is provided by indications of the day in a month in the liturgical text of the *Liber linteus* (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL). The indications in question are characterized by a subtractive construction comparable to Latin *duode-viginti* and Greek *δυοῖν δέοντα εἴκοσι* or *τριάκοντα* according to which one counts back from multiples of ten in order to produce the numerals 17-18-19, etc. (Pallottino 1975: 216; Cristofani 1981a: 91). In this construction, then, which is easily recognizable by the subtractive element *-em* attached to the numeral first mentioned, only the numerals *ci-*, *esl-* (= variant spelling of *zal*!) (Pallottino 1975: 225 ff. [= Vocabulary, s.v.]; Lejeune 1981: 241 ff.), and *θu-* find their application.⁵ Consequently, as *ci* means “3”, only *zal* and *θu* come into consideration for the remaining primary numerals “1” and “2”. Similarly, it likewise follows that *śa* and *huθ* do not belong to the primary numerals 1-3, and for this reason can only come into consideration for the numerals “4” and “6”, if we recall that *maχ* means “5”. Unfortunately, however, this line of division only enables us to diminish the number of possibilities for the as yet unidentified numerals *θu*, *zal*, *śa*, and *huθ* by splitting them up into two distinct groups in which two alternatives are valid for each couple: it does not pin them down to any number in specific.

⁴ Cristofani 1981a: 92; Rix 1985: 213; for an example of a text from the Po-valley with this sign for [m], see the Piacenza bronze liver (TLE 719 = Rix 1991: Pa 4.2).

⁵ Slotty 1937: 389; Vetter 1962: 139 ff.; Cristofani 1981a: 91; Lejeune 1981: 241 ff. As observed by Pfiffig 1969: 125 this point is further stressed by parallels in Roman script, showing examples of subtraction up to three, viz. LIIX and XXIIIX.

	primary			non-primary	
fixed	3	<i>ci</i>		5	<i>maχ</i>
unfixed	1	<i>θu</i>		4	<i>huθ</i>
	2	<i>zal</i>		6	<i>śa</i>

In order to accomplish the latter task numerous arguments have been put forward, but none of these can be considered to be decisive as long as each indication favoring one solution is counterbalanced by another pointing in the opposite direction. Thus, there have been two attempts to pinpoint the couple *śa* and *huθ* to the numbers “4” and “6” more in specific, which both have taken statistics as their starting point. The first approach proceeded from the observation that about 75% of the dice inscribed with dots adheres to the principle that the sum of the ciphers on opposite sides is 7. This leads to the conclusion that *śa*, opposite to *ci* “3”, most likely renders “4”—an opinion, which, as we have noted above, seems favorable to the majority of the scholars in Etruscology.⁶ The second approach, on the other hand, based itself on a frequency analysis of the numerals 4, 5, and 6 in various languages, pointing out that as a rule the numeral 6 is significantly less current than 4. Translated into terms of Etruscan, this means that *śa*, with only three occurrences in sum (as against *huθ* with as much as ten occurrences in sum), should rather be expected to represent the numeral 6 (Mańczak 1983: 103 ff.). *Ergo*: the matter must remain unsettled for the time being due to lack of compelling evidence.

⁶ Sloty 1937: 382 f.; cf. Krogmann 1958: 150 ff., who, however, in contrast to Sloty, based his survey of the various types of dice on secondary literature instead of autopsy. For this reason, the evidence presented by Sloty is preferable. Although Sloty’s careful epigraphical case-study deserves praise, his transposition of observations concerning dice inscribed with dots to the ones inscribed with alphabet letters fails to do justice to the fact that the most elaborate numeral in dots (six) by no means needs to be the most elaborate numeral in alphabetic writing, for which, apart from *maχ*, *huθ* and *zal* also come into consideration. Preference for the present option clearly speaks from Pallottino 1975: 216 (translation of *huθiś zaθrumis* as “on the twenty sixth [day]”), 225 ff. (= Vocabulary, s.v.); Cristofani 1981a: 93 (*śa* “4”?, *huθ* “6”?; as against an honest account of both possibilities on p. 91); Pfiffig 1969: 123. Only Lejeune 1981: 241 ff. refuses to show any preference at all and truly leaves the matter undecided.

As far as the possibilities to identify the remaining couple of unfixed numerals are concerned, the situation seems somewhat more complex. It has already been indicated in the above that *communis opinio* among Etruscologists wants to have it that *θu* means “1” and *zal* means “2”. This opinion is primarily based on the fact that *zal*, just like the numerals with definite plural meaning like *ci*, *maχ*, and *śa*, once occurs in combination with a word characterized by what is generally considered a marker of the plural, the morpheme *-r*.⁷ At the same time, however, it is neglected that the strength of this argument is significantly undermined by the fact that *θu*, in derived form characterized by the morpheme *-χ* for the distinction of numeral adverbs, is also once directly associated with a, for its ending in *-r*, according to the generally held opinion apparently plural notion.⁸ To this comes that the morpheme *-r* actually is not a plural marker at all, but in, for example, the declension of the word *clan* “son” only of the *oblique cases in both the singular and the plural* as is now demonstrable on the basis of a newly published funeral inscription from Terne di Saturnia, because the deceased person, Larth Laucies, clearly had only one son, Larece from Caere, who is responsible for the erection of the monument and presents himself as its owner: *Larθ Laucies θamuqu Larecesi Kaiseriθesi celeniarasi* “Larth Laucies. The building (is) of Larece from Caere, (his) son.” (Maggiani 1999; see chapter 8); in other cases, like *Aisera-* “Asherah” and *tivr-* “month”, it simply belongs to the root in all cases (see chapter 12 on the text of the Magliano disc).

Other indications adduced in defense of the same solution to the problem, *i.e.* that *θu* means “1” and *zal* means “2”, are provided by the text of the *Liber linteus*. As mentioned earlier, this liturgical text contains calendar dates characterized by a subtractive device in counting in order to produce the numerals 17-18-19, etc. It is observed in this connection, then, that *ciem.cealχuz*, which certainly

⁷ Krogmann 1958: 154; Rix 1985: 223. Cf. Cristofani 1981a: 59; Sloty 1937: 381 who includes *huθ* also on account of the combination *hut.naper* from the text of the Perugia cippus (TLE 570 = Rix 1991: Pe 8.4).

⁸ Torp 1905: 17, showing a clear instance of circular reasoning in connection with the combination *θuχ.ichutevr* from the text of the Magliano disc (TLE 359 = Rix 1991: AV 4.1): “Now *thu* being ‘one’, the *-r* of *ichutevr* cannot be the plural termination, but must be a derivative.” In fact, however, the second element of *ichutevr* is difficult to separate from *tivr* in the expression *tivrs:śas* in the age-formula of a funeral inscription from Toscana (TLE 181 = Rix 1991: AT 1.22), which in its turn is generally accepted as decisive proof for the plural nature of the numeral *śa* (see references in the preceding note).

means “27”, is followed by *eslem.cealχus* and *θunem.cial[χuś]*, which sequence suggests regular counting from “27” via “28” to “29” (LL X, 2; XI, 12; 17; see Vetter 1962: 139 ff. and cf. Pfiffig 1969: 125). Furthermore, the order of the numerals in an expression like *zuθeva.zalleśic.ci.halχza.θu.eśic.zal* (LL X, 20 f.) is highly suggestive of an explanation along the lines of “two or three” and “one or two” (Vetter 1962: 135; Pfiffig 1969: 126). In combination, these two arguments seem quite impressive. But in reality, we do not know whether the text of the *Liber linteus* is indeed a religious calendar *sensu stricto* (see chapter 14): the given sequence of dates is interrupted by other composite numerals (*eslem.zaθrum* between *ciem.cealχuz* and *eslem.cealχus* in LL XI, 8; *huθiś.zaθrumiś* “24” or “26” between *eslem.cealχus* and *θunem.cial[χuś]* in LL XI, 15) and might for this reason be as fortuitous as the sequence of the numerals *sal-θuvas-ci* in the longer Etruscan version of the text on the Pyrgi gold tablets, where *θuvas* by the way is followed by *two* closely parallel phrases likely rendering, as duly noted by Pallottino, *bipartite* information. Similarly, we do not know the exact meaning of the word *eśic* from the cited expression, not to mention that the entire context in which the passage stands eludes us (but see now chapter 14 below). Nevertheless, for lack of alternative suggestions, the given interpretations deserve credit as plausible pieces of evidence relevant to the subject. The same, however, applies in no lesser degree to information deducible from the text of the Magliano disc (TLE 359 = Rix 1991: AV 4.1), which is generally omitted from discussions on Etruscan numerals. In this text, the word *χimθm* is preceded by *ez* in the first section, dedicated to the god *Cauθa-*, *tu* in the second section, dedicated to the goddess *Aisera-*, and *cialaθ* in the third section, dedicated to the god *Mariś-* (see chapter 12). As the last mentioned form is obviously a derivative of the numeral *ci-* (Torp 1905: 13 f.; formation in adjectival *-ali-* marked by the locative ending in *-θ*), it obviously follows from their identical position that *ez* and *tu* are numerals, too. If so, interpretation of *ez* as “1” and *tu* as “2” seems practically unavoidable! But as this evidence collides with the cited one from the *Liber linteus*, we will have to content ourselves with the unsatisfactory verdict *non liquet* for the moment.

Discomforting as the preceding synopsis of the relevant evidence for the identification of the numerals *θu* and *zal* may seem, there still can be drawn at least one positive conclusion, if we allow ourselves the luxury of setting a more modest aim. Both categories of

information do not appear to be mutually exclusive, namely, insofar as the distinction between basic and composite forms of the numerals in question is concerned. Thus the coexistence of a basic form *ez* (discus of Magliano) alongside the complex form *zal*, *sal*, or *esl-* (Tuscan dice, Pyrgi gold tablets, and *Liber linteus*, respectively) for the one numeral is perfectly matched by the coexistence of a basic form *θu* or *tu* (Tuscan dice, *Liber linteus*, and Magliano disc) alongside the complex form *θun* (*Liber linteus*, Magliano disc) for the other numeral. Is it, then, in the light of this evidence too speculative to assume that we are in fact dealing here with altogether different sets for two types of numerals, the one cardinal and the other ordinal? If not, this inference leads us to the following paradigm concerning the primary numerals:⁹

⁹ The opposition between cardinal and ordinal numbers seems to a certain extent to be cogently applied in the text on the leaden discus of Magliano from the final stage of the archaic period, where the ordinals *sal* and *θun* occur in the final section dedicated to the god *Tins* “Dionysos”, see chapter 12. In the course of time, however, the opposition appears to have become less pronounced, as indicated by the use of ordinal *zal* among otherwise cardinal forms on the Tuscan dice themselves. Similarly, the distinction between ordinal and cardinal among the numerals used in connection with the indication of magistracies held by the deceased person during his lifetime in funeral inscriptions of more recent date happens to be less clear-cut. If, for example, we take Vetter’s (1962: 137 f.) observation that the words *zilcti.purtšvavcti* from TLE 325 = Rix 1991: Vc 1.94 are both characterized by the locative ending in *-ti* as our starting point, it may be argued that the numeral adverb *θunz* based on the ordinal *θun* in TLE 324 = Rix 1991: Vc 1.93 has preserved its original function. For, with a view to the context, it seems deducible from the sequence *zilaχnu ciz zilcti.purtšvavcti* that the commemorated deceased person died when in office as *zilc- purtšvavc-* after having reached the praetorship three times, or, in other words, that *purtš-* serves as a specification of a praetorship of higher rank, say the presidency praetorship. Accordingly, the numeral adverbs associated with the zilatship *per se* in the aforesaid inscriptions, *ciz* “three times” and *cezpz* “eight times”, respectively, are higher than those associated with the presidency praetorship, “once” by implication and *θunz*, respectively. But what is even more, the latter context also obviously requires an ordinal: *zilaχnu:cezpz: purtšvana:θunz* “he held the praetorship eight times, the first/second time as president (over the holders of the praetorship)”. With respect to *esl-*, on the other hand, such a position is more difficult to maintain, as it occurs in instances with only a single titular expression, as in TLE 136 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.183, or in cases in which the relationship between the roots *zilc-* and *purtš-* is doubtful because of interposed magistracies, as in TLE 171 = Rix 1991: AT 1.108, even though its use in TLE 169 = Rix 1991: AT 1.105 in adverbial derivative *elsši* (clearly a writing error for **eslši*), where it is associated with the indication of the magistracy of *one of the three sons* of the deceased person, appears to be ordinal: *elsši zilaχnu Θeluša ril XXVIII* “(a son) of Thelu for the first (note that the

	cardinal	ordinal
1-2	<i>ez</i> <i>θu(va-), tu-</i>	<i>zal, sal, esl-</i> <i>θun(-)</i>
3	<i>ci</i>	<i>cial-</i>

3. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

As hinted at in the introduction (section 1 above), another category of evidence relevant for the determination of the meaning of the Etruscan numerals from “1” to “6” is formed by their etymological relationship to counterparts in the Luwian dialects of southwest Asia Minor or the IE Anatolian languages more in general.

Within the framework of the category of external evidence, however, we first of all need to pay some attention to the fact that the Etruscans are usually identified in the literary sources with the Tyrrhenians (< *Tursēnoi*) of the north-Aegean region. On the basis of this fact, modern scholarship has primarily been looking for comparative data in the non-Greek languages of the Aegean and western Asia Minor. The validity of this, from a methodological point of view sound, approach subsequently received astonishing confirmation owing to the discovery of inscriptions in the Tyrrhenian language on a grave stele from present-day Kaminia on the island of Lemnos, the so-called Lemnos stele. In these inscriptions, the formula indicating the age of the deceased person, reading *aviś sialχv(e)iś maras(-)m aviś*, could only be identified as such thanks to its almost exact correspondence to the Etruscan “age-formula” *avils maxs śealχls-c* “(at the age) of ...ty five years” from TLE 98 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.169 (Brandenstein *PW*: 1925 f.; Rix 1968: 215; Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 143; 159). As a result of this identification, then, irrefutable comparative evidence for the numeral root *śe-* (obviously nothing but the basic numeral *śa* in a graphic variant, perhaps resulting from its combination with the element *-(a)lχl* for the indication of multiples of ten) has been established in form of Lemnian *si-*. However, as the interpretation of Lemnian in this respect depends on our knowledge of Etruscan, it does not help us out in the matter of deciding between the two possible options for the numeral in question, viz. “4” or “6”.

possibility of second is excluded here!) time exercised the praetorship (at the age of) 28 years (old)” (see chapter 8).

In fact, a clue as to how to decide in this matter may well be provided by a related corner of incidence, namely substrate influences in Attic Greek attributable to Pelasgian population groups which, according to the literary sources, once inhabited the Attic promontory before they were expelled to the north-Aegean more in general and the island of Lemnos in particular. It does not concern the numeral *śa*, however, but its companion in the couple for the numerals “4” and “6”, *huθ*. Now, this latter is generally compared to the root of the pre-Hellenic place name Ὑττηνία, which, as a blanket term for the townships Marathon, Oinoe, Probalinthos, and Trikorynthos, is translated in Antiquity by Greek Τετρά-πολις.¹⁰ From this equation it evidently follows that the related Etruscan numeral means “4”. This conclusion can further be enhanced by the fact that in a grave with four paintings of the underworld demon Kharun the fourth is specified as *Xarun huθs*.¹¹ By means of deduction, then, we cannot but conclude that *śa* means “6”. Note in this connection that among the forms for multiples of ten there are two competing forms for “40”, namely the regular *husialχ* alongside the irregular *muvalχ*, the identification of which is assured by the correspondence of the root *muva-* to Luwian *mauwa-* “4” (Hamp 1958: 311 f.); note also here that the Luwian hieroglyphic sign L 391, consisting of four vertical strokes, renders the acrophonic values *ma*, *mi*, or *m*.

With the latter comparison, we have extended the range of our etymological investigation to the Indo-European languages of Anatolia, in particular the Luwian dialects among them. As such, Etruscan *muva-* may safely be assumed to originate from PIE **mei-* “less”, to which root also Mycenaean Greek *mewijo-* and Classical Greek μείων are traced back, in like manner as Luwian *mauwa-* (cf. Caruba 1979: 195, citing the opinion of Heubeck which, however, is not followed by the author himself; Pokorny 1994, s.v.). In our discussion of the text on the Lemnos stele (see chapter 21), we will see that the Tyrrhenian dialect in question, notwithstanding some influences from (pre-)Greek, may be classified with the Luwian dialects of southwest Asia Minor, and therefore it need not surprise

¹⁰ Etymology first proposed by Karl Oštir in 1921 and subsequently accepted by Paul Kretschmer, Fritz Schachermeyr, Hans Krahe, etc.; for the composition of the Attic Tetropolis, see Krogmann 1958: 155. Note that the Pelasgians in question, treated by Herodotos, *Histories* VI, 137, are actually specified as Tyrrhenians by Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War* IV, 109.

¹¹ Van der Meer 2007: 124.

us that, even though a Luwian form is lacking, Lemnian *si-* “6” as in the multiple of ten *sialχvei-* may be explained in Indo-European terms as a reflex of PIE **s(w)eks*. In addition, it is noteworthy in this connection that the place name Ὑττηνία in graphic variant *Hutēnna* is paralleled for Lycia in southwest Asia Minor, where Luwian dialects are recorded for predominantly the 5th to 4th century BC, *i.e.* up to the Hellenistic period. If allowance be made for incidental lenition of velar [k] to [h], possibly paralleled for the personal name *Kōlaios* also appearing in Lemnian as *Holaie* (though the origin here may well be Anatolian [h] (= [kh]) as in the possibly related river name *Hulaia*, see chapter 21 below), even the numeral *hut-* or *huθ-* may come into consideration as a reflex of PIE **k^wettwores* after the velarization of the initial labiovelar.

So far so good, but can the extension of our etymological comparanda to the IE Anatolian languages contribute to our understanding of odd forms like Etruscan *ci* “3” and *maχ* “5”? This is, of course, a crucial question, because, as we have seen above, these two numerals are the ones certainly identified on the basis of internal evidence only. As such, it is interesting to note that the semantic opposition between the numeral *maχ* “5” and the obviously related lexical item *meχ-* “league, assembly” in Etruscan is closely matched in the Anatolian languages if viewed against their Indo-European background by the semantic opposition between PIE **penk^we* “5” and its Hittite reflex *panku-* “assembly” (Carruba 1979: 195). But what is even more relevant to our case, the Luwian equivalent of Hittite *panku-* is traced back to a common Anatolian root **mek-* (cf. Hittite *mekki-* “numerous” < PIE **méǵh₂-*), of which a derivation lingers on in Lycian *miñti-* “league, assembly”, whereas at the same time the Luwian hieroglyphic numeral “5” can be shown to have started with the syllable *ma* as the sign L 392 consisting of five vertical strokes renders the syllabic value *ma₇* (Woudhuizen 2004: 79-80)! Hence, it lies at hand to trace Etruscan *maχ* “5” and *meχ-* “league, assembly” both back to common Anatolian **mek-* (it must be observed in this connection that in Luwian hieroglyphic *miāti-* “many” and Lycian *miñti-* “league, assembly” the originally voiced velar [ǵ] is regularly dropped, whereas in Etruscan it is maintained—with the possible exception of the variant *meθ-*) (see further chapter 20). At any rate, against the backdrop of the Anatolian evidence, there can, from a semantic point of view, be raised no objection to the Indo-European nature of the Etruscan pair of numerals *maχ* “5” and *muva-* “4”, which take the meanings “numerous” and “less” as their starting

point—the full hand in the Proto-Indo-European mind representing “total” and the four fingers “one less (as from total)” (Carruba 1979: 195).

In the same way, the possibilities of tracing the origins of the numeral *ci* “3” are by no means as hopeless as it appears at first sight. In order to substantiate this statement, we first of all need to turn our attention once again to evidence emanating from the Etruscan texts themselves. As has been shown in the preceding section, indications from internal evidence enable us to bring about a distinction between cardinal *ci* and ordinal *cial-*. If we further recall that the root of this numeral happens to be subject to oscillation between [e] and [i] in its derived form for the indication of multiples of ten (cf. *cialχus* alongside *cealχus*), it next becomes extremely tempting to consider the word *creals*, which occurs in a context specifying the magistracies held by the deceased person of a funeral inscription from Tarquinia (TLE 131 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.17), as a formation based on essentially the same root. According to this line of approach, the final element *-s* represents the suffix for numeral adverbs *-z(i)* or *-ši* (cf. Pallottino 1975: 216; Cristofani 1981: 93), which is regularly attached to numerals in the context of the *cursus honorum* of the deceased persons, like in the case of *ciz(i)*, *eslz*, and *θunz*, the latter two of which are ordinals in like manner as this would be the case with the residual *creal-*.¹² But its principal gain consists of the fact that it paves the way for the reconstruction of *ci* “3” < **cri-* by loss of medial *-r-*. If this reconstruction applies, namely, the etymological relationship with the IE languages of Asia Minor provides us with the missing link necessary to bridge the gap between Etruscan **cri-* and common Indo-European **tri-* in the form of substitution of [t] by [c] or [k] as recorded for Lycian in case of Lycian B *tbi* “2” occurring in Lycian A as *kbi*, or, even more relevant to our present purposes, the variant writing of the MN *Trzzubi* from TL 111, based on the numeral root *tri-* “3”, as *Krzzubi* in TL 83 (Laroche 1967: 47; Carruba 1979: 201, note 11)! With the help of this Lycian *t/k*-consonant shift, then, the etymological relationship of

¹² TLE 131 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.17, 3-4: *creals.Tarχnalθ.spu⁴reni.lucairce* “he exercised the priest-kingship on behalf of the municipal (collegium), the third time at Tarquinia”, with *lucairce* as a verbal derivative in 3rd person singular of the past tense of the active in *-ce* of the honorific title *lucumo* “king” (cf. the Roman *pontifex maximus* and the Attic ἄρχων βασιλεύς) and *spureni* as a dative singular in *-i* of a derivative in *-n-* of the noun *spura-* “town” probably bearing reference to a priestly college in view of the combination of *spurana* with *cepen* “priest” in TLE 165 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.171 (cf. chapter 8).

Etruscan *ci* (*cia-* or *cea-* in derivations) < **cri-* (*crea-* in actually attested derivation) to Luwian *t(a)ria-* < PIE **treyes* is easily established.¹³

What remains, finally, is the task to trace comparable forms for the couple *θu* and *zal*, which according to internal evidence as presented in the preceding section both come into consideration for the numbers “1” and “2”. Of this couple, then, the numeral last mentioned is, in its writing variant *esl-* from the calendar dates of the *Liber linteus*, most closely paralleled by Lydian *isl-*. The latter features in like manner in the dating formula of the Lydian-Aramaic bilingual inscription from the Sardian necropolis for the indication of the day in a month, but, as its meaning is not fixed as well, this does not help us out with our attempts to determine the meaning of *zal* more in specific.¹⁴ Definite proof in favor of the identification of its root *is-* as the one for the numeral “1”, however, is provided by Luwian hieroglyphic, in which the sign L 380 in form of one vertical stroke, also rendering services as the number “1”, is used to render the syllabic value *sa*, thus indicating that the numeral in question started with the syllable *sa* as to be expected against the background of PIE **sem-* “1” (Woudhuizen 2005: 54; 177). Note that the variant *ez* from the text of the discus of Magliano, characterized by the change of initial CV into VC, shows the closest affinity to Hittite *āšma* in this respect (cf. Friedrich 1974: 71).

From a comparative point of view, the case for *θu* seems even more clear than that for *zal*. As we have seen in the preceding section, its derivative *θun*, characterized by the additional element *-n*, belongs to the realm of the ordinal numbers. As a consequence, this additional element can no longer function as an obstacle to possible Indo-European correlations of the bare root.¹⁵ On the contrary, one is tempted to add, as soon as the IE Anatolian languages are taken into consideration. In Hittite, namely, ordinal numbers are marked by a

¹³ Cf. in this context also the velarization of the original dental in the past tense, subjunctive, and imperative of the conjugation of the verb in Etruscan.

¹⁴ Gusmani 1964: Lyd. no. 1. According to the analysis of Kahle & Sommer (1927: 25-28), *isl-* corresponds to the indication of the day in the month in the Aramaic version, which in the latter case is “5”, but this does not necessarily mean that it renders “5” as well because we do not know “wie weit sich *Marḥešwān* [= the Aramaic month name] und *Bakillis* [= the Lydian month name] inhaltlich decken”; cf. Woudhuizen 2005: 135 f.

¹⁵ Argument first put forward by Pauli, who is followed in this respect by Slotty 1937: 399 and Vetter 1962: 134-135.

suffix *-an(n)a*, which, in case of the primary numeral *dā-* “2”, even occurs in form of single *-n*, viz. *dān* “second”, thus presenting the closest comparative evidence for Etruscan *θun* (Friedrich 1974: 71-2). For this reason, then, cardinal *θu* or *tu*, which, as noted in the preceding section, even appears in lengthened spelling variant *θuva-* in the longer Etruscan version of the bilingual text on the Pyrgi gold tablets, may safely be compared to Luwian hieroglyphic *tuwa-* “2” (< PIE **d(u)woh₁* or **dwi-*) and, though somewhat more remotely, to Lycian B *tbi* and Lycian A *kbi* for the same meaning, from which it evidently follows that it must be interpreted accordingly (cf. Laroche 1960a: 206, *sub* L 384).

Against the backdrop of the relevant external evidence, therefore, it may safely be concluded that cardinal *ez* and ordinal *zal* or *sal* or *esl-* mean “1” and “first”, respectively, and that cardinal *θu* or *tu* and ordinal *θun* mean “2” and “second”, respectively.

4. CONCLUSION

The preceding discussion of internal and external evidence relating to the identification of the Etruscan numerals “1” to “6” evidently leads to the conclusion that the information supplied by both categories of evidence is compatible in every respect. Thus, the forms *ci* and *maχ*, most certainly identified on the basis of internal evidence alone, could be clarified with the help of peculiarities typical for the Indo-European languages of southwest Asia Minor. In addition, etymological correspondences for *huθ*, *zal*, and *θu*, which could only be loosely assigned to separate groups in which two possible meanings were valid on the basis of internal evidence, indicated straightforward identifications falling within the limits set by the aforesaid internal evidence. The meaning of the residual *śa*, for which no additional information is provided by external evidence, is a mere function of the identification of its companion *huθ* in the couple for “4” and “6” on the basis of external evidence as representing the first mentioned number. Finally, it deserves our attention that the plausibility of the resulting identifications is not seriously challenged by evidence from dice inscribed with dots to indicate the numbers, as there is one dice presently in the Villa Giulia collection (no. 13.350) which may serve as an analogy case for the distribution pattern of the numerals over the different sides as reconstructed

here, *i.e.* 6 opposite to 3, 5 opposite to 1, and 4 opposite to 2 (Slotty 1937: 383 f.).

In sum, these results cannot but lead up to a reversal of the *communis opinio* among present-day Etruscologists concerning the nature of the Etruscan system of basic numerals. Instead of being clearly non-Indo-European, this system now turns out to be straightforwardly related to the one of the Indo-European languages of southwest Asia Minor (for the PIE roots, cf. Meillet 1964: 409 ff. and Pokorny 1994, s.v.):

ETRUSCAN	IE ANATOLIAN	PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN
1. <i>zal</i>	<i>isl-</i> (< <i>sa-</i>)	* <i>sem-</i>
2. <i>θu</i>	<i>tuwa-</i>	* <i>d(u)woh₁</i> or * <i>dwi-</i>
3. <i>ci</i> (< * <i>cri-</i>)	<i>t(a)ria-</i>	* <i>treyes</i> or * <i>tri-</i>
4. <i>huθ, muva-</i>	<i>mauwa-</i>	* <i>k^wettwores</i> , * <i>mei-</i>
5. <i>maχ</i>	<i>ma-</i> (< * <i>mekki-</i>)	* <i>még^h₂-</i>
6. <i>śa</i>	<i>si-</i>	* <i>s(w)eks</i>

According to Herodotos, *Histories* I, 94 the Lydians had invented the game of dice during a severe famine in order to distract their attention from the nasty feeling in their stomachs. It did not help them to forget about food altogether, so after 18 years it was decided that half of the Lydian population should leave to find themselves new homes. Under the leadership of one of the two sons of the Lydian king, *Tursēnos*, they settled in the territory of the Umbrians in Italy and were henceforward called Tyrrhenians after their leader. According to the archaeological record, the earliest dice are found in the princely tombs of Barberini at Praeneste (20 pieces) and of Regolini-Galassi at Caere (5 pieces), all stemming from the 7th century BC (Slotty 1937: 382). Is it riskier than gambling to assume that there might be a connection between these two categories of evidence? To present-day Etruscologists it no doubt will appear to be so. But then, what are the merits of the opinion of those who cannot count to three in a language which happens to be the subject of their specialization?

News on the Etruscan primary numerals

In the FS Gusmani of 2006, John D. Ray argues cogently that the sequence of the Etruscan primary numerals “1” and “2”, in general

taken to be represented by *θu* and *zal*, respectively, and as such forming one of the foremost stumbling blocks against the identification of the Etruscan language as belonging to the Indo-European family, may well be reversed (Ray 2006, 1470: “On balance, the reversal of the numbers *zal* and *θu* has something to be said for it.”). If so, the case for their relationship with Indo-European equivalents, like, for example, Luwian hieroglyphic *sa-* “1” (< PIE **sem-*) and *tuwa-* “2” (< PIE **d(u)woh₁* or **dwi-*) seriously comes into consideration (note that *zal*, etc., is actually the ordinal variant of cardinal *ez*). In fact, Ray (2006, 1471) even goes one step further and boldly entertains the idea that *ci-* “3” may originate from PIE **tri-*. Unfortunately, however, the author appears to be unaware of the fact that I argued along these lines already in Woudhuizen 1988-9c—a much improved version of which has now appeared as section 11 in my book on the colonial Luwian nature of the Etruscan language of 2008 (pp. 171-186) (see preceding pages).

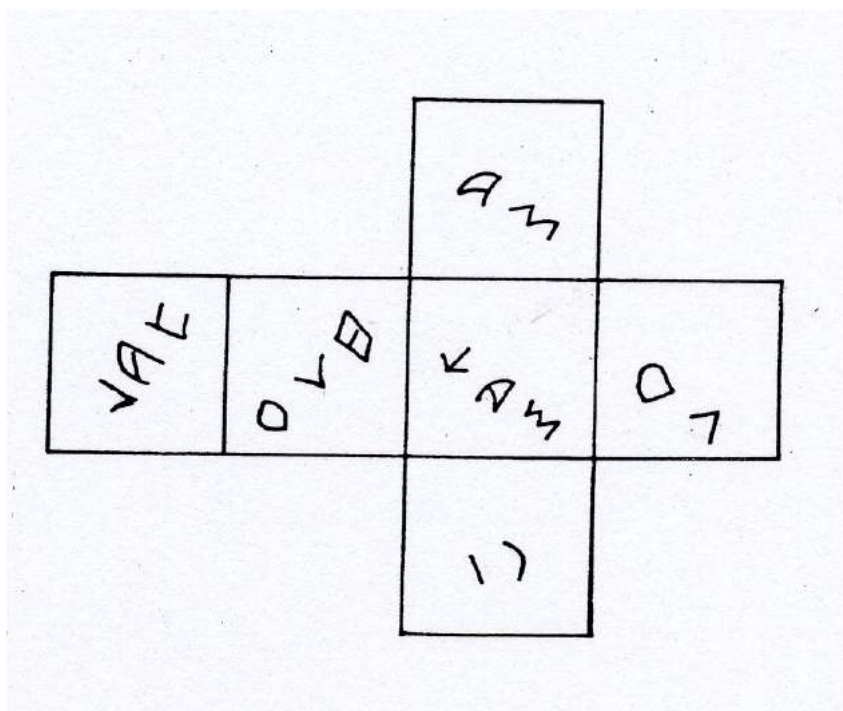


Fig. 16. Tuscana dice
(from Bonfante & Bonfante 2002: 95, fig. 7).

	Irish	Welsh	Greek	Latin	Italian	Spanish	French	German	Dutch	Swedish
1	aon	un	hon	unus	uno	uno	un	einz	een	en
2	do	duo	duo	duo	due	dos	deux	zwei	twee	två
3	tri	tri	treis	tres	tre	tres	trois	drei	drie	tre
4	ceathair	pedwar	tettaras	quattuor	quattro	cuatro	quatre	vier	vier	fyra
5	cuing	pump	pente	quinque	cinq	cinco	cinq	fünf	vijf	fem
6	se	chwech	hex	sex	sei	sais	six	sechs	zes	sex
7	seacht	sath	hepta	septem	sette	siete	sept	sieben	zeven	sju
8	ocht	wyth	okto	octo	otto	ocho	huit	acht	acht	åtta
9	naol	naw	ennea	novem	nove	nueve	neuf	neun	negen	nio
10	deich	deg	deka	decem	dieci	diez	dix	zehn	tien	tio
100	cead	cant	hekaton	centum	cento	ciento	cent	hundert	honderd	hundra
1	Danish	Old English	Polish	Russian	Bengali	Persian	Lithuanian	Albanian	Armenian	Tocharian A
1	en	an	jeden	odin	ek	yak	vienas	një	mi	sas
2	to	twa	dwie	dva	dvi	do	du	dy	erku	wu
3	tre	thre	trzy	tri	tri	se	trys	tre	erek'	tre
4	fire	feowre	cztery	chetyre	car	cahar	keturi	katër	cork'	stvar
5	tem	fit	piec	pyat	pac	panj	penkti	pesë	hing	pän
6	seks	sieks	szesc	shest	chay	shesh	sesi	gjashtë	vec	säk
7	syv	seofon	siedem	sem	sat	hatt	septyni	shatë	ew't'n	spät
8	otte	aahla	osiem	vosem	al	haah	astuoni	tatë	ut	okät
9	ni	nigon	dziestec	desyat	nay	noh	deyni	nëntë	im	nu
10	ti	hten	dziestec	desyat	das	dah	desimt	dhjetë	tasn	säk
100	hundraede	hund	sto	sto	sa	sad'	simtas	qind	harivr	kant

Fig. 17. List of numerals in various Indo-European languages (from Mallory 1989: 12-13, Fig. 3).

12. RITUAL PRESCRIPTIONS ON THE DISCUS OF MAGLIANO*

1. INTRODUCTION

The inscribed discus of Magliano, catalogued by Massimo Pallottino in his *Testimonia Linguae Etruscae* (Firenze 1968²) as inscription no. 359 (= Rix 1991: AV 4.1), belongs to a group of major Etruscan texts which were already known to us at the outset of the former century. In contrast to other members of this group, however, like the *Liber linteus* (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL), the Capua tile (TLE 2 = Rix 1991: TC), and the *cippus* of Perugia (TLE 570 = Rix 1991: Pe 8.4), to which several recent studies have been devoted (cf. Pirovano 1985; Roncalli 1985a), the text on the Magliano disc did not attract so much scholarly interest lately (for an overview of literature on the text of the discus, see Defosse 1976, s.v. *Plomb de Magliano*). This is all the more regrettable, because the conditions for studying the Etruscan language by means of this particular text are in many respects far superior to those concerning, for example, the texts of the *Liber linteus* and the Capua tile. In the first place, the object is well-preserved, whereas the two documents last mentioned have been handed down to us incompletely. Secondly, its text is a relatively short one as compared to not only that of the *Liber linteus*, but also that of the Capua tile or even that of the Perugia *cippus*, which are all considerably longer. Thirdly, it is worth mentioning that the text on the discus of Magliano for its repetitive character shows a reasonably simple structure. The latter observation is supported by the fact that scholars who have been dealing with the text before this became outmoded to do so, in the majority of the cases have been able to grasp its general contents. So most of them agree that the text inscribed on the lead discus:

- (1) is of a religious nature;
- (2) mentions the name of a deity at the beginning of each distinct section or phrase;
- (3) contains directions for some sort of sacrifice to the gods mentioned;

* This chapter consists of a reworked and updated version of Woudhuizen 1992b: 195-231. I am indebted to Frits Waanders for suggesting numerous improvements as to its first draft.

(4) which directions in their turn are further specified by indications rendering a temporal notion (Torp 1905: 4; Goldmann 1928: 245; Ribezzo 1929: 66, who adds locality for the recurrent couple of words ending in *-θ*; Cortsen 1939: 276).

As soon as it comes to the question how these general categories of information relate to the exact wording in the text, however, opinions tend to diverge, if not already about the category of divine names, then certainly about the ones concerning offerings and indications of time.¹

Considering these advantages of the text on the discus of Magliano as compared to the other major documents in the Etruscan language known already for a considerable period of time, it seems worthwhile to pay some renewed attention to it and try to investigate whether it is possible to improve our understanding of its contents and to go across the limits reached by former studies. To this purpose the text will be submitted to two different lines of approach. Firstly, the text will be analyzed structurally with the help of words and linguistic elements of which the meaning and function are reasonably well-defined in the present state of knowledge of the Etruscan language. The obvious intention of this approach is to establish some verifiable criteria for pinning the general notions about the contents of the text, already grasped intuitively by former scholars as noted above, to the exact wording used in the text. The second approach entails the etymological method and will consist of establishing the meaning of so far enigmatic words or linguistic elements on the basis of their formal relationship to better known counterparts in the Luwian dialects of southwest Asia Minor. As we have shown in the preceding chapters, the validity of the latter approach can be proven on the basis of the bilingual texts, thus allowing for its application as a hermeneutic device in the study of non-bilingual texts as well.

2. SCRIPT AND DATE

Exactly how the lead discus of Magliano came to light and from which archaeological context it stems remains unclear. It probably originates from clandestine excavations of graves in the neighborhood of Roman Heba, covering the period from the late 7th to the 3rd

¹ The GN *Θanr*, first identified by Milani 1893: 64, is not universally accepted. In addition, some scholars prefer to distinguish a middle section on side B devoted to a GN *†Šuri-*, on which topic see section 3 below.

century BC. As a result of these uncertainties concerning its find-context, there soon were raised doubts about the authenticity of the document, which were adequately suppressed by Luigi Milani in his scholarly publication of the text (Milani 1893: 47; cf. p. 44 for another disc with graffiti, discovered at the same locality). Another consequence of the unclear archaeological antecedents of the text is that for its dating we have to rely entirely on epigraphical criteria. According to these criteria, then, the upper limit of the inscription is determined by its use of the “figure-of-eight” sign for the expression of the value [f]. This form, which developed from an earlier one attested for the inscription of *Avle Feluske* on a stele from Vetulonia (TLE 363 = Rix 1991: Vn 1.1) dated to the latter half of the 7th century BC, is first documented from the middle of the 6th century BC onwards.² An indication for the lower limit, on the other hand, is likely to be provided by the peculiar variant of the sign for the value [ś]. Instead of drawing the usual “Greek” *san* (= sibilant no. 18; the form of the sign is for its attestation in archaic Lydian script actually Aegean) in form of our letter M, the scribe consequently lengthened the slanting crossbars in such a manner that there are formed two connecting triangles. This feature, paralleled only once in an inscription stemming from the north Etruscan region (CIE 2520 = Rix 1991: Cl 1.1405 [recent]; cf. Cristofani 1981a: 17), is characteristic of the local script of Capua in Campania (southern Italy) during the period of its Etruscan domination, and traceable, for example, in the text of the Capua tile (cf. the photograph of the Capua tile in Pirovano 1985; for a treatment of this text, see the next chapter). If, in the light of this evidence, the “double triangle” sign in the text on the discus of Magliano may be ascribed to Capuan influences in the writing, the discus is likely to have been inscribed prior to the sack of the latter town by the Samnites, an event variously dated 445 BC or 424 BC by the literary sources.³

² Colonna 1970: 666; Torelli 1967: 524. According to Cristofani 1997: 20 the “figure-of-eight” [f] is already present in an inscription from Caere dated to c. 575 BC, but this seems difficult to correlate with the development of the typical Caeretan digraph consisting of the combination of *ēta* with *wau* or vice versa for the expression of this value, being broken off by the introduction of the “figure-of-eight” sign during the first quarter of the 5th century BC, see Woudhuizen 1992a: 70, Fig. 1 (= our Fig. 12 here). For an update of the relevant data concerning the sign for [f], see now Woudhuizen 2016a.

³ Diodoros of Sicily, *The Library of History* XII, 31; Livy, *History of Rome* IV, 37. Note that Campanian influence in religious affairs on centers situated more to the

Now, the span of time between upper and lower limit can be further reduced by two supplementary considerations. The first concerns the phenomenon of syncope (= dropping of vowel(s) or “falling together” of consonants), which distinguishes forms like *lacθ* and *afrs* in the text of the discus from their counterparts in the text on the Capua tile, being spelled out more elaborately as *laxuθ* and *apirase*. This orthographic novelty renders a somewhat more “modern” flavor to the text on the discus of Magliano as compared to the one on the Capua tile, which is generally dated to the first half, if not actually to the end of the first quarter, of the 5th century BC. On the other hand, it must be noted that the lapse of time which separates the text on the Magliano disc from the one on the Capua tile can only have been a relatively short one as the text on the Capua tile already contains variant spellings characterized by syncope, like *laxθ* in its line 25. The first appearance of the phenomenon of syncope, then, is attributed by Helmut Rix to *c.* 475 BC on account of the *Avles Vpinas*-inscription on a vase from Vulci, assigned to about this particular date (Rix 1981: 87), and—even though there may be some evidence to move this limit a few decades upward (like *Θfarienas* and *Θfarie* for later *Θefarie*- as attested for a bronze tablet from Pyrgi [TLE 873 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.3], assigned to the end of the 6th or beginning of the 5th century BC). The phenomenon may even be shown to have started already as early as in the 7th century BC in north Etruria (Woudhuizen 1992a: 71). It therefore seems quite reasonable to assume that it is unlikely that the text on the discus of Magliano has been written down prior to this date. The last dating criterion and second supplementary consideration, finally, is formed by the punctuation mark in the form of three dots in columnar arrangement, which on the front side of the discus marks the end of the first two sections or phrases. This situation is strikingly reminiscent of the layout of the text on the Capua tile, according to which the same mark is used alongside the more common punctuation mark in the form of a dot placed half-high on the line in order to delineate larger units in the text. Although the evidence concerning the use of this particular punctuation mark in Etruscan in general is less transparent than that concerning its counterpart in Greek inscriptions, showing that this mark is no longer used in inscriptions post-dating *c.* 480 BC,⁴ it never-

north may be reflected in the veneration paid by the Romans to the Sibylline oracle at Cumae.

⁴ Jeffery 1998: 275, Sicily, Syracuse no. 6 with late instance of the punctuation mark in question, stemming from 480-479 BC.

theless seems deducible from the relevant material that this device flourished especially in archaic Etruscan texts from the late 7th and 6th century BC.⁵ In combination with the immediately preceding criterion, leading to the verdict “not prior to *c.* 475 BC”, the present indication seems to lead us to the conclusion that the inscription on the discus cannot be dated much beyond the limits of this very date either, so that it is perhaps most satisfactorily assigned to the second quarter of the 5th century BC (which is close to Rix’s [1991] Sigle 5m, *i.e.* the middle of the 5th century BC).

As we have noted before, the text on the discus of Magliano is well-preserved in comparison with other major documents in the Etruscan language. Nonetheless, there are a number of uncertainties in the reading which may have their impact on its ultimate interpretation and for this reason need to be discussed here. What strikes us most if we take a look at the drawings of the text, carefully made by Luigi Milani and reproduced here (see Fig. 18), is the fact that side A makes a much more decent impression than side B. This is no doubt largely due to the fact that on side A, the writer has taken the trouble to draw a spiral line in order to achieve an optimal distribution of the text over the entire surface of the discus, whereas this device is not applied on side B. Now, the omission of this spiral line on side B made it possible for the scribe to deviate from his original plan and to write the final section or phrase in four parallel lines, running in retrograde direction across the central part of the discus. As this change of plan may have been induced by the fact that in this manner it became much easier for the scribe to be as economical as possible in the distribution of the remaining words over the otherwise too limited remaining space, it may somehow be regarded as a calculated intervention. But the omission of the first word and the number in the outer line of the B side, added later in the margin, are downright proof of a loss of concentration. What primarily concerns us here, is that both types of deviation from the original plan have caused a disruption of the system of punctuation as at these points a number of single dots placed half-high on the line is clearly missing. (Note in this connection that on the front side we only would have expected an extra mark in the form of three dots in columnar

⁵ Checking Pallottino’s *Testimonia* on this point, it occurs that only a restricted number of inscriptions characterized by three (or more) dots in columnar arrangement are explicitly indicated to be of recent date, like, for instance, TLE 903 = Rix 1991: Vs 6.7 from Volsinii in eastern Etruria, which in chapter 10 we have already seen to be more conservative in its orthography than the coastal zone.

arrangement at the end of the text, which is clearly lacking. The omission of a dot at the end of the text on the B side is fully in accordance with this observation concerning the front side and we therefore see no reason to follow Pallottino in adding one here in the transliteration of the text.)

The individual signs are almost without exception sharply inscribed on both sides of the discus and therefore easily identifiable. Yet, in three instances, two of which are on the front side, there arises a problem about the exact reading of the sign. The first problem concerns the entry *tiu* from the second section on the front side. It is acknowledged by Milani that the sign in the middle of the word is irregularly formed as a result of a hard bubble in the metal on this spot, which seriously hampered writing (Milani 1893: 53). Close scrutiny, however, of the photographs presented by Milani (which to my knowledge are the best ones available) has convinced me that in reality there is no sign at all on the spot, just a blank space. Note in this connection that a similar blank spot, no doubt resulting from a similar unevenness in the material, is present in the word following the GN *Marišl* (D(-G) sg.) in the first combination of the third section of the text on side A. The second insecure reading on the front side is formed by the first sign of the word *šuci* in the latter part of the third section of the text. According to Milani it can be also interpreted as [t] (Milani 1893: 52), whereas Pallottino *et alii* prefer a reading [z], obviously for the correspondence thus achieved with the word *zuci* in the text on the Perugia *cippus* (Pallottino 1968a: 59 = TLE 359). Of all possible options, [s] is most likely and preferred here, because in this case only the vertical central bar appears to be unintentionally lengthened, whereas in case of a reading [t] the slanting crossbar on the lower side of the sign must be neglected and in case of a reading [z] an explanation must be found for the misplacement of the slanting crossbar on the lower side of the sign. Finally, there is one vital point of disagreement about the reading of the text on the back side of the discus. In his drawing, Milani has indicated a dot between the first and second sign of the combination *tnucasi* from the fourth section of the text. Other scholars, however, did not follow him on this point and considered the combination in question as a single word (see Pauli's discussion of CIE 5237 and cf. Pallottino TLE 359). Again, inspection of the photograph leads to the conclusion that there is indeed a sharply drawn impression in the lead object at this spot, though neither at the same height as the usual single dot, that is to say on top of the line instead of half-high on the line, nor of the same form, that is to say it looks more like a horizontal stroke than a dot. As a

consequence, it will be indicated by “” instead of “.” in the transliteration.

As mentioned in passing above, the system of punctuation is characterized by two co-existing devices: (a) three dots in columnar arrangement, and (b) a single dot placed half-high on the line, of which the former delineates larger units in the text like sections or phrases and the latter indicates more elementary units. If we are right in our analysis of the photographs concerning *t'nucasi*, placed between two dots half-high on the line, there can be added a third mark in the form of a horizontal stroke on top of the line, which apparently distinguishes constituent components within a single elementary unit.

Now, the precise function of the most common punctuation mark is variously judged by different authors. As Milani has shown by means of comparison between basic units, or even a combination of basic units, and words, or a sequence of words, from the *Liber linteus*, the dot placed half-high on the line usually indicates separate words or linguistic elements, even in case these words or elements consist of only two or three signs as the correspondence of the sequence *in.ecs.mene* from the second section on the A side to *an.cś.mene* in section II, line 9 of the *Liber linteus* makes clear (Milani 1893: 63). The number of such instances of the use of the punctuation mark in question is easily augmented if we include correspondences with other texts, like the Capua tile (*laχuθ*, *apirase* mentioned previously) and the Perugia *cippus* (*zuci* mentioned above, and *falśti*, corresponding to *falzaθi* at the end of the first section or phrase on the A side of the discus).⁶ On the other hand, it can be proved along the same line of approach that in certain cases the basic unit on the discus contains more than one word or linguistic element and that consequently the dot placed half-high on the line also functions as a combination-divider. Thus the unit *mariślmenitla* at the beginning of the third section on side A, in view of the GN *Marisl* (D(-G) sg.) in, for example, one of the fields on the Piacenza bronze liver (TLE 719 = Rix 1991: Pa 4.2), must evidently be split up in two parts, the GN *Mariśl* in the dative singular and a second entry, *menitla*, as we will see below on the basis of its formation in *-tla* to be taken for the indication of a day name. Similarly, the combination *młaxθanra*, added in the margin at the beginning of the text on side

⁶ Note that a complication is formed by the fact that the text on the Capua tile is characterized by syllabic punctuation and the word *falśti* from the text of the Perugia *cippus* forms part of a larger combination between punctuation marks; this latter identification rests with Torp 1905a: 12.

B, consists of a word *młax*, known from the archaic formula *młax mlakas* frequently attested on vases, and the name of a female deity *Θanr*, who is depicted on Etruscan mirrors. Again, the immediately following elementary unit *calusc* is a combination of the GN *Calu-*, generally identified as the Etruscan equivalent of Greek Hades, in the dative singular in *-s*, with the well-known enclitic conjunction *-c* “and” (Milani 1893: 58 f.; 64; for a discussion of *młax*, see below).

As it cannot be determined with certainty how many other elementary units are of a composite nature, this double function of the dot placed half-high on the line both as word- and as combination-divider is, of course, a complicating factor in our attempts to unravel the contents of the text. Some authors, however, have ventured to attribute a third function to this punctuation mark as well, namely the distinction of separate syllables within one and the same word. Thus Francesco Ribezzo takes the words or elements *am.ar* at the end of the text on side A as two constituent parts of one entry *amar* (Ribezzo 1929: 66 f.). Similarly, Alfred Torp suggested that the word *ez* directly following the number *LXXX* in the first section of the text on side A indicates an ending of the numeral in question which he compares with the suffix *-z(i)* or *-ś(i)* attached to numbers written out in letters as appearing in Etruscan funeral inscriptions (Torp 1905a: 9; cf. *cizi* “three times” in TLE 99 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.170 and *elsśi*, clearly a writing error for **eslśi*, in TLE 169 = Rix 1991: AT 1.138). But there is no positive evidence on which this supposition can be founded (both propositions go without parallel in other Etruscan documents) and it must be noted that the alleged third function of the punctuation mark in question is clearly incompatible with the two other ones exemplified above. It therefore must be discarded as unacceptable.

A final matter to be discussed here concerns orthography. It is acknowledged by the publishers of one of the recent editions of the *Liber linteus* that there is a frequent oscillation between [c] and [χ], [t] and [θ], and [s], [ś], and [z] in variant writings of the same words occurring in this text, usually assigned to the period of the 3rd to 1st century BC (Pirovano 1985: 50). A logical inference from this observation is that Etruscan writing has not reached a degree of standardization of its orthography comparable to, for example, the Attic *koinē*. As a result of this, similar variations in spelling are to be expected in the even earlier text on the discus of Magliano. Having arrived at this conclusion, it can no longer really surprise us that the word *neśl* from the first section or phrase on the front side of the discus recurs as *nesl* in the first section or phrase on its back side. Along the same line of

thought it is highly probable that the verbal ending in *-ce*, recognized by a number of scholars in the first component of the combination *m̥laθce-marni* in the second section of the text on the A side, is interchangeable with the verbal ending in *-χe* as present in the word *ilaχe* from the final passage on side B (note that the root last mentioned is definitely a verbal one as deducible from its recurrence in the bilingual inscriptions on the Pyrgi gold tablets, where Etruscan *ila<ce>-cve* is matched by *k-(štrt). 'rš* “because (Astarte) has favored” in Phoenician).⁷ The number of instances of these variations in spelling is easily increased if we are also willing to take into account forms from other Etruscan texts corresponding to words on the discus. Thus, we have already observed the correspondence of *lacθ* to *laχ(u)θ* in the text on the Capua tile, of *šuci* to *zuci* and of *falzaθi* to *falšti*, both from the text on the Perugia cippus, of *ecs* to *cś* in the *Liber linteus* and of *Mariśl* to *Marisl* on the Piacenza bronze liver. To these examples can be added the correspondence of *lursθ* to *lustreś* (mark the metathesis of [r] and [sθ] or [st]!), *tuθiu* to *tutin*, and *avils* to *avilś*, all stemming from the *Liber linteus*, of *sal* to *zal* and *tu* to *θu*, both occurring on the Tuscan dice (TLE 197a-b = Rix 1991: AT 0.14-5), etc. (Milani 1893: 63; on the numerals, see further below).

3. STRUCTURE AND GENERAL CONTENTS

In the introduction to the present chapter I have already indicated that scholars who have treated the text on the discus of Magliano in the past generally succeeded to grasp the basic outlines of its contents, but failed to reach agreement about the precise connection between the general categories of information and the exact wording used in the text. Presently, then, we will try to overcome this problem by a structural analysis of these contents based upon information about the

⁷ Ribezzo 1929: 83; Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 170 f. A functional distinction between the variant writings of the verbal endings in *-ce* and *-χe* is proposed by Carlo de Simone (1970), according to which *-ce* renders the active and *-χe* the passive in both instances of the 3rd person singular of the past tense. Although this opinion has received wide acceptance amongst Etruscologists (cf. Cristofani 1981a), it is incompatible with the evidence presented by Pirovano for interchange between [c] and [χ] and does not take into account the fact that the verbs *vatiēχe* and *turuce* in the longer version of the Etruscan text on the Pyrgi gold tablets are matched by *p'l* “he has made” and *ym* “he has given”, respectively, in Phoenician, see chapter 9 above.

different words and linguistic elements emanating from Etruscan documents only.

The most natural starting point for this undertaking is formed by the category of information about which, as we have noted earlier, there has been established a far-reaching *communis opinio* amongst scholars, viz. the divine names. It has been widely accepted, namely, that each distinct section or phrase starts with the name of a divinity characterized by an ending in *-s* (4x) or *-l* (1x), which, owing to the discovery of the bilingual inscription on the Pyrgi gold tablets in which the Etruscan combination *unial-Astres* is reflected by *l-rbt l-šrt* “to the lady, to Astarte” in Phoenician, can now definitely be identified as the one for the dative singular case (cf. Pallottino 1978: 445). It thus occurs that the front side of the discus is devoted to a divine triad, comprising, in the order of their being mentioned in the text, the sun-god *Cauθa-*, the female deity *Aisera-* (rightly compared by modern scholars to Latin *Ceres* and Greek *Dēmētēr* notwithstanding the fact that the apparently related gloss *aisar* of TLE 803 is taken by Classical authors for a masculine word and translated as Greek *θεός* or Latin *deus*),⁸ and the vegetation god *Mariś-*. With regard to the back side there is general agreement about the fact that the final section is devoted to the male sky-god *Tin-* (even so we will in the following see reasons to suggest that we are actually dealing with the Etruscan form of Greek *Dionusos*, viz. *Tins-*) and that the immediately preceding section concerns the male god *Calu-*, who, as we have seen, is considered to be the Etruscan equivalent of Greek *Hadēs*.

Problems arise, however, in connection with the expected third divinity for the completion of the triad on the back side of the object. Following a suggestion of Ribezzo, a number of scholars has ventured to identify an intermediate section dedicated to a deity named *†Šuri-*. Favorable to this suggestion is the circumstance that accordingly the formation of the text on the back side runs exactly parallel to that of the text on the front side and that the GN *Calu-* is in effect associated with the root of the assumed GN in question in the composite *Calusurasi* from TLE 172 = Rix 1991: AT 1.107.⁹ A dis-

⁸ Note, however, that from an etymological point of view the GN *Aisera-* seems to originate from Semitic *Asasara* (Cretan hieroglyphic and Linear A) or *Asherah* (Hebrew).

⁹ Ribezzo 1929: 93; note that Cortsen 1939: 271 f. accepts both *Θanr-* and *†Šuri-* and arrives at the conclusion that the B side is devoted to four gods instead of a triad.

advantage to this opinion, however, is formed by the observation that for its ending in *-(i)s* the word *śuris* in the present text appears to be grammatically associated with the immediately following entry *eisteis*, and that therefore we may rather be dealing with an ordinary vocabulary word. The latter suggestion gains weight by the fact that Ambros Pfiffig's identification of the GN *Śuri-* in a recently discovered inscription on a bronze "Losstäbchen" from Viterbo, dated to the 4th or 3rd century BC, is unwarranted, as the inscription, reading: *śuris savcnes*, shows two elements in A(m/f) pl. in *-es* or *-is* and may reasonably be translated as "prosperous sacrifices" (Pfiffig 1975: 155 and Abb. 59 = Rix 1991: AT 4.1; for *sacni* "sacrifice!", cf. TLE 205 = Rix 1991: Vs 4.13). Finally, it needs to be admitted that the identification of †*Śuri-* as a GN does not solve the problem which it is brought up for, as the combination *Calusurasi* seems to imply that with the root *śuri-*, if used for GN, reference is made to the same divinity as mentioned at the beginning of the first section, viz. *Calu-*, and for this reason the expected third GN for the completion of the triad is still missing.

In the present situation, then, we seem to be on much more solid ground with the solution offered by Milani, who has rightly drawn attention to the fact that the second part of the added combination at the beginning of the text on the back side, *Θanra*, recalls the name of the female divinity *Θanr* as depicted on a number of mirrors. As a matter of fact, this identification concords perfectly well with the observation that the immediately following GN, *Calu-*, has the enclitic conjunction *-c* "and" attached to it, which thus effectively pairs both divine names. Moreover, it needs to be stressed in this connection that the word *młax*, constituting the first part of the composite *młaxθanra*, is by no means out of place as apposition to a female divinity. In a more recently found funeral inscription (TLE 887 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.164), namely, the word occurs in declined variant as *mlace* in combination with the apparently grammatically lined entry *farθne*, the root of which is correctly interpreted by Pfiffig as rendering the meaning "girl" on account of its correspondence in form to the typically Aiolic variant of Greek παρθένος, viz. φαρθένος (Pfiffig 1975: 275). To this comes that the exact meaning of the word has even been established in an admirable example of the structural approach by the Italian scholar Luciano Agostiniani as "beautiful" on account of the demonstrable correspondence of the archaic vase-formula *młax mlakas* to Greek καλός καλῶ and early Latin *duenos duenoi* (Agostiniani 1981). In other words: just the kind of apposition

to be expected to occur in combination with a deity who is generally considered to be the Etruscan equivalent of Latin *Libera* and Greek *Korē* (Milani 1893: 64 ff.).¹⁰ Finally, it seems very confirmatory that with two male and one female divinity the composition of the triad on the back side of the discus is exactly the same as the one on the front side. An immediate consequence of the analysis of Milani, however, is that the vowel *a* attached to the name of the goddess in the present text must be regarded as the ending of the dative singular, whereas the apposition *mlax*, in view of the dative singular *mlakas* from the archaic vase-formula, is clearly not properly declined. Furthermore, it follows that the pattern of the text on the front side, according to which a separate section is devoted to each deity, is not repeated in the text on the back side, where one relatively long section is devoted to two deities taken as a couple and a second section is devoted to the third deity. But, then, does this situation not offer the most natural explanation for the initial omission of one of the GNs in the first section of the text on the back side, added later by the scribe in the course of his secondary corrections?

The next category of information which presents itself for further discussion is the one concerning temporal notions. For the central word within this category is formed by *avil*, which, as all scholars in Etruscan linguistics agree, means “year” (Pallottino 1975: 225; Pallottino 1988: 480; Cristofani 1997: 64). In both simple and more complex appearances, the word occurs four times in sum, three times in the text on the front side and once in that on the back. It is interesting to note that it is used twice in the first section on the A side, first in declined form as *avils* following the name of the divinity after one word only and directly preceding the number *LXXX* in conformity with its use in the “age-formula” of the average funeral inscription, and secondly in its most simple form as *avil* following an expression which by and large is repeated in the second section of the text. From a structural point of view, then, the first mentioned position of the word can be compared to its use in most simple form in

¹⁰ Cf. in this connection also the nick-name *Malakòs* “the Effeminate” for Aristodemus of Cumae, who is reported by Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities* VII, 7, 4, to have made use of a body-guard which included Etruscan prisoners from the battle at Aricia for his personal safety. Note that, as we have observed earlier (see chapter 5), Etruscan *mlax* may be suggested to ultimately originate from the Semitic language on account of its formal relationship to Ugaritic *mlh* “good, beautiful”. The same verdict (on the analogy of *Aisera-* < *Asherah*) also applies to the GN *Θανr-*, being a rhotacized (with respect to the second dental) variant of Semitic *Tanit*.

the first section of the text on the back side, where it occurs again in direct association with a number, viz. *IV*, this time following it, and likewise follows closely upon the names of the divinities mentioned at the outset of this particular section. In the same way, the position of the word mentioned secondly is comparable to its application in most complex form as *avilsχ*—a combination of the declined form *avils* with an enclitic *-χ*. No doubt this is to be identified as a writing variant of the copula *-c* “and” in view of the oscillation between [c] and [χ] noted above—in the third section of the text on side A, as it follows here upon what, because of the repetitive nature of the text in this respect, must evidently be taken for the same expression as present in the two preceding sections, but this time repeated with omission of the sequence *casθialθ lacθ* perhaps for brevity’s sake (cf. Torp 1905a: 16).

Proceeding along this line of research, it subsequently becomes observable that there is yet another word in the text on the A side which takes one of the two distinguished positions for *avil*, etc., in the structure of the text, namely *afrs*. In the third section this word follows upon the name of the deity at its start after one word only, and precedes the formulaic expression, varying in minor details, based on the elements *χimθm* and *casθialθ lacθ* (of which the latter element, as we have just observed, is omitted in the present phrase perhaps for brevity’s sake) in the same way as *avil*, etc., in first mentioned position. Now, this word is connected in a stimulating contribution by the Scandinavian scholar S.P. Cortsen with the month name *Aprilis*, appearing in other Etruscan texts as *apries* or *apirase* (the latter form from the text on the Capua tile, mentioned earlier in a totally different context). According to this analysis, then, the month name in question originates from the GN *Aphroditē*, in whose honor feasts were celebrated during this particular time of the year, corresponding to the latter half of March and the beginning of April according to our present calendar. Supporting evidence for this view is provided by the variant form *Aphrilem* of regular *Aprilem* preserved by the Latin author Varro, showing the spelling variant with [p^h] of the word in question. Still more interesting, however, is the fact that the form of the month name as it appears in our present text is most closely paralleled in the calendar of Oloosson and Larissa, two places in the north-Aegean region, where it occurs as *Aphrios*, an adjectival derivative in *-io-* of the abridged form *Aphrō* or *Aphreia* with which the goddess Aphrodite used to be addressed in the region of the Khersonesos! No wonder, therefore, that Cortsen inferred from this striking linguistic connection that the Etruscan month name

could only have reached Italy through the medium of the *Tursēnoi* originally inhabiting the north-Aegean coastal region in question (Cortsen 1938: 270 ff.; Cortsen 1939: 276; cf. Pfiffig 1975: 93 for the month name and Pallottino 1969: 82 for the inclusion of *afrs* in the sequence *apire*, *apires*, *apirase*, etc.). But why did he not reach the still more obvious conclusion that the word *afrs* must be translated accordingly as “during (the D(-G) singular ending in -s rendering a temporal aspect) the month April”? Nobody can tell. Anyhow, the structural evidence, supported here by etymological considerations, seems to justify the classification of *afr(s)* with the word *avil(s)* as a temporal indication. If this is correct, its second appearance in combination with the still enigmatic entry *naces*, which, on account of its ending in -s, apparently qualifies it, at the end of the fifth and final section of the text as a whole is probably to be grouped with the occurrences of the word *avil*, etc., in second position at a more advanced stage of the section or phrase.

On account of its position directly following the divine name at the start of the section and the fact that its formation in *-tla* calls to mind the day names in *-tale* (Pyrgi text) or *-tul(e)* or *-tul(a)* (text of the Capua tile), it seems reasonable to classify *menitla* in the third section with the category of words expressing a temporal notion rather than to consider it an apposition to the divine name, as I have suggested in an earlier publication. If rightly so, the translation as “day of the handlings” lies at hand against the backdrop of the relationship of the root *meni-* to Hittite *maniyahh-* “to handle” (Friedrich 1991, s.v.).

A fourth type of word, finally, which occurs in the same position as *avil(s)* and *afr(s)* when following upon the category of divine names at the beginning of the section or phrase, like it is also the case with the day name *menitla*, is formed by declined forms of the demonstrative pronoun *ec(a)-*, viz. *ecs* in the second and *ecnia* in the fourth section of the text. The first of these two forms is immediately preceded by the entry *in* and followed by *mene*, in sum forming a combination strikingly paralleled by *an.cś.mene* in the text of the *Liber linteus*, as we have already noted earlier (see above and cf. chapter 10). As this combination, or a constituent part of it, evidently takes the position of *avils LXXX* in the foregoing section, more than one scholar has assumed that the expected temporal notion is expressed by the form *mene* on account of its likeness in form to Latin *mensis* “month”, and that the entire sequence reads accordingly “in this month”. A problem posed to this interpretation is formed by the observation that *mene* for the absence of an ending in -s does not

appear to be grammatically related with the preceding form of the demonstrative pronoun. But it is definitely ruled out by the, unjustly overlooked, variant expression *an.cś.mele* from the text of the *Liber linteus*, showing that the entry in question consists of two distinct elements, *me-* and *-ne* or *-le*, respectively.¹¹ Consequently, it is more likely that the temporal notion in the second section of our text is expressed by the declined form of the demonstrative pronoun, characterized as it is by the same ending in *-s* as found in *avils* and *afirs*. As a result of this analysis, then, it can only be surmised that the form of the pronoun in question takes up again one of the *concrete* temporal expressions from the preceding section, be it *avils LXXX* or *avil*.

On the analogy of this reasoning, the form *ecnia*, which is situated in between the divine names and the temporal expression *IV avil* at the outset of the fourth section of the text, may likewise be expected to render a temporal notion, even though this cannot be the same one as that rendered by the concrete expression *IV avil* immediately following it, being mentioned for the first time in the text. If we are right in our analysis so far, the solution for the tantalizing problem as to which concrete temporal notion the different forms of the demonstrative pronoun refer may be hinted at by the simple observation that they are actually different in form. Now, as *ecs* renders the dative singular, it seems not farfetched to interpret *ecnia* as a dative plural. The more so, because the ending, though this time in graphic variant and attached to the demonstrative *ita-*, is present in the form *itani* of the longer Etruscan version of the text on the Pyrgi gold tablets, which in the expression *itani-m heramve*, matched by *w-(...) l-m' š* “and (...) for the statue” in Phoenician and *va-cal tmial* “and for this building (or holy place)” in the shorter Etruscan version, definitely renders the dative of the demonstrative in question, but not the common one in *-s* or *-l*.¹² This being the situation, *ecs* probably refers to a singular temporal notion in the preceding section, most

¹¹ As a result of this analysis, comparison to Lycian combinations like *me-ne* and *me-ti*, consisting of a sentence introductory particle with enclitically attached pronominal form, seems to recommend itself, a trail followed further below.

¹² Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 153 ff., where I compared *itani* to Hittite pronominal forms like *-edani*, *kedani*, *apedani*, which are all dative singular forms. In reality, however, a relationship to Lydian in this respect lies more at hand considering the fact that the pronominal inflection in this language on account of forms like *ēminai₁* and *ēminas* (< *ēmi-* “my”) is likewise characterized by the additional morpheme *-n-* in the plural, see Woudhuizen 2005: 146 and cf. chapter 9.

likely to be identified with the simple form *avil* in its obvious function of specifying a smaller unit of time within the all-embracing period of 80 years mentioned earlier in the same section. Similarly, *ecnia* very likely takes up again a temporal notion in the plural mentioned in the preceding part of the text, which according to the present structural analysis of the contents can only be identified as the all-embracing period of time given in the first part of section one, viz. *avils LXXX* “during (a period of) 80 year(s)”,¹³ thus effectively assuring that the general boundary in time is valid for the text on both sides of the discus.

Apart from these two instances, the demonstrative pronoun occurs once more in the text, this time in the nominative singular or, if a neuter, combined nominative and accusative singular form *eca*, directly following the composite *avils-χ* in the latter part of section three. The connection of this form, however, with the given temporal notion is problematic on account of the fact that the endings do not match. Similarly, its relationship to the titular expression *cepen* “priest” which it precedes is not clear either, as this functionary has not been mentioned before in the text.¹⁴ The best thing to do, therefore, seems to set this instance of the demonstrative aside for the moment.

Having recognized the names of individual deities and pinned the general category of temporal notions to the exact wording used in the text, the task to identify words or expressions with a bearing on the third general category of information, *i.e.* the one concerning indications of offerings, becomes much more simple. This observation is especially true for the formulaic and highly repetitive text on the A side of the discus, after elimination of yet another combination as a possible candidate for the category of offerings. The sequence *casθialθ lacθ*, namely, as we have noted earlier, is not repeated in the third section of the text perhaps for brevity’s sake, from which

¹³ Note that the fact that *avils* renders the D(-G) sg. in *-s* does not invalidate our argument, as also in English one can say “a period of 80 year” alongside “a period of 80 years”, the singular variant being allowed for as a collective.

¹⁴ The titular expression *cepen* “priest” is sometimes compared to the Oscan equivalent of Latin *sacerdos*, *cupencu* (Ribezzo 1929: 77 f.; Cortsen 1939: 272), but the comparison is not entirely self-evident. In view of its association with *marunux(va)* (5 times) and *ceχaneri* (1 time) in the indication of the magistracies of the funeral inscriptions included in Pallottino’s *TLE*, it may be deduced that the *cepen* could belong to the organizations in question, the former of which is mentioned in form of *marni* in the preceding second section.

observation it seems deducible that these words refer to a subordinate category of information. In addition, the fact that both elements of this combination are characterized by the ending in *-θ*, generally identified by scholars in Etruscology as a marker of the locative case, corroborates the view that it renders a notion of a nature entirely different from the categories distinguished so far, namely that of the locality where the as yet unspecified action(s) on behalf of the gods take(s) place (Pfiffig 1975: 34; Pallottino 1978: 440; 454). As a consequence, there remains only one word which is persistently repeated in every section between the indications of temporal nature on the one hand and of locality on the other, thus singling itself out as the only possible candidate for the expression of a notion belonging to the general category of indications of an offering, namely *χimθm*. A similar conclusion had already been reached by Alfred Torp at the beginning of the former century (Torp 1905: 10), but other scholars generally preferred to interpret the word *χimθm* differently, sometimes even as a numeral (Kluge 1936: 193 f.). The suggestion last mentioned, however, is much inferior to the first one, because, as Torp pointed out, *χimθm* is associated in the third section of the text with the word *cialaθ*, containing the root *ci-* of the numeral attested for the Tuscan dice (TLE 197a-b = Rix 1991: AT 0.14-5) now definitely proved to be “3” on account of the correspondence of *ci avil* from the longer Etruscan version of the bilingual text on the Pyrgi gold tablets to Phoenician *šnt šlš III* “year three” (Pallottino 1978: 445). Furthermore, the same scholar rightly compared the formation of *cialaθ* to that of the entry *cianil*, which to all probability denotes the ordinal number “third” on account of the correspondence of the combination *cianil puia* in a funeral inscription on a sarcophagus from Toscanella (TLE 189 = Rix 1991: AT 1.33) to Latin *tertia uxor* in a closely comparable context (Torp 1905a: 13 f.).¹⁵ Even though the interpretation of *χimθm* as a numeral for this reason seems unlikely, we will try to show below that in some curious way it nevertheless did hit the mark.

Before embarking on the vexed question of the precise meaning of the indication of offering *χimθm*, however, we first of all have to solve a problem which is more relevant to our present purpose. As

¹⁵ It is noteworthy that the formation in *-anil* strikingly recalls that of Hittite *-analli-* in the words ^{lū}*trīyanalli-* and ^{lū}*duyanalli-*, based upon the numerals “three” and “four”, see Friedrich 1974: 72. The present formation in *-alaθ* is probably to be analyzed as a compound of the adjectival morpheme *-ali-* with the locative ending in *-θ*.

the word *χimθm* does not recur in the text on the back side of the discus, we obviously need to ask ourselves which word in this part of the text renders the notion of offering. Happily, with this question we are on more solid ground, again, owing to the fact that the entry *lursθ*, which is mentioned two times in the final section of the text, can be safely connected with Latin *lustrum* on account of the intermediate form *lustreś* attested for the considerably later text of the *Liber linteus*, already showing metathesis of [r] and [st] or [sθ]. According to the Roman evidence, then, a *lustrum* entails the offering of *suovetaurilia* by the censors on the *Campus Martius* as a ritual conclusion of their term of office after having taken the *census* of the citizens. This expiatory offering was carried out in the presence of the people and, after the establishment of the censorship as a regular institution in the year 443 BC, tended to be celebrated after a fixed period of five years, but this was only the outcome of a long process covering almost three entire centuries. Originally, the festivities in question were held after irregular intervals of generally 3 to 7 years, but sometimes even more than that (Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. *lustrum*; cf. Cary & Scullard 1986: 69).

From a structural point of view, moreover, the impression that *χimθm* and *lursθ* are both words belonging to the same category of information is emphasized by the fact that the latter word, just like its counterpart on the front side of the discus, is closely associated with numerals. It must be realized that owing to the merit of the Scandinavian scholar Torp, again, we are able to interpret the words *sal* and *θun*, immediately following and preceding, respectively, the second instance of *lursθ*, as such on account of their correspondence in form to the numerals *zal* and *θu* on the Tuscana dice or related forms like *esl-em* and *θun-em* from the indications of calendar days in the *Liber linteus* and *eslz* and *θunz* occurring in the context of indications of magistracies held by the deceased person in funeral inscriptions (Torp 1905a: 4 ff. ; cf. the end of section 2 above). (Note that the distinction of *sal* as a separate element in the combination *lursθsal* is deducible from the free-standing occurrence of *lursθ* at the beginning of the same section; the separation of *θun* from *huvi* in the combination *huviθun* is solely based on comparative evidence from other texts.)

Equipped with this information, it now becomes worthwhile to turn back to the front side of the discus and pay some attention to the still enigmatic entries *ez* and *tu* immediately preceding the word *χimθm*. From a structural point of view these entries are situated in

exactly the same position as the composite *cialaθ* based, as we have seen, on the root of the numeral *ci-* “3”. It therefore seems almost inevitable to connect *ez* and *tu* with the numerals just cited, viz. *zal* or *esl-* and *θu-* or *θun*, respectively. Apparently, this leads to the conclusion that *ez* and *tu* or *θu* are the basic forms of the numerals in question and that *zal* or *esl-* and *θun* are more complex, or, in other words: that the forms first mentioned are cardinals and the ones last mentioned ordinals. Now, a problem is posed by the generally accepted opinion that *zal*, etc., means “2” and *θu*, etc., means “1” (Pallottino 1975: 216). For on the basis of the sequence in our present text, running from *ez* in the first section via *tu* in the second section to *ci-* in the third one, it seems, in view of the conspicuous correlation between sections and numerals, hardly avoidable to consider the provisional translations as incorrect and to alter them in *zal* “first” (ordinal!) and *θu* “2”. This adjustment concerning the translation of the numerals has already been proposed by me in the late 1980s, primarily on account of the fact that the root of the numeral last mentioned is present in *θuvas*, characterized by the D dual ending in *-as*, in the longer Etruscan version of the bilingual inscriptions on the Pyrgi gold tablets, where it is followed by *two* closely parallel phrases, anticipated by Pallottino to contain *bipartite* information (Colonna, Garbini, Pallottino & Vlad Borelli 1964: 99; Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 156; 169). It is particularly recommended, however, by etymological evidence as it allows for the comparison of the numerals in question to the well-known and widely dispersed Indo-European roots **sem-* “1” (cf. Greek εἶς and esp. Hittite *āšma*) and **dwi-* “2” (cf. Greek *duō*, Latin *duo*, and esp. Luwian *tuwa-*).¹⁶

If this view be considered an acceptable one, we next may wonder whether it does not open the way to elucidate the as yet unclearly defined nature of the offering *χimθm* according to a similar line of approach. For it seems very attractive to consider the word in question as the Etruscan equivalent of Greek ἐκτόμβη, a sacrifice of

¹⁶ On the Proto-Indo-European background of Etruscan numerals of the *Tuscan dice*, see Woudhuizen 1988-9c or chapter 11 above. Note that the second identification was already put forward by Bugge 1883: 149, who also rightly recognized the Indo-European nature of the numeral *śa* on the *Tuscan dice*, corresponding to Greek ἕξ and Latin *sex* “six” (< PIE **s(w)éks*), see Bugge 1883: 165; for the given Anatolian forms, see Friedrich 1974: 71; Woudhuizen 2011: 166 (Maraş 4, § 7). For the use of the Luwian hieroglyphic sign L 380 in form of a vertical stroke identical to the indication of one unit for the value *sa₉* in the *Topada* text, from which it may be deduced that the Luwian numeral “1” reads *sa-*, see Woudhuizen 2005: 54; 177.

a hundred oxen, owing to its remarkable formal similarity to Greek ἑκατόν and Latin *centum*, both meaning “100” and originating from the Proto-Indo-European root **k₁mtóm*. According to the Attic evidence, this kind of sacrifice was brought yearly during the first month of their calendar year, corresponding to the latter half of July and the beginning of August in terms of our own calendar, which as a result of this became known as ἑκατομβαιών (*LSJ*, s.v.; note that the element -βη, referring to the oxen, is absent in the Etruscan equivalent).

Now the task to pin the general category of offerings to the exact wording used in the text has been accomplished, the results from the previous structural analysis can be rendered in a kind of grid system, in which the general categories of information are placed on top in a horizontal line and the sections of the text are set out at the side along a vertical axis, whereas the individual words relevant to the structure are listed to the right of the section numbers, according to their determination, so as to form columns of words performing a closely comparable function in the text (see Table XXVI on p. 217 below). A small number of features rendered in this grid has not been discussed yet, like, for instance, the “*nesl man*”-formula in section one, following the representatives of the general categories discussed so far; in graphic variant, this formula recurs in the latter part of the fourth section, and it is classified in Table XXVI as a separate category labelled “*varia*” for convenience’s sake, as it thus far eludes our attempts at clarification. The same verdict applies to the arrangement of the word *tuθiu*—generally considered by Etruscologists to be related to Osco-Umbrian *touto-* or *tuta-* “people”, a derivative of which is present in the Oscan titular expression *meddīss túvtīks* “legislator of the people (or state)” (Ribezzo 1930: 443; Heurgon 1966: 113)—with the divine name *Cauθα-* in the dative singular in *-s*, which is more or less dictated by the general structure of the text according to which it occurs in a position comparable to *m₁lax*, the apposition to *Θanra*, although it must be admitted that the latter form occurs in front of the divine name and not after it. Much more insecure is the proposal to distinguish a verbal form *lurca*, characterized by the same root as the one present in the indication of offering from the fifth section of the text, *lursθ*, in the lengthy combination *marcalurcac* in section four on the same side of the discus. In defence of this proposition it can be brought forward that the combination of similar formation immediately preceding it, *mimenicac*, is often analyzed by scholars as consisting of the basic element *menica*,

recalling the verbal form *menece* or *menaxe* “he has made” from the Etruscan maker-formula, which in that case appears in combination with the enclitic copula *-c* “and” and the prefix *mi-*, likely, as we will argue below, to be explained in terms of reduplication (cf. Ribezzo 1929: 90; Cristofani 1981a: 79; 84). At any rate, it so happens that the verbal ending *-ca* is paralleled for *eniaca* in the wish-formula of the longer Etruscan version of the bilingual inscriptions on the Pyrgi gold tablets, and that it therefore may reasonably be argued to express a certain mood, *i.e.* the optative or subjunctive. Accordingly, then, the form *marcalurcac* may plausibly be analyzed as a composition of the verbal form *marcalurca* with the enclitic copula *-c* or perhaps even of the verbal forms *marca* and *lurca* with this same enclitic copula (cf. Ribezzo 1929: 90; Kluge 1936: 202; 207). However this may be, if the root of the verbal form *lurca* would indeed turn out to be ultimately based on the indication of offering *lursθ*, it inevitably follows that the entire back side of the discus is devoted to *lustra* in like manner as its front side is concerned with *hecatombs*.

Against the background, then, of our inference that the front side is dedicated to hecatombs and the back side to *lustra*, also the opposition between *avil* on the front side and *IV avil* on the back side as far as the temporal notions is concerned becomes comprehensible, because, as we have hinted at in the above, *hecatombai* are sacrificed *yearly* at a fixed time, whereas *lustra* are celebrated after *an interval of several years*, if not altogether four-yearly as this is the term to catch up with the solar year of about $365\frac{1}{4}$ days by adding one more day to the actual calendar year of 365 days.

From here we can even go one step further and point out that also the restricted use of month names in the text on the discus can easily be accounted for—at least insofar as the only instance of *afrs* “during April” on the front side is concerned—thanks to the (at least for Attica) regular connection between the offering of hecatombs and the first month of the year. So only the hecatomb which according to the third section had to be sacrificed *tertio loco* (= *cialaθ*) in honor of the vegetation god *Mariś-* needed to be specified in this manner, as it evidently fell out of the scope of the regular month for this type of offering.

Even though we have little information about the month in which the Etruscans used to celebrate their *lustra* (of the Romans we know that they celebrated their censorial *lustrum* during the month of May), the contents of the fifth section is already transparent enough to allow for the deduction that it concerns the specification of the month name of the *first* lustrum, *viz. afrs naces* “during (...) April”, in

case there should be held a *second lustrum* as a result of extra favorable circumstances granted by the god.

side	sect.	categories					
		a) divine name	b) time (1)	c) offering		d) location	e) time (2)
A	1.	<i>cauthas tuthiu</i>	<i>avils LXXX</i>	<i>ez</i>	<i>chimthm</i>	<i>casthialth lacth (...)</i>	<i>avil</i>
	2.	<i>aieras</i>	<i>in ecs (...)</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>chimthm</i>	<i>casthialth lacth</i>	
	3.	<i>marišl</i>	<i>meniſla aſrs</i>	<i>cialath</i>	<i>chimthm</i>		<i>avils-ch (...)</i>
B	4.	<i>mlach-thanra calus-c</i>	<i>ecnia IV avil (...)</i>	<i>...)-lurca-(...</i>			<i>...) nesl man (...)</i>
	5.	<i>tins</i>		<i>lursth (...)</i>	<i>ihun lursth sal</i>		<i>aſrs naces</i>

Table XXVI. Structural analysis of the text.

A final consequence of the present exegesis of the relationship between the different categories of information distinguished within the structure of the text is that the indication *avils LXXX* “during (a period) of 80 year(s)”, with which we have already ventured to connect the dative plural of the demonstrative pronoun *ec(a)-*, *ecnia*, at the beginning of the fourth section of the text, has to be set apart from the other temporal notions with a direct bearing on the offerings mentioned. The period thus indicated by and large conforms to the possible length of a human life (as distinguished from the average lifetime) and for this reason can only be interpreted as a *saeculum* or general boundary in time during which the ritual prescriptions had to be observed. The fact that in the literary sources there has not been preserved the memory of an Etruscan *saeculum* of this particular duration is not a serious obstacle to the present interpretation of the term, because the only thing that can be stated with certainty about the subject is that these basic units in Etruscan chronology could vary substantially in length. Moreover, the complexity of the matter is increased by historical information indicating that the Etruscans distinguished two specific types of *saecula*, one of “national” and another of local character varying per individual city-state (Pfiffig 1975: 159 f.).

In sum, all this information apparently leads us to the conclusion that the text on the discus of Magliano is a kind of contract with the gods, binding for a *saeculum* of eighty years. During this period the

gods, represented either by two distinct divine triads or, perhaps more likely, by one divine triad repeated twice under various cult names, are promised hecatombs on a yearly basis and *lustra* on a four-yearly basis. No doubt, these ritual prescriptions aimed at ensuring the *pax deorum* for the city-state which initiated the “contract”, on the principle that if the state would keep to its obligations the gods would do so in return.

4. LANGUAGE AND INTERPRETATION

So far we have been able to work without taking the etymological method into consideration. It must be admitted that it is even possible to proceed a little further on the basis of internal evidence alone, because in the parts of the text which in the strict sense fall outside the scope of the structural analysis there feature some words of which the meaning is reasonably certain according to the actual knowledge of the Etruscan language. Thus the word *mulveni* in the latter half of the third section is no doubt identifiable as a verbal form on account of its formal resemblance to the central verb in the Etruscan “donation-formula”, *muluvani*-, etc., meaning “to offer as a vow (*vel simile*)” (Pallottino 1975: 230; Pallottino 1978: 436). The root of this verb appears to be also present, moreover, in the entry *mulse*, which we will see reason to regard as a shorthand variant of *mulveni* in combination with a suffixed variant of the cardinal number *sal*, *zal*, *esl*- “first”, viz. *-se*. If these identifications are correct, it might be inferred that in the latter parts of both section three and four reference is made to a second type of offering, not yet incorporated into the structure of the text.

Similarly, it is possible to detect in the combination *evitiuras* immediately before the last mentioned one from section four a separate element *tiuras* on account of the recurrence of the root of this form in the combination *tinśi tiuri-m* frequently attested for the text of the *Liber linteus* (Torp 1905a: 11; Ribezzo: 1929: 94; etc.). As the form is lined in the latter combination with the GN *Tinś-*, which we will see reason to identify as Dionysos, in the dative singular in *-i* by the enclitic copula *-m* “and”, it probably bears reference to a divinity as well, no doubt likewise addressed here in the dative singular in *-i*. The identification of *tiur-* as a GN may receive further confirmation from the fact that the same root is also present in the form *tiurunias* from the shorter Etruscan version of the bilingual text on the Pyrgi gold tablets corresponding to Phoenician *b-yrḥ zbḥ šmš*

“in the month of offerings to the sun-god”, from which it evidently follows that it bears reference to the sun-god, thus allowing for the entire sequence *Tinśi Tiuri-m* to be translated as “to Dionysos and the sun-god”. If, in addition to this, we realize that the ending in *-as* of the present form *tiuras* recurs in the “donation-formula” on a vase from Tarquinia in connection with the recipients addressed by the combination *Tinas cliniaras*, who are none other than the Etruscan equivalent of the Greek Dioskouroi (literally: “the sons of Tin [= Greek Zeus]”), and therefore is likely to be identified as that of the dative *dual*, the form in question can only come into consideration as a reference to the two deities mentioned at the start of the section, viz. “beautiful Thanr and Calu”. Note also in this respect the combination *munistas θuvas* from the longer Etruscan version of the bilingual text on the Pyrgi gold tablets, which is also characterized by the ending of the D dual in *-as* and, as we have seen earlier, can be translated as “on account of two obligations”.

Now, it is altogether possible that the GN *Tiur-* while originally denoting the sun-god in the course of time received a wider connotation and came into use as a word for god more in general. On the other hand, it may also be assumed to have retained its original sense, from which it necessarily follows that *Calu-* and *Θanr-* are addressed to as “the (two) sun-gods”, which only makes sense if *Calu-* is a variant cult name of the sun-god *Cauθα-* from the first section of the text, reserved for his infernal aspect. This latter option, then, seems to be preferable since Hubert Petersmann succeeded in identifying *Persephonē*, the Greek equivalent of Etruscan *Θanr-*, as the sun-maiden, also known as *Eōs* in Greek and *Aurora* in Latin, on the basis of the fact that the first element of her name, *perse-*, is an earlier reflex (cf. Linear B *pe-re-swa*) of the same root from which Greek *ἥλιος* “sun” originates (Petersmann 1986)! In line with our inference concerning *Calu-*, *Θanr-* may likewise be a variant cult name of *Aisera-*, the Etruscan equivalent of Greek *Dēmētēr*, reserved for her youthful infernal aspect addressed in Greek sources as *Kōrē*. However this may be, what primarily concerns us here is that Michael Janda, stimulated by Petersmann’s path-breaking find, has cogently argued that the Eleusinian mysteries were focussed on the yearly birth of Persephone’s child, who can positively be identified as *Dionusos*, and that this child was a personification of fire in like manner as in Indic religion the child of the sun-maiden, *Uṣas*, is none other than *Agnis* “Fire” (Janda 2000). These observations do not only tie in with my identification of *Tinś-* in the final section of the text as

the Etruscan rendering of Greek *Dionusos* (see appendix to chapter 13), who, as a *tertium comparationis*, in turn may well be assumed to represent the infernal aspect of the vegetation god *Mariś-*, but also makes sense against the background of a very basic fact, namely: that the text is inscribed on a *discus*, which, as a *solar* symbol, determines the *solar nature of the cult*! Against this backdrop, then, the combination *Tinši Tiuri-m* “to Dionysos and the sun-god” from the text of the *Liber linteus* also becomes understandable as a reference to the father and the son, or alternatively the day-time sun and night-time sun, or, as yet another variant, seasonally increasing and decreasing sun, of the solar cult.

Finally, in the combination *ixutevr* from the latter half of the third section, again, we may perhaps distinguish a separate element *tevr*, which for its similarity in form appears to be related to the GN *Tiur-* just discussed. With a view to the variant writing with the semi-vowel [v], however, the closest comparable evidence is provided by *tivr* on the Piacenza bronze liver (TLE 719 = Rix 1991: Pa 4.1), where this form occurs in similar position as *usils* and like the latter falls outside the scope of the divine names primarily in abbreviation which are distributed over the various fields of the liver model. In declined variant, as *tivrs*, the same word also occurs in an extended variant of the “age-formula” of a funeral inscription from Tuscania, running as follows: *avils XX tivrs śas* (TLE 181 = Rix 1991: AT 1.22), which it is tempting, of course, to translate as “(at the age) of 20 year(s) and 6 month(s)”. If this is correct, it obviously follows that the pairing of *tivr* with *usils* on the Piacenza bronze liver has a bearing on the distinction between the temporal notions “month” and “year” (the latter in G sg. in *-s*)¹⁷ which are no doubt of vital importance to the haruspex and his students in their task of interpreting the *omina*. In case *tivr-* or *tevr-* “month” may indeed come into consideration as etymologically related to the GN *Tiur-* “sun-god”, the shift in meaning can only be explained by the fact that the infernal aspect of the sun-god or sun-maiden is associated with the moon and that the lunar cycle in turn stands at the basis of the division of the solar year into months.

¹⁷ For the related GN *Usil* as an alternative form of address of the sun-god, see the mirrors from Vulci and the region of Tarquinia catalogued by Rix 1991 as Vc S.21 and AT S.4 (= our Fig. 38), respectively. It is interesting to note in this connection that the root *usi-* for on the one hand “sun-god” and on the other hand “year” corresponds to Luwian *usa-* “year”.

Whatever the extent of the latter suggestion, this is as far as internal evidence allows us to grasp the contents of the text: if we want to go further and bring ourselves into the position to be able to translate parts of it, we have to turn to external evidence as provided by the etymological relationship of the Etruscan language with the Luwian dialects from southwest Anatolia.

If we start with the words and elements of which the meaning is already clearly defined on the basis of internal evidence, we may note the fact that:

- (1) the root of the verb *muluvani-* can be traced back to Luwian hieroglyphic *maluwa-*, Sidetic *malva-*, and Lydian *mλvẽ-* “thank-offering”;
- (2) the verbal root *meni-* or *mene-* “to make” as in the presumably reduplicated *mimenica* strikingly recalls that of Hittite *maniyahh-* “to handle, administer”;
- (3) the verb *ila-* “to favor” corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *īla-* of the same meaning;
- (4) the GN *Tiur-*, and perhaps also the possibly related *tivr-* or *tevr-* “month”, is linked up with Luwian *“Tiwata-* “sun-god”, the related onomastic element of which is subject to rhotacism of the second dental in Luwian hieroglyphic texts from the late 8th century BC;
- (5) the GN *Cauθa-* correlates to the first element of Luwian hieroglyphic *kutúpili-* “fire offering”, which likewise shows a reflex of the Proto-Indo-European root **keu-* “to burn, set to fire”; cf. also the mythical companions of Mithras, *Cautes* or *Cautopates*;
- (6) the enclitic conjunction *-c* or *-χ* “and” can not be dissociated from Luwian *-ha(wa)*, Lycian *-ke*, and Lydian *-k* for the same function;
- (7) the word *avil-* “year” is most closely paralleled by Lemnian *avis* for the same meaning, which in like manner correlates to Greek ὀ(φ)έλιος “sun” if we allow for the by now familiar shift in meaning from “sun” to “year” (Maresch 1957);
- (8) the numeral *ez* “1” or *sal* “first” can be traced back to Luwian hieroglyphic *sa-* “1” and Lydian *isl-* “first”;
- (9) the numeral *tu* “2” or *θun* “second” corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *tuwa-* “2”, which develops in later Lycian into *kbi-* “2”, whereas the ordinal form is most closely paralleled by Hittite *dān* “second”;
- (10) the verbal ending *-ce* or *-χe* of the 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense of the active is most closely paralleled in Lemnian in the form *θoke* “(s)he has erected” (velarization of original [t] may be influenced by the Greek 3rd person singular of the *kappa*-aorist or -perfect *-κε*);

(11) the combination *me-ne* corresponds to the Lycian introductory particle *me-* with the A(m/f) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person *-ne* attached to it.

In our quest for further Etruscan words and elements of ultimate Luwian background in order to improve our understanding of the contents of the text on the Magiano disc, we will first examine its most transparent parts, *in casu* sections one, two, and five, of which only a few blank spots in the midst of a further well-defined context need to be filled in. After this, we will tackle the more intricate parts of the text as presented by the latter half of section three and most of section four. Only in this manner, I hope, can the danger of haphazard identifications be kept to a minimum.

Now, the beginning of the first section of the text is fairly clear so far. It reads: *Cauθas tuθiu* “to the public Cautha”, *avils LXXX* “during (a period of) eighty year(s)”, *ez χimθm* “one hecatomb”, *casθialθ lacθ* “at the”. Only the location where the hecatomb has to be sacrificed is in need of clarification here. A starting point for this task is offered by the correspondence of the root of the first word, *casθia-*, to Hittite *ḫaštāi-* “bones”. In Hittite, this word is used in connection with the determinative for house, *É ḫaštiya-*, to refer to the “bone house”, which one would presently call a mausoleum. The residual *lac-* remains problematic for the apparent lack of comparative data, but the interchange of *lac-* or *laχ-* with *rac-* or *raχ-* in the text on the Capua tile might indicate that we are dealing here with a loan from Italic *rēg-* “king”, which would lead to the interpretation of the entire combination as a reference to the royal mausoleum (as an example of a palatial building mention should be made of Murlo, see Sannibale 2018: 121-122). At any rate, reference to an official building seems a highly plausible option as a location for communal religious ceremonies and offerings.

When we reach the second temporal notion in the form of *avil*, however, which specifies the term for offering the hecatomb within the overall period of eighty years and therefore must be translated as “year(ly)”, a more serious difficulty arises in the form of *hevn*. In the given context, it seems not too farfetched to expect a verbal form, which against the Anatolian background brings to mind an infinitive in *-(u)-na*, in which case the final vowel [a] has no doubt been dropped because the next word starts with this vowel. Accordingly, the analysis of the root as a reflex of Luwian *awī-* or *awa-* “to come, to go” suggests itself, the more so because in certain contexts this is

used to express the meaning “to bring”.¹⁸ (Note that the absence of [h] in the Luwian parallel is irrelevant, the sound not being represented in the syllabary, and that oscillation between [a] and [e] is frequently attested for Lycian forms as compared to their Luwian forebears.) If this is to be considered a plausible suggestion, it evidently leads us to the interpretation of *hevn*<*a*> *avil* as: “to bring year(ly)”.

Next, we are confronted with the sequence of four words or elements, introduced by *neśl*, which we have already seen reason to distinguish as a separate phrase or clause: *neśl man murinaśie falzaθi*. Within this phrase or clause, the form *murinaśie* can, on the analogy of *Karθazie* in an Etruscan inscription from Carthage (TLE 724 = Rix 1991: Af 3.1) and *Segestazie* on Elymian coins from Segesta in western Sicily (Lejeune 1969: 138 f.), be positively identified as an adjectival formation in *-ś-* (= graphic variant of *-z-*) characterized by the D(-G) plural ending in *-e*. In line with this observation, we are confronted with the root *murin(a)-*, which recalls the place name Myrina as recorded for the inscription on the Lemnos stele, but we might alternatively also be dealing with the basic root *mur-* “to die” as in *murce* “he died” (TLE 890 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.107), no doubt related to Latin *mori*, in a nominal derivation in *-n(a)-*. This latter possibility seems to be preferable if we realize that *neśl* is in fact a compound of the negative *neś*, corresponding to the Luwian hieroglyphic prohibitive *nasa* “not”, with the D(-G) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person, *-l*, corresponding with Lydian *-λ*. As it seems, then, it is prohibited (*neś*) to do something “for him (*-l*)”, which can only refer back to the god *Cauθa-* mentioned at the beginning of the section, *murinaśie* “on behalf of the dead”. From this point onwards it is clear that the action in question can only be expressed by *falzaθi*, a patent verbal form characterized by the ending of the 3rd person singular of the present/future of the active in *-θi*, corresponding to Luwian *-ti* for the same function, further to be analyzed as being based on the root *fal(a)-*, corresponding with Luwian *wal(a)-* “to elevate”, used as a *terminus technicus* for the act of bringing fire offerings (Karahöyük-Elbistan § 11, see Woudhuizen 2004: 149; 154-155; cf. Woudhuizen 2006c: 246), in iterative variant in *-z-*, which morpheme originates from Luwian *-s-* for the same function, and that the residual *man* can only come into consideration as a particle, strikingly recalling the Hittite modal particle *mān*. Accord-

¹⁸ Laroche 1959, s.v.; Woudhuizen 2011: index (EIA), s.v.; cf. Cypro-Minoan, Kalavassos seal: ³*re-mi/a-wa/mu-sa-se* ⁴*wa-ne/e-we* ₁*/a-ti-mi-we* “Remi brings divine wine to (the goddess) Artemis”, see Woudhuizen 1992b: 140-142.

ingly, we arrive at the translation of the entire phrase as: “one shall not make a fire offering for him (= *Cauθa-*) on behalf of the dead”. Note that this translation also makes sense within the frame of our interpretation thus far, as sacrifices to the dead are rather appropriate to the god in his infernal aspect.

If we turn to the second section, an explanation has to be found for the element *in* which directly follows the GN *Aisera-* at the start and according to our structural analysis is associated with the dative singular of the demonstrative pronoun *ec(a)-*, *ecs*, referring back to the temporal notion *avil* of the preceding section. As we have seen, the element *in* is paralleled by *an* in almost identical contexts (*an.cś.mene* or *an.cś.mele*) from the text of the *Liber linteus*. Owing to this latter correspondence, then, the element *in* can positively be identified as a reflex of the Luwian preposition *annan* “under”, based on the radical *an-*. This identification gains weight if we realize that the offshoot of Luwian *annan* in Lycian reads *ēnē* and is used for the expression of a temporal notion in the dating-formula of funeral inscriptions, running, for example, as follows: *ēnē Periklehe χñtavata* “during the kingship of Perikles” (Laroche 1974; Bryce 1986: 46 ff.). Evidently, the Lycian variant of the preposition offers the closest comparable evidence for the use of the element *in* in our present text, so that we may translate *in ecs* as: “during this (period, i.e. year-(ly))”.

A second challenge for the interpretation of the middle section of the A side is formed by the sequence *mene mlaθcemarni tuθi*. Now, we have already seen reason to identify *mene* as a combination of an introductory particle *me-* and the A(m/f) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person *-ne*, corresponding to Lycian *me-ne*. Furthermore, as we have hinted at in the preceding, the following *mlaθcemarni* is probably not a single word, but a combination of the verbal form *mlaθce*, recognizable as such by the ending in *-ce*, with the nominal form *marni* no doubt related to the titular expression *maru-* “priest” (cf. also its derivative or oblique stem *marunu-*), corresponding to Umbrian *maro-*, pl. *marones*. Finally, it deserves our attention that the last element of the sequence, *tuθi*, for its ending in *-i* is grammatically lined with *marni*. Of these words, *tuθ-* presents a graphic variant of *θuta-* from the longer Etruscan version of the bilingual inscriptions on the Pyrgi gold tablets, and therefore likely bears reference to the people. With a view to the fact that Umbrian *maro-* ultimately originates from Celtic *maros* “great” (< PIE **mē-*, *mō-* “illustrious, noble”, see Delamarre 2003: 218-219), we are hen-

ce likely to be confronted here with the two political entities well-known from Roman history, the nobles and the people (*senatus populusque Romanorum*), or, alternatively, the magistrates and the people. In any case, the ending in *-i* of both forms expresses the N(m/f) pl., for which comparative data are provided by Luwian hieroglyphic, Lycian, and Lydian (cf. Woudhuizen 2005: 78; 144; Woudhuizen 2006b: 153). To this comes that the verbal form, of which the ending in *-ce*, although being definitely that of the singular, must express the 3rd person plural of the past tense of the active, is, as first suggested by Ribezzo, in view of evidence for interchange between [χ] and [θ] as provided, for example, by the occurrence of *meθlum* alongside *mexlum* “league, assembly” (cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 73-74), likely to be based on the root *mλαχ*- “beautiful”.¹⁹ In this manner, then, we arrive at the translation of *me-ne mlaθce marni tuθi* as: “the magistrates (and) the people have carried it (= the second hecatomb) out properly”,²⁰ in which the enclitic pronoun refers proleptically to the immediately following object. The fact that this second verb is conducted in the past tense, whereas the previous one is in the present/future, might indicate that the sacrifice to *Aisera*- should take place simultaneously with that to *Cauθa*-, in which case *in ecs* can be translated even more exactly as “at this (time)”. At any rate, it deserves our attention that the word order: *introductory particle with enclitic pronoun + verb + subject*, which we already came across in our discussion of the Etruscan version of the bilingual inscriptions from Delphi, starting with *me-ne nunθeke Velθane* “the Velthanes have dedicated it (= the tripod)”, is the regular one in Lycian funeral inscriptions as exemplified, for instance, by: *ebēññē χupā me-ne prñna<wa>tē Kudali Zuhriyah tideimi* “this tomb, Kudali, the son of Zuhriya, has built it” (TL 1). It need not be stressed that this similarity in syntax is more revealing about the relationship of Etruscan to the Luwian dialects of southwest Asia Minor than correspondences merely in vocabulary, or even morphology and grammar.

The fifth and final section of the text, which, as we have seen, is already fairly understandable in general outline on the basis of the

¹⁹ Note, however, that the variant form in *meθ*- may alternatively be analyzed as a reflex of cuneiform Luwian *mayanti*- > Lycian *miñti*- “league, assembly”, both originating from PIE **méǵh₂*- “great, many” and characterized by the for southern and eastern Luwian regular loss of the voiced velar [ǵ].

²⁰ Note that in Greek ἑκατόμβη is of female gender.

structural analysis alone, contains three elements which still need to be elucidated, viz. *tev*, *huvi*, and *naces*. From the context so far recovered, it seems deducible that the entry first mentioned, *tev*, may well come into consideration as a conjunction, which introduces a conditional clause giving the prerequisite for an additional *lustrum* in honor of the god (or his aspect) in question. If this is correct, the comparison of *tev* to the Lycian conjunction *tibe(i)* “or” lies at hand, especially if we realize that the phonetic development [v] > [b] implied by this comparison is paralleled, e.g., for Luwian *tuwa*- “2” > Lycian B *tbi*- “2” > Lycian A *kbi*- “2” (Meriggi 1980: 380; Laroche 1967: 47). Note that the final vowel [i], expected for *tev* on the basis of the given comparison, may have been dropped because the next word starts with this vowel. Next, the second word *huvi*, which probably belongs to the same conditional clause, strikingly resembles to the Luwian hieroglyphic pronoun of the 2nd person plural, *uwî* (note that the phonetic reading of Luwian hieroglyphic L 432 as *wî* is assured by the possessive form being *ui*- “your (pl.)”, cf. Woudhuizen 2005: 24; 78). For the omission of the initial [h] in the Luwian form, see our remark in the context of our discussion of *hevn* above. About the third word, *naces*, finally, it has already been reported that it shows the same ending in -s as the month name *afrs* and that it hence may well be grammatically lined with the latter. Consequently, an indication comparable to Latin *ineunte* or *exeunte* may reasonably be expected. This being the case, affinity of *nace*- to Hittite *neku*- “evening, night” and *neku*- “to become twilight” (< PIE **nekʷ*- “night”) recommends itself. In sum, we thus arrive at the following translation of the entire section: *Tins lursθ* “for Dionysos a lustrum”, *tev<i> ilaxe huvi* “or (if) he has favored you [pl.]”, *θun lursθ sal afrs naces* “a second lustrum, the first in the latter half of April.”

Having discussed the most transparent sections of the text, the task remains to tackle the more intricate ones comprising the latter part of section three and the entire section four. Happily, in these parts, too, the meaning of a number of words can be recovered from oblivion thanks to the etymological method.

In connection with the latter part of section three the most convenient starting point is offered by *mulveni*, which is definitely a verbal form based on the root *mulvan(e)*-, characterized by the 3rd pers. sg. ending of the pres./fut. of the act. in -i, corresponding to cuneiform Luwian -i, Lycian -i, and Lydian -i, for the same function. In line with this observation, it might be suggested that the preceding *heśni* is also a verbal form, characterized by the same ending, in

which case we are obviously dealing with a verbal root *heśn-*. From a comparative point of view, this root may well correspond to Luwian hieroglyphic *asanu(wa)-* “to sit, settle”. Furthermore, we are already acquainted with the word *cepen* “priest”, which is the most likely candidate for the subject of the phrase. If so, it is stated that the priest will settle and bring as a sacrifice an as yet undetermined object. At this point one wonders whether the object might not be expressed by the form *eca* of the demonstrative pronoun *ec(a)-*, which, as we have seen in the discussion of the Pyrgi texts, renders either the N-A(n) sg. or pl. As such, however, it can only refer back to the previously mentioned offering, *χimθm* “hecatomb”, which we have just experienced to be of communal gender. Are we confronted here with incongruity in gender? However this may be, two of the remaining elements with which we are familiar, viz. *avils* and *tevr*, are of a temporal notion, so that one is tempted to interpret the phrase in its basic outlines as follows: *avils-χ* “and during the year” *cepen* “the priest” *heśni mulveni* “will settle (and) bring as a thank-offering” *eca* “this/these” *tevr* “month(ly)”. Next, *tuθiu*, may, just like it appears to be the case in the first section, be an apposition, this time to *cepen*, and *θuχ* may reasonably be assumed to be a numeral adverb based on the root *θu-* “2”,²¹ so that the subject can be specified as “the public priest” and the temporal prescription as “twice every month”. The residual *ixu-*, finally, recalling *ix-* in the composite *ixnac* from the text of the Capua tile, probably functions as a introductory particle just like it is the case with the given comparison (see chapter 13).

The second phrase of section three is followed by an extra phrase or clause, the first word of which, *eθ*, may be elucidated by internal as well as external evidence if we realize that its use in the fourth section on the back side of the discus, dedicated, as we have argued, to *lustra*, in combination with *tuθiu*, with a view to the given Roman evidence on *lustra*, evidently leads us to the interpretation “in the presence of the people”. Accordingly, the element *eθ* may be identified as a preposition and compared to Lycian *ēti* “on behalf of” and/or Greek ἀντί “in the presence of, before”. In the present instance it precedes *suci*, which, as *eθ* may reasonably be assumed to rule the dative, is probably characterized by the D sg. ending in *-i*. Now, the closest comparable evidence for *suci* or, as it appears in the text on the Perugia *cippus*, *zuci* is offered by Thracian *sucis* or *sykis*

²¹ For Hittite evidence of numeral adverbs in *-kiš*, see Friedrich 1974: 73; Meriggi 1980: 330 compares Greek τετράκις for a similar formation.

“daughter”, which in turn is related to the Hesychian gloss *skō* “girl”. As we know that *seχ-* is the Etruscan word for “daughter”, it seems preferable to assume that the meaning of the given Greek gloss applies in the present context and that *eθ suci* means “in the presence of a girl”. Of the remaining *am* and *ar*, comparative data suggest that we are dealing here with shorthand variant writings of *ame* or *ama* and *ara*, respectively, the first of which renders the 3rd person singular of the present/future of the active in *-e* or the 3rd person singular of the subjunctive of the active in *-a* of the verb *am-* “to be” (cf. *amce* “(s)he was”), and the second of which seems difficult to dissociate from Latin *ara* “altar”. In sum, if we adhere to the second option for the verb, this leads us to the following translation of the entire clause *eθ suci am<a> ar<a>* “let he (*i.e.* the public priest) be at the altar in the presence of a girl” (see Fig. 30b), clearly a ritual prescription subsidiary to the previous phrase.

As verbs take a central position in the phrase, our attempt at unravelling the contents of the fourth section should take the verbal forms as its starting point, again. In the preceding, we have already identified *mimenica* and *marcalurca* as verbal forms characterized by the ending of the 3rd person singular of the subjunctive of the active in *-ca*. Of these two verbs, the root of the first one, *meni-* or *mene-* “to make” corresponds, as we have seen, to that of Hittite *maniyahh-* “to handle, administer”. (Note that this root is also present in the day name *menitla* “on the day of the ceremonies” at the beginning of section three.) Furthermore, we have noted that this is subject to reduplication, a phenomenon also encountered in Luwian, where it is exemplified by, for instance, Luwian hieroglyphic *wawaar-* < *war-* “to die”, *sasarla-* < *sarla-* “to sacrifice” (cf. Woudhuizen 2011: 416), and cuneiform Luwian *hišhiya-* “to bind”, *pipišša-* < *piya-* “to give”, *tatar-* “to curse”, *tatarh-* “to crush”, *dupaduparša* “ritual beating” < *tupa-* “to strike, hit, smite” (cf. Ivanov 2001). In our structural analysis, we have suggested that the second verbal form might show a verbal reflex of the type of offering to which the back side in that case is devoted in its entirety, viz. *lursθ* “lustrum”. However attractive this idea might seem, the problem remains that *lur-* is, of course, a defective way of writing *lursθ*. Therefore, it may well be that we have been wrong on this point and that the solution to the problem is rather provided by the striking similarity of the first element *marca-* to Celtic *marcos* (A sg. *markan*) “horse” (Delamarre 2003: 217). Working along this line of incidence, it becomes highly attractive (certainly if we realize that rhotacism in Luwian affected the voiced dental [d] in like manner as it is the case in Umbrian, see

Morpurgo-Davies 1982-3; cf. Woudhuizen 2005: 44; 128, note 23) to explain the second element *lur-* as a rhotacized variant of the root of Latin *ludus* “game”, as the Etruscans were, apart from some other cultural features, of course, famous for their equestrian (or Trojan as in *ludus Troiae* [sic] as depicted in one of the scenes on the late 7th century BC *oinokhoe* from Tragliatella, see Fig. 19) games!²² If this be considered a plausible solution, we arrive at the interpretation of the sequence *mimenica-c marcalurca-c eθ tuθiu* as: “may one both organize and hold equestrian games in the presence of the people”. This phrase is followed by yet another prohibition starting with *nes*, corresponding with the Luwian hieroglyphic prohibitive *nasa* “not”. Just like in the prohibition of the first section of the text, this negative adverb has the dative singular of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person *-l* attached to it, which, if we remember that *mλαχ Θανρα* was only added later, no doubt refers back to the god *Calu-* mentioned at the beginning of the section, and the mood is expressed by the modal particle *man*. The remaining two forms, *rivaχ leścem* of this phrase only come into consideration as verbs characterized by the 3rd person singular of the past tense of the active in *-χ<e>* and *-ce* and paired by the enclitic conjunction *-m* “and”, even though their meaning, for the simple fact that their roots are *hapax legomena*, remains unclear for the apparent lack of comparative data—although the possibility of a relationship of the root *leś(c)-*, certainly if we realize that gemination is a very rare feature in Etruscan writing, with Greek *λάσκω* “to shout, utter” might be entertained, in which case *ρέω* “to flow (of words)” suggests itself in connection with *riva-*.

²² Pallottino 1968b: 327-328; on the late 7th century BC *oinokhoe* from Tragliatella the equestrian games are associated with the labyrinthine representation of the town of *Truia* “Troy” and scenes of ritual copulation recalling Bakkhic reliefs of later date, see Giglioli 1929: esp. TAV. XXVI. In view of the ritual nature of the scene, it is no mere coincidence that the form of the vase is an *οἶνοχόη* or “wine-pourer”, as wine plays a prominent role in the cult of Bakkhos alias Dionysos. Cf. DNP, s.v. *ludi*, with reference to the Roman *Equirria* on the *campus Martius*, suggesting a relationship of the equestrian games with the *lustra* held at the same location! See also DNP, s.v. *Troiae lusos*. Note that the Etruscan designation of their equestrian games as “Trojan” does not necessarily mean that Troy was a Luwian town, as some have argued on the basis of the discovery of one Luwian hieroglyphic seal in a disturbed context of the 12th century BC, but merely that the ancestors of the Luwian colonists in Italy had once been *in contact* with Troy. Kluge 1936: 205 refers to Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES CDXII*, 2 where the word *lur* is associated with a youth with a sword in a scene possibly depicting the aftermath of a contest between infantrymen within the frame of games, see Fig. 20.

In the next phrase of section four there can also be traced a verbal form, *nucasi*, which presents us with a 3rd person singular of the present future of the active in *-i*, again. From a comparative point of view, the verbal root strikingly recalls Hittite *newahh-* “to renew”, especially if we take into consideration that *nuwa-* features in IE Anatolian onomastics (*Sahurnuwa-*, *Nuwanuwa-*) and toponymy (*Tuwanuwa-* “Tyana”) as an archaic variant of *newa-* “new”, and the additional morpheme *-s-* regularly marks the verb as an iterative. The object of this verb is formed by *śuris eisteis*, which combination is characterized by the A(m/f) pl. in *-is*, corresponding to Lycian *-is* (of the *i*-stems, see Houwink ten Cate 1961: 54) and Lydian *-is* (Woudhuizen 2010-1a: 212) for the same function. The root of the first element of this combination, *śuri-*, corresponds to Luvian hieroglyphic *sura/i-* “abundance”, whereas the root of the second appears to be identical to the one in *aisna-* or *eisna-*, which, given the fact that according to a gloss *ais-* is an Etruscan word for “god” (TLE 804), may, as a nominal derivative in *-na-* (as an alternative of the formation in *-t-* of our present form) bear reference to something destined for the gods, like, for example, sacrificial animals. In that case, *śuri-* may plausibly be considered to express the meaning “select” or even “unblemished”, stressing quality rather than quantity. From the context, it seems deducible that the element *t*, separated from the verb *nucasi* by the punctuation mark in form of a short horizontal stroke placed high on the line, consists of an abbreviation of *tev* in section five, which, as we have seen, corresponds to the Lycian conjunction *tibe(i)* “or”, as a conjunction certainly would be in place, but perhaps here also this conjunction may rather be assumed to render the conditional meaning “if”. Along this line of thinking, we arrive at the translation of *t'nucasi śuris eisteis* as “if one will time and again renew (or supplement) the select victims”. In the remaining sequence the root *mul-*, as we have noted above, constitutes a shorthand version of the verb *mulveni* “one will bring as a thank-offering”. As a consequence, the second element *-sle* may come into consideration as a suffixed variant of the ordinal number *sal*, *zal*, *esl-* “first”. As comparative data for the element *evi*, finally, are provided by Cypro-Minoan, where we are confronted with the preposition *ewe₁* “to” (see note 18 above), it follows that the sequel to the conditional phrase reads: *evi tiuras mul-sle mlaχ* “one will bring the first as a beautiful thank-offering to the (two) sun-gods”.

In the following Table XXVII an overview is presented of the correspondences with Luvian, or IE Anatolian more in general, relevant to our understanding of the text on the discus of Magliano.

ETRUSCAN	IE ANATOLIAN	MEANING
1. <i>avil-</i>	<i>avi-</i>	“year”
2. <i>-c</i> (cf. <i>-χ</i>)	<i>-ḫa(wa), -ke, -k</i>	“and”
3. <i>-c(a)-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	“this”
4. <i>casθia-</i>	<i>ḫaštāi-</i>	“bones”
5. <i>Cauθa-</i>	<i>kutúpili-</i> <i>Cautes, Cautopates</i>	“fire offering” companions of Mithras
6. <i>e-</i> (< <i>i-</i>)	<i>ī-</i>	“this”
7. <i>evi</i>	<i>ewe₁</i>	“to”
8. <i>ez</i> (cf. <i>sa-</i>)	<i>sa-</i>	“1”
9. <i>-z-, -s-</i>	<i>-š(š)-, -s-</i>	iterative
10. <i>heśn-</i>	<i>asanu(wa)-</i>	“to sit, settle”
11. <i>hev-</i>	<i>awī-, awa-</i>	“to go, come; to bring”
12. <i>huvi-</i>	<i>uwī</i>	“your [pl.]”
13. <i>θu-</i> (cf. <i>tu</i>)	<i>tuwa-</i>	“2”
14. <i>θun</i> (cf. <i>tu</i>)	<i>dān</i>	“second”
15. <i>ila-</i>	<i>īla-</i>	“to favor”
16. <i>in</i>	<i>ēnē</i>	“during”
17. <i>-l</i>	<i>-λ</i>	D sg. of encl. pron. of 3rd pers.
18. <i>-l-</i>	<i>-ali-, -li-</i>	adjectival suffix
19. <i>-m</i>	<i>-ma, -m</i>	“and”
20. <i>man</i>	<i>mān</i>	optative particle
21. <i>me-</i>	<i>me-</i>	introductory particle
22. <i>meni-</i>	<i>maniyahḫ-</i>	“to handle”
23. <i>mul-, mulve-</i>	<i>maluwa-, malva-, mλvē-</i>	“thank-offering”
24. <i>nace-</i>	<i>nekut-</i>	“to become twilight”
25. <i>-ne</i>	<i>-na, -ne</i>	A(m/f) sg. of encl. pron. of 3rd pers.
26. <i>nes, neś</i>	<i>nasa</i>	“not” (prohibitive)
27. <i>nuca-</i>	<i>nawahḫ-</i>	“to renew”
28. <i>sa-</i> (cf. <i>ez</i>)	<i>sa-</i>	“1”
29. <i>-śi-</i>	<i>-ašši-, -ahi-, -si-</i>	adjectival suffix
30. <i>śuri-</i>	<i>sura/i-</i>	“abundance”
31. <i>t̃, tev<i></i>	<i>tibe(i)</i>	“or”
32. <i>tiura-</i>	<i>Tiwat/ra-</i>	“sun-god”
33. <i>tu</i> (cf. <i>θu-</i>)	<i>tuwa-, tbi-</i>	“2”

ETRUSCAN	IE ANATOLIAN	MEANING
34. - <i>χ</i> (cf. - <i>c</i>)	- <i>ha(wa)</i> , - <i>ke</i> , - <i>k</i>	“and”
35. <i>fal</i> -	<i>wala</i> -, <i>waliā</i> -	“to elevate”

Table XXVII. Correspondences between Etruscan and Luwian or IE Anatolian more in general.

Now, precisely how the meaning of the words and forms recovered in this manner by the etymological method are plugged into the text and facilitate its interpretation is shown by their printing in bold type in the transliteration as presented in the following table (see Table XXVIII).

SIDE A

1. ***Cauθas***.*tuθiu*.
avils.LXXX.
ez.χimθm.
casθialθ.*lacθ*.
hevn<*a*>. ***avil***.
neś-l.***man***.*murinaśie*.
falzaθi:

“To the public Cautha
for (a period of) eighty year(s)
to bring year(ly) one
[= a first] hecatomb
at the royal mausoleum;
one shall not make a fire offering
for him [= Cautha] on behalf of the
dead.”
2. *Aiseras*.
in.*ecs*.
me-ne.*mIaθce-marni.tuθi*.

tu.χimθm.
casθialθ.*lacθ*:

“To Asherah,
at this (same time)
the magistrates (and) the people
have carried out properly
two [= a second] hecatomb
at the royal mausoleum.”
3. *Mariśl-menīla*.
afrs.
cialaθ.χimθm.
avils-χ.
eca.*cepen.tuθiu*.
θuχ.*iχu-tevr*.
heśni.***mulveni***.
eθ.suci.am<*a*>. *ar*<*a*>

“To Maris, on the day of the
ceremonies in April,
in the third place a hecatomb,
and during the (rest of) the year,
the public priest will settle this
(and) bring (it) as a thank-offering,
twice every month;
let him be at the altar in the presence
of a girl.”

SIDE B

4. /*m*laχ-*Θ*anra/*Calus-c*.
ecnia/IV/.avil.
*mi****menica-c***.*marcalurca-c*.
eθ.tuθiu.
nes-l.*man.rivaχ*<*e*>.
leśce-m.
t'nucasi.śuris-eisteis.
*evi-tiuras.mul-sle-m*laχ
5. *Tins*.
lursθ.
tev<i> ilaχe.huvi-θun
lursθ-sal afrs.naces
- “For beautiful Thanr and Calu during these (eighty years) four year(ly) may one both organize and hold equestrian games in the presence of the people; one has not spoken and shouted (out of respect) for him [= Calu]; if one will time and again renew (or supplement) the select victims, one will bring to the (two) sun-gods the first as a beautiful thank-offering.”
- “For Dionysos a lustrum; or, (if) he has favored you [pl.], a second lustrum, the first in the latter half of April.”

Table XXVIII. The text of the discus from Magliano in transliteration and translation (correspondences with Luwian, or IE Anatolian more in general, in bold type).

In regard to the declension of the noun, the following endings can be distinguished (see Table XXIX):

	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	—	- <i>i</i>
A(m/f)		- <i>is</i>
D	- <i>a</i> , - <i>i</i> , - <i>u</i>	- <i>as</i> (dual)
D(-G)	- <i>l</i> , - <i>s</i>	- <i>e</i>
Loc.	- <i>θ</i>	

Table XXIX. Declension of the noun.

The relevant comparative data of most of these endings have already been discussed in the previous chapters, except for the nomi-

native and accusative plural of the communal gender. Of these two endings, then, the N(m/f) pl. in *-i* is paralleled for Luwian hieroglyphic, Lycian, and Lydian. As opposed to this, the A(m/f) pl. in *-is* can only be traced back to Lycian and Lydian, as Luwian hieroglyphic is characterized in this respect by the same ending as that of the nominative—which, by the way, can also be traced for Etruscan and which as an alternative means to express the A(m/f) pl. we have already encountered in our discussion of the grave inscriptions of chapter 8.

With respect to the declension of the pronoun, the following forms are of relevance (see Table XXX):

	sg.		pl.
N(m/f)	<i>eca</i>		(<i>eca</i>)
A(m/f)		<i>-ne</i>	
D(-G)	<i>ecs</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>ecnia</i>

Table XXX. Declension of the pronoun.

As noted before, the declension of the pronoun in the main follows the pattern of that of the noun, the only exception being formed by the D(-G) pl., in which case the present *ecnia* is formed after the pattern of *itani* from the longer Etruscan version of the texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets. Of special interest are the forms of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person, some of which we have already encountered in the discussion of the bilingual inscriptions from Delphi in chapter 10, because this is a typical feature of the Indo-European languages of Anatolia in general, and the Luwian ones among them in particular.

As far as the conjugation of the verb is concerned, we have been confronted with the following endings (see Table XXXI):

	Present/future	past tense	subjunctive
3rd pers. sg. act.	<i>-θi, -e, -i</i>	<i>-ce/-χe</i>	<i>-ca</i>
3rd pers. pl. act.		<i>-ce</i>	

Table XXXI. Conjugation of the verb.

Within the frame of our comparative efforts, it is of relevance to note in connection with the use of the ending of the 3rd person singular of past tense of the active for that of the plural as well (as already observed in the context of our discussion of the bilingual inscriptions from Delphi in chapter 10) that in Lydian and Lycian the ending of the 3rd person singular of the present/future of the active is also indiscriminately applied to render the 3rd person plural of the same tense. Of the endings first encountered in this chapter, the 3rd person singular of the present/future of the active in *-θi* corresponds to cuneiform Luwian *-ti*, Luwian hieroglyphic *-ti*, Lycian *-ti* or *-di*, and, under consideration of apokope of the final vowel, Lydian *-d* for the same function. Moreover, comparative data for the variants of the same ending in *-i* and *-e* are provided only by Lycian, for which the 3rd person singular of the present/future tense of the active in *-i* as well as *-e* is attested (Melchert 2004: xii), whereas the variant in *-i* is, as we have noted above, paralleled by cuneiform Luwian *-i* (Woudhuizen 2016-7: 358) and Lydian *-i*, (Woudhuizen *forthc.*: Table 1).

With respect to the realm of vocabulary, finally, comparisons are not exclusively traceable in the Luwian dialects of Anatolia, but also provided, as we have noted before, by the languages with which Etruscan had been in contact in the past or was in contact at the time of writing of the text under discussion. The relevant data on this topic, then, may be summarized as follows (see Table XXXII):

I. Correspondences with Greek

1. <i>afr-</i>	ἄφριος	month name
2. <i>am-</i>	ἔμμεναι	“to be”
3. <i>eθ</i>	ἄντί	“in the presence of”
4. <i>χimθm</i>	ἐκατόμβη	type of offering
5. <i>leś(c)-</i>	λάσκω	“to shout, utter”
6. <i>riva-</i>	ῥέω	“to flow (of words)”

II. Correspondences with Italic

1. <i>ara</i>	<i>ara</i>	“altar”
2. <i>lursθ</i>	<i>lustrum</i>	type of offering
3. <i>mur-</i>	<i>morior</i>	“to die”
4. <i>lur-</i>	<i>ludus</i>	“game”

- | | | | |
|----|------------------|----------------------------------|----------|
| 5. | <i>tuθi-</i> | <i>touto-, tuta-</i> | “people” |
| 6. | <i>maru(nu)-</i> | <i>maro</i> , pl. <i>marones</i> | “priest” |

III. Correspondences with Semitic

- | | | | |
|----|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. | <i>Aisera-</i> | <i>Asherah</i> | divine name |
| 2. | <i>Θanr-</i> | <i>Tanit</i> | divine name |
| 3. | <i>młax</i> | <i>mlḥ</i> | “good, beautiful” |

IV. Correspondences with Celtic

- | | | | |
|----|------------------|-------------------------------------|---------|
| 1. | <i>marca-</i> | <i>marcos</i> , A sg. <i>markan</i> | “horse” |
| 2. | <i>maru(nu)-</i> | <i>maros</i> | “great” |

Table XXXII. Substrate and/or adstrate influences in vocabulary.

As an afterthought, we still need to explain the absence of an indication of locality where the offerings to Maris should take place, which is specified as *casθialθ lacθ* “at the royal mausoleum” for the other two deities of the triad in its celestial aspect in the text on side A. Against the backdrop of Roman Mars being venerated in the *campus Martius*, i.e. in the open field outside the city walls, this absence of locality may not be incidental or for brevity’s sake, but rather imply that the offerings to Maris should not take place in a public building inside the city walls, but, just like it is the case with Roman Mars, *outside in the open field*! If so, it follows that Maris, mentioned in third position in the text, like Roman Mars, is a F3 deity in Dumézilain terms, comparable to the tutelary deity Kuruntas or Runt in the Luwian pantheon, who is traditionally associated with the adjective *gimraš* in Hittite or *apárasa*, no doubt a reflex of /e^mbras/ in phonetic terms, in Luwian hieroglyphic, meaning “of the field, of the open country” (Woudhuizen 2010: 221-222).

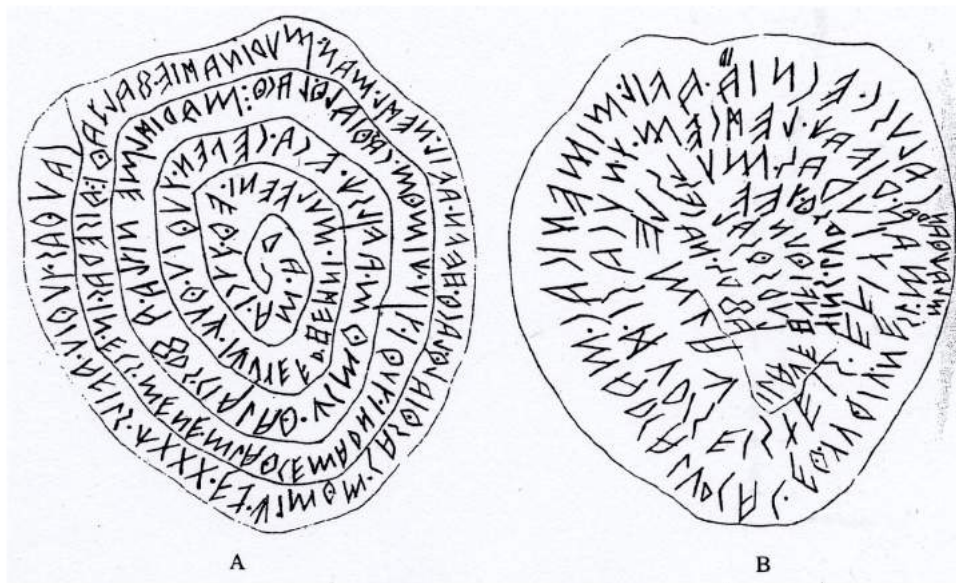


Fig. 18. Drawing of the discus of Magliano
(from Milani 1893).

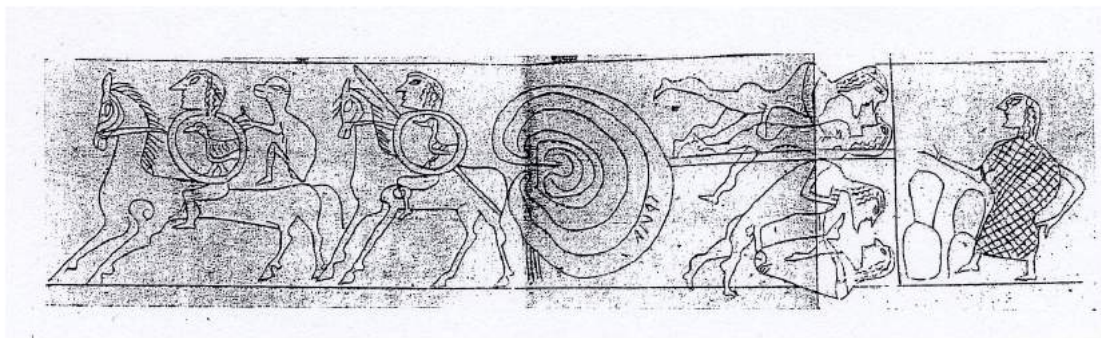


Fig. 19. (a) Equestrian Trojan games as
depicted on the *oinokhoe* from Tragliatella
(from Giglioli 1929: Tav. XXVIc).



Fig. 20. Mirror scene with an armed youth associated with the legend *lur* (from Gerhard, Klüggmann & Körte *ES* CDXII, 2).

13. THE ETRUSCAN LITURGICAL CALENDAR FROM CAPUA*

1. TABLE AND FUNCTION

The inscription of the Capua tile (TLE 2 = Rix 1991: TC) is the second largest text in the Etruscan language. It was purchased in the neighborhood of ancient Capua by a German traveller, by the name of Ludwig Pollak, in the year 1898. As a result of this circumstance, nothing is known about the archaeological find-context of the document (Pirovano 1985: 65 [first column]). Soon after its discovery the table was taken up in the collection of the State Museum at Berlin (inv. nr. 30982). Most recently, in 1993, it was displayed in the frame of the spectacular exhibition “Die Etrusker und Europa” which visited both Paris and Berlin.¹

The text is written on a large terracotta table with edges in high relief serving as a kind of frame (see Fig. 21). Unfortunately, the top side of the table is broken off and it cannot be determined with certainty what its original dimensions were; the remaining part measures 62x49 cm. Along the outer side of the table there are grooves opposite to about the tenth surviving line and at the lower corners, which testify to a device of suspension for the vertical disposition of the table against a wall (Pirovano 1985: 65 [second column]; Cristofani 1995: 23, Tav. III). This observation somehow makes up for the lack of information about the archaeological find-context as it indicates that the table was meant to be exposed, probably for public purposes.²

The missing top side is not the only sign of damage inflicted on the object suffered in the course of time. Besides this, also the lower part of the text is effectively erased, leaving only some readable signs nearest to the edges in high relief. Particularly this latter damage seems to have been purposely inflicted on the table in order to render it useless.

* This chapter is a reworked and updated version of Woudhuizen 1998: 9-88.

¹ Note that in the exhibition catalogue the contents of the Capua text is rather tendentiously described as being of funeral nature, see discussion of no. 209.

² Pirovano 1985: 72 (first column); cf. the gold tablets from Pyrgi (TLE 874-5 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.4-5), which, considering the suspension holes along the edges, were originally nailed to the walls of the altar site of Area C with which their find-context was associated. According to Cristofani 1995: 19-21 the table originates from the general area to the southwest of ancient Capua which, next to graves, also produced the remains of a 6th century BC sanctuary in the form of terracotta antefixes.

2. COMPOSITION AND PUNCTUATION

The text itself runs *boustrophedon* (= “as the ox ploughs”), or, more precisely, in “Schlangenschrift”: it starts from the right to the left, continues after the first turn upside down in the opposite direction, and so on. The text is further characterized by syllabic punctuation. This type of punctuation, which became fashionable during the 6th century BC, only marks deviations from the open type of syllable (= consonant + vowel) and, by consequence, is of little use for the distinction of individual words. In fact, therefore, the lines are written in *scriptio continua*, which means that the boundaries of the individual words are difficult to establish without the help of comparative data.³

Separate units or sections in the text are distinguished by horizontal dividing lines. A total number of nine of these dividing lines has been preserved, forming a clearly visible framework of ten units or sections. Of these sections, the first is incomplete due to the loss of the top side of the table. Depending on the original length of the table, this may or may not have been preceded by some more sections. In addition, the last five sections are incomplete because of the erasure of the text in the lower part of the table. This leaves us with only four fairly well preserved sections of varying length (= sections II-V). The longest but one of these (= section IV) shows an instance of a second punctuation mark in the form of a column of three dots, which probably distinguishes some larger section within the text.

3. SCRIPT AND DATE

The inscription of the Capua tile is usually assigned to the 5th century BC (Rix 1991b: 9), or more in particular, the first half of this century (Pirovano 1985: 73 [first column]). However, this dating is rather noncommittal in the sense that it covers the entire lifetime of the table. Is it possible to be more specific and fix both the upper (= time of production) and lower (= time of destruction) limits to this lifetime?

As for the lower limit, historical considerations clearly point to the conquest of Capua by the Samnites, recorded for the year 445 or

³ Sloty 1952 treats the phenomenon of syllabic punctuation most extensively; but his claim (inspired by Emil Vetter) that this device can be helpful for the distinction of individual words did not meet with general agreement and, indeed, fails with the critical case of the word *perpri* (see discussion below).

424 BC by the literary sources,⁴ because this event marks the end of Etruscan dominance over Campania.⁵ It is not an unlikely scenario, moreover, that the Samnites have snatched the table from the wall to which it was attached in their assault (causing the damage to the top side and the suspension devices) and have purposely erased part of the text in an attempt to wipe out the hated memory of their former masters (cf. our remarks in § 1 above).

For the establishment of an upper limit one has to rely solely on epigraphical data. A complicating factor in this undertaking is that Etruscan writing did not reach the level of uniformity comparable to the Attic *koinē*, but remained predominantly local. As is to be expected in such a situation, the script of the table shares a number of features with other Etruscan inscriptions from Campania. Most conspicuous among these are the use of the double triangle variant of the *san* (developed in Campania),⁶ the preservation of the archaic variant of the *thēta* with a cross inside it (long abandoned in Etruria proper), and the use of a simplified variant of the *qoppa* without hasta (easily mixed up with the common Etruscan form of *thēta*).⁷ Considering its local Campanian nature, then, the script of the table must be judged according to Campanian standards.

The Etruscan inscriptions from Campania have recently received some attention in their own right.⁸ Nevertheless, the criteria for dating these inscriptions are as yet not sufficiently articulated.⁹ To this comes that some of the crucial texts are published without any

⁴ Diodoros of Sicily, *The Library of History* XII, 31; Livy, *History of Rome* IV, 37.

⁵ Cortsen 1934: 231; but Pirovano 1985: 73 (first column) prefers the year in which the Etruscans were defeated by Hieron of Syracuse in the sea-battle at Cumae, 474 BC, as lower limit.

⁶ The presence of this variant in the text of the discus of Magliano (TLE 359 = Rix 1991: AV 4.1) is due to Campanian influence, see Woudhuizen 1992b: 200; cf. chapter 12 above.

⁷ Unfortunately, I have adopted Pallottino's mistaken transcription in Woudhuizen 1992a: 74; 105.

⁸ Hoenigswald 1947: 583-586; Baffioni 1974: 304 ff.; Sgobbo 1978: Tav. VI-XIII; Cristofani 1995: 27-32, Tav. IV-VII. For photographs of the Nola alphabets Rix 1991: Cm 9.4-5, see Pfiffig 1968: Taf. 6b-c and the exhibition catalogue *Etrusker und Europa* 1993: 149, no. 208.

⁹ Rix (1991) deviates from the dating proposed by Baffioni 1974 in case of TLE 12 = Rix 1991: Cm 2.13 possibly from Suessula (late 6th instead of early 5th century BC) and TLE 5 = Rix 1991: Cm 2.32 from Capua (late 6th/early 5th instead of late 6th century BC), probably by mistake. His dating of TLE 20 = Rix 1991: Cm 3.1 from Nola to the early 5th century BC is suspect.

photographs or drawings on the basis of which their chronological assignment can be verified.¹⁰ It is important to realize, therefore, that local Campanian scribal traditions have demonstrably kept in touch with current writing practices in Etruria proper. This appears from the replacement of the Caeretan digraph (HF or FH) in its various appearances by the north-Etruscan “figure-of-eight” (8) for the expression of [f],¹¹ and the introduction of more advanced forms for a number of signs among which that for *khi* and *mu* are most significant (see Fig. 22).¹²

Viewed against this background, the writing of the table may be defined as advanced for its use of the “figure-of-eight” sign for [f] and the recent variants of *khi* and *mu*.¹³ However, the archaic variant of *mu* is still sporadically used (as in *Leθamsul* in line 1 of section II), so that the text cannot be dated much after the introduction of these innovations. If Rix is right in fixing the borderline between archaic and recent texts more in general at about 480 BC, the text of the Capua tile may well have been produced in the period just next to this date (Rix 1991a: 15).

¹⁰ This concerns Rix 1991: Cm 2.8 from Capua and TLE 20 = Rix 1991: Cm 3.1 from Nola, the reading of which could not be checked by Rix (1991) either; for a treatment of the first mentioned inscription, however, see now Stutzinger & Rix 1995: 275-257 and Tav. LXII (= REE 1995, 48).

¹¹ The old form of [f] finds application in inscriptions from the 6th century BC, and should be expected to occur in combination with the old form of *mu* (Rix 1991: Cm 2.8 from Capua and TLE 20 = Rix 1991: Cm 3.1 from Nola)—as indeed it does in the case of Rix 1991: Cm 2.8. The new form of [f] occurs in inscriptions from the first half of the 5th century BC, in combination with the new form of *khi* (Rix 1991: Cm 9.4 and Rix 1991: Cm 9.5 from Nola) and sometimes the old (Rix 1991: Cm 9.4 from Nola) but mostly the new form of *mu* (Rix 1991: Cm 9.5 from Nola; also TLE 13 = Rix 1991: Cm 2.46 from Suessula and, with yet another modern form of *mu*, TLE 9 = Rix 1991: Cm 2.35 from Capua).

¹² The old form of *khi* appears in inscriptions dated to the latter half of the 6th century BC, exclusively in combination with the old form of *mu* (Rix 1991: Cm 2.17 from Stabiae and TLE 5 = Rix 1991: Cm 2.32 from Capua). The new form of *khi* occurs in inscriptions dated to the first half of the 5th century, in combination with sometimes the old (Rix 1991: Cm 9.4 from Nola) but mostly the new form of *mu* (TLE 12 = Rix 1991: Cm 2.13 from Suessula and Rix 1991: Cm 9.5 from Nola; cf. also Rix 1991: Cm 2.50 from Suessula, showing the other recent form of *mu* referred to in note 11 above).

¹³ Vetter 1939: 163 compares the Nola alphabet Rix 1991: Cm 9.4, but this alphabet still applies the archaic variant of *mu*. A closer comparison is therefore offered by the Nola alphabet Rix 1991: Cm 9.5.

4. MODEL AND ARCHAISMS

The composition of the text on the table, characterized, as we have seen earlier (§ 2), by a framework of horizontal dividing lines, has given rise to speculations as to whether the scribe might have been using an already existing text as a model.¹⁴ Thus Carlo Pirovano expresses his amazement about the fact that the lines (62 in sum) have been divided fairly economically over the available space, which, given the length of the text, is quite remarkable (Pirovano 1985: 72 [third column]). Similarly, Helmut Rix explicitly distinguishes between the time of the creation of the text (which he assigns to *c.* 525-475 BC) and that of its being written down on the clay table (which he situates *c.* 475-435 BC) (Rix 1990: 111). In principle, there is no urgent need to explain the careful lay-out of the text in terms of its pre-existence: it may suffice to assume that an experienced scribe has been at work, who prepared himself thoroughly for the job. But other puzzling features could receive a welcome explanation as well if the text had been copied from an older one.

We have noted above (§ 2) that the lines run *boustrophedon* or, more precisely, in “Schlangenschrift”. This mode of writing is paralleled in Etruria proper for inscriptions from the 6th or even 7th century BC, and therefore appears to be an anachronism for the text on the table.¹⁵ It is, of course, conceivable that for conservative sentiments an old-fashioned style has been purposely applied to a newly created religious text in order to enhance its authenticity. It is equally possible, though, that this puzzling anachronism should be

¹⁴ According to Cristofani 1995: 85-88, the scribe actually identifies himself in the colophon at the lower right side of the text. However, his reconstruction of the personal name †[*Can?*]*Julis* in section X, line 62 is based on a mistaken analysis of section III, line 18. Furthermore, the use of the 3rd person plural of the present future of the active *zixunce* indicates reference to representatives of some sort of organization responsible for the conduction of the text rather than the individual craftsman who actually inscribed it in the wet clay. In view of the latter consideration, I am inclined to prefer the original reading *Vilturis zixunce* as reached by Bücheler and Torp (1905b) prior to modern damages inflicted precisely to the passage in question and to explain *Vilturis* in line with *Velθurt[--]* (section IV, line 22) as a derivative of the ancient name of Capua, *Voltturnum*. If correct, the sequence *Vilturis zixunce* can be translated as “the Voltturnians (N(m/f) pl. in *-is*) have written”.

¹⁵ For *boustrophedon* writing, see TLE 42 = Rix 1991: Ve 3.30 from Veii (6th century BC); for “Schlangenschrift” writing, see TLE 483 = Rix 1991: Cl 2.4 from Chiusi (625-600 BC). The *lapis Niger* from Rome, dated to the end of the 6th century BC, is also conducted *boustrophedon*.

explained in terms of an archaic text being zealously copied in the Classical period (Vatin 1985 gives illuminating examples of texts copied in Antiquity, cf. chapter 10 above).

Another chronological inconsistency can be observed if we take a closer look at the individual words or linguistic entities recognizable in the text. It so happens, namely, that in certain instances syncopated forms of a word or linguistic entity occur alongside unsyncopated ones. Thus *laχθ* appears alongside *laχuθ* (section IV, line 25), and *itna* (section I, line 6) alongside *ituna* (section IV, line 30). If declined variants of one and the same root may be included here, it is possible to add the occurrence of *nunθcu* (section II, line 14) alongside *nunθeri* (section II, line 11) and of *ziχne* (section II, lines 14-5) alongside *ziχunce* (section X, line 62). The loss of vowels in non-initial syllables is a phonetic development which Etruscan shares with the neighboring Italic languages, and which, analogous to the “figure-of-eight” sign for [f] in the field of epigraphy, gradually spreads from the north to the south (Woudhuizen 1992a: 71). Considering the advanced date of the lettering (§ 3), the presence of syncopated forms in our text is merely to be expected. But to encounter their archaic forerunners as well in the same text, sometimes even in the very same line, is a linguistic anomaly.¹⁶ As a matter of fact, such an anomaly can only be accounted for in terms of an archaic text being copied by a Classical scribe who unconsciously carried out some modifications.

5. TRANSCRIPTION AND WRITING ERRORS

In this study we will henceforth concentrate our efforts on the four sections (II-V) which are completely preserved. This in order to keep the risk of haphazard interpretations and uncontrolled speculations to a minimum. The transcription of these four sections as rendered below is based on the most advanced one as applied by Helmut Rix in his recent (1991) *editio minor* of Etruscan texts.¹⁷ Only in a limited

¹⁶ Note that in the text of the discus of Magliano the equivalent of *laχ(u)θ* appears consistently in syncopated form *lacθ*, see Woudhuizen 1992b: 200 f. and cf. the preceding chapter; note further that the presence of syncopated *m̃laχta* alongside the expected unsyncopated form *m̃laχuta* in a much earlier inscription from Narce (TLE 27 = Rix 1991: Fa 3.1 + 6.1, c. 675-650 BC) may well result from a lapse.

¹⁷ Rix 1991: 9-11. I do not follow his complicated transliteration of sibilants, which is still open to scholarly debate and therefore should not have been applied in a

number of instances, adding up to 12 in sum, I have taken the liberty to deviate from Rix's transcription and to carry out some minor adaptations.

The proposed modifications of the transcription vary in kind and degree of certainty. Rix's reading is clearly mistaken in one case, perhaps as a result of a printing error. This concerns the substitution of *zuslevai* for †*zusleva*l in section II, line 11, because consultation of the photographs published by Pirovano is conclusive about the reading of *iota* instead of *lambda* (1) (Pirovano 1985: 67-68 [photographs]; 69 [transcription]). In other cases, the alterations cannot be backed up by similar conclusive evidence from the photographs. To this category belong substitution of *papθiai* for †*pepθiai* in section IV, line 26 (2), *veci[l]θu* for †*ecI-θu* in section IV, line 25 (3), *[zus]I[e]* for †---- in section IV, line 27 (4), and *fulinuś[es a]v[θ]* for †*fulinuś[----(-)]* in section V, line 29 (5). Here I have reintroduced readings from former editions of the text, which, as I hope to show in the following, should receive preference for linguistic reasons.

A totally different category of modifications is formed by readings which, though demonstrably correct in the epigraphic sense, are untenable in the face of comparative data. This has a bearing on †*eitīia* and †*zuxne* in section II, line 14 and †*mavilutule*, and †*saluzie* in section IV, line 21, which, in the light of the parallels, should read *eitva* (6),¹⁸ *zixne* (7),¹⁹ *ma<c>vilutule* (8),²⁰ and *saluzie* (9),²¹ respectively. The same verdict might also apply to the emendation of †*vinaiθ* in section II, line 15, †*falaIθur* in section IV, line 22, †*śilaci* in section IV, line 23, and †*veci[l]θu* in section IV, line 25 into *vinaIθ* (10),²² *falanθur* (11),²³ *śelace* (12),²⁴ and *veci[l]θi* (3 [2nd time]),²⁵

reference work. Especially the functional differentiation of three- and four-stroked *sigma* is extremely doubtful as these variants are functionally identical in the related Italic scripts, see Wachter 1987: 80 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. TLE 170 = Rix 1991: AT 1.96 from Musarna, TLE 98 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.169 from Tarquinia, and Rix 1991: Na 0.1 from Aude in the French province of the Narbonne; the sequence contains the negative adverb *ei* "not", first identified by Agostiniani 1984.

¹⁹ Cf. Cortsen 1934: 246; see also Pallottino 1988: 411.

²⁰ On account of its reoccurrence as *macvilutule* in section VI, line 31.

²¹ The numeral *sal* or *zal* "first" offers the only possibility for comparison, cf. Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.

²² Adjectival derivative in *-(a)li-* of *vinum* "wine" on the analogy of forms like *ecIθ(i)*, *UniaIθ(i)*, etc.

respectively, but in these cases the epigraphical readings cannot be ascertained with the help of the photographs published by Pirovano. Obviously this type of aberrations should be explained in terms of slips of the stylus of the scribe. These writing errors may have occurred during the process of copying an earlier text (see § 4), but they are insufficiently numerous (8 in sum) to warrant such a conclusion.

For completeness' sake, it should be stressed that I neither follow Rix's edition of the text in every respect, in so far as the division of the words is concerned.²⁶ As observed earlier (§ 2), the lines are actually written in *scriptio continua*, so that distinction of individual words to a certain extent may depend from one's own judgment of comparative data. By and large, the division of the words as applied here deviates from the one presented by Rix in about 20% of the cases, half of which rests with internal analysis or comparisons to texts from Etruria proper.²⁷

²³ Ending of the 3rd person pl. of the present/future of the passive in *-nθur* on the analogy of that of the active in *-nt* as in *θenunt*, see discussion in § 6g below.

²⁴ Cf. *selace* in the shorter Etruscan version of the Pyrgi texts (TLE 875 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.5).

²⁵ Cf. the locative form *eclθi* of the demonstrative pronoun *ica-*, *eca-*, *ca-* in TLE 116 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.200 from Tarquinia and TLE 276 = Rix 1991: AH 1.47 from Ferento.

²⁶ Cf. Cristofani 1995: 44-58, who disagrees with Rix's division of the words in four instances only (*ecunzai* [section II, line 10], *†stizaitei* [section IV, lines 24, 26], and *†ceχiniaitei* [section IV, line 27])—three of which emanate from his alternative analysis of *tei*.

²⁷ Thus, *riθnaitul tei* (section II, lines 9, 10) follows from the distinction of *riθnaitula* (section II, lines 16, 17) and *tei* (section I, line 4; section IV, lines 24, 26, 27), *italχu* (section II, line 10) is indicated by comparison to the indefinite pronoun *cuiesχu* (section II, line 8), *huśialχu* (section III, line 18) by comparison to multiples of ten like *cialχuś*, etc., *avθ Leθaium* (section II, line 12) depends from *Leθamsul* (section I, lines 3, 7; section II, lines 8, 12; section III, line 19; section IV, line 21) and *Laθiumiai* (section IV, line 26), *Aθene ica* (section II, line 12) results from comparison to the demonstrative pronoun *ica, ei tya* (section II, line 14) is indicated by comparison to the negative adverb *ei, snenaziulas* (section II, line 16) and *hivus* (section II, line 17) are dictated by their reoccurrence in section II, lines 17 and 16, respectively, *muluri zile* (section I, line 6; section III, lines 18-19) is suggested by the frequent use of verbs in *-ri* and comparison to the honorific title *zilaθ, Velθurt[--ni]sc* (section IV, line 22) follows from the distinction of *nisc* (section IV, line 23), *śelace iuleses* (section IV, line 23) is indicated by comparison to *selace, etul ana Tinusnal* (section V, line 30) is based on the distinction of *Tinunus* (section V, line 28) as well as comparison to the preposition *ana* and the theophoric personal name

II ⁸*ísveitule ilu-cve apirase Leθamsul ilucu cuiesxu perpri cipen apires ⁹racvanies huθ zusle riθnaitul tei snuza intehamaiθi cuveis Caθnis f[a]n¹⁰ir[i] marza intehamaiθi ital sacri utus ecunzai itialxu scuvse riθnaitu¹¹l tei ci zusle acunsiri ci-ma nunθeri eθ ís-uma zuslevai apire nunθer¹²i avθ Leθaium va-cil-ia Leθamsul nunθeri va-cil-ia riθnaita eθ Aθene ¹³ica perpri celutule apirase Unialθi turza esxaθce ei ís-um Unialθ ara ¹⁴epn icei nunθcu ci-ieí turzai riθ[n]aita ei tva halx apertule aφes ilucu va-cil zixn¹⁵e elfa riθnaitul traisvanec Calus zusleva atu[--]ne in-pa vinalθ acas aφ¹⁶es ci tartiria ci turza riθnaitula snenaziulas travai user hivus niθus-c ri¹⁷θnaitula hivus travai user sne[na]ziulas*

III ¹⁸*ísveitule ilu-cve anpilie Laruns ilucu hu<θ>-χ santi huśialxu esxaθca nu-l-is mulu¹⁹ri zile zizri in-pa [--]an acasri tiniantule Leθamsul ilucu perpri santi arvus²⁰ta aius nunθeri*

IV ²¹*acalve apertule saluzie Leθamsul ilucu perpri santi ma<c>vilutule iti²²rśver falanθur husilitule Velθurt[-- ni]s-c lavtun icni seril turza esxaθce: P²³acusnaśie θanurari turza esxaθce nis-c lavtun icni zusle śelace iuleses salxe ²⁴ica-la-ieí cle[vi]ai stizai tei zal rapa zal [t]a[rtir]ia-c lavtun icni seril turza e²⁵sxaθce laxuθ nunθeri [--]ei tu acasri laxθ turzais esxaθce ve-ci[l]θi acas eθ zusleva ²⁶stizai tei acasri Pacus[n]aśieθur Laθiumiai zusle ís-ixa-ieí tartiriiai fanusei papθiai ra²⁷tu ceχiniai tei turza esxaθce eθ [zus]l[e]*

V ²⁸*parθumi ilu-cve ísveitule Tinunus Seθumsal-c ilucu perpri cipen tartiria va-ci<l> f²⁹ulinuśn[es a]v[θ] ³⁰etul ana Tinusnal ilucu ituna fulinuśnai θenunt eθ U[ne]*

6. STRUCTURE AND GENERAL CONTENTS

If the underlying structure of a text can be revealed, this may serve as a reliable frame of reference for linguistic interpretation. To this end, one has to focus on repetitive elements and recurrent phrases. In the course of the, at least to my eyes, most fruitful attempt to structural analysis of the text of the Capua tile achieved thus far, Karl Olzscha has rightly pointed out that the highest number of repetitive

Tinusi, and *eθ U[ne]* (section V, line 30) results from the distinction of *eθ* (section II, lines 11, 12; section IV, lines 25, 27).

elements is traceable in the initial part of each section (Olzscha 1955: 75). Naturally, therefore, we should take these initial parts as a starting point for our investigation.

(a) Divine names

In the initial part of the sections, identical repetitions occur alongside changing elements. As observed by Olzscha, some of these changing elements can be grouped together into categories on the basis of comparative data. The first category which can positively be distinguished in this manner is that of divine names. This category comprises *Leθamsul* in sections II and IV, *Laruns* in section III, and *Tinunus Seθumsal-c* in section V (Olzscha 1955: 75-77; cf. Pallottino 1948-9: 167; Rix 1990: 112-113). As a group these names particularly remind us of those added to the divinities depicted in the various representations of the birth of *Menrva* (= *Minerva*) on Etruscan mirrors from the 4th and 3rd century BC, which, in the nominative of rubric, by then appear as *Leθans*, *Laran*, *Tinia*, and *Seθlans*, respectively (see Fig. 23).²⁸ Two of these also occur in variant writing *Leθam*, *Leθa*, *Leθn* or *Leta* and *Tin* or *Tins*, respectively, on the Piacenza bronze liver of recent date, which, apart from the entries *usils* and *tivr*, is exclusively inscribed with divine names or their abbreviations (TLE 719 = Rix 1991: Pa 4.2; for a recent treatment, see van der Meer 1986). In the following, however, we will see that the situation with the divine names is a little bit more complicated and that *Tinunus* or *Tins* is to be distinguished from *Tin* or *Tinia*, the former being the Etruscan reflex of Greek *Dionusos* as already attested in form of *Tinnuśa* (D sg. in *-a*) in an Etruscan inscription from Cumae dated to c. 700-675 BC²⁹ and the latter corresponding, indeed, to Greek *Zeus*. Karl Olzscha has cogently demonstrated that the forms of the divine names in the text of the Capua tile are D-G

²⁸ Rix 1991: Ta S.10 from Tarquinia (late 4th/early 3rd century BC), Rix 1991: Ar S.2 from Castiglion Fiorentino (= Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES* LXIV, late 4th/early 3rd century BC) and Rix 1991: OI S.68 of uncertain origin (= Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES* CCLXXXIV, 3rd century BC). Cristofani 1995: 68-69, note 30 considers *Seθums* and *Seθlans* two distinct divine names; his alternative explanation of *Seθums* in line with the Umbrian personal name *Setums* "Septimus" (see Rix 1992: 247; cf. Georgiev 1979: 39) is attractive and receives further emphasis from the similar loss of labial [p] before the dental [θ] in *Neθuns* < *Neptunus*.

²⁹ Jeffery 1998: "Western Greece" no. 2: *hica meśe Tinnuśa* "this (is) for the god Dionysos", written on the base of a proto-Corinthian *oinokhoe*, see Woudhuizen 1992b: 158-161 and cf. chapter 1.

sg. in *-l* (*Leθamsul* < N(m/f) sg. **Leθams*; *Seθumsal* < N(m/f) sg. **Seθums*)³⁰ and *-s* (*Laruns* < N(m/f) sg. *Laran*),³¹ so that these may confidently be classified as recipients. From a structural point of view, it is interesting to note that the members of this category are consistently located in the fourth position of the phrase, just before the identical repetition *ilucu* of as yet undetermined nature.

(b) Month names

The second category discovered by Olzscha consists of month names. This category is formed by *apirase* in section II, *anpilie* in section III, *acalve* in section IV, and *parθumi* in section V.³²

The identification of *anpilie* and *acalve* is assured thanks to their correspondence in form to the glosses *ampiles* “May”³³ and *aclus* “June”,³⁴ respectively. Next, *apirase* is plausibly brought into relation with the gloss *cabreas* “April”, of which the initial gamma probably originates from later popular etymological explanations.³⁵ In any case, *apirase* recurs in variant form *afrs* in the text on the discus of Magliano (TLE 359 = Rix 1991: AV 4.1), where it is structurally lined with other temporal indications (Woudhuizen 1992b: 208-210; 215, Table I; cf. chapter 12, Table XXVI), and has been convincingly traced back by Cortsen to the month name Ἰαριος from the calendar of the people of Olooson and Larissa in the north-Aegean region, which in turn is derived from the divine name Ἰαροδίτη.³⁶ This

³⁰ For N(m/f) sg. **Leθams* > D(-G) sg. *Leθamsul*, cf. N(m/f) sg. *Fufluns* > D(-G) sg. *Fuflunsul*; for N(m/f) sg. **Seθums* > D(-G) sg. *Seθumsal*, cf. N(m/f) sg. *Laris* > D(-G) sg. *Larisal*; note further that the probable Loc. sg. *Seθumati* in the *Liber linteus* (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL X, 5) strengthens the latter analysis.

³¹ Note that the final *s* in *Tinunus* or *Tinus-* (as in the D(-G) sg. in *-l* of a derivative in *-na-*, *Tinusnal*), like in *Tinnus-* and *Tins*, is not an ending but a constituent part of the root. Nevertheless, from its alignment with *Seθumsal* by means of the enclitic conjunction *-c* “and”, it may safely be assumed that the form *Tinunus* renders the D(-G) sg. as well.

³² Olzscha 1955: 83-88; cf. Rix 1990: 113, who accepts the three first mentioned identifications.

³³ TLE 805: *ampiles Tuscorum lingua Maius mensis dicitur*.

³⁴ TLE 801: *aclus Tuscorum lingua Iunius mensis dicitur*.

³⁵ TLE 818: *cabreas Tuscorum lingua Aprilis mensis dicitur*. Olzscha 1955: 84 suggests influence from Latin *capra*.

³⁶ Cortsen 1938; cf. Bayet 1957: 92-3, who traces Roman *Aprilis* back to the Etruscan month name.

leaves us with *parθumi* on the position where, according to the evidence of the glosses, we would have expected an epichoric equivalent of *traneus* “July”.³⁷ Olzscha has compared this month name to Παρθένιος in the calendar of Elis in Greece (Olzscha 1955: 91-92). Such a comparison seems not far-fetched in view of the fact that an offshoot of Greek παρθένος “girl, virgin” has taken root in Etruscan, both as kinship term (*farθna-* “girl, daughter”, as in TLE 887 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.164) and as divine name (*Farθans* = deity of Gorgo-type).³⁸ On the contrary, it may indeed receive extra emphasis as soon as we realize that the Etruscan month name *traneus* is derived from the name of a goddess, *Turan* (cf. Greek τύραννος “tyrant”), who is often identified with Greek *Artemis* (Pfiffig 1975, s.v.).

Within the structure of the text, the representatives of the category of month names appear either in third (*apirase* and *anpilie*) or in first (*acalve* and *parθumi*) position. As such, these forms circle around the identical repetition *ilucve* of as yet undetermined nature in second position—with the exception, of course, of section IV where the latter element is omitted—, while at the same time trading places with representatives of the *tule*-group (cf. Table XXXIII).

sect.	month	day	specif.	recipient	verb 1	offering	verb 2
II	<i>apirase</i>	<i>isveitule</i>	<i>ilucve</i>	<i>Leθamsul</i>	<i>ilucu</i>	<i>cuiesxu</i>	<i>perpri</i>
III	<i>anpilie</i>	<i>isveitule</i>	<i>ilucve</i>	<i>Laruns</i>	<i>ilucu</i>	<i>šanti</i>	<i>esxaθca</i>
IV	<i>acalve</i>	<i>apertule</i>	<i>saluzie</i>	<i>Leθamsul</i>	<i>ilucu</i>	<i>šanti</i>	<i>perpri</i>
V	<i>parθumi</i>	<i>isveitule</i>	<i>ilucve</i>	<i>Tinunus</i> <i>Seθumsal-c</i>	<i>ilucu</i>	<i>tartiria</i>	<i>perpri</i>

Table XXXIII. Structural analysis of the initial section of the main phrases (idealized sequence).

Note, finally, that insofar as endings are concerned the members of this category probably show D sg. in *-i* or *-e* for the expression of a temporal relation.

³⁷ TLE 854: *traneus Tuscorum lingua Iulius mensis dicitur*.

³⁸ Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.; note in this connection, that Capuan preference for [p] where inscriptions from Etruria proper show [f] is paralleled for the month name *apirase*.

(c) Day names

A third category of structurally related elements is formed by words ending in *-tule* like *ísveitule* in sections II, III, and V, and *apertule* in section IV. In his stimulating recent contribution on the text of the table, Rix has interpreted the words of this group in a somewhat ambivalent way, explaining *ísveitule* as a locative but *apertule* as a day name (Rix 1990: 113-114; cf. Cristofani 1995: 63-65). I will try to show here that the last mentioned suggestion may be relevant for all members of this group.

In order to do so, it might be illuminating to include in our analysis more advanced parts of the sections as well, in which some of the stock elements of the initial parts recur. It appears, namely, that the categories of divine names, words ending in *-tule*, and the identical repetition *ilucu* do recur here in the same structural relationship towards each other, whereas the categories of month names (with one notable exception, see further below) and the identical repetition *ilucve* do not (see Table XXXIV).

sect.	month	day	specif.	recipient	verb 1	offering	verb 2	
II,	1	<i>apirase</i>	<i>ísveitule</i>	<i>ilucve</i>	<i>Leθamsul</i>	<i>ilucu</i>	<i>cuiesxu</i>	<i>perpri</i>
	2	<i>apirase</i>	<i>celutule</i>	(<i>Unialθi</i>)			<i>turza</i>	<i>esxaθce</i>
	3		<i>apertule</i>	<i>aφes</i>	<i>ilucu</i>	(<i>tartiria,</i> <i>turza</i>)		
III,	1	<i>anpilie</i>	<i>ísveitule</i>	<i>ilucve</i>	<i>Laruns</i>	<i>ilucu</i>	<i>śanti</i>	<i>esxaθca</i>
	2		<i>tiniantule</i>		<i>Leθamsul</i>	<i>ilucu</i>	<i>śanti</i>	<i>perpri</i>
IV,	1	<i>acalve</i>	<i>apertule</i>	<i>saluzie</i>	<i>Leθamsul</i>	<i>ilucu</i>	<i>śanti</i>	<i>perpri</i>
V,	1	<i>parθumi</i>	<i>ísveitule</i>	<i>ilucve</i>	<i>Tinunus</i>	<i>ilucu</i>	<i>tartiria</i>	<i>perpri</i>
				<i>Seθumsal-c</i>				
	2		<i>etul</i>	<i>Tinusnal</i>	<i>ilucu</i>	<i>ituna</i> <i>fulinuśnai</i>	<i>θenunt</i>	

Table XXXIV. Structural analysis of the main phrases.

What can we make out of this situation? If the category of month names is omitted from more advanced parts of the sections, it might be deduced that repetition is not necessary because each section is entirely dedicated to the month mentioned at its start. This suggestion receives substantial confirmation from the fact that the one notable exception to this rule, the mention of *apirase* later on in section II, concerns repetition of precisely the month name given at

the start of the section. A similar reasoning may likewise apply to the omission of *ilucve*. But this identical repetition exclusively occurs in direct relationship with a single representative of the group of words ending in *-tule*, namely *ísveitule*. Consequently, it might be assumed that *ilucve* specifies *ísveitule* and that the other representatives of the group of words ending in *-tule* do not need such a specification. Furthermore, we have noted above that *ísveitule* trades places with representatives of the category of month names and therefore likewise circles around *ilucve* which itself remains fixed in second position. In formulaic expressions such laxity in word order may be indicative of a relationship in substance. In other words: *ísveitule* may well be of comparable substance as the month names and therefore temporal in nature as well. At any rate, this particular form of information (month name + *ilucve* + *ísveitule*) from the formulaic expression at the start of the sections is exclusively represented in more advanced parts by words ending in *-tule*, which already have been explained by Rix as day names! For this reason *ísveitule* probably renders a day name as well.

Additional clues for our interpretation of the words ending in *-tule* as day names are provided by linguistic analysis. If allowance be made for the inclusion of words ending in *-tule* from other parts of the text as well, there can be distinguished two basic types: one of which where the root corresponds with a numeral and the other of which where the root recalls a divine name. To the first type belong *celutule*, *husilitule*, and *macvilutule*, which are derived from the numerals *ci-* “3”, *huθ-* “4”, and *maχ-* “5”, respectively.³⁹ The second type comprises *aper-tule* and *tiniantule*, which are based on the divine names Ἄφρω (= abridged form of Ἀφροδίτη) and *Tinia-*, respectively.⁴⁰ Now, in Greek religious calendars, the days are indicated by ordinalia in combination with a participle of ἵσταμαι (Sterlin Dow & Healey 1965). Roman equivalents use numbers as well in combination with specifications like *kalendae*, *nonae*, and *idus* (Bayet 1957: 89 ff.). In our contemporary system of day names, which is rooted in Roman times, Roman and Germanic divine names

³⁹ Cf. Woudhuizen 1988-9c and chapter 11 above; note the consistent use of the adjectival morpheme *-l-* for the indication of ordinal numbers.

⁴⁰ Of the remaining instances of this group of words, *ísveitule* may, on account of its first element if this indeed concerns a reflex of the numeral *ez* “1”, well be grouped with the first category of day names, *i.e.* those based on a numeral, although the formation in *-ve-* in that case would confront us with an alternative for adjectival *-l-* for the indication of the ordinal otherwise occurring as *zal*, *sal*, or *esl-*.

are applied.⁴¹ Is it unreasonable to assume that the Etruscans organized their system of day names according to similar principles? Personally, I am inclined to think it is not (so also Cristofani 1995: 64, who further adduces relevant Oscan parallels).

Finally, it deserves our attention in this connection that in the longer Etruscan version of the bilingual inscriptions on the Pyrgi gold tablets (TLE 874 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.4) an indication of the day is mentioned in an elaborate dating formula. Under due consideration of an *a/u*-vowel shift, this word, *tesiametale* “on the day of the burial of the god(dess)”, happens to be of similar formation as the ones under discussion. Moreover, in the text on the discus of Magliano, a day name occurs, *menitle* “on the day of the ceremonies”, in which the final element happens to be subject to syncope.⁴² Whether the final element of this formation should be analyzed as a separate root *tal-* or *tul-* “day” or as a nominal derivative in *-tal-* or *-tul-* (or even *-t-* and *-l-*) remains open to debate. What primarily concerns us here is that the noted similarity in formation further substantiates our interpretation of the *tule*-group as day names.

(d) *ilucve*

In the foregoing, we have analyzed *ilucve* as a specification of the day name *isveitule*, which obviously needs not to be repeated in more advanced parts of the section for the specification of other day names mentioned there. Furthermore, we have seen that on the basis of the relevant parallels it might be suggested to be of a similar nature as Greek ἰσθαμένον and Latin *kalendae* (cf. Olzscha 1955: 89). Is it possible to sustain this view by linguistic evidence?

Fortunately, under due consideration of the *a/u*-vowel shift again, *ilucve* can positively be connected with an equivalent from the longer Etruscan version of the bilingual inscriptions on the Pyrgi gold tablets (TLE 874 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.4), viz. *ilacve*. This form is a compound of the verb *ilace* “(s)he has favored” with the enclitic relative pronoun *-cve* characterized by haplology (*ila-cve* < **ilace-*

⁴¹ *Tuesday*, *Wednesday*, *Thursday*, *Friday*, and *Saturday* are derived from the divine names *Tiwaz*, *Wodan*, *Donar*, *Freia* (Germanic), and *Saturnus* (Roman), respectively; French has *Mercredi* instead of *Wednesday*, which is based on the Roman divine name *Mercurius*.

⁴² Cf. chapters 9 and 12 above. Note that, just like the month names *apirase*, *anpilie*, and *acalve*, these forms probably show D sg. in *-e* for the expression of a temporal relation.

cve) (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.). In the specific case of the Pyrgi texts the enclitic relative functions (in like manner as Latin *quod*) as the subordinate conjunction “because”.

Within the context of our present text it seems not far-fetched to assume that the verb *ilu-* “to favor” is used in a technical sense for the expression of the secondary, but closely related meaning “to hold a feast (lit.: to favor a deity)”. At any rate, the resulting interpretation of the combination *ilu-cve* as “when you shall hold a feast” (with *ilu* as an endingless 2nd person sg. of the imperative and the conjunction *-cve* in its temporal application) remains well within the limits set for its meaning by internal evidence.⁴³

Moreover, the given interpretation also allows us to understand the fact that the sequence *isveitule ilucve* in the initial part of the sections is followed by a set of relative dates in more advanced parts of the sections. The day names in these more advanced parts, namely, *only have a bearing on the period of the festival*, not on that of the month in general (note that in the latter case we would have expected day names indicated by teens, twenties or low thirties as recorded for the text of the *Liber linteus* [TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL]).⁴⁴

The validity of this reasoning is further stressed by the exceptional case of section IV. Here the sequence *isveitule ilucve* is omitted and replaced by an alternative one based on the day name *apertule* which is also attested for the relative set of dates in the more advanced parts of section II. As a day name comparable to contemporary Wednesday, etc., *apertule* is obviously not specific enough to meet the requirements of absolute dating, because there are at least four or five of such days in every month. It is highly significant therefore that this particular instance of *apertule* happens to be specified by *saluzie*, an adjectival derivative of the ordinal number *sal* “first”, perhaps characterized by the D(-G) pl. in *-e* here to stress the fact that of all possible first days of the month the first Aphrodite’s is meant.⁴⁵

Note, finally, that along a similar line of approach the day name *isveitule*, which in variant form *esvitle* recurs in the text of the *Liber*

⁴³ Cf. Cristofani 1995: 63, who actually considers *ilucve* as a near equivalent of Oscan *fílsáis* “during the feast”; for the Oscan form, see Franchi De Bellis 1981: 54; 106-108; 172-178.

⁴⁴ TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL VI, 14: *esl-em zaθrumiś acale* “on the 19th (of) June”; VIII, 3: *huθiś zaθrumiś* “on the 24th”; X, 2: *ci-em cealzuz* “on the 27th”; etc.

⁴⁵ Cf. Olzscha 1955: 89, who also thinks of a numeral, but compares *śa-* “6”. For the identification of *sal* “first”, see Woudhuizen 1988-9c and chapter 11 above.

linteus (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL VIII, 2) may possibly be assumed to render the meaning “on the days (D(-G) pl. in -e) of the ceremonies” (which in principle may but need not actually coincide with the first days of the month so that the element *iś-* is not necessarily linked up with the numeral *ez* “1” as suggested in note 40 above) or the like.

(e) *ilucu*

Of *ilucu* we have noticed earlier that it always takes the fifth position in the initial part of the sections, just after the category of recipient deities, and that it belongs to the elements recurring in the more advanced parts of the sections, where it likewise follows upon the category of recipient deities.

Linguistic analysis suggests that *ilucu* contains the same root as *ilucve*, which, as we have just experienced, under due consideration of an *a/u*-vowel shift is based on the verb *ila-* “to favor, hold a feast”. If this is correct, its ending *-cu* is, against the backdrop of Luwian *-du* or *-tu*, likely to be analyzed as the 3rd person sg. of the imperative of the active—for the modal nature of the closing vowel, cf. the 3rd person sg. of the subjunctive of the active in *-ca* as encountered in the texts of the Pyrgi gold tablet and the discus of Magliano.

Accordingly, then, a feast is to be organized on behalf of the deity with which the verb is associated.

(f) Offerings

Yet another group of structurally related words consists of indications of offering. Both Massimo Pallottino and Helmut Rix have keenly observed that some of the indications of offering are used in direct relationship with numerals (Pallottino 1948-9: 176; Rix 1990: 112; cf. Cristofani 1995: 79-80). Thus, *tartiria*, which follows closely upon the combination of recipient deity with the imperative *ilucu* in the initial part of section V, is preceded by the numeral *ci* “3” in section I, lines 3-4, and section II, line 16, and possibly by the numeral *zal* “first” in section IV, line 24. Similarly, *turza*, which appears to be the only possible candidate for object in the shortened version of the formulaic expression in the advanced part of section II, is coupled with the numeral *ci* “3” in section II, line 16—where this combination directly follows upon the instance of *ci tartiria* just mentioned. In an identical position as *tartiria* from a structural point of view and, to a lesser extent, *turza* occur *cuiesxu* in the initial part of section II, *śanti* in the initial part of sections III and IV and the advanced parts of

section III, and the combination *ituna fulinuśnai* in the advanced parts of section V (see Table XXXIV). These latter indications of offering, however, do not recur together with numerals in other parts of the text. Other words which occur in combination with numerals but fall outside the scope of the formulaic phrases analyzed here are: *zusle*, which is coupled with *ci* “3” in section II, line 11 and *huθ* “4” in section II, line 9; *rapa*, which is connected with *zal* “first” in section IV, line 24 (where it is directly followed by the possible instance of *zal tartiria* referred to above), and *cleva*, which is preceded by *ci* “3” in section I, lines 3-4 (where it is directly followed by one of the instances of *ci tartiria* given above). No doubt, these words are to be identified as indications of offering, too. The structural relationship of offerings with numerals is paralleled for texts of comparable nature, not only (as Rix has duly emphasized) in other languages like Umbrian, but also in Etruscan itself—the text on the discus of Magliano (TLE 359 = Rix 1991: AV 4.1) is a case in point here.⁴⁶

In a number of cases the exact meaning of these words for offerings eludes us due to the apparent lack of comparative data. We must realize here, that the words in question are technical terms from a religious environment. It is even conceivable that a description of the exact nature of the offerings has been deliberately avoided in order to secure the secret aspects of the cult.⁴⁷ We will, therefore, in the main refrain from attempts to interpret these technical terms. But in some instances, the identification as offering may perhaps be sustained by linguistic evidence. This concerns first of all *turza*, which appears to be linked with the verbal root *tur(u)*- “to give” (Pallottino 1988: 487; cf. Cristofani 1995: 80). In this particular case even the morpheme *-z(a)*- presents little difficulties, as this is also attached to vase names like *lextumusa* “lēkythos” and *qutumusa* “kōthōn” in inscriptions from Etruria proper (TLE 761 = Rix 1991: AO 2.2 of uncertain origin and Rix 1991: Ve 2.1 from Veii), and has received plausible explanation as a diminutive suffix (Pfiffig 1968: 47; Pallottino 1988: 442; cf. Cristofani 1995: 80-81). Accordingly, *turza* may reasonably be assumed to bear reference to some sort of

⁴⁶ On side A occurs the offering *ximθm* in combination with the cardinals *ez* “1” (section 1) and *tu* “2” (section 2), and a derivative of *ci* “3”, *cialaθ* (section 3), respectively; on side B one encounters in the final fifth section the offering *lursθ* in direct relationship with the ordinals *sal* “1st” and *θun* “2nd”, see Woudhuizen 1992b: 215, Table I, and cf. chapter 12 above.

⁴⁷ Cf. the religious calendar of Eleusis, referred to above, which uses mystical circumscriptions like τὰ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς “the things for the sacred function”.

gift, or, more in specific, little gift. Next, the root of *zusle* has been identified by Bouke van der Meer (2007: 69) as a reflex of Greek σῶς or Latin *sus* “pig”. In line with this observation, the morpheme *-l-* likely functions as the diminutive, so that the offering in question entails a “piglet”. Furthermore, it might be suggested of *tartiria* and *śanti* that their roots show a reflex of the numerals *tar-* “3” and *śa-* “6”, respectively. In the first case this is—although implying preservation of the original form of the numeral, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *tar-* “3” (Laroche 1960a: 208, sub L 388), whereas in the realm of the numerals itself this has developed, as we have shown earlier, through the intermediary form **cri-* into *ci*—particularly tempting given the correspondence thus achieved to the Greek equivalent of Latin *suovetaurilia*, viz. τριτύς (pl. τριτύες) or the Eleusinian τρίττοα βούαρχος, a sacrifice of three different animals (usually a boar, a bull, and a ram, or their female counterparts) to a divine triad during lustrations (cf. Linear B PY Un 6; Homer, *Odyssey* XI, 130 f.)!

General considerations lead us to the assumption that the indications of offering from the formulaic phrases under discussion are in A sg. or pl. In four cases, this assumption is linguistically verifiable: *turza*, *tartiria*, and *zusleva* (II, line 15) all show the N-A(n) pl. in *-a* (cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 88-89), and *ituna* happens to be a variant of the A(m/f) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *ita-* which is characterized by an *a/u*-vowel shift and superfluous additional vowel [a].⁴⁸ In contexts other than the formulaic phrases analyzed here, however, the indications of offering may perform different functions and therefore appear in declined variants. Thus, *tartiria* elsewhere appears in declined variant form as *tartirii* (IV, 26), *turza* as *turzai* (II, 14), and *zusle* as *zuslevai* (II, 11); for the determination of the ending *-ai*, see below.

(g) Verbs

The last category of words which can be distinguished in the formulaic phrases characterized by the identical repetitions *ilucve* and *ilucu* consists of verbs. These verbs appear in direct relationship with the indications of offering. The intimacy of this relationship is expressed

⁴⁸ Cortsen 1934: 238 “*ituna* (...) ist identisch mit dem späteren *itun*”; for *itun*, see TLE 156 = Rix 1991: Ta 3.2 from Tarquinia. Olzscha 1955: 89 takes this word for a temporal notion like Latin *idus*, which, however, is unlikely for its position in the structure of the text.

by the fact that representatives of the two categories can trade places (cf. discussion of month and day names above). Most common among these verbs is *perpri*, which occurs in association with the offerings *cuiesxu* (section I), *śanti* (sections III and IV), and *tartiria* (section V) (cf. Pallottino 1948-9: 180 f.). Next comes *esxaθca* or *esxaθce*, which is preceded by the offerings *turza* (section II) and *śanti* (section III) (Pallottino 1948-9: 180; Pirovano 1985: 73 [column 2]). Finally, *θenunt* has only one occurrence and this is in combination with *ituna fulinuśnai* (section V).

The analysis of these forms as verbs rests with linguistic evidence. Thus *esxaθce* is characterized by the 3rd person sg. of the past tense of the active in *-ce*. Its variant in *-ca* exemplifies the 3rd person sg. of the subjunctive of the active which we have already encountered in the preceding chapters in the Pyrgi text and that of the Magliano disc. In variant form *heχśθ*, characterized by initial [h] and metathesis of [s] and [χ], the root of this verb is also attested for the text of the *Liber linteus*, where it likewise turns up in direct association with the object *tur(z)a* (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL IV, 9; IX, 6). Although its precise meaning eludes us, *esxaθce* is one of the few verbs in our text showing the past tense and, as rightly observed by Mauro Cristofani, for this reason likely denotes some preparatory action like “prepare” or “bring, carry” or the like (Cristofani 1995: 92; perhaps related to Greek ἔσχατος “extreme, farthest”?). Next, *θenunt* bears witness of the 3rd person pl. of the present/future tense in *-nt* (Woudhuizen 1992a: 88; 91). The root of this verb corresponds with *ten(u)-* “to hold”, which in forms like *tenu*, *tenve*, and *tenθas* governs indications of magistracies in funeral inscriptions from Etruria proper (Pallottino 1988: 486; Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *tenθas*). Finally, *perpri* is lined with *acasri* and *nunθeri* for its ending in *-ri*.⁴⁹ The verbal nature of the given parallels is assured by their occurrence elsewhere in the 3rd person sg. of the past tense of the active *acasce* and *nunθeke*, respectively.⁵⁰ As *perpri*, together with the associated indications of offering in the accusative, clearly depends from the imperative *ilucu*, it seems not far-fetched to interpret *-ri* on the

⁴⁹ There is also evidence of nominal forms in *-ri*, like, for example, *Θanurari* (section IV, line 23), but these take an entirely different position in the structure of the text.

⁵⁰ TLE 131 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.17 from Tarquinia; Vatin 1985: Tyrrhenian *cippus* from Delphi, see discussion in chapter 10 above. Cf. also the imperative *nunθcu* in section II, line 14 of the present text.

analogy with Latin as the ending of the passive infinitive.⁵¹ Even though further evidence for the root *perp-* is lacking in Etruscan, its etymological connection with Luwian *parapiya-* “to bless, consecrate (lit.: give in advance)” suggests that we are dealing here with a verb of dedicatory nature.⁵²

In the preceding analysis of the underlying structure of the text we have been able to discern two types of closely related formulaic expressions, one at the beginning of the sections (= initial phrases) and another in more advanced parts of the sections (= main phrases). Both types of phrases contain day names (c), names of recipient deities (a), the imperative *ilucu* (e), indications of offering (f), and verbs specifying the ritual treatment of these offerings (g). But the first type distinguishes itself from the latter by two extra elements, month names (b) and the specification of the chronological starting point in form of *ilucve* (d) in combination with *isveitule*. The identification of the various structural categories is based on generally accepted (month names [b], names of recipient deities [a], indications of offering [f], and verbs specifying the latter’s ritual treatment [g]), or bilingually verifiable (day names [c], *ilucve* [d], and *ilucu* [e]) linguistic information. Even though the identification of the structural categories reached here is not exactly the same as the one proposed by Rix in his treatment of the text, his conclusion nonetheless remains essentially valid and worth citing in full: “Der Text auf der Tontafel von Capua ist ein Festkalender, geordnet nach Monaten und innerhalb dieser nach Monatstagen. Erster Monat ist März. In manchen Monaten sind mehrere Feste genannt, in anderen nur eines. Daß zwei Monate fehlen, muß daran liegen, daß in diesen gar kein Fest zu nennen war [only one of two options according to our analysis as presented above]. Die meisten Rituale haben eine Gottheit zum Adressaten.” (Rix 1990: 114-115).

There is one more inference to be made on the basis of this conclusion. If the text really is a calendar, it may reasonably be

⁵¹ The morpheme *-r-* is attested for various Indo-European languages as a marker of the passive, see Crossland 1971. In IE Anatolian the morpheme *-r-* regularly distinguishes the endings of middle and passive forms but as yet no middle-passive infinitive has been discovered, see Meriggi 1980: 356 ff. and Carruba 1992; for Luwian, cf. Woudhuizen 2005: 79; Woudhuizen 2011: 136; 314.

⁵² Poetto 1992: 40; Woudhuizen 1994-5a: 177; Woudhuizen 2004: 23 (= Yalbur § 24). For Luwian *para* > Etruscan *per*, cf. Lycian *per* as attested for the composite adverb *per-epñ* (Friedrich 1932: 85, TL 134, line 4).

assumed that dates are of primary concern and therefore placed at the start of a phrase (compare, for example, the sacred calendars of Eleusis [Sterlin Dow & Healey 1965], Athens, and Erkhia [Cristofani 1995: 110-112]). As we have noted earlier, the only temporal indications encountered in structurally comparable advanced parts of the section are day names, which indeed appear exclusively in first position of these so-called main phrases. For this reason, I am inclined to consider day names in, for the lack of sufficient repetitive elements, structurally incomprehensible parts of the section as markers of the beginning of a separate phrase or clause as well (see Table XXXV).

section	day	ind. obj.	object 1	verb 1	object 2	verb 2
II,	1b	<i>riθnaitul</i>	<i>snuza</i>	<i>intehamaiθi</i>	<i>cuveis</i> <i>Caθnis</i>	<i>faniri</i>
	1b		<i>marza</i>	<i>intehamaiθi</i>	<i>utus</i> <i>ecunzai</i>	<i>sacri</i>
	1c	<i>riθnaitul</i>	<i>zusle</i>	<i>acunsiri</i>		
	3b	<i>riθnaitul</i>	<i>Calus</i>	<i>zusleva</i>	<i>atu[--]ne</i>	
	3c	<i>riθnaitula</i>	<i>snenaziulas</i>	<i>travaiuser</i> <i>hivus niθus-c</i>		
	3c	<i>riθnaitula</i>	<i>snenaziulas</i>	<i>travaiuser</i> <i>hivus</i>		
IV,	2	<i>macvilutule</i>	<i>itirśver</i>	<i>falanθur</i>		
	3	<i>husilitule</i>	<i>Velθurt[--]</i>			

Table XXXV. Structural analysis of remaining phrases or clauses headed by a day name.

Of primary importance among the day names occurring in this position is *riθnaitul(a)*. Obviously, this day name is out of line with the other day names, not only for its special position, but also because its root is not based on either a numeral or divine name. According to Pallottino, the root *riθnai-* is formally related with the vocabulary word *rita* in section VI, line 33 (Pallottino 1948-9: 177; Rix 1991b: 10 differs from Pirovano 1985 in reading *riza* here). If so, it may be considered an adjectival derivative in *-n-* of that noun (cf. Woud-huizen 1992a: 83; 85). Apparently, this adjective is marked by

the ending *-ai* which we have already encountered in connection with the discussion of the category of offerings. Owing to its correspondence to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ai* (Woudhuizen 2005: 44; 177; Woudhuizen 2016b), Lycian *-āi*, and Lydian *-ai*, this ending can positively be identified as the G pl. (Meriggi 1980: 275; Woudhuizen 1992a: 94; Woudhuizen 2005: 143; 146). On account of the striking formal resemblance of *rita* to Latin *ritus* “ritual, ceremony”, one might hence suggest an interpretation of *riθnaitul(a)* as “on the day of the rituals”, which, considering the extraordinary nature and position of the word, seems quite suitable, indeed.⁵³

Further analysis and interpretation of the text can only be realized by linguistic means. We will, therefore, presently turn our attention to this particular category of evidence. In this discussion full use will be made of results from earlier treatments of the bilingual inscriptions from Pyrgi (TLE 874-5 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.4-5) and Delphi, and the text on the discus from Magliano (TLE 359 = Rix 1991: AV 4.1), as well as from the etymological relationship of Etruscan with the Luwian dialects in southwest Anatolia established during these treatments.

7. PARTICLES, PREPOSITIONS, AND ADVERBS

Experience with the translation of the bilingual inscriptions on the Pyrgi gold tablets (Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 153-179; Woudhuizen 1998: 163-176; Woudhuizen 2005: 155-162; cf. chapter 9 above) and on the Tyrrhenian *cippus* and the walls of the Caeretan *thesauros* at Delphi (Woudhuizen 1986-7; Woudhuizen 1992b: 164-195; cf. chapter 10 above), and the monolingual one on the lead discus from Magliano (Woudhuizen 1992b: 195-236; Woudhuizen 1998: 156-157; cf. chapter 12 above) has revealed that Etruscan, like the Indo-European languages of Anatolia, is characterized by sentence introductory particles. Because of their very nature, these particles, when properly recognized, are an invaluable aid for the distinction of individual phrases or clauses. To a lesser extent, the same verdict applies to prepositions and adverbs, which often occur at the start of part of a phrase or a subordinate clause. In our attempts to fully

⁵³ Carnoy 1952: 314; note that on the analogy of *seleitala* “during the sultanate” from the longer version of the texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets (TLE 874 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.4) the writing variant *riθnaitula* probably shows D sg. in *-a* for the expression of a temporal relation.

explore the structure of the text on the table, it therefore might be rewarding to pay some attention to these elements.

(a) Introductory particle *va-*

According to a deeprooted and widespread but nevertheless erroneous belief, the entry *vacil*, which also occurs in form of *vacilia* and possibly *veci[l]θi*, is taken for the indication of an offering or a sacred act (Cortsen 1934: 235 ff., who credits Goldmann with this identification; cf. Pallottino 1988: 481). In fact, *vacil* is not a word in its own right, but a combination of introductory particle *va-* with enclitic demonstrative *-cil* (D(-G) sg.). This analysis is validated by its generally accepted correspondence to *va-cal* in the shorter Etruscan version of the inscriptions on the Pyrgi gold tablets (TLE 875 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.5). The latter is matched by *itani-m* in the longer Etruscan version of the same text (TLE 874 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.4), which likewise stands at the start of the last phrase and consists of the combination of particle (*-m* “and”) with demonstrative (in this case D(-G) pl.) (Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 156-157). If our reading *veci[l]θi* be accepted, the identification of *-cil* as a form of the enclitic demonstrative even receives extra emphasis from the fact that the second element *-ci[l]θi* here obviously presents the Loc. sg. in *-θ(i)* of the demonstrative in question. The substitution of the vowel [i] for [a] in the enclitic demonstrative form seems to be a specialty of the Capua text. Perhaps this can be explained in terms of instability of the vowel which eventually is dropped in the most recent variant *vac-l* from the *Liber linteus*. In any case, along the same line of approach the element *-ia* in *va-cil-ia* necessarily constitutes a separate entity, probably of pronominal nature as well. If so, correspondence in form to Lycian *-ije* would suggest its identification as D sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person.⁵⁴

In the sections under discussion, there are in sum five instances of the sentence introductory particle *va-*, on account of which we can delineate an equal number of short phrases or clauses. Only in one case (section IV, 3), the end of such a phrase or clause cannot be determined with the help of the criteria developed thus far.

⁵⁴ Meriggi 1980: 318; cf. the forms *-s* (N(m/f) sg.) and *-ne* (A(m/f) sg. from the Delphi bilingual as discussed in chapter 10 above, *-ne*, again, and *-l* (D(-G) sg.) from the text of the Magliano disc, *-is* (A(m/f) pl.), and *-iei* (G pl.) of this same pronoun, the latter of which are distinguished below (see § 7b and 7d below).

section	particle	<i>va-</i>
II, 1		<i>va-cil-ia Leθamsul nunθeri</i> <i>va-cil-ia riθnaita eθ Aθene ica perpri</i>
	3	<i>va-cil ziχne elfa</i>
IV, 3		<i>ve-ci[l]θi acas<ri> eθ zusleva stizai tei</i>
V, 1		<i>va-ci<l> fulinuśn[es a]v[θ]</i>

In most of these short phrases or clauses, some elements can be distinguished, which were identified during the previous discussion of the main phrases (§ 6). Thus *Leθamsul* (II, 1) is a recipient deity, *zusleva* (IV, 3) and *fulinuśn[es]* (V, 1) are indications of offering or closely as-associated with these, and *nunθeri* and *perpri* (II, 1), and likely also *acas<ri>* (IV, 3), are passive infinitives in *-ri*. Further, *riθnaita* (II, 1) bears testimony of the same root as *riθnaitul(a)* “on the day of the rituals”, but for its position here and elsewhere (II, 2) it does not fit into the category of day names. As a matter of fact, it relates to the given day name in like manner as *esvita* from the text of the *Liber linteus* (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL VIII, 1) relates to the day name *esvitle* (= more developed variant of *isveitule*) from the same text (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL VIII, 2). On the analogy of *mλαχ(u)ta* “nicely” (< *mλαχ*- “beautiful”, see TLE 27 = Rix 1991: Fa 3.1 + 6.1 from Narce), both these forms are likely to be explained as derivatives in *-ta* functioning as adverbs, which in the case of *riθnaita* evidently leads us to the interpretation “according to the rules of the rituals, ritually”. Finally, we have mentioned in passing that *ziχne* is a form of the verb *ziχ(u)*- “to write” (§ 4) (Pallottino 1988: 411 with reference to bilingual evidence according to which Etruscan *zicu* corresponds to Latin *Scribonius*), ultimately originating from Luwian hieroglyphic *zikuna*- “written account” (Woudhuizen 2005: 47; 177). A parallel like *mulune* (TLE 420 = Rix 1991: AS 1.311 from the region of Sienna, cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 80; 84) seems to indicate that we are dealing here with the 3rd person sg. of the present/future of the active in *-e* of the factitive variant of the root in *-n-*. It so emerges that four of the five phrases or clauses headed by *va-* contain a verb in either second or final position. Since verbs, if present, make up the heart and core of every phrase or clause, our analysis receives substantial confirmation from this observation. It might even be inferred from this situation that the last entry *[a]v[θ]* of the only phrase or clause which so far could not be proven to contain a verb (V, 1) is likely to be identified as such (see discussion in § 8, commentary to phrases II, 1c¹ and V, 1¹, below).

(b) Introductory particle *nu-*

A second introductory particle is traceable in the formation *nulis*. This formation actually consists of the introductory particle *nu-* with two forms of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person attached to it. The identification of *nu-* is ascertained by its correspondence in form to Hittite *nu-* with the same function.⁵⁵ Of the two enclitics attached to it, the first one, *-l*, recurs in a variant form characterized by connecting vowel [a] later on in the text (see discussion of phrase IV, 3⁴). As far as inscriptions from Etruria proper are concerned, this enclitic is also attested for the formation *nes-l* (or *neś-l*) in the text of the Magliano disc. On the basis of its correspondence to Lydian *-λ*, it can positively be identified as the D(-G) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person (Gusmani 1964, s.v.; Woudhuizen 1992b: 222). Similarly, the second enclitic *-is*, which thus far lacks certain attestations in other Etruscan texts, may safely be assumed to render the A(m/f) pl. of the same pronoun for its formal resemblance to Lycian *-iz* and Lydian *-is*.⁵⁶ Anyhow, the order of the enclitics in the sequence *nu-l-is* adheres to the standards as set for the Luwian languages of southwest Anatolia, according to which indirect object precedes direct object (Laroche 1957-8: 162; for Lydian, see the preceding note 56).

The rear-end boundary of the phrase introduced by the particle *nu-* is assured because the next phrase starts with the combination of yet another introductory particle with a preposition (see § 7e below).

section	particle <i>nu-</i>
III, 1	<i>nu-l-is muluri zile zizri</i>

Like in the case of phrases or clauses headed by *va-* treated above, we here also meet some familiar elements. Thus *muluri* and *zizri* are verbs characterized by the marker of passive infinitives *-ri*. Of these two forms, *muluri* is based on the root *mul(u)-* “to offer as a vow” (Pallottino 1988: 484). Again, there is a notable tendency for the verb to occur in final position.

⁵⁵ Friedrich 1991, s.v.; cf. Woudhuizen 1992b: 222 where the Hittite comparison is wrongly applied in connection with the formation *nes-l* actually bearing testimony, as we have seen in chapter 12 above, of the negative adverb *nes*.

⁵⁶ Meriggi 1980: 318, § 137 (note that the element *ne-* of the form *neiz* is likely to be analyzed as a separate entity); Gusmani 1964, s.v. *-i-* (who wrongly takes *-is* for a variant of the N(m/f) sg.). Note that Lydian *ak-m-λ-is* shows the two forms of the enclitic pronoun in exactly the same order.

(c) Introductory particle *-(u)m*

A third introductory particle appears in the formation *iśum* or *iśuma*. In this formation the introductory particle *-(u)m*, which once occurs with superfluous final vowel [a],⁵⁷ is enclitically attached to the root of the numeral *iś-* “1” occurring here in variant writing characterized by *e/i*-alternation in like manner as its Lydian ordinal counterpart *isl- < *as-* is characterized by an *a/i*-interchange (see chapter 11 above). Our present analysis of *iśum(a)* is validated by the instance of the enclitic particle *-(u)m* in the Pyrgi texts. As we have mentioned in passing earlier (§ 7a), it is attached there to the D(-G) pl. *itani* of the demonstrative *ita-* with which form the final phrase of the longer Etruscan version of this text starts.⁵⁸ In the examples under discussion, however, the particle *-um(a)* is not attached to the first, but to the second word of the phrase or clause. Apparently, this is due to competition with (in the order of their appearance) the preposition *eθ* and the negative adverb *ei*, which, as we have hinted at in the introduction to this section, likewise show a tendency to occur in first position (see further § 7f & i below). Just like the particle *-pa* (see § 7e), *-(u)m* may lend a lightly adversative aspect to the phrase or clause.

The boundary at the rear-end of these phrases or clauses is assured for the first example, because the phrase which follows it starts with the introductory particle *va-*. In the case of the second example, however, this boundary is less clearly marked.

section	particle <i>-(u)m</i>
II, 1	<i>eθ iś-uma zuslevai apire nunθeri avθ Leθaium</i>
2	<i>ei iś-um Unialθ ara epn icei nunθcu</i>

Here also there are some familiar elements, like *apire*, showing the same root as the month name *apirase* “April”, the offering *zuslevai* and the verb(s) *nunθcu* and, possibly, *avθ*. But it is

⁵⁷ Cf. *ci-ma* (section II, line 11) alongside *ci-m* (section I, line 4), *ituna* alongside *itun* (see § 6f above) and, if forms from different texts may be included, *ecnia* in the text of the Magliano disc alongside *icni* (see § 7b below). These superfluous vowels may be the result of the scribe’s efforts to write as much open syllables as possible; for his focus on open syllables, cf. the discussion of syllabic punctuation in § 2 above.

⁵⁸ In form of *-m* “and” the particle is also applied as coordinate conjunction, see Pallottino 1988: 483 and Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.

remarkable that the month name and the offering both occur in a case different from the one applied in the phrases headed by day names or the particle *va-*. Furthermore, it must be admitted that our analysis of *avθ* as possibly a verb is excluded nor supported by the fact that it takes penultimate position.

Of the entries not discussed so far, *Unialθ* has received a convincing and generally accepted explanation. According to this explanation, it is the Loc. sg. in *-θ(i)*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ti* of the same function as attested for the Cekke text (Woudhuizen 2005: 11; 177), of an adjectival derivative in *-l-* of the divine name *Uni-*, and therefore translatable as “at the (temple) of Uni” (Rix 1990: 114; cf. Olzscha 1955: 92, who seems to have some second thoughts about this identification). In its variant spelling *Unialθi*, this form also occurs in one of the main phrases of section II, where according to our structural analysis of the text it takes the position of the expected categories of divine name and imperative *ilucu* (see Table XXXIV). Because of their mention earlier in the section, however, these latter two categories may simply be implied. If so, this means that Lethams should still be considered the recipient deity and that only the location has changed—presumably from her own temple to that of Uni, who in the bilingual texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets (where *uni-* is used for the form of address “lady”) is identified with Phoenician Astarte (= daughter of Asherah) on the one hand and Greek Athena (= daughter of Zeus) on the other hand and hence likely comes into consideration as the daughter of Lethams.⁵⁹

Other entries not discussed so far will receive treatment in one of the sections below (see § 7h & i).

(d) Introductory particle *iχ-*

Yet another introductory particle can be distinguished in the formation *iśiχaiei*. This is the enclitic particle *-iχ(a)*, which here appears in a lengthened variant with connecting (or superfluous) vowel [a] (see note 57 above). It is attached to the numeral *iś-* “1”—occurring in variant writing characterized by *e/i*-alternation, again—and followed by the enclitic *-iei*, probably another form of the enclitic pronoun of

⁵⁹ Cf. also note 2 above for the possible association of our text with the remains of a sanctuary.

the 3rd person.⁶⁰ The same particle is also traceable in other sections of the text, like section I, line 5, where it appears as first element instead of an enclitic in the combination *iχ-nac*, and section VI, line 34, where it seems to be used as a separate entity. The combination *iχ-nac* is paralleled on an inscribed mirror from Volaterrae (TLE 399 = Rix 1991: Vt S.2), whereas both its constituents are used as separate elements in the earliest inscription from Vetulonia written on a bucchero cup from the Tomba del Duce (TLE 366 = Rix 1991: Vn 0.1). In lengthened variant *iχu-*, characterized by a connecting (or superfluous) vowel [u], the particle is probably represented in the text of the Magliano disc, where it occurs as first element in the combination *iχu-tevr* (Woudhuizen 1992b: 227; chapter 12 above).

Unfortunately, the rear-end boundary of the phrase or clause headed by *is-iχa-ieī* cannot be established on the basis of the criteria developed thus far. What follows is the indication of offering *turza* and the verb *esχαθce*, which combination I am inclined to consider as part of a new phrase or clause.

section	particle -iχ
IV, 3	<i>is-iχa-ieī tartiriiai fanusei papθiai ratu cexiniai tei</i>

Concerning this phrase or clause, we are already familiar with the element *tartiriiai*, which, as noted earlier (§ 6f), constitutes an indication of offering. Compared to the situation in the main phrases, however, it appears here in a different case characterized by the ending *-ai* (cf. § 6f above). As we have also noted earlier (§ 6g), the latter ending definitely renders the genitive plural owing to its correspondence to Luwian hieroglyphic *-aī* (Woudhuizen 2005: 44; 177; Woudhuizen 2016b), Lycian *-āi*, and Lydian *-ai*, of the same function. Note that in inscriptions from Etruria proper, the related D(-G) plural ending is mainly attested in monophthongized form *-e*, corresponding to the Lycian D pl. in *-e* (and G pl. in *-ē*) (Woudhuizen 1992a: 88; 90; 94-5; for the preservation of the original G plural in *-ai* in an inscription from Etruria proper, cf. *Caθnai* of the *Liber linteus* [TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL X, 13]). Preservation of the original *-ai*, therefore, obviously lends the local dialect of Capua an

⁶⁰ The type of inflection is exactly paralleled in Lycian for the relative pronoun *ti-*, which has *tijāi* or *tijēi* in G pl., see Laroche 1979: 85-86; Meriggi 1980: 326; and cf. discussion of phrase II, 2² in § 8 below. For other forms of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person, see § 7a, note 54, and § 7b above.

archaic flavor.⁶¹ Note that our phrase or clause contains two more words characterized by the same ending, viz. *papθiai* and *ceχiniai*.

As far as remaining words or elements are concerned, Pallottino has argued that *fanusei* is based on the same root as the passive infinitive *faniri* (Pallottino 1948-9: 182). If this is correct, *fanusei* may reasonably be considered to be a verbal form as well. The latter suggestion gains weight if we realize that Etruscan verbal conjugation makes use of a morpheme *-s-* for the distinction of iterative forms (Woudhuizen 1992a: 81; also s.v. *nucasi* and *falzathi*; Woudhuizen 1998: 140). Accordingly, *fanusei* appears to show a graphic variant of the 3rd person sg. of the present/future of the active ending in *-i* or *-e*.⁶² In this manner, also our determination of the rear-end boundary of the phrase or clause receives welcome additional confirmation.

(e) Introductory particle *-pa*

A fifth sentence introductory particle may perhaps be distinguished in the entry *inpa*. This entry contains the preposition *in* “under” (see § 7g below), to which an element *-pa* is enclitically attached. The latter element corresponds both in form and application to the Luwian sentence introductory particle *-pa*, which sometimes renders a lightly adversative aspect to the phrase or clause it introduces (Meriggi 1980: 378 ff.). It is conceivable, therefore, that the Etruscan element performs the same function.

The chances of verifying the proposed relationship, however, are minimal since the particle occurs only twice in our text, and then in very similar environments. Moreover, convincing attestations in other Etruscan texts appear to be extremely rare as well.⁶³ Never-

⁶¹ The attestation of the G pl. ending in *-ai* for the local dialect of Capua is highly significant for the relationship of Etruscan with the Luwian languages of southwest Asia Minor in general because in Lycian inscriptions from the 5th and 4th century BC the original form of this ending, *-āi*, still turns up in fossilized expressions alongside the more developed one in *-ē*.

⁶² Woudhuizen 1992a: 88; 91; Woudhuizen 1998: 147; 149; note that in the later text of the *Liber linteus* the same word appears in more developed form *fanuše* (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL X, 23).

⁶³ Note that analysis of the other instances of the element *inpa* catalogued by Rix 1991 is hampered by the fact that the texts in question are incompletely preserved or otherwise difficult to interpret. A good parallel, though, seems to be offered by *inpein* in a vase inscription from Narce (TLE 27 = Rix 1991: Fa 3.1 + 6.1), which on

theless, the boundaries of the environment in which it occurs are well defined in the case of the second example given below. This is preceded by the phrase or clause which starts with *nu-l-is* and ends with the passive infinitive *zizri*, treated above (§ 7b). It is reasonably certain, therefore, that we have here a separate phrase or clause. In the case of the first example, the boundaries are less secure. It is very likely that the preceding main phrase ends with a verb characterized by the 3rd person sg. of the present/future of the active in *-e* of factitive in *-n-* or the infinitive of the active in *-ne*. However, there is no definite rear-end boundary and the phrase or clause may also include the following words up till the next main phrase headed by *riθnaitula*.

section	particle <i>-pa</i>
II, 3	<i>in-pa vinalθ acas<ri?></i>
III, 1	<i>in-pa [--]an acasri</i>

The identification of the given phrases or clauses as a separate entity is substantiated by the fact that both show a form of the verb *acas-* in final position. Only the first phrase or clause has an additional entry in form of *vinalθ*. Evidently, this renders the Abl.-Instr. in *-θ(i)* of an adjectival derivative in *-l-* of the noun *vinum* “wine”.⁶⁴

(f) Preposition *eθ*

The preposition *eθ* “in the presence of” appears at the beginning of a new phrase or clause in the first example given below. In two other cases, rendered below as fourth and fifth example, this preposition forms a separate entity within the phrase or clause together with some other word. With respect to the remaining instances, the choice between these two possibilities is difficult to make. Since the only instance in which it certainly occurs at the start of a phrase or clause, however, is characterized by the enclitic introductory particle *-(u)m* (see § 7c), I suggest that this last mentioned element serves as a marker of the new phrase or clause here.

the basis of the context is likely to be analyzed as a combination of the preposition *in*, the introductory particle *-p(a)* and the negative adverb *ei(n)*.

⁶⁴ Cortsen 1934: 241; Pallottino 1948-9: 180; note further that the word *vinum* is frequently mentioned in the text of the *Liber linteus*.

section	preposition <i>eθ</i> “in the presence of”
II, 1	<i>eθ iś-uma zuslevai apire nunθeri avθ Leθaium</i> <i>eθ Aθene ica perpri</i>
IV, 3	<i>eθ zusleva stizai tei</i> <i>eθ [zus]l[e]</i>
V, 2	<i>eθ U[ne]</i>

The preposition *eθ* is twice encountered in the text of the Magliano disc, once in combination with *tuθiu* “people (D sg.)” and the second time in combination with the indication of a religious functionary, *suci* “girl, maid (D sg.)” (Woudhuizen 1992b: 226-227; cf. Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *suci*). In view of these parallels, one would expect it to be associated with similar notions in the dative case in our present text as well. This condition seems to be fulfilled for the second example. Here *eθ* is paired with the entry *Aθene*, which, on account of its formal relation to *Etanal* (D(-G) sg. in *-l*) in the shorter version of the Pyrgi texts, may be identified as the divine name *Athena* in D sg. *-e*.⁶⁵ On the analogy of this example, I have taken the liberty to restore the word which follows the preposition in the fifth example as *U[ne]*, the D sg. in *-e* of the divine name *Uni-*. In all other cases *eθ* is associated, directly or indirectly, with the indication of offering *zuse(v)-*. Considering the fact that all words associated with *eθ* discussed so far denote animate creatures, it is not inconceivable that the same holds good for the type of offering indicated by *zuse(va)*—as coincides with our identification of the root *zusi-* as “piglet”.⁶⁶ In any case, such an inference is not contradicted by what we know about offering practices in Antiquity, in which sacrificial animals played a substantial role.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, it cannot

⁶⁵ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 175. For interchange between the endings of D(-G) sg. and D sg., cf. *Astres* (TLE 874 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.4) alongside *Estrei* (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL iv, 11, etc.), *Tinunus* alongside *Tinśi*, and possibly *Unial* (TLE 874 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.4, etc.) alongside *U[ne]* in phrase V, 2¹, etc.

⁶⁶ Note in this connection the A(m/f) pl. form *zuśleves* or *zuśleves* as attested for the *Liber linteus* (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL IV, 7; 11); the change in gender from masculine or feminine to neuter (*zuśleva* [LL VIII, 7], *zuseva* [CT II, 3b]) may, of course, be explained in terms of immaturity or castration.

⁶⁷ The ritual calendar of Eleusis mentions the sacrifice of a goat to Apollo, see Sterlin Dow & Healey 1965: Plate III, line 9; in the Umbrian cult prescriptions on the bronze tables from Iguvium reference is made to *peracris sacris* “excellent sacrificial animals”, see Poultney 1959: Table II, line 5; cf. also Cristofani 1995: 113 ff. on Etruscan offering scenes with goats and bulls as sacrificial animals. In the discussion of phrase IV, 3¹⁰ below we will see reason to believe that yet another

be ascertained whether the forms *zusle* and *zusleva* stand in the dative case, because both variants are also used to render the accusative (in section II, lines 9 and 11 [A(m/f) pl. in *-e*] and 15 [N-A(n) pl. in *-a*], respectively; cf. Table XXXV). The same applies to the numeral *iś-* “1”, which in the first example is associated with *eθ* and from which the G pl. *zuslevai* “of the piglets” depends (in section II, line 13 *iś-* certainly expresses A sg.).

(g) Preposition *in*

In connection with the treatment of the introductory particle *-pa* above (see § 7e), we have already distinguished the preposition *in* “under”. From its application in the text on the Magliano disc we know that used in a temporal expression this preposition may also function as a conjunction to render the meaning “during” (Woudhuizen 1992b: 223; cf. chapter 12 above). It further is related with the preverb *en-*, as attested for the composite verb *enia-* “to yield (lit.: to make less)” from the longer Etruscan version of the Pyrgi texts (Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 173-174).

section	preposition <i>in</i> “under”
II, 3	<i>in-pa vinalθ acas<ri?></i>
III, 1	<i>in-pa [--]an acasri</i>

The given phrases or clauses have already received treatment in the previous discussion of the introductory particle *-pa*. Therefore, it may suffice to say here that, on the analogy of its application in the text of the Magliano disc, *in* most likely functions here as a conjunction to render the meaning “during”. Hence, we arrive at the conclusion that the sequence *in-pa vinalθ* probably renders the meaning “but during (a libation) of wine”.

(h) Preposition *epn*

Yet another instance of a preposition is offered by *epn* “behind”. Although rarely attested in its present form,⁶⁸ the meaning of this element is assured by its correspondence in form with Luwian

type of offerings, the *tartiria*, is likely to be animate as well, which coincides with our identification of it as the Etruscan equivalent of Greek τριττός.

⁶⁸ Note that the preposition *epn* is likely to be present in a vase inscription from Narce (TLE 28 = Rix 1991: Fa 0.2) as well.

ap(p)an and Lycian *epñ* “behind”, which rule the dative case (Meriggi 1980: 368, § 282). Like in Luwian this preposition also occurs in variant form *apa* characterized by the loss of root-final [n] as attested for the kinship term *apa nacna* “younger son”⁶⁹ and the composite family name *Apatrui(a)-* (lit.: “behind Troy”).⁷⁰

section	preposition <i>epn</i> “behind”
II, 2	<i>epn icei nunθcu</i>

In our only example, it takes first position in a short phrase or clause. The last element of this phrase or clause is the imperative *nunθcu*. In between these two constituents, stands *icei*, which is the D sg. form of the demonstrative pronoun *ica-*. In sum, this small phrase or clause may therefore be translated “he must dedicate behind this”.

(i) Negative adverb *ei*

The negative is expressed by the adverb *ei* “not”. This element is well known from the formulaic expression *ei mini pi capi mi nunar* “Do not give (or) take me (away), I (am) in use for dedications!” as attested for inscriptions on vases, by means of which the owner warns possible thieves not to steal his property.⁷¹ It also occurs in the expression *ei tva* “do not place!”, which is used in funeral inscriptions in the context of regulations for the use of the grave by rel-

⁶⁹ Rix 1991: Vt 7.2 from Volaterrae; cf. Lycian *epññēni-* “younger brother” for a similar type of kinship term, see Laroche 1957-8: 192-193. In line with this identification, the personal name *Apa* may safely be considered the Etruscan equivalent of Latin *Iunior*, cf. Duval 1977: 450. Note that in the funerary inscription on an ossuary from Volaterrae (Rix 1991: Vt 7.2) *apa nacna* “younger son” contrast with *ati nacna* “older son” in like manner as in case of *apa-c ati-c sani-sva* “their younger as well as older relatives” from a Caeretan funerary inscription (Rix 1991: Cr 5.2, with *ati* < Hittite *atta-* “father” according to the semantic shift “father” > “elder, senior” > “older” and *san-* “relative” < Greek σύν “(together) with” as attested in form of *hu-* in Lycian *huwedr-* “confederate”), on which latter see further chapter 8.

⁷⁰ TLE 136 and 138 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.183 and Ta 1.185 from the tomb of the *Camnas*-family at Tarquinia; cf. the ethnic *Trui(a)-* “Trojan”.

⁷¹ Agostiniani 1984: 84-117. Although not all the vases concerned stem from a clear archaeological context, it is highly probable that these serve as containers for dedications; in view of this function the enigmatic entry *nunar* at the end of the formula comes into consideration as a nominal form related to the verb *nunθ-* “to dedicate” characterized by the rhotacized variant of the Abl-Instr. pl. in *-r*; cf. chapter 5 above.

atives during ceremonies in honor of the dead.⁷² In our text the negative adverb *ei* has two occurrences in sum. In both these cases it appears, just like in the aforementioned formulaic expressions, in first position of the phrase or clause. Of these phrases or clauses now the start (first example) and then the end (second example) is clearly defined, but not both boundaries at the same time.

section	negative adverb <i>ei</i> “not”
II, 2	<i>ei iś-um Unialθ ara epn icei nunθcu</i> <i>ei tva halχ</i>

Most of the elements of the first phrase or clause have been treated earlier in the discussion of the introductory particle *-(u)m* (§ 7c) and the preposition *epn* (§ 7h). The only word not mentioned thus far is *ara*. This is attested for the text of the Magliano disc in a context which is highly suggestive of its interpretation in line with Latin *ara* “altar” (Woudhuizen 1992b: 229-230; cf. chapter 12 above). If all results and suggestions put forward are combined, it is clear that the verb *nunθcu* governs the entire phrase or clause and not only the part with *epn icei*. In sum, we arrive at the following translation: “he must dedicate one [of the donations mentioned in the immediately preceding main phrase] not on the altar at the temple of Uni, but behind this”. Just like in the text of the Magliano disc, then, *ara* appears to be D sg. in *-a*.

The second phrase or clause contains the prohibitive expression *ei tva* “do not place!” attested, as we have just experienced, for inscriptions of a funerary nature. It is followed here by the noun *halχ*. This turns up one more time in the text of the table (section I, line 4), but is also known from the text of the *Liber linteus*—be it in variant form *halχza* or *halχze*, characterized by the diminutive suffix *-z-* (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL X, 21; X, f2; for further examples of the diminutive suffix *-z-*, see § 6f above). Presumably, therefore, *halχ* denotes a kind of offering, which would lead to the following translation of the phrase or clause: “do not place a *halχ*!”.

⁷² Woudhuizen 1992a: 107-108; see further chapter 8 above. For the application of this expression in a text of economic nature, cf. *hei tva* in Rix 1991: Na 0.1 from Pech Maho in the French province of Narbonne.

(j) Negative adverb *nīs*

An alternative manner to express the negative is present in the formation *nisc*. This consists of a combination of the prohibitive *nīs-* with the enclitic copula *-c* “and” (Pallottino 1988: 480; Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *-c*). In variant writing *nes-* or *neś-*, the first component of this combination is also attested for the text of the Magliano disc, where it likewise marks the start of a separate phrase or clause.⁷³ From a comparative point of view, it corresponds to the Luwian prohibitive *niš* (cuneiform) or *nas* (hieroglyphic) (Meriggi 1980: 378, § 308; Woudhuizen 2011: 427).

Of the two phrases or clauses in sum headed by the prohibitive *nīs-*, the rear-end boundary of the first example is clearly marked as such by punctuation in the form of three dots in columnar arrangement (see § 2). In the case of the second example, the end of the phrase or clause cannot be determined with the help of the criteria developed thus far.

section	prohibitive <i>nīs</i> “not”
IV, 3	<i>[ni]s-c lavtun icni seril turza esχαθce</i> <i>nīs-c lavtun icni zusle śelace iuleses salχe</i>

A number of the elements of these phrases or clauses already has received treatment in the previous pages. Thus *turza* and *zusle* are indications of offering, *esχαθce*, *śelace*, and possibly *salχe* are verbs. All verbs are conducted in the 3rd person sg. of the past tense of the active in *-ce* or possibly *-χe*. Note in this connection that *śelace* corresponds to *selace* “he has offered as a sacrifice” from the shorter Etruscan version of the inscriptions on the Pyrgi gold tablets (Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 157; 175-176; cf. chapter 9 above).

Of the words which thus far have not received attention in our discussion, *lavitun* may be compared to *lautn*. The latter form is very common in inscriptions from eastern Etruria where it appears in direct association with family names. For this reason Pallottino and Pirovano have interpreted the entry *icni* which immediately follows it as a family name (Pallottino 1948-9: 183; Pirovano 1985: 73 [third col-

⁷³ Woudhuizen 1992b: 215, Table I; 222-223; cf. also our remark in note 55 above and see further chapter 12. Note in this connection that the preference of the Capuan dialect for [i] where inscriptions from Etruria proper show [e] is paralleled for *cipen-* “priest” and the numeral *iś-* “1”, see further below in this section and § 7c & d above, respectively.

umn]). But *icni* is clearly a variant of the D(-G) pl. of the demonstrative pronoun *ica-* or *eca-*, which, with superfluous vowel [a], appears as *ecnia* in the text of the Magliano disc (Woudhuizen 1992b: 210; Woudhuizen 1992a: 88; see chapter 12 above; cf. the D(-G) pl. of *ita-*, *itani*). As opposed to this, *lavitun* renders the N(m/f) sg. and, unless it turns out to be an indeclinable, therefore is grammatically unrelated to *icni*. Moreover, there appears to be a structural relationship, or, to put it more exactly, opposition, between *lavitun* on the one hand and the sacrificial title *cipen* “priest” on the other. The latter title is mentioned only twice, in the initial phrase of sections II and V. Now, it is remarkable that the second mention of *cipen* directly follows upon an intermezzo in section IV, 3 in which *lavitun* occurs as much as three times. One gets the impression from this arrangement that *cipen*, after its first mention in the initial phrase of section II, is implied for the rest of the text until the mention of *lavitun* in section IV, 3, but that henceforth this implication is no longer self-evident and needs to be reconfirmed in the initial phrase of section V. In this light, then, the interpretation of *lavitun* in line with its formal resemblance to the various offshoots of the Proto-Indo-European root **leud^h*- “people” as a reference to lay participants in the cult seems to recommend itself.⁷⁴

With the help of the introductory particles *va-* (a), *nu-* (b), *-(u)m* (c), *-ix* (d), *-pa* (?) (e), the negative adverb *ei* (i), the prohibitive *nis* (j), and, to a lesser extent, the prepositions *eθ* (f), *in* (g), and *epn* (h), we have been able to discern phrases or clauses in those parts of the text which fall outside the scope of the main phrases as established in the structural analysis (see § 6). Moreover, the identification of these phrases or clauses is validated by other means as well. Thus the start or end of some coincides with the boundaries already established for the main phrases. Next, with the exception of two uncertain instances (*avθ* and *fanusei*), all newly established phrases or clauses demonstrably contain a verb.

If we combine the evidence for main phrases of § 6 with that for subsidiary phrases or clauses of § 7, a reliable frame of reference can be developed according to which the entire text is subdivided into

⁷⁴ Pallottino 1988: 483; Carnoy 1952: 318; Georgiev 1979: 107; Beekes 1993: 54 (**h₁leud^h*-); Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995: II 123 with basic meaning “free” (the people consists of the free members of society), which likewise applies to the use of *lautm-* as the equivalent of Latin *libertus* “freedman” in funerary inscriptions of recent date from Etruria proper.

separate phrases or clauses. This is a most valuable asset for our attempts at elucidation, because within such a close-knit framework errors of interpretation, which are bound to happen anyway, will now have only a limited effect upon the undertaking as a whole: with every new phrase or clause, namely, we have a chance to start anew and bring ourselves back on the right track.

8. TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

We will presently turn our attention to the translation of the text as a whole. To this aim, the phrases or clauses distinguished thus far will be discussed one by one with a special eye for still enigmatic words and elements (for words and elements already discussed, reference will be made to the preceding sections). Due to the apparent lack of comparative data, solutions proposed for these enigmatic words and elements often are provisional or even speculative in nature. In a number of instances, comparative material is so scanty that no attempt at interpretation is made at all and the Etruscan words are simply integrated into the English version of the text. As a safeguard against misconceptions and mistaken identifications, we will therefore heavily rely upon evidence of (pro)nominal inflection and verbal conjugation.

II, 1a	<i>iśveitule ilu-cve</i> <i>apirase</i> <i>Leθamsul ilucu</i>	“When you shall hold a feast in April, one shall hold a feast in honor of Lethams on the days of the ceremonies.”
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See discussion in § 6 above.

II, 1a ¹	<i>cuiesχu perpri cipe</i> <i>apires racvanies</i> <i>huθ zusle</i>	“(All) who (are) participants in the April regalia (and) four piglets to be blessed (by) the priest.”
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Comments

Of this phrase, we have already been able to identify the following elements: *apires* as a form showing the same root as the month name *apiras*- “April” (§ 6b & c), *cuiesχu* and *huθ zusle* “four piglets” as indications of offering or, more in general, object (§ 6f), and *perpri* as a passive infinitive in *-ri* of the verb *perp*- “to bless, consecrate” (§ 6g). Furthermore, we have observed that the sacrificial title *cipe*

“priest” is probably used in opposition to *lavtun* as an indication of the lay participants in the ceremonies (§ 7j).

As noted earlier, the indications of offering are likely to be object and hence to render the A sg. or pl. If this is correct, the ending *-e* of *zusle* may perhaps be considered a graphic variant of A(m/f) pl. in *-es* (see note 66). Anyhow, the form *zusle* is definitely accusative in phrase II, 1c (see discussion below).⁷⁵ Next, *cuiesxu* is likely to be analyzed as an indefinite variant of the relative pronoun *cui-* (cf. enclitic *-cve*), marked as such by the indeclinable suffix *-xu*.⁷⁶ It thus appears that this indefinite pronoun shows the ending *-es* which also characterizes forms like *fulinuśnes* and *iuleses*. From a comparative viewpoint, the latter ending corresponds to Lycian *-as* for the A(m/f) pl. of the *a*-stems.⁷⁷ That Etruscan *-es* indeed renders the plural is further emphasized by the fact that one of the forms characterized by this ending, *fulinuśnes*, elsewhere recurs in the genitive plural *fulinuśnai* (see § 6f and §7d). As *apires* and *racvanies* show the same ending, these two forms are evidently A(m/f) pl. as well.

Of the two words lined with *cuiesxu*, *racvanies* is an ethnic derivative in *-vani-* (< Luwian *-wani-*) of the root *rac-*. The ethnic morpheme *-vani-* also occurs in more developed form *-ni-*.⁷⁸ Apparently, this mirrors the situation in contemporary Lycian, where the more original form *-vñni-* likewise occasionally turns up alongside “modern” *-ñni-* (Laroche 1960b: 171-173; cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 83; 85). Comparative data for the root *rac-* may well be provided by the formation *raxuθ*, which also appears in syncopated variant writings *raxθ* or *racθ*.⁷⁹ Close correspondence of the latter formation to *laxuθ* (syncopated *laxθ* or *lacθ*), namely, strongly suggests that we are dealing here with mere graphic variants of one and the same word (see discussion of phrases IV, 3⁵ & 3⁶ below). Now, on the basis of the correspondence of *laxumnial* to *lauxumnial*, the root *lac-* or *lax-* in its turn is likely to be explained as a variant spelling of *lauxu-* or

⁷⁵ Cf. § 7f on the problem that the same form is also used to express the D(-G) pl.

⁷⁶ Note that this indefinite suffix *-xu* corresponds to Luwian *-ha* in cuneiform *kuišha* and hieroglyphic *ḥwāšha*, Lycian *-ce* in *tice*, etc., cf. Meriggi 1980: 327.

⁷⁷ Meriggi 1980: 275; for the A(m/f) pl. *-is* of the *i*-stems, see discussion of *cuveis Caθnis* below.

⁷⁸ Woudhuizen 1992a: 80; cf. also the family name *Carxvanies* as attested for an inscription from Capua (Rix 1991: Cm 2.36), but note that this renders D(-G) sg. in *-s* of an adjectival derivative in *-ie-*.

⁷⁹ See section VI, line 34; the syncopated forms are attested for the much more recent text of the *Liber linteus*.

lanxu- “regia, palace” (> *lauχumn-* “king”) characterized by the development of the diphthong [au] into monophthongal [a].⁸⁰ In sum, then, we arrive at the conclusion that *racvani-* bears reference to participants in festivities of which the name seems to be most adequately circumscribed by Latin *regalia*.⁸¹

Note, finally, that the phrase bears testimony of a *nominativus cum infinitivo* construction which probably depends from an impersonal expression not present in the text but implied only.

II, 1b	<i>riθnaitul tei</i>	“On the day of the rituals
	<i>snuza intehamaiθi</i>	he will found the little cart inside
		here,
	<i>cuveis Caθnis f[a]nir[i]</i>	to be driven (by) the oxen of
		Cautha.”

Comments

The central element of this phrase is formed by the verb *intehamaiθi*. This form shows the 3rd person sg. of the present/future of the active in *-θi* which also characterizes *falzaθi* in the text of the Magliano disc and, in variant writing *-ti*, *falsti* in that of the Perugia *cippus* (Woudhuizen 1992a: 88; 91). Its root is in fact of composite nature as it consists of the preverb *inte* “in” and the actual verbal root *hamai-* “to found”.⁸² Of these two elements, the second one recurs in more developed form *amei-* in the day name *tesiamaitale* “on the day of the burial of the god(dess)” from the longer version of the texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.; cf. also our remark in note 42 above). Against the background of Luwian *samnai-* or *samniya-* and Lycian *hñme-*, *ñmai-* or *ñmei(je)-* (Laroche 1979: 63-64) as well as Lydian *amē-* “to found”, it is clear that preservation of the original [h] < [s] lends an archaic flavor to the Capuan variant as compared to its Caeretan counterpart (cf. our remarks in connection with the G pl. ending *-ai* in § 7d and note 61 above). The element *inte* is present in the text of the Perugia *cippus* as well in a variant of the

⁸⁰ Rix 1991: Pe 1.108, Rix 1991: Pe 1.230, and Rix 1991: Pe 1.228, respectively, all from Perugia.

⁸¹ Cf. also Greek βασιλεια as recorded for a Boeotian festival in honor of Zeus Basileus, see *LSJ*, s.v. Note that the forms with initial [r] are probably the result from interference with Latin *rego* “to rule, direct” and *rex* “king”.

⁸² Pace Cristofani 1995: 105-107, who considers *hamaiθi* a locative of the place name Hamae, possibly situated along the coast just north of Cumae, and hence a reference to a Capuan sanctuary in Cumaean territory—a highly unlikely scenario.

same verb, *intemame-*, as well as in variant writing *hinθ(a)-* (TLE 570 = Rix 1991: Pa 4.2 = PC F 18-9; 14). The meaning of this preverb is ascertained by its correspondence with Luwian *anda* and Lycian *ñte* “in”.⁸³

The object of the main clause is formed by *snuza*, which clearly shows the endingless A(n) sg. or pl. in *-a*. At first sight, this appears to be of similar building as the indication of offering *turza* (§ 6f). For the apparent lack of comparative data, however, it is not possible to determine whether [z] belongs to the root or renders the diminutive suffix *-z-*.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, for contextual reasons given below, we are likely to be dealing here with a reference to a cultic ceremonial cart of small dimensions.

On the analogy of *icei* (§ 7h), the element *tei* is likely to be analyzed as D sg. in *-i* of the demonstrative *(i)t(a)-*. Within the present context, this form of the pronoun in question may reasonably be assumed to function as a locative adverb referring to the place where the ceremonies are held—presumably, as we have noted earlier (§ 7c), the temple of Lethams.⁸⁵

Of the three remaining elements, the related couple *cuveis Caθnis* is characterized by the A(m/f) pl. ending *-is*. This ending is paralleled for the combination *śuris eisteis* “excellent victims” from the text of the Magliano disc.⁸⁶ From a comparative point of view, it corresponds to Lycian *-is* for the A(m/f) pl. of the *i*-stems (Meriggi 1980: 288) and Lydian *-is* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2010-1a: 212). As far as the roots of the words are concerned, the second one is an adjectival derivative in *-ni-* of the divine name *Cauθa-* or *Caθ-* (Woudhuizen 1992a: 83; 85; cf. also note 78 above). The latter divine name is known from the texts of the Magliano disc and the Piacenza bronze liver and refers to the sun-god (cf. Fig. 37).⁸⁷ The

⁸³ Meriggi 1980: 367. In view of the development from Luwian *anda* to Lycian *ñte*, it is interesting to observe that Etruscan *inte* or *hinθ(a)-* already bears witness of the weakness of the initial vowel.

⁸⁴ Note that in view of evidence for assibilation (*husilitule* < *huθ-* “4”, see § 6c) correspondence to the root *snut-* is also conceivable.

⁸⁵ From a comparative point of view, it is interesting to note that a similar type of formation is provided by the Lycian adverb *eb(e)i* “here” (see Laroche 1960b: 182-183; Meriggi 1980: 324).

⁸⁶ Woudhuizen 1992b: 89; for the correction of our interpretation of *śuris eisteis* in line with Umbrian *peracris sacris*, see chapter 12 above.

⁸⁷ Pfiffig 1975, s.v.; cf. also *Caθs* (D(-G) sg. in *-s*) in TLE 190 = Rix 1991: AT 1.32 from Toscana, cited below.

first one obviously constitutes a reflex of the Proto-Indo-European root **g^wous* “cow”.⁸⁸ In sum, then, we are confronted here with an astonishing close Etruscan equivalent of Homeric Greek Ἡλίοιο βόες “the oxen of Helios” (Homer, *Odyssey* XII, 343, etc.).

The final element to be discussed here is the passive infinitive *faniri*. As noted earlier (§ 7d), the verbal root *fan-* also occurs in the form *fanusei*. In the latter form it is used in connection with the object *ratu-* “chariot” and therefore likely renders the meaning “to drive” (see discussion of phrase IV, 3¹⁰ below).⁸⁹ This meaning evidently also applies to the present connection of the passive infinitive *faniri* with the object *cuveis Caθnis* “the oxen of Cautha”. Against the backdrop of Herodotos, *Histories* I, 31 bearing testimony of a ceremonial cart driven by oxen, it may reasonably be assumed, finally, that the object *snuza* refers to such a vehicle.

II, 1b ¹ <i>marza intehamaiθi</i>	“He will found the little horse (or foal) inside (here),
<i>ital sacri utus ecunzai</i>	for this to be sanctified the water of the sources,
<i>italχu scuvse</i>	with every (participant) he will walk in procession.”

Comments

The beginning of this phrase adheres to the pattern of the previous one, the only difference being that the object *snuza* is replaced by *marza*—a word of similar formation and likewise characterized by the endingless A(n) sg. or pl. in *-a*. In view of the identification of *marca* in the text of the Magliano disc as a word for “horse” (see chapter 12 above), corresponding to Celtic *marcos*, we may well be dealing here with a diminutive in *-z-* of *marca*, if we realize that the

⁸⁸ Carnoy 1952: 321; 324; Mallory 1989: 159. Cf. Latin *bos* (G *bovis*) and Greek βόως < Mycenaean *q^wou-*. With respect to the representatives of PIE **g^wou-* in IE Anatolian, it is interesting to note that the Hittite treatment of labiovelar **g^w* differs from that in Luwian. In the first language this sound remains essentially in tact, so that *GUD-uš* must be read as **guwauš*, whereas in the latter the initial voiced velar is regularly dropped, leading up to forms like *wawa-* or *uwa-* (see Oettinger 1976 and cf. Puhvel 1974). As a consequence, Etruscan sides with Hittite rather than Luwian in this respect. See further chapter 20.

⁸⁹ Within the frame of the etymological relationship of Etruscan with the Indo-European languages of southwest Asia Minor, *fani/u-* may perhaps be analyzed as a combination of preverb *fa-* (Gusmani 1964, s.v. *fa*⁻¹) and verbal root *nāi-* “to drive” (Friedrich 1991, s.v.).

loss of the root-final consonant may have been caused by the aforesaid suffix (*marza* < **marcza*), thus leading us to its translation as “little horse”, probably bearing reference to a young horse or foal. After the initial section parallel to that of phrase II, 1b, we are confronted with two parallel clauses headed by pronominal forms in D-G sg. -*l*.

Of the two parallel clauses headed by a pronoun, the first one starts with *ital*, the D(-G) sg. in -*l* of the demonstrative *ita*- “this” (Pallottino 1988: 486; cf. -*cal* from the shorter Etruscan version of the Pyrgi texts). From the context, it seems clear that this refers back to the object *marza* “little horse” of the preceding clause. At the start of the second one, on the other hand, we have *italχu*. On the analogy of *cuiesχu*, this is likely to be analyzed as the D(-G) sg. in -*l* of an indefinite variant in -*χu* (cf. note 76 above) of the stressed pronoun of the 3rd person (*i*)*ti*-, corresponding to Lydian *t*- for the same function (Woudhuizen 2013: 210). The latter pronoun also appears as first element in the reflexive *itirśver* (see discussion of phrase IV, 2 below). Even though its exact meaning is as yet uncertain, the indefinite form under discussion may perhaps be assumed to refer to the lay participants in the procession as mentioned in phrase II, 1a¹ above.

In the first clause, the pronoun *ital* is followed by *sacri*, which, on the analogy of *perpri*, *faniri*, etc., constitutes the passive infinitive in -*ri* of the verb *sac*- “to sanctify” (Pallottino 1988: 485; Cristofani 1995: 71-3; cf. Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.). Of the two remaining items, *utus* is probably to be considered as the object showing A(n) sg. in -*s* and *ecunzai* as an apposition in G pl. -*ai*. The root of *ecunzai* also occurs in the passive infinitive *acunsiri*, as attested for the next phrase.⁹⁰ From a comparative point of view, this root corresponds to Hittite *eku*- or *aku*- “to drink”.⁹¹ As a nominal derivative, then, *ecunzai* (diminutive in -*za*?) obviously refers to some sort of water works. Similarly, the object *utus* bears a striking resemblance to Hittite *wātar* (G sg. *wetas*) “water”.⁹² In addition, the A(n) sg. end-

⁹⁰ Note that interchange between [a] and [e] is paralleled, amongst others, for the introductory particle *va*-/ve- and the root of *Laθiumiai*/*Leθaium* (< GN *Leθams*-).

⁹¹ Friedrich 1991, s.v.; note the loss of the original voiced velar **g^{wh}* in Luwian *uwa*- of the same meaning, just like this is the case with *wawa*- or *uwa*- < **g^wou*- “ox” as observed in note 88 above.

⁹² Friedrich 1991, s.v.; for the loss of root final [r] or [n], cf. Luwian hieroglyphic *wata*- as in *KATA-WATA-na^{UTNA}* “Kizzuwatna” (Woudhuizen 2004: 70-71; Woudhuizen 2011: 430; 436) and Greek ὕδωρ alongside ὕδωρ.

ing *-s* corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *-sa* and Lydian *-ś* for the same function (Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies & Neumann 1973: 173-176; Woudhuizen 1992a: 94-95; cf. Meriggi 1980: 285, § 33; 297, § 72). In sum, this leads us to the interpretation of the entire expression as a reference to the water of sacred pools or wells.⁹³

The second clause headed by *itialxu* contains only one additional entry, the verb *scuvse*. On the analogy of *fanusei*, this form renders the 3rd person sg. of the present/future tense of the active in *-e* of the iterative in *-s-* (see § 7d and note 62 above). The latter analysis is emphasized by the fact that the root of this verb also appears in the form *scuvune*, which shows the infinitive of the active in *-ne*.⁹⁴ Comparative evidence suggests that the root *scuv-* is based on Luwian hieroglyphic *hwa-* “to walk, stride, run” and Lycian *xuwa-* “to follow”.⁹⁵ If so, the initial sibilant may well receive meaningful explanation as a preverb corresponding to Lycian *ese* “with” (Meriggi 1980: 371, § 288). Accordingly, we arrive at the interpretation that the priest, after sanctifying the water of the pools for watering the little horse and at least some of the sacrificial animals (see discussion of the next phrase below), will walk with every one of the participants in procession around the site where these are located (= presumably the sanctuary of Lethams).

II, 1c	<i>riθnaitul tei</i>	“On the day of the rituals
	<i>ci zusle acunsiri</i>	three piglets to be watered here
	<i>ci-ma nunθeri</i>	and (these) three to be dedicated
		(here).”

Comments

The construction applied in this phrase is quite transparent: two passive infinitives, *acunsiri* and *nunθeri*, are associated with one and the same object, *ci zusle*. In connection with the second passive infinitive, this object is not repeated in full, but for brevity’s sake only referred

⁹³ Cf. Pfiffig 1975: 84-85 “Neben den Tempeln befand sich häufig ein Becken, in dem das für den Kult, für Priester und Gläubige nötige Wasser gesammelt und gespeichert wurde. (...) Wo solche Becken fehlen, sind stets wenigstens Brunnen oder Zisternen vorhanden.”

⁹⁴ Section I, line 7; corresponds to *ścune* in the text of the Perugia cippus (TLE 570 = Rix 1991: Pa 4.2). For a discussion of this text, see chapter 16.

⁹⁵ Hawkins & Morpurgo Davies 1993: 52-53; cf. Woudhuizen 1994-5: 181; Woudhuizen 2011: indices s.v. *hwa-ā-*; 434; for the Lycian form, see Laroche 1979: 65-66 (= trilingual § 11).

to by repetition of the numeral *ci* “3”. Just like in phrase II, 1b above, the locative adverb *tei* “here” specifies the place where these actions are to be carried out—presumably, as we have noted earlier, the temple of Lethams.

The enclitic copula *-ma* “and” is, in form of *-m*, well known from the indication of the age of the deceased person in funeral inscriptions; it is related to the introductory particle *-(u)m(a)*, discussed in § 7c above (Pallottino 1988: 483; cf. Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.). In the discussion of the preceding phrase, we have seen that the root of the passive infinitive *acunsiri* is also present in the noun *ecunzai* (G pl.) and correlates with Hittite *aku-* or *eku-* “to drink” (see discussion of phrase II, 1b¹ above).

II, 1c ¹	<i>eθ iś-uma zuslevai</i>	“But with one of the (four) piglets
	<i>apire nunθeri</i>	to be dedicated in April he will go
	<i>avθ Leθaium</i>	(in)to the temple of Lethams.”

Comments

Most of the elements of this phrase have been mentioned in passing before. A central position is taken by the verb *avθ*, which shows the 3rd person sg. of the present/future of the active in *-θ*. This variant of the ending discussed in connection with *intehamaiθi* is characterized by the loss of final [i]—a phenomenon paralleled for the homophonous ablative or locative ending *-θ(i)* in the (pro)nominal inflection. The meaning of the root *av-*, which in the text of the Magliano disc appears in variant spelling *hev-*, is ascertained by its correspondence to Luwian *awī-* or *awa-* “to go, come; bring” (Woudhuizen 1992b: 221; Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *hevn<a>*). Furthermore, it deserves our attention that the form *apire*, which is derived from the same root as the month name *apiras-* “April”, probably functions as an adjective qualifying *zuslevai* and, if so, obviously shows D(-G) pl. in *-e*. Finally, *Leθaium* is clearly based on the divine name *Leθams-*. In my opinion, this form is likely to be analyzed as a derivative characterized by the combination of the adjectival morpheme *-ia-* and the ethnic morpheme *-um(a)-*.⁹⁶ At any rate, there seems no reason to doubt that with *Leθaium* reference is made to the temple of Lethams. Alternatively, against the background of Latin *Romam* “to Rome”

⁹⁶ Woudhuizen 1992a: 79-80; Laroche 1960b: 171-172. On the second morpheme, see further discussion of phrase IV, 3⁹ below.

(accusative of direction), one may perhaps explain the final [m] as the ending of the A(m/f) sg. resulting from Latin substrate influences.

An interesting aspect of the translation of the text as established thus far is formed by its inner consistency in regard to the indication of offering *zusle*. As we have seen, at the start of section II mention is made of *huθ zusle* “four piglets” (phrase II, 1a¹). Later on the same indication of offering recurs twice, first in combination with the numeral *ci* “3” (phrase II, 1c) and secondly with the numeral *iś-* “1” (phrase II, 1c¹). As the latter numbers add up to “4”, it seems that the *huθ zusle* “four piglets” mentioned in the beginning of the section are subsequently differentiated in order to allow for greater precision in the description of the manner in which these offerings have to be treated. This inner consistency, then, greatly enhances the validity of the translation as established thus far.

II, 1c ²	<i>va-cil-ia Leθamsul nunθeri</i>	“And (this) to be dedicated here to Lethams.”
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II, 1c ³	<i>va-cil-ia riθnaita eθ Aθene ica perpri</i>	“And, according to the rules of the rituals, this to be consecrated here in the presence of Athena.”
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Comments

These two phrases are very similar in structure and can, therefore, conveniently be treated together. As demonstrated earlier (§ 7a), both are introduced by the particle *va-*, which has a chain of enclitics attached to it. The first of these enclitics, *-cil*, renders the D(-G) sg. in *-l* of the demonstrative pronoun *-ci-*. With this form, reference is made to the recipient deity *Leθamsul* (functionally so in the last phrase only where the divine name is omitted). Concerning the second enclitic, *-ia*, we have noted that it corresponds in form to the D sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person in Lycian, *-ije*, and may be identified accordingly (see § 7a and especially note 54 above). If this is correct, it probably is used here in a similar way as the D sg. *tei* of the stressed pronoun and renders a locative relation. An object is traceable only for the second phrase in form of *ica*, the endingless N-A(n) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *ica-*. Because this refers back to *iś- zuslevai apire* “one of the (four) piglets [to be dedicated] in April (lit.: of the April piglets)” in phrase II, 1c¹, it surely must be implied for the first phrase under consideration.

Note finally that, in line with iconographic evidence, the expression *eθ Aθene* “in the presence of Athena” may be explained in terms of her image being placed at the altar—a location where one otherwise may find a *thymiaterion* or incense burner (see Fig. 24).⁹⁷

II, 2	<i>celutule apirase</i> <i>Unialθi</i> <i>turza esxaθce</i>	“On the third day (of the feast) in April he has taken outside little donations at the temple of Uni.”
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See discussion in § 6 and, for *Unialθi*, § 7c above.

II, 2 ¹	<i>ei iś-um</i> <i>Unialθ ara</i> <i>epn icei nunθcu</i>	“One he shall dedicate not on the altar at the temple of Uni, (but) behind this.”
II, 2 ²	<i>ci-ieī turzai</i> <i>riθ[n]aita</i>	“Three of these little donations according to the rules of the rituals.”

Comments

Most of the words and elements of these phrases have received treatment in § 7h & i above; for the main verb *nunθcu*, see § 6g above. Note in this connection especially the similarity in expression of *ci-ieī turzai* with *iś-uma zuslevai* in phrase II, 1c¹ above and *iś-iχa-ieī tartiriiāi* in phrase IV, 3¹⁰ below. The identification of the element *-ieī* as the G pl. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person finds strong support in the fact that the type of inflection is exactly paralleled in Lycian for the relative pronoun *ti-*, which has *tijāi* or even *tijēi* in G pl. (see § 7d and especially note 60 above, with reference to Laroche 1979: 85-86; Meriggi 1980: 326).

II, 2 ³	<i>ei tva halχ</i>	“Do not place a <i>halχ</i> !”
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⁹⁷ Pfiffig 1975: 72, Abb. 18-19; see also Bonfante Warren 1971: 280 and Pl. 66, Fig. 11. An astonishingly close parallel for this practice is attested for Hittite cult, see Haas 1994: 515 “Auf den Altären, die selbst Gegenstand der Verehrung sind, stehen die Statuetten der Gottheiten; je nach dem Ziel des Rituals können mehrere Statuetten auf einem einzigen Altar “geordnet”, bzw. aufgestellt werden.” In Greek sacrificial scenes, the deity is commonly shown in person or in form of a statuette behind the altar; only rarely it occurs on top of the altar—and then in the form of its epiphany as a bird instead of a statuette, see Marinatos 1988: 9-12, Figs. 1-3; cf. Bergquist 1993: 14, Fig. 1; 16, Figs. 4-5.

See discussion in § 7i above.

II, 3a	<i>apertule</i>	“On Aphrodite’s day one
	<i>aφes ilucu</i>	shall hold a feast in her honor.”

Comments

The structural analysis in § 6 above has pointed out that *aφes* belongs to the category of divine names (see Table XXXIV) (Olzscha 1955: 79; Pallottino 1948-9: 171; Cristofani 1995: 66; 68). This structural relationship is further emphasized by the fact that, just like the other divine names, it shows D(-G) sg. in *-s* or *-l*. Nevertheless, it is the only indication of its category which lacks a parallel among the repertoire of known divine names. Evidently, therefore, *aφe-* is different in kind from the rest of the divine names and in need of elucidation along some other line of approach. Having established this, I am inclined to take it for an aspirated, local Capuan, variant of the personal pronoun of the 3rd person, *apa-* “(s)he” (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *apana*; cf. the phonetic development [p] > [f] referred to in note 38 above). Due to the context, it is clear that this personal pronoun bears reference to the deity in whose honor the festivities of section II are to be held, *i.e.* Lethams.

II, 3a ¹	<i>va-cil zixne elfa</i>	“He will write alpha(bet letters) for her.”
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Comments

The enclitic pronoun *-cil* refers to the recipient deity of the previous phrase, in other words to the goddess Lethams, again. The ritual act in honor of this goddess is expressed by *zixne*, which, as we have noted earlier, shows the 3rd person sg. of the present/future of the active in *-e* of the factitive in *-n-* of the verb *zix-* “to write” (see § 7a above). The object of this short phrase must be *elfa*, which is characterized by the endingless N-A(n) sg. or pl. in *-a*. Unfortunately, *elfa* is *hapax legomenon*, and no subsidiary clues as to its elucidation are available. On the other hand, the association with *zixne* surely limits the range of possibilities. Is it, considering this context, merely incidental that the word bears a striking resemblance to the name of the first letter of the alphabet, *alpha*? The Etruscans had no need for the letter *beta* and dropped it soon after they had become literate. This may very well have influenced their naming of the alphabet and urged them to address it by only the first letter instead of a combi-

nation of the first two. If so, the ritual act described here consists of the writing of alphabet letters: an interpretation of great interest to the position of literacy in Etruscan society and perhaps providing the long abided functional background to the mysterious vase inscriptions with series of letters in a seemingly meaningless combination (cf. TLE 49 = Rix 1991: Ve 9.1-2 or Ve X.1 from Veii).

II, 3b	<i>riθnaitul</i>	“On the day of the rituals
	<i>traisvanec Calus</i>	he will/to (...?) piglets
	<i>zusleva atu[--]ne</i>	for “thrice king” Calu.”

Comments

There are problems with the translation of this phrase. The verb is damaged, but because the last two signs are preserved it can still be identified as a 3rd person sg. of the present/future of the active in *-e* of factitive in *-n-* or the infinitive of the active in *-ne* (see § 7a and discussion of II, 1b¹ with note 94 above). Accordingly, the expression may run quite parallel to the one in the previous phrase, governed, as we have seen, by a factitive form. Next, the object is rendered by the indication of offering *zusleva* “piglets”, which, as indicated earlier, shows the N-A(n) pl. in *-a*. Most interesting, however, is the mention of the recipient deity *Calus* (D(-G) sg. in *-s*) (Cortsen 1934: 232; Pallottino 1948-9: 171; Cristofani 1995: 70). This god also emerges as a recipient in the text of the Magliano disc (Woudhuizen 1992b: 204; 206; see further chapter 12 above). Above we have argued that the festivities of section II are most probably in honor of the goddess Lethams (cf. discussion of phrase II, 3a). Consequently, the offerings to Calu as prescribed here must be of subsidiary nature. Yet another interesting feature about the mention of Calu is formed by the adjective *traisvanec* which qualifies the name. This appears to be a compound of the elements *trais-* and *vanec-*, corresponding to Greek τρίς “three times” and (F)ἄναξ “king”, respectively. If this be considered a plausible interpretation, the adjective cannot possibly be explained otherwise than as a Greek loanword because, as we have seen earlier, the Etruscan form of the numeral “3” is *ci-* (< **cri-*), or, in the indication of a type of offering *tartiria*, as a fossilized reflex of its original Luwian hieroglyphic form, *tar-*. The same explanation may also account for the fact that the expected ending of the D(-G) sg. *-s* or *-l* is omitted, as fresh loanwords are often not properly declined.

II, 3b ¹	<i>in-pa vinalθ acas</i>	“And during (a libation) of wine
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aφes ci tartiria ci turza sacrifice in her honor three τριττώες
(and) three little donations!”

Comments

Here, again, the recipient deity is indicated by *aφes*. In the discussion of phrase II, 3a above, we have seen that with this form of the personal pronoun of the 3rd person reference is made to the goddess Lethams. If this holds good for its present use as well, we are obviously confronted here with a shift of the recipient deity from Calu back to Lethams. Furthermore, *acas* may well be taken for an abridged variant of *acasri*, the passive infinitive in *-ri* of the iterative in *-s-* of the verb *aca-*, but more likely simply renders the endingless 2nd person sg. of the imperative of the active. In inscriptions from Etruria proper, this verb is applied in connection with the writing of a book⁹⁸ and the production (of the contents?) of a vase,⁹⁹ for which reason it may safely be assumed to render the general sense “to make, finish”. Next, it also turns up in religious or funerary contexts, where, on the analogy of Umbrian *fetu* (a cognate of Latin *facio*),¹⁰⁰ it seems to be used in a more restricted sense for the act of slaughtering (= finishing off) sacrificial animals.¹⁰¹ From an etymological point of view, this analysis coincides with the correspondence of the root *aca-* to Luwian hieroglyphic *aka-*, which, in combination with the preverb *kata*, renders the meaning “to subdue” (Woudhuizen 2004a: 78-9; Woudhuizen 2005: 176).

It is interesting to note in this connection, that the importance of blood offerings in Etruscan religion is stressed by the discovery of so-called libation altars (= low-lying drains) next to, or inside, the re-

⁹⁸ TLE 131 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.17 from Tarquinia: *an-cn zic neθśrac acasce* “during (his lifetime) he has made this *liber haruspicianus* (lit.: rule of the entrails)”.

⁹⁹ Rix 1991: OA 2.21 + 6.1 of uncertain origin: *mi Sataiies Avele acasce* “I (am) of the Sataies (family); Avele has made”.

¹⁰⁰ Poultney 1959: index, s.v. *façia*; 158, Ia,3: *Preveres Treplanes Iuve Krapuvi tre buf fetu* “Before the Trebulan gate sacrifice three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius.”; cf. Cristofani 1995: 116-7.

¹⁰¹ TLE 91 = Rix 1991: Ta 5.5 from Tarquinia: *sacniśa θui eclθi śuθiθ acazr* “Place (cf. *tva*) sacrificial animals to be sacrificed in this (part of) the grave!”; cf. *heczri* in TLE 619 = Rix 1991: Pe 5.2 from Perugia, which form bears witness of the same phonetic variation as encountered in connection with *av-* “to go, come; to bring” also appearing in form of *hev-*, see chapter 12 above. For the presence of libation altars in funerary chambers, see Pfiffig 1975: 78-80, especially Abb. 27-28.

mains of raised fire altars in recently excavated sanctuaries at Veii (Portonaccio temple) and Pyrgi (Figs. 25 and 8).¹⁰²

Note, finally, that our interpretation of the phrase under discussion corroborates iconographic evidence, showing the priest making a libation offering on the fire altar at the moment a sacrificial animal is slaughtered by one of his servants dressed up like a Satyr (see Fig. 26).¹⁰³

II, 3c	<i>riθnaitula</i> <i>snenaziulas</i> <i>travai user hivus</i> <i>niθus-c</i>	“On the day of the rituals to the (two?) Maenads out of gratitude the liver and entrails of inspected animals.”
II, 3c ¹	<i>riθnaitula</i> <i>hivus travai user</i> <i>sne[na]ziulas</i>	“On the day of the rituals to the (two?) Maenads out of gratitude the liver of inspected animals.”

Comments

Section II is closed by a phrase which is once repeated with only some slight modifications. Thus in the second instance the combination *niθus-c* is omitted and the order of the remaining words following the day name *riθnaitula* is reversed.

A clue for the interpretation of this phrase is provided by the endings of the individual words. The ending *-as* of *snenaziulas* corresponds with the D dual *-as* in expressions like *munistas θuvas* “on account of two obligations” from the longer Etruscan version of the texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets (see chapter 9 above) and *Tinas cliniiaras* “to the sons of Tin (= Dioskouroi)” in a votive inscription on an Attic *kulix* from Tarquinia (TLE 156 = Rix 1991: Ta 3.2; see chapter 6, p. 91, above). Next, on the analogy of *utus* in phrase II, 1b¹, the grammatically related couple *hivus niθus-c* is likely to be characterized by the A(n) sg. ending *-s*. Furthermore, *travai* appears to render the G pl. in *-ai* and *user* may perhaps come into consideration as a form marked by the rhotacized variant of the Abl.

¹⁰² Stefani 1953: 43, Fig. 20; Colonna 1966a: 87-95, Tav. XXXII-XXXIII; cf. Pfiffig 1975: 75-78, Abb. 24-26, adding examples of inscribed libation altars from Orvieto and Bolsena; cf. our Fig. 31.

¹⁰³ Cristofani 1995: 114; Tav. XIXa; XXb; cf. Cristofani 1995: 116 on the subsidiary nature of libation offerings in the context of sanguinary offerings in Umbrian cult as well.

sg. in *-r*. Accordingly, the couple *hivus niθus-c* is direct object, *snenaziulas* indirect object, *travai* an apposition to the object *hivus niθus-c*, whereas *user* conceivably functions as an adverb.

As far as the roots are concerned, Pallottino has rightly observed that *snenaziulas* is a derivative of *snaθ* “female servant, attendant” (Pallottino 1948-9: 170-171). On three mirrors from Umbria and one of uncertain origin, the female servant in question is actually represented in scenes with gods and heroes (cf. Fig. 27).¹⁰⁴ This identification fits our interpretation of *snenaziulas* as recipients of offerings reasonably well. Next, the root of *niθus* is also traceable in the sacrificial title *netśvis* or *netsviś* “haruspex” and the second entry of the sequence *ziχ neθśrac* “*liber haruspycinus* (lit.: rule of the entrails)”.¹⁰⁵ From an etymological point of view, it has convincingly been related to Greek νηδύς “stomach, belly, womb” (Carnoy 1952: 313).

Even though *hivus* lacks any further attestations, its present alignment with *niθus* by means of the enclitic copula *-c* “and” suggests that it refers to a substance of similar nature. As it seems, then, the two female attendants receive various types of entrails, which, given the Etruscan predilection for divination, no doubt either have been used or are still meant to be used for inspection. Within the framework of this interpretation, the enigmatic apposition *travai* obviously specifies the sacrificial animals whose entrails have been taken—presumably, as we have just noted, for divination purposes. Finally, the residual *user* may perhaps receive meaningful clarification on the basis of its correspondence to Luwian hieroglyphic *wasà(r)ti* “in veneration, out of gratitude” (Hawkins 1992: 262; cf. Woudhuizen 1994-5: 168 and note 93; Woudhuizen 2011: indices, s.v.).

In the light of iconographic evidence on Etruscan offering practices, the female attendants mentioned here as recipients of offerings are most likely to be identified as women dressed up like Maenads (see Fig. 28) (Jannot 1984: 24-25, Fig. 106; cf. Brigue 1972: 848, Fig. 1). This suggestion is further enhanced by the fact that *snaθ* in one of her representations on the mirrors wears her hair in a pigtail

¹⁰⁴ Rix 1991: Um S.2 and S.4 (= Bendinelli 1914: Tav. III, c. 375-350 BC) from Tuder and Rix 1991: OI S.34 of uncertain origin (= Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES CXI*, 4th century BC).

¹⁰⁵ Pallottino 1988: 484; cf. note 98 above. Note that, just like in the case of *cipen* “priest”, *iś* “I”, and the prohibitive *nis* (see § 7j and note 73 above), the Capuan variant shows [i] where inscriptions from Etruria proper have [e].

just like Maenads in Bacchic scenes (see Fig. 29) (Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES* XCI and CI). Accordingly, they probably do not receive offerings in their own right, but only to facilitate further treatment; or, alternatively, they receive the remains of offerings in reward for their services (cf. Sterlin Dow & Healey 1965: Pl. III, lines 15-19; 4-7).

III, 1	<i>isveitule ilu-cve anpilie Laruns ilucu</i>	“When you shall hold a feast in May, one shall hold a feast in honor of Larun on the days of the ceremonies.”
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See discussion in § 6 above.

III, 1 ¹	<i>hu<θ>χ santi huśialχu esχαθca</i>	“May one take outside four times (?) fourty <i>sants</i> .”
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Comments

Of this phrase, we are already familiar with the verb *esχαθca* (§ 6g) and the indication of offering *santi* (§ 6f). In regard to *santi*, it may be added here that this form shows A(m/f) pl. in *-i* corresponding with Luwian hieroglyphic *-i* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2011: 136; 313).

Of the two remaining entries, *huśialχu* is a numeral associated with the indication of offering *santi*. The root of this form, namely, shows the assibilated variant of the numeral *huθ* “4” already attested for the day name *husilitule* (see § 7c above). Furthermore, it is characterized by the morpheme for multiples of ten, *-alχu*, as attested for forms like *cialχus* or *cealχus* “30” from the *Liber linteus* (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL XI, 12; 17). A similar verdict may also apply to the rather enigmatic *huχ*. On the analogy of *θuχ* “two times”, from the text of the Magliano disc, this reasonably comes into consideration as a numeral adverb in *-χ* “(x) times” of cardinal *huθ*- “4” (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *θuχ*). As a prerequisite of this analysis, however, it must be assumed that the root-final [θ] (or assibilated [s]) has been dropped under the influence of the additional morpheme *-χ*.

III, 1 ²	<i>nu-l-is muluri zile zizri</i>	“And these to be brought as a thank-offering (and) to be covered with cereals (?) in his honor by the praetors.”
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Comments

Most of the elements of this phrase have received treatment in § 7b. It needs to be amplified here that *zile* renders the D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the honorific title *zilaθ-* “praetor” (Pallottino 1988: 482; Woudhuizen 1992a: 88; 90).

Due to the apparent lack of comparative data, the meaning of the passive infinitive *zizri* unfortunately remains unclear. If, however, allowance be made for an admittedly rather speculative suggestion, one might consider a connection with Akkadian *zíz-* “wheat” (von Soden *AHw*, s.v. *zízu(m)* “Emmer”; cf. Friedrich 1991: Ideogramme, s.v. *ZÍZ*, *ZIZ-tar* “Spelt” for its presence in Hittite cuneiform). Apart from the mention of wine (*vinálθ* in phrase II, 3b¹), namely, a reference to cereals may reasonably be expected in a text on ancient rituals, especially those of a cult of Bakkhic type our present text is, as will become clear later on, dealing with.¹⁰⁶

III, 1³ *in-pa [--]an acasri* “And during (..?..) to be sacrificed.”

See discussion in § 7e & g above.

III, 2 *tiniantule* “On Tinia’s day one shall hold
Leθamsul ilucu a feast in honor of Lethams.”

See discussion in § 6 above.

III, 2¹ *perpri śanti* “To be consecrated *śants* (and)
arvusta aius nunθeri to be dedicated fruits of the soil.”

Comments

The only words to be discussed here are *arvusta* and *aius*. From the context, it is clear that with this combination reference is made to an indication of offering. Accordingly, the former no doubt shows endingless A(n) sg. or pl. in *-a*, whereas the latter, on the analogy of *utus*, *hivus*, and *niθus*, obviously renders A(n) sg. in *-s*. As far as the roots are concerned, *aiu-* is a nominal derivative of the verb *ai(a)-* or

¹⁰⁶ See for example Homer, *Odyssey* XI, 27-8 (sweet wine and barley flour); cf. the expression *Ceres far[m]e[n]tom [Lo]uf[ir] ui[no]m p[ore]kad Evios* “May Ceres provide grain (and) may (her) son, Evios, provide wine!” in an archaic Faliscan inscription from Civita Castellana (Vetter 1953: no. 241); compare also ^{MASANA}WASU(-na)-sa ^{MASANA}TUWARSA-sa -ha “of the Grain-goddess and the Wine-god” in the Luwian hieroglyphic Karatepe text (§ 52), dated c. 710-700 BC.

ia- “to make”. This verbal root is also attested for the composite form *en-iaca* “may (subject) yield” from the longer Etruscan version of the texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets; it originates from Luwian *aya-* or *aia-* and Hittite *iya-* “to make, do”, respectively (Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 173-174; Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.; Woudhuizen 2011: 424). Next, the root of *arvusta* appears to be related to Latin *arvus* “arable field, cultivated land”—a nominal derivative of the verb *arare* “to plough”. The latter is also present in the festival name *Ambarvalis* and in the name for a collegium of twelve priests, the *Fratres Arvales* (Lewis & Short 1975, s.v.). At any rate, *arvusta* shows a similar type of building as *munista-* “obligation” (< Latin *munus* “offering, tribute, duty”) from the longer Etruscan version of the texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.). In sum, then, we arrive at the interpretation of *arvusta aius* as a reference to agricultural products.

IV, 1	<i>acalve</i>	“In June,
	<i>apertule saluzie</i>	one shall hold a feast in honor of
	<i>Leθamsul ilucu</i>	Lethams on among the first (day)s
		Aphrodite’s day:
	<i>perpri śanti</i>	to be consecrated <i>śants</i> .”

See discussion in § 6 above.

IV, 2	<i>ma<c>vilutule</i>	“On the fifth day they will make
	<i>itirśver falanθur</i>	a fire offering (in her honor) by
		themselves.”

Comments

This phrase is governed by the verb *falanθur*, which, as we have noted in passing before, renders the 3rd person pl. of the present/future of the passive in *-nθur* (see § 5, note 23 above). The root *fal-* “to elevate” is paralleled for *falzaθi* from the text of the Magliano disc and *falśti* from the text of the Perugia *cippus*, which both show the 3rd person sg. of the present/future of the active in *-θi* or *-ti* of iterative variants in *-z-* or *-s-* (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *falzaθi*; for the iterative, cf. the discussion of *fanusei* in § 7d above). With this verbal root, originating from Luwian *wala-* or *waliya-* “to lift, elevate” (Woudhuizen 2011: 430), reference is made to fire offerings of which the smoke ascends to heaven. As such, it stands in semantic opposition to *acas-* “to make, finish”, which, as we have established

earlier (see discussion of phrase II, 3b¹ above), designates blood offerings.¹⁰⁷

The preceding *itirśver* is likely to be analyzed as a composite form of which both elements show the rhotacized variant of the Abl.-Instr. sg. or pl. in *-r*.¹⁰⁸ As noted in the discussion of phrase II, 1b¹, the first element *iti-* renders the stressed pronoun of the 3rd person and is also present in the indefinite *italχu* (D(-G) sg. in *-l*). On the analogy of Greek σφέ (dual case) or Fhε, έέ, έ (see Schwyzler 1939: 601-603) and Latin *suus* (< PIE **swe-*), the second element *śve-* may well receive meaningful explanation as the reflexive pronoun of the 3rd person.

In sum, this leads us to the interpretation that the fire offerings are to be executed by the lay participants to the ceremonies themselves—a situation apparently reflected in certain Etruscan reliefs with offering scenes (see Fig. 30a).¹⁰⁹

IV, 3 <i>husilitule</i>	“On the fourth day
<i>Velθurt[--]</i>	[in honor of] the Voltur[nian].”

Comments

Unfortunately, the last two signs of the word *Velθurt[--]* are damaged beyond repair and therefore it cannot be determined in which case it stands. As far as its root is concerned, Pallottino has presented two possible interpretations, namely: personal name or divine name (Pallottino 1948-9: 175; cf. Cristofani 1995: 101-105). To these Olzscha has added the possibility of place-name (Olzscha 1955: 79). The first possibility is based on the comparison with the common personal name *Velθur-*. The second one finds support in divine names based on the root *Velθ-*, of which Latin *Vertumnus* < Etruscan

¹⁰⁷ It is interesting to note in this connection, that fire offerings are mentioned alongside blood offerings in a Luwian hieroglyphic text from Karkamis dated to the early 9th century BC, see Meriggi 1967: 65, no. 22, § 18 or, most recently, Hawkins 2000: 103, Karkamis A11b+c, § 18; see further on this topic Woudhuizen 2006c: 244-247.

¹⁰⁸ For other forms showing Abl-Instr. in *-θ* or *-r*, see discussion of *vinalθ* in § 7e and *user* (both sg.) in the commentary to phrases II, 3c & 3c¹; cf. also *nunar* (pl.) as referred to in note 71 above.

¹⁰⁹ Jannot 1984: 25, Fig. 105 (= Louvre MA 3611 from Chiusi, c. 500-475 BC); 152 ff., Fig. 520 (= Perugia 634, c. 500-475 BC).

**Velθumna-* bears witness.¹¹⁰ The third option departs from the ancient name of Capua as recorded by the literary sources, *Voltturnum* (Livy, *History of Rome* IV, 37, 1). In my opinion, the presence of the last readable sign *tau* rules out the possibility that we are dealing here with the personal name *Velθur-*. Considering more complex forms, then, an ethnic derivative in *-t(e)-* or *-θ(e)-* as attested for forms like *Veiaθial* (< TN *Veii* [D(-G) sg.]) and *Felcinatial* (< TN *Fulginiae* [D(-G) sg.]) seems to recommend itself (Woudhuizen 1992a: 80; 85). If this suggestion applies, *Velθurt[--]* probably bears reference to some local Capuan divinity and hence may safely be assumed to have been character-ized by the D(-G) sg. in *-l*.

IV, 3 ¹ [ni]s-c lavtun icni seril turza esxaθce:	“And the people have not taken outside small donations for smoke offering in honor of these (gods).”
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Comments

For the identification of *icni* as D(-G) pl. of the demonstrative pronoun *ica-* and the change of subject from *cipen* “priest” to *lavitun* “people”, see § 7b above.

On the basis of the context, the indication of the recipients, *icni*, may reasonably be assumed to refer to the divinities mentioned in the previous phrases, Lethams and the Volturnian. The entry *seril*, which apparently qualifies the object *turza*, bears testimony of an adjectival formation in *-l* of the root *seri-*, the meaning of which can be recovered from oblivion thanks to its correspondence to Luwian hieroglyphic *sar-* “smoke offering” (Woudhuizen 2006c: 245-247; cf. Woudhuizen 2004: 62; Woudhuizen 2011 [Emirgazi § 27]: 119; Woudhuizen 2014 [Çalapverdi 3, § 1]).¹¹¹

IV, 3 ² <i>Pacusnašie</i> <i>Θanurari</i> <i>turza esxaθce</i>	“He (= priest) has taken outside small donations with the help of Bakkhantes in the service of Thanr.”
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¹¹⁰ Pfiffig 1975, s.v. *Voltumna-Vortumnus/Vertumnus*; note especially that the name of the festivities *Volturnalia/Verturnalia* is linguistically related to this divine name. According to Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyclopädie*, s.v., *Volturnus* is the name of a deity corresponding to Etruscan *Velθurna-*.

¹¹¹ Cf. Cristofani 1981a: 92-93; 148, who alternatively suggests an adjectival derivative of the numeral *sar-* or *zar-* “10”.

Comments

It has not escaped the attention of scholars that *Pacusnašie*, just like *Pacusnašieθur* later on in section IV, is a derivative of the divine name **Paχa-* or, more likely, **Pacus-* “Bakkhos”.¹¹² This derivative may well show a combination of adjectival *-s-* and ethnic *-n-*, or, if the second option for the root applies, more simply an adjectival derivative in *-n-*.¹¹³ Less problematic is the final part of the form, which on the basis of the relevant analogies (*murinašie* “on behalf of the dead” in the text of the Magliano disc and *Karθazie* “of the Carthaginians” in an inscription on an ivory plaque from Carthage) shows the D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the ethnic morpheme *-ši-*.¹¹⁴ Similarly, it has been duly observed that *Θanurari* is based on the divine name *Θanr* (Cortsen 1934: 232; Pallottino 1948-9: 173; Sloty 1952: 134). This divine name is also attested for the text of the Magliano disc, where it occurs in the D sg. in *-a* as *Θanra* (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.; Woudhuizen 1992b: 204; 207; see chapter 12 above). In line with the latter observation, the present form evidently renders the rhotacized variant of the Abl.-Instr. sg. in *-r(i)* encountered earlier in connection with the adverb *user* (see phrases II, 3c & 3c¹ above) (*pace* Cristofani 1995: 70). All in all, this leads us to the conclusion that the Bakkhantes are specified as being in the service of Thanr. For the identification of Thanr as the Etruscan equivalent of Greek Persephone, see discussion of the text on the Magliano disc in chapter 12 above; note also that this deity may further be addressed to as *Uni-* “Lady”.

In the light of iconographic evidence on Etruscan offering practices, the Bakkhantes are most likely to be identified as male servants of the priest, dressed out like Satyrs who are responsible for the execution of various sacrifices (Figs. 26 [blood offering] and 28 [fire offering]).¹¹⁵ Hence, it may safely be inferred that they are not

¹¹² Pallottino 1948-9: 172-173; cf. *Pacsniā* (Rix 1991: Pe 1.89) and related adjectives like *Paχie-* (TLE 336 = Rix 1991: Vc 4.1-4), *Paχana-* (TLE 137 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.184; Rix 1991: Cr 3.23), and *Paχaθur-* (TLE 195 = Rix 1991: AT 1.1; TLE 190 = Rix 1991: 1.32).

¹¹³ Torp 1905: 11; cf. Woudhuizen 1992a: 85. Note that in the form *Tinusnal* the element [s] also belongs to the root, see discussion of phrase V, 2 below.

¹¹⁴ Woudhuizen 1992a: 80; 90 (with reference to TLE 724 = Rix 1991: Af 3.1); cf. 95 for reference to Elymian *Segestazie* and *Erukaziie* (= Greek *Erukinōn*), and Lycian *Pttarazē*.

¹¹⁵ Cristofani 1995: 113-117, Tav. XIXa, XXa-b; cf. Baglione 1976: 105-107, Tav. LXII, LXIV (blood offering, beginning of the 5th century BC).

recipients of offerings in their own right, but only act as intermediaries.

IV, 3 ³	<i>nis-c lavtun icni zusle śelace iuleses salχe</i>	“And the people have not offered piglets (and) (..?..) <i>iuleses</i> in honor of these (gods).”
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Comments

See discussion in § 7j and, for the analysis of *iuleses* as an A(m/f) pl. in *-es*, the comments to phrase II, 1a¹.

Like in phrase IV, 3¹, the D(-G) pl. of the demonstrative pronoun *ica-*, *icni*, probably refers back to Lethams and the Volturnian.

Unfortunately, the root of the object *iuleses* lacks further attestations and therefore its precise meaning cannot be determined. The same verdict also applies to the verb *salχe*.¹¹⁶

IV, 3 ⁴	<i>ica-la-ieī cle[vi]ai stizai tei zal rapa zal [t]a[rtir]ia-c</i>	“This of their small temple depositions in honor of her [= the goddess Lethams] here: the first presents and the first τριτύς.”
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Comments

In the comments to the phrases II, 2¹ and II, 2² expressions similar to *ica-la-ieī cle[vi]ai* have been summed up.

The demonstrative *ica*, to which the D(-G) sg. *-la* and the G pl. *-ieī* of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person are attached, renders the endingless A(n) sg. or pl. in *-a*. It is followed by *cleviai*, which shows G pl. in *-ai*. This form is likely to be analyzed as an adjectival derivative in *-ia-* of the noun *cleva-*, as attested for the shorter Etruscan version of the text on the Pyrgi gold tablets, where, for its correspondence to *tmia-* “holy place” in the longer version of the same text, it obviously indicates a certain section of the temple to which the tablets once had been nailed (Woudhuizen 1992a: 79-80; 85 [adjectival *-ia-*]; 101-102; Woudhuizen 1998: 163-176 [Pyrgi texts]; on the Pyrgi texts, see also chapter 9 above). The next item, *stizai*, recurs only once later on in the text (see phrase IV, 3⁸). On the basis of its ending, this

¹¹⁶ The root *sal-* is paralleled for family names, but this information does not help us out in our efforts to establish its meaning. An etymological correlation with Latin *sal-* “salt” seems to be ruled out as well, because Etruscan shows *als-* “sea”, which form shares the development [s] > [h] with Greek ἄλς (G ἅλός) “salt, sea” (see Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.).

form is likely to be analyzed as a noun in G pl. *-ai* as well, corresponding with the preceding *cleviai*. As the root *sti-* appears to recall that of Greek ἵστημι “to put, place”, being characterized by the diminutive suffix *-za-* here, we may perhaps suggest that it renders the meaning “small deposition” or the like. Note that this analysis receives emphasis by the fact that *stizai* qualifies *zusleva* in phrase IV, 3⁸. Finally, the indications of offerings at the end of the phrase are both characterized by the endingless A(n) sg. or pl. in *-a*. Of these, *rapa* is also attested for an inscription on a lead tablet from Caere, which, however, is too heavily damaged to contribute to our understanding of it (TLE 878 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.10; cf. Pfiffig 1968: 64). From an etymological point of view, however, *rap-* may well be analyzed, in line with our explanation of the prefix *ra-*, *re-* or *ri-* as a reflex of the Lycian preposition *eri-* < Luwian hieroglyphic *arḥa* in its use for emphatic purposes (see chapter 14), as a compound of this prefix with a nominal derivative of the verbal root *p-* “to give” (as in *per-p-* which literally renders the meaning “to give in advance”). In full, then, *rapa* likely renders the N-A(n) pl. in *-a* and may be translated as “presents”.

IV, 3⁵ *lavyun icni seril*
turza esxaθce
laxuθ nunθeri

“The people have taken outside
 (only those) small donations for
 smoke offering in honor of these
 (gods) to be dedicated at the regia.”

Comments

Apart from the omission of *nis-c* at its start and the addition of *laxuθ nunθeri* at its end, this phrase offers an identical repetition of phrase IV, 3¹. Therefore, the demonstrative *icni* most likely refers back to Lethams and the Voltumnian, again. For our interpretation of *laxuθ*, see the discussion of phrase II, 1a¹ above.

IV, 3⁶ *[--]ei tu acasri laxθ*

“(And) two (?) of these to be
 sacrificed at the regia.”

Comments

Unfortunately, the first two signs of this phrase are damaged beyond the possibilities of repair. However, on the basis of the context *]ei* may perhaps be emended as *-i]ei*, in which case we arrive at another instance of the G pl. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person. The uncertainty of reading also affects the determination of the letters *tu*

following *iei*. Is this to be considered a separate entity or does it form part of a word with *ei* and the two erased signs before it? If the first option applies, we are likely to have here an instance of the numeral *tu-* “2”.

IV, 3⁷ *turzais esxaθce* “He has taken outside small donations [m/f].”

Comments

On the analogy of *śuris eisteis* “select victims” from the text of the Magliano disc, *turzais* probably renders the A(m/f) pl. in *-is* of the indication of offering *turza-*. In connection with this type of offering, then, we appear to be confronted here with a shift in gender from neuter *turza* to communal *turzais*.¹¹⁷

IV, 3⁸ *ve-ci[l]θi acas<ri>* “And (these) to be sacrificed at
eθ zusleva stizai tei her (temple) in the presence of
the piglets (which are part) of
the small depositions here.”

Comments

The locative of the enclitic demonstrative pronoun, *-cilθi*, may safely be assumed to refer to the temple of Lethams (= the location where the ceremonies were probably held).

The final part of the clause takes up again elements from the phrases IV, 3³ and IV, 3⁴. As it seems, then, the small donations (m/f) from the previous phrase have to be sacrificed inside the temple of Lethams in the presence of *zusle* “piglets” deposited here.

IV, 3⁹ *acasri Pacus[n]aśieθur* “(And) the piglets to be sacrificed
Laθiumiai zusle (by) the brotherhood of the
Bakkhantes among the clergy at the
temple of Lethams.”

Comments

The word *Laθiumiai* is characterized by the G pl. ending *-ai*. As far as its root is concerned, this seems to be an adjectival derivative in *-ia-* of *Leθaium* “the temple of Lethams [A sg.]”, encountered in

¹¹⁷ Cf. note 66 above on the existence of communal *zuśleveś* alongside neuter *zusleva*.

phrase II, 1c¹ above (for the adjectival morpheme *-ia-*, see Woudhuizen 1992a: 79-80; 85). The preceding *Pacusnaśieθur* is of similar formation as *ceχasieθur* (TLE 90 = Rix 1991: Ta 5.4 from Tarquinia; cf. Pallottino 1988: 481). In the light of our analysis of *Pacusnaśie* in phrase IV, 3² above, these forms are likely to be considered derivatives in *-θur* of the D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the ethnic adjective in *-śi-* or *-si-* of the roots *Pacusna-* “Bakkhic” and *ceχa-* “senate”, respectively (for the identification of the root *ceχa-*, see discussion of the next phrase). Now, the element *-θur* is generally acknowledged to indicate some kind of social organization, like the board of a clan (*Clavtieθurasi* “collegium Claudiorum [in *-asi*]”, see chapter 9) or a religious society (*Paχaθur* “Bakkhic society”) (Pallottino 1988: 418; 485), though the etymological relationship of the element *-θur* with the Lycian kinship term *θurtta-* suggests “brotherhood” as its literal meaning (Woudhuizen *forthc.*). In sum, then, it seems that reference is made here to the brotherhood of the Bakkhantes among the clergy at the temple of Lethams.

Note, finally, that *Pacusnaśieθur* shows endingless N(m/f) sg. and appears in a *nominativus cum infinitivo* construction just like *cipen* “priest” in the phrases II, 1a¹ and V, 1.

For iconographic reflections of the contents of this phrase, see Figs. 26 and 28.

IV, 3 ¹⁰ <i>is-ix̣a-iei tartiriiai</i>	“And one (bull/cow) among these
<i>fanusei papθiai</i>	τρυττύες will drive hither the chariot
<i>ratu ceχiniai tei</i>	of the senatorial fathers.”

Comments

It has been argued earlier (§ 7d) that *fanusei* is a verb, characterized by the ending of the 3rd person sg. of the present/future of the active in *-i*. Further, in the discussion of phrase II, 1b, we have observed that the passive infinitive of this verb, *faniri*, is associated with the object *cuveis Caθnis* “the oxen of Cautha [A(m/f) pl.]”. From this association, it has been deduced that the verbal root *fan-* means “to drive” or the like (see commentary to phrase II, 1b above). This analysis may serve as a convenient starting point for the interpretation of the rest of the phrase.

In the discussion of phrase II, 1b, we have also observed that the interpretation of *ratu-* as “chariot” is indeed compatible with that of the verb *fan-* “to drive”. But what is more, this can even be sustained by independent supporting evidence. In his extensive treat-

ment of the text of the Capua tile, Sloty suggests in connection with *ratu* that this word corresponds to *ratum* in the text of the *Liber linteus* (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL X, 4; 20). He then continues: “Als etruskisch gilt auch der Name der (porta) *Ratumenna*” (Sloty 1952: 144-145). The Etruscan nature of the latter word is assured, namely, by the morpheme *-umena-*, which is attested not only for other Etruscan names (GN *Voltumnus* or *Vertumnus*) and words (*lucumones* “kings”) as recorded by Roman sources, but also for names (*Tulumnes*)¹¹⁸ and words (*lauzumni-* “king” < *lauχ-* “palace, regia”)¹¹⁹ stemming from epichoric Etruscan texts. Note in this connection that, given the wide distribution and highly prized status of chariots in Etruscan culture during the Orientalizing and Archaic periods, it is by no means inconceivable that the name of the Roman *porta Ratumenna* “chariot gate” stems from the period of Etruscan dominance over the town.¹²⁰ Finally, it deserves our attention here that the Latin reflex of Proto-Indo-European **Hrot-h₂-* “wheel” is *rota* instead of *ratu-*.¹²¹ Hence, not only the morpheme *-umena-*, but also the root *ratu-* of *Ratumenna* appears to be genuinely Etruscan.

The noun *ratu* is associated with two appositions in G pl. *-ai*, *papθiai* and *ceχiniai*. The first of these appositions constitutes a derivative in *-θ(i)-* of the root *papa-*. This root is also present in the form *papacs*, which in the extended genealogy of Laris Pulenas from Tarquinia (TLE 131 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.17) is lined with the kinship terms *clan*, *nefts*, and *prum<t>s*. On account of this observation, Vetter proposed to interpret *papa-* as a kinship term corresponding to Greek *πόππος* “grandfather, ancestor” (Vetter 1939: 182). The second apposition, *ceχiniai*, consists of a derivative of the root *ceχα-* which is also traceable in forms like *ceχane* from the *Liber linteus* (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL VII, 7) and *ceχaneri* from Tarquinian funeral inscriptions. The latter of these parallels, which, just like *Θanurari*,

¹¹⁸ See note 110 above. TLE 38 = Rix 1991: Ve 3.2; TLE 36 = Rix 1991: 3.6 from Veii.

¹¹⁹ TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL IX, f2; Rix 1991: Pe 1.228 from Perugia; etc.

¹²⁰ Chariots, or the remains of chariots, are a characteristic element of the inventory of rich Etruscan burials during the Orientalizing period; the importance of chariots as a status symbol for rich Etruscans is also reflected in the historical sources, see Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XII, 528 (= Loeb V, p. 385).

¹²¹ Mallory 1989: 121, note 25; cf. especially Skt. *ratha-*. To my view, a possible Luwian cognate is traceable in the onomastic element *radu-* as present in names like *Tarhun(d)aradu-*, *Piyamaradu-*, etc., but see Kammenhuber 1968: 57 for a contrasting view.

itirśver, and *user*, shows the rhotacized variant of the Abl.-Instr. sg. or pl. in *-r(i)*, occurs in direct association with the honorific titles *zilaθ* “praetor” and *cepen* “priest” in indications of the magistracies once held by the deceased person.¹²² In all probability, therefore, this term bears reference to some governmental institution. If so, it may reasonably be assumed that we are dealing here with the Etruscan equivalent of the Roman *senatus*. From a comparative point of view, namely, the root *ceχa-* is strikingly reminiscent of Luwian *huhha-* “grandfather” (Laroche 1957-8: 191; 193; Meriggi 1980: index, s.v.; Woudhuizen 2011: 426) —a kinship term which, like Latin *senex* “old man”, in a political context may well be applied to denote senior statesmen.

IV, 3 ¹¹	<i>turza esχaθce</i> <i>eθ [zus]l[e]</i>	“And he has taken outside (these) small donations in the presence of the piglets.”
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See parallel expressions in the previous phrases.

V, 1	<i>parθumi ilu-cve</i> <i>iśveitule</i> <i>Tinunus Seθumsal-c</i> <i>ilucu</i> <i>perpri cipen tartiria</i>	“When you shall hold a feast in July, one shall hold a feast in honor of Dionysos and Septimus on the day of the opening ceremonies: a τριττός to be consecrated (by) the priest.”
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See discussion in § 6 above.

V, 1 ¹	<i>va-ci<l?> fulinuśn[es</i> <i>a]v[θ]</i>	“And he will bring the ithyphallic (statues) of these (two gods).”
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Comments

In § 7a above, it has been suggested that, in the light of the relevant parallels, the enclitic demonstrative *-ci* attached to the introductory particle *va-* probably reads *-cil* and that the missing *lambda* has been erroneously omitted (see Rix 1991: TC, line 28: *vaci(l)*). It should be

¹²² TLE 126 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.9: *zile ceχaneri tenθas* “having held the praetorship over the members of the senate” and TLE 90 = Rix 1991: Ta 5.4: *c[epe]n ceχaneri tenθas* “having held (the office of) priest on behalf of the members of the senate”, both from Tarquinia.

realized, however, that in all other instances this form of the demonstrative correlates to just a single deity, whereas in the present case it has a bearing on two deities, *Tinunus* and *Seθumsal*.¹²³ Therefore, it cannot be ruled out altogether that, as an alternative possibility, *-ci* does not result from a writing error but renders a distinct form for the G dual.

The final part of *fulinuśn[es]* is damaged, and therefore the ending of the word cannot be determined with certainty. From the contents of the phrase as established thus far, however, it can be deduced that the word probably renders the object. If we add to this that the same root is attested for the first section of the text in A(m/f) pl. *fulinuśnes* (lines 5-6), it may reasonably be emended accordingly here (cf. § 5 and the discussion of phrase II, 1a¹ above). On the analogy of *Pacusnaśie* and *Tinusna-*, the form under discussion is likely to be analyzed as a derivative in *-n-* (see discussion of phrase IV, 3² above) of the root *fulinuś-*, which, as we will argue in the appendix following below, shows a reflex of Greek φαλλός. In line with our interpretation of *Tinusna-* as “statue of Dionysos”, we appear to be dealing here with a reference to ithyphallic statues or *Hermāi* (cf. Herodotos, *Histories* II, 51; Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War* VI, 27-8; see further the appendix to this chapter), from which it necessarily follows that the Etruscan GN *Seθums* is to be identified with Greek *Hermēs*.

V, 2 *etul ana Tinusnal ilucu* “On the idus one shall hold a feast
below the (statue) of Dionysos.”

Comments

According to the analysis of the structure of the text *etul* definitely belongs to the category of day names (see § 6c above). However, it differs from most other members of this category by the fact that its root is not based on a divine name or a numeral. Furthermore, the element *-tul-* appears to form part of the root here and therefore should not be assumed to express the temporal notion in the same manner as with the other day names. All this seems to contradict the results of the aforementioned structural analysis. On the other hand, it seems relevant to point out, that according to a gloss, the Etruscan equivalent of Latin *idus* reads *itus*.¹²⁴ In view of evidence for an *eli-*

¹²³ In the phrases II, 1c², 1c³ & 3a¹ *-cil* refers to *Leθamsul* (2x) and *aφes* (1x).

¹²⁴ TLE 838a: *idus at eo quod Tusci itus, vel potius quod Sabini idus dicunt*.

interchange, namely, the form *etul* may well come into consideration as the D(-G) sg. in *-l* of *itus*.¹²⁵ Along the same line of approach, finally, the formal resemblance of this day name to the mythological figure *Etule* as depicted in a scene on a mirror from Volsinii (Rix 1991: Vs S.5) is deceptive, the latter being nothing but Greek *Aitōlos* in Etruscan transcription.

On the analogy of the personal name *Tinusi* “Dionysios [D sg.]”, the root of the form *Tinusnal* probably constitutes an adjectival derivative in *-n-* of the divine name *Tinus-* “Dionysos”.¹²⁶ As a consequence, the divine name *Tinunus* mentioned in the introductory phrase to this section may reasonably be assumed to bear reference to Dionysos as well (see § 6a).

In line with its use in an inscription written on the stem of a bucchero cup from Narce, the residual element *ana* is likely to be analyzed as a preposition rendering the meaning “under, below”.¹²⁷ This analysis is further emphasized by its correspondence in form with Luwian *annan* and Lycian *ēnē* of the same meaning.¹²⁸

V, 2 ¹	<i>ituna fulinuśnai</i>	“They will hold this (feast) of the
	<i>θenunt eθ U[ne]</i>	ithyphallic (statues) in the presence
		of U[ni].”

See discussion in § 6f-g and § 7f above.

As to the nature of the cult to which the liturgical calendar of the Capua tile is dedicated, the final section is most illuminating and straightforwardly points out that it is of a Bakkhic type. In the discussion of the text on the lead discus from Magliano in the previous chapter, we have been confronted with ritual prescriptions for a solar cult of Bakkhic type, again, comparable to the Eleusinian mysteries. At this point, one cannot help to wonder what the exact relationship is between these two types of Bakkhic cults.

¹²⁵ See § 7j, esp. note 73 and discussion of phrases II, 3c & c¹, esp. note 105 above for examples of Campanian [i] corresponding with proper Etruscan [e].

¹²⁶ Rix 1991: Cl 1.1563, 1.1564, 1.2404, and 1.2405 from Clusium; cf. note 112 above.

¹²⁷ TLE 27 = Rix 1991: Fa 3.1 + 6.1 from Narce: *młaxuta zixuxē młaxta ana zinace* “he has written (this) nicely (and) put (it) nicely below”.

¹²⁸ Meriggi 1980: 372-373, §§ 292-294; cf. also § 7g above on the related preposition *in* and preverb *en-*.

As we have seen, the text of the Magliano disc is dedicated to a divine triad, namely the sun-god Cautha, the mother-goddess Aisera, and the vegetation god Maris, which on the back side recur in their infernal aspect under the cult names Calu, Thanr, and Tins, corresponding with the Eleusian Hades or Ploutos, Persephone or the sun-maiden, and the newborn child, Dionysos.

Now, in the liturgical calendar on the Capua tile, sections II and IV are basically dedicated to Lethams, section III to Laruns, and section V to Dionysos and Sethums. In the first section devoted to Lethams, sidely references are made to the sun-god Cautha, whose oxen should pull the little cult cart, to the latter's infernal aspect Calu, to whom secondary sacrifices are to be offered on the day of the rituals, to Athena, whose presence, no doubt in form of her statue, is required by the consecration of certain sacrificial animals, and to Uni, in whose temple certain activities are to take place. In the second section devoted to Lethams, on the other hand, she is closely associated with, if our emendation applies, the Volturnian, and certain actions are to be carried out by the Bakkhantes in the service of Thanr. Even if we are conscious of the fact that the text on the Capua tile is only partially preserved, this seems a bewildering array of divine names, far from fitting into the straight-jacket of a triad. But if we realize that Uni is nothing but the form of address "Lady", used in the texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets for Astarte, the daughter of Asherah, and Athena, the daughter of Zeus, who, in turn, through her byname Parthenos can be identified with the virginal aspect of the goddess in like manner as Thanr, corresponding to Greek Persephone, we actually turn out to be dealing with only two goddesses, or aspects of the goddess, namely Lethams, whose motherly qualities may be underlined by the origin of her name from Lycian *leθ-* or *laθ-* "woman, wife",¹²⁹ and her daughter, the sun-maiden, as referred to by various cult names. In like manner, the form of address Volturnian may be a byname of the sun-god Cautha or, in his infernal capacity, Calu, especially if we bring to mind that the first element of this byname, *Vel-*, though the name as such is derived from a place name in this particular case, is a reflex of a widely dispersed PIE root for the sun-god, namely **seh₂wōl-* or **swel-* (cf. especially Phrygian *Ouela* and Celtic *Vellaunos*). Against this backdrop, then, Larun, who under the name Laran is depicted in one of the mirror scenes on the

¹²⁹ Houwink ten Cate 1961: 63 records *laθθi* in TL 83, 9; 14 and *leθθi* in TL 44b, 61 as derivations from *lada-* "woman, wife"; cf. Laroche 1960b: 159-160 *laθθi* < **ladahi*. Cf. also Greek *Letō*, *Leda*, etc.

birth of Menrva as a young warrior god with a helmet (see Fig. 23b), likely comes into consideration as the equivalent of Maris on the Magliano disc, whose infernal aspect is represented by Tins or Dionysos. If we are right, finally, in our interpretation of section V according to which Sethums is represented by an ithyphallic statue in like manner as Tinu(nu)s or Dionysos, this god can only be identified with Greek Hermes, after whom the ithyphallic statues are named *Hermai* (cf. Herodotos, *Histories* II, 51; Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War* VI, 27-28; see further the appendix to this chapter) and who as *psychopompos* of the newborn child only renders auxiliary services in the mystery cult.

As it seems, therefore, it is not altogether excluded that the Bakkhic cult at Capua centers on a divine triad in like manner as it is the case with the one attested for the Magliano disc. If so, this would lead us to the following correspondences:

MAGLIANO DISC		CAPUA TILE	
celestial	infernal	celestial	infernal
1. <i>Cauθa-</i>	<i>Calu-</i>	<i>Caθ-, Velθurt[--]</i>	<i>Calu-</i>
2. <i>Aisera-</i>	<i>Θanr-</i>	<i>Leθams-</i>	<i>Θanr-, Uni-, Aθena-</i>
3. <i>Mariś-</i>	<i>Tins</i>	<i>Larun-</i>	<i>Tinu(nu)s-</i>

Table XXXVI. Correlations between the divine names in the texts on the discus of Magliano and Capua tile.

Even if one allows for this reconstruction, it should, of course, be borne in mind that in the scenes on mirrors of more recent date the various aspects or bynames of the deities from the given triad may be represented as individual deities.

9. TEXT IN TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

To facilitate the reader, an overview is presented in the following Table XXXVII of the correspondences with Luwian, or IE Anatolian more in general, which are relevant to our understanding of the text on the Capua tile, and which have been either explicitly mentioned in

the preceding pages or indirectly referred to by the references in the notes.

ETRUSCAN	IE ANATOLIAN	MEANING
1. <i>aca-</i>	<i>aka-</i>	“to finish off”
2. <i>acun-, ecun-</i>	<i>aku-, eku-</i>	“to drink”
3. <i>aiu-</i>	<i>aia-</i>	“to make, do”
4. <i>ana</i> (cf. <i>in</i>)	<i>anan, ēnē</i>	“under”
5. <i>av-</i>	<i>awī-, awa-</i>	“to go, come; to bring”
6. <i>aϕe-</i>	<i>apa-</i>	“(s)he, it”
7. <i>-c</i>	<i>-ḥa(wa), -ke, -k</i>	“and”
8. <i>-ca-/ci-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	“this”
9. <i>Caθ-</i>	<i>kutúpili-</i> <i>Cautes, Cautopates</i>	“fire offering” companions of Mithras
10. <i>ceḫi-</i>	<i>ḥuḥa-, ḫuga-, Gyges</i>	“grandfather”
11. <i>-cve</i>	<i>ḥwa</i>	“when, because”
12. <i>clev-</i>	<i>ḥila-, qla-</i>	“enclosure, precinct”
13. <i>cuve-</i>	<i>*g^wou-, wawa-/uwa-</i>	“ox”
14. <i>cui- -ḫu</i>	<i>ḥwa- -ḥa</i>	“whoever, whichever”
15. <i>epn</i>	<i>apan, epñ</i>	“behind”
16. <i>va-, ve-</i>	<i>wa-, fa-</i>	introductory particle
17. <i>-vani-</i>	<i>-wanni-, -vñni-</i>	ethnic suffix
18. <i>vina-</i>	<i>wiana-</i>	“wine”
19. <i>zal, sal</i>	<i>sa-</i>	“1”
20. <i>zil-</i>	<i>silu-</i>	“praetor”
21. <i>ziḫn-, ziḫun-</i>	<i>zikuna-</i>	“written account”
22. <i>i-</i>	<i>ī-</i>	“this”
23. <i>-ia</i>	<i>-ije</i>	D sg. of encl. pron. of 3rd person
24. <i>ilu-</i>	<i>īla-</i>	“to favor, hold a feast”
25. <i>in</i> (cf. <i>ana</i>)	<i>anan, ēnē</i>	“during”
26. <i>intehamai-</i>	<i>anda, ñte</i>	“in”
27.	<i>šamnai-, hñme-, amē-</i>	“to found”
28. <i>iś-</i>	<i>is-</i>	“1”
29. <i>-is</i>	<i>-is</i>	A(m/f) pl. of encl. pron. of 3rd person
30. <i>-l, -la</i>	<i>-λ</i>	D sg. of encl. pron. of 3rd person

ETRUSCAN	IE ANATOLIAN	MEANING
31. <i>-l-</i>	<i>-ali-, -li-</i>	adjectival suffix
32. <i>Leθams-</i>	<i>laθθi-, leθθi-</i> (< <i>lada-</i>)	“woman, wife”
33. <i>-ma</i>	<i>-ma-, -m</i>	introductory particle
34. <i>mac-</i>	<i>*mekki-</i> (> <i>ma₇</i>)	“5”
35. <i>mulu-</i>	<i>maluwa-, malva-, mλvẽ-</i>	“thank-offering”
36. <i>-n(i)-</i>	<i>-ñni-</i> (< <i>-vñni-</i>)	ethnic suffix
37. <i>nis</i>	<i>niš, nasa, ni</i>	“not”
38. <i>nu-</i>	<i>nu-</i>	introductory particle
39. <i>-pa</i>	<i>-pa(wa)</i>	introductory particle
40. <i>Pacu-</i>	<i>Baki-</i>	“Bakkhos”
41. <i>perp-</i>	<i>para, per</i>	“before, pre-”
42. <i></i>	<i>pia-, pije-, bi-</i>	“to give”
43. <i>ra-</i>	<i>eri</i> (< <i>arḥa</i>)	emphatic
44. <i>ratu-</i>	<i>(Tarḥunda)radu-</i>	“chariot”
45. <i>-s-</i>	<i>-ašši-, -ahi-, -si-</i>	adjectival suffix
46. <i>-s-</i>	<i>-šš-, -s-</i>	iterative suffix
47. <i>scuv(u)-</i>	<i>ese</i>	“with”
48. <i></i>	<i>ḥwá-, ḫuwa-</i>	“to walk, stride, run”
49. <i>śela-</i>	<i>sarla-</i>	“to offer as a sacrifice”
50. <i>seri-</i>	<i>sar-</i>	“smoke offering”
51. <i>tar-tir(i)ia-</i>	<i>tar-</i>	“3”
52. <i>-ta-/t-</i>	<i>θθ-, t-</i>	“this”
53. <i>-t[e]-</i>	<i>-te-, -de-</i>	ethnic adjective
54. <i>tva-</i>	<i>tuwa-</i>	“to place”
55. <i>tu</i>	<i>tuwa-</i>	“2”
56. <i>Uni-</i>	<i>wana(tti)-</i>	“woman”
57. <i>user</i>	<i>wasiriti</i>	“with grace, out of gratitude”
58. <i>utu-</i>	<i>wata(r)</i> (G <i>wetenaš</i>)	“water”
59. <i>fala-</i>	<i>wala-, waliā-</i>	“to, lift, elevate”
60. <i>fani-, fanu-</i>	<i>fa-</i>	“away”
61. <i></i>	<i>nāi-</i>	“to drive”

Table XXXVII. Correspondences between Etruscan and IE Anatolian.

Now, precisely how the meaning of the words and forms recovered in this manner by the etymological method are plugged into

the text and facilitate its interpretation is shown by their printing in bold type in the transliteration as presented in the following Table XXXVIII.

Section II

1a	<i>is̄veitule ilu-cve</i> <i>apirase</i> <i>Leθamsul ilucu</i>	“When you shall hold a feast in April, one shall hold a feast in honor of Lethams on the days of the ceremonies.”
1a ¹	<i>cuiesχu perpri</i> <i>cipen</i> <i>apires racvanies</i> <i>huθ zusle</i>	“(All) who (are) participants in the April regalia (and) four piglets to be blessed (by) the priest.”
1b	<i>riθnaitul tei</i> <i>snuza</i> <i>intehamaiθi</i> <i>cuveis Caθnis f[a]nir[i]</i>	“On the day of the rituals he will found the little cart inside here, to be driven (by) the oxen of Cautha.”
1b ¹	<i>marza</i> <i>intehamaiθi</i> <i>ital sacri utus ecunzai</i> <i>italχu scuvse</i>	“He will found the little horse (or foal) inside (here), for this to be sanctified the water of the sources, with every (participant) he will walk in procession.”
1c	<i>riθnaitul tei</i> <i>ci zusle</i> <i>acunsiri</i> <i>ci-ma</i> <i>nunθeri</i>	“On the day of the rituals three piglets to be watered here and (these) three to be dedicated (here).”
1c ¹	<i>eθ is̄-uma</i> <i>zuslevai</i> <i>apire nunθeri</i> <i>avθ Leθaium</i>	“But with one of the (four) piglets to be dedicated in April he will go (in)to the temple of Lethams.”
1c ²	<i>va-cil-ia Leθamsul</i> <i>nunθeri</i>	“And (this) to be dedicated here to Lethams.”
1c ³	<i>va-cil-ia</i> <i>riθnaita</i> <i>eθ Aθene</i> <i>ica perpri</i>	“And, according to the rules of the rituals, this to be consecrated here in the presence of Athena.”
2	<i>celutule apirase</i> <i>Unialθi</i> <i>turza esχαθce</i>	“On the third day (of the feast) in April he has taken outside little donations at the temple of Uni.”

- 2¹ *ei ís-um* “One he shall dedicate not
Unialθ *ara* on the altar at the temple of Uni,
epn icei nunθcu (but) behind this.”
2² *ci-iei turzai* “Three of these little donations
riθ[n]aita according to the rules of the rituals.”
2³ *ei tva halχ* “Do not place a *halχ*!”
- 3a *apertule* “On Aphrodite’s day one
aφes ilucu shall hold a feast in her honor.”
3a¹ *va-cil zixne elfa* “He will write alpha(bet letters)
for her.”
- 3b *riθnaitul* “On the day of the rituals
traisvanec Calus he will/to (..?..) piglets
zusleva atu[--]ne for “thrice king” Calu.”
- 3b¹ *in-pa vinalθ acas* “And during (a libation) of wine
aφes ci tartiria ci turza sacrifice in her honor three τριττύες
(and) three little donations!”
- 3c *riθnaitula* “On the day of the rituals
snenaziulas to the (two?) Maenads
travai user hivus niθus-c out of gratitude the liver and
entrails of inspected animals.”
- 3c¹ *riθnaitula* “On the day of the rituals
hivus travai user to the (two?) Maenads
sne[na]ziulas out of gratitude the liver of
inspected animals.”

Section III

- 1 *ísveitule ilu-cve* “When you shall hold a feast in
anpilie May, one shall hold a feast in honor
Laruns ilucu of Larun on the days of the
ceremonies.”
- 1¹ *hu<θ>χ santi* “May one take outside
huśialχu esχαθca four times (?) fourty *śants*.”
- 1² *nu-l-is muluri zile zizri* “And these to be brought as
a thank-offering (and) to be
covered with cereals (?) in
his honor by the praetors.”
- 1³ *in-pa [--]an acasri* “And during (..?..) to be sacrificed.”
2 *tiniantule* “On Tinia’s day one shall hold
Leθamsul ilucu a feast in honor of Lethams.”

2¹ **perpri** *śanti*
arvusta aius nunθeri

“To be consecrated *śants* (and)
 to be dedicated fruits of the soil.”

Section IV

1 *acalve*
apertule saluzie
Leθamsul ilucu

“In June,
 one shall hold a feast in honor of
 Lethams on among the first (day)s
 Aphrodite’s day:
 to be consecrated *śants*.”

2 **perpri** *śanti*
ma<c>*vilutule*
itirśver falanθur

“On the fifth day they will make a
 fire offering (in her honor) by
 themselves.”

3 *husilitule*
Velθurt[e-]

“On the fourth day
 [in honor of] the Voltur[nian].”

3¹ **[ni]s-c** *lavitun icni*
seril *turza esχαθce:*

“And the people have not taken
 outside small donations for smoke
 offering in honor of these (gods).”

3² **Pacusnaśie**
Θanurari
turza esχαθce

“He (= priest) has taken outside
 small donations with the help of
 Bakkhantes in the service of Thanr.”

3³ **nis-c** *lavitun icni*
zusle śelace
iuleses salxe

“And the people have not offered
 piglets (and) (..?..) *iuleses* in honor
 of these (gods).”

3⁴ *ica-la-iei cle[vi]ai*
stizai tei
zal rapa zal [t]a[rtir]ia-c

“This of their small temple
 depositions in honor of her [= the
 goddess Lethams] here: the first
 presents and the first τριττός.”

3⁵ *lavitun icni seril*
turza esχαθce
laχuθ nunθeri

“The people have taken outside
 (only those) little donations for
 smoke offering in honor of these
 (gods) to be dedicated at the regia.”

3⁶ [--]ei **tu acasri** *laχθ*

“(And) two (?) of these to be
 sacrificed at the regia.”

3⁷ *turzais esχαθce*

“He has taken outside small
 donations [m/f].”

3⁸ **ve-ci[l]θi acas<ri>**
eθ zusleva stizai tei

“And (these) to be sacrificed at
 her (temple) in the presence of
 the piglets (which are part) of
 the small depositions here.”

3⁹ **acasri Pacus[n]aśieθur**

“(And) the piglets to be sacrificed

	Laθiumiai <i>zusle</i>	(by) the brotherhood of the Bakkhantes among the clergy at the temple of Lethams.”
3 ¹⁰	is-ixa-iei <i>tartiriiiai</i> fanusei <i>papθiai</i> ratu ceχiniai <i>tei</i>	“And one (bull/cow) among these τριττύες will drive hither the chariot of the senatorial fathers.”
3 ¹¹	<i>turza esχαθce</i> <i>eθ [zus]l[e]</i>	“And he has taken outside (these) small donations in the presence of the piglets.”
Section V		
1	<i>parθumi</i> ilu-cve isveitule <i>Tinunus Seθumsal-c ilucu</i>	“When you shall hold a feast in July, one shall hold a feast in honor of Dionysos and Septimus on the days of the ceremonies:
	perpri <i>cipen</i> tartiria	a τριττύς to be consecrated (by) the priest.”
1 ¹	va-ci <i>fulinuśn[es a]v[θ]</i>	“And he will bring the ithyphallic (statues) of these (two gods) .”
2	<i>etul</i> ana <i>Tinusnal</i> ilucu	“On the idus one shall hold a feast below the (statue) of Dionysos.”
2 ¹	ituna <i>fulinuśnai</i> <i>θenunt eθ U[ne]</i>	“They will hold this (feast) of the ithyphallic (statues) in the presence of U[ni].”

Table XXXVIII. Text of the Capua tile in transliteration and translation (correspondences with IE Anatolian in bold type).

The evidence for the declension of the noun discussed in the preceding treatment of the text on the Capua tile may be summarized as follows (see Table XXXIX):

	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	—	
A(m/f)	—	-i, -e, ¹³⁰ -is, -es
N-A(n)	—, -s	-a
D	-a, -e, -i	-as (dual)
D(-G)	-l, -s	-e
G		-ai
Abl.-Instr.	-θ, -r(i)	
Loc.	-θ(i)	

Table XXXIX. Declension of the noun.

The overall majority of the endings we are already acquainted with thanks to the previous discussion of both shorter and longer texts, but the genitive plural in *-ai* we come across here for the first time. It corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *-aī*, Lycian *-āi*, and Lydian *-ai*, for the same function (cf. Woudhuizen 1998: 37; Woudhuizen 2005: 44; 143; Woudhuizen 2016b).

In the realm of the pronoun, on the other hand, we have been confronted with the following paradigm in the preceding discussion of the text on the Capua tile (see Table XL):

	demonstrative		3rd person	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
A(m/f)	<i>ituna</i>	<i>cuiesxu</i>		-is
N-A(n)	<i>ica</i>	(<i>ica</i>)		
D	<i>icei, tei</i>		-ia	
D(-G)	-cil	<i>icni</i>	-l(a)	
G		-ci (dual)		-iei
Loc.	<i>cilθi</i>			

Table XL. Declension of the pronoun.

¹³⁰ Note that *zusle*, apart from D pl. in *-e* (IV, 3¹¹), also renders the A(m/f) pl. in *-e* (II, 1a¹, II, 1c, IV, 3³ and 3⁹).

Of the forms with which we are not yet familiar owing to their discussion in the previous chapters, mention should be made of the dative singular of the demonstratives, *icei* and *tei*, which are closely matched by Lycian *ebei*, the dative singular of the demonstrative in the latter language, *ebe-*. Furthermore, it deserves our attention that the evidence for the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person, as we know by now a typical feature of the IE Anatolian languages, is enriched with the forms for the D sg. *-ia*, A(m/f) pl. *-is*, and G pl. *-iei*.

In connection with the conjugation of the verb, the following data from the foregoing discussion of the text of the Capua tile are of relevance (see Table XLI):

	present/future	past tense	subjunctive	imperative
2nd sg. act.				—
3rd sg.	<i>-θ(i), -ei/-e, -i</i>	<i>-ce/-χe</i>	<i>-ca</i>	<i>-cu</i>
3rd pl.	<i>-nt</i>	<i>-nce</i>		
3rd pl. pass.	<i>-nθur</i>			
	active		passive	
infinitive	<i>-ne</i>		<i>-r(i)</i>	

Table XLI. Conjugation of the verb.

Of the endings we are newly confronted with here, most important for their patent Indo-European nature are the 3rd person plural of the present/future of the active in *-nt* and the 3rd person plural of the present/future of the passive in *-nθur*, the first of which corresponds with cuneiform Luwian *-nti*, Luwian hieroglyphic *-ⁿti(a)*, Lycian *-ñti*, and Lydian *-nt* for the same function, whereas the second seems more likely to be a reflex of Latin *-ntur* than of a possible Luwian counterpart, even though the passive in the latter language is marked by the morpheme *-r-* as well. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the 3rd person singular of the imperative of the active is characterized by the vowel *-u* in like manner as its Luwian hieroglyphic and Lycian equivalents, but the somewhat puzzling velarization of the dental, which we have already observed in connection with the endings of the 3rd person singular and plural of

the past tense of the active in *-ce* or *-xe* and *-nce*, respectively, and which presumably also affected the 3rd person singular of the subjunctive of the active in *-ca*, in order to maintain the correspondence with Luwian counterparts is in need of further clarification.

As far as the realm of vocabulary is concerned, finally, the following substrate and/or adstrate influences from Greek and Italic have been instrumental in our interpretation of the text on the Capua tile (see Table XLII).

I. Correspondences with Greek

1. <i>Aθena-</i>	Ἀθηνᾶ	divine name
2. <i>apirase</i>	Ἀφρίος	month name
3. <i>eθ</i>	ἀντί	“in the presence of”
4. <i>esχαθ-</i>	ἔσχατος	“extreme, farthest”
5. <i>zus-l-</i>	σῦς	“pig”
6. <i>huθ, husi-</i>	Ἑττηνία	“Tetrapolis”
7. <i>niθu-</i>	νηδύς	“stomach, belly, womb”
8. <i>papa-</i>	πάππος	“grandfather, ancestor”
9. <i>parθumi</i>	Παρθένιος	month name
10. <i>-śve</i>	σφέ (or φηε, έέ, έ)	reflexive pronoun of 3rd person
11. <i>traisvanec</i>	τρίς	“three times”
12.	(F)ἄναξ	“king”
13. <i>tur-</i>	δωρέω	“to give”
14. <i>-χ</i>	-κις	numeral adverb
15. <i>fulinuśn-</i>	φαλλός	“penis”

II. Correspondences with Italic

1. <i>ara</i>	<i>ara</i>	“altar”
2. <i>arvusta</i>	<i>arvus</i>	“arable field, cultivated land”
3. <i>etul</i>	<i>idus</i>	“idus”
4. <i>zus-l-</i>	<i>sus</i>	“pig”
5. <i>θen(u)-</i>	<i>teneo</i>	“to hold”
6. <i>rac-/raχ-</i>	<i>rego</i>	“to direct, rule”
7. <i>riθ-na-</i>	<i>ritus</i>	“ritual, ceremony”
8. <i>sac-</i>	<i>sacer</i>	“sacred”

9. <i>Seθums-</i>	<i>Septimus</i>	divine name
10. <i>-sve</i>	<i>suus</i>	reflexive pronoun of 3rd person
11. <i>utu-</i>	<i>utur</i>	“water”
	word formation	
12. <i>-l-</i>	<i>-l-</i>	diminutive

III. Correspondence with Celtic

1. *mar<c>za* *marcos*, A sg. *markan* “horse”

Table XLII. Substrate and/or adstrate influences in vocabulary.

APPENDIX:

DIONYSOS AND HIS CULT IN ETRUSCAN TEXTS

It is a well known fact that the god Dionysos was venerated in Etruria under the cult name *Fufluns*. This is borne out of iconographical evidence provided by mirror scenes, in which Fufluns occurs together with *Semla*, the syncopated Etruscan form of the name of Dionysos' mother Semele (Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES* LXXXIII), and epigraphical evidence in the form of his association in inscriptions with the adjective *Paxie-* “Bakchic”, derived from Dionysos' nickname *Bakkhos* (TLE 336 = Rix 1991: Vc 4.1-3) (Pfiffig 1975: 288-295). In his standard work on Etruscan religion, Ambros J. Pfiffig even goes as far as to declare that “Der Name des Dionysos wird nicht ins Etruskische übernommen” (Pfiffig 1975: 25).

As opposed to this pertinent statement by the distinguished Austrian scholar, I have in my work on the text of the Capua tile (TLE 2 = Rix 1991: TC, c. 475 BC) proposed to distinguish *Tins* or *Tins* “Dionysos” as a separate divine name instead of its usual explanation as a declined variant of the Etruscan equivalent of Greek Zeus and Latin Juppiter, *Tin* (G *Tinas*), which in mirror scenes occurs as *Tina* or *Tinia* (Woudhuizen 1998: 26, note 56; 82-83; cf. Pfiffig 1975: 231). My reason to do so was twofold. In the first place, the Capuan variant of this divine name, *Tinunus* (D(-G) sg. in *-s*), which also appears in this same text without the characteristic doubling of the *nu* in adjectival derivation *Tinusna-*, strikingly recalls the form *Tinnuśa* (D sg. in *-a*) as attested for an Etruscan inscription on an *oinokhoe* from Cumae, dated c. 700-675 BC, which in an earlier con-

tribution I had identified as the Etruscan form of Greek Dionysos, most closely related to *Dinnusō* (G sg.) as attested for a text from Aiolian Kumē dated to the period 2 BC-AD 2 (Woudhuizen 1988-9b: 102-105; cf. Woudhuizen 1998: 26, note 56). Secondly, especially the form of the root without the doubling of the *nu* as attested for the adjectival derivation *Tinusna-* cannot be separated from that of the personal name *Tinusi* “Dionysios [D sg. in *-i*]” recorded for inscriptions from Clusium (Woudhuizen 1998: 82-83). Note in this connection, that the given forms from these early texts are still unsyn-copated, and that archaic *Tin(un)us-* or *Tinnus-* regularly becomes recent *Tins* or *Tins-*.

To these two arguments, a third one can be added. This is provided by the inscription of recent date on an altar with drain for libation offerings from Volsinii (TLE 205 = Rix 1991: Vs 4.13), which runs as follows: *Tinia Tinscvil s Asil sacni* (see Fig. 31). Of this inscription, the first section, *Tinia Tinscvil*, also appears separately on stone bases of recent date (TLE 258-9 = Rix 1991: Vs 4.10-11). Now, the exact meaning of the element *cvil* (paralleled in writing variant for the female personal name *Θancvil*) at first sight eludes us, but it is evident that it expresses the relationship of Tins to Tinia or vice versa, something like “son of” (Tinia, son of Tins) or “begetter of” (Tinia, begetter of Tins).¹³¹ If our identification of Tins as the Etruscan form of Dionysos applies, the relationship in question is actually visualized in the mirror scene on the birth of Dionysos (Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES* LXXXII), where, unfortunately, the name of the newborn child is not specified in like manner as that of the other deities, including his father Tinia (see Fig. 32).¹³² At any rate, the expression *Tinia Tinscvil* rules out that Tinia and Tins are both forms of the name of one and the same divinity, because that would lead to the absurd consequence that Tinia is his own son or

¹³¹ It is interesting to note in this connection that the Greek name *Dionusos* is usually explained as “son of Zeus (G *Dios*)”, from which it follows that the enigmatic element *nuso-* (metathesis of Proto-Indo-European **sunus* as suggested by Szemerényi 1974?) means “son”.

¹³² Note that Tins or Tins- has no occurrence in the legends of the mirrors, with the noted exception of the form *Tinsta*, which is used as an apposition to Maris in Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES* CCLXXXIV and which, against the background of our identification of Tins as the infernal aspect of Maris, should be analyzed as *Tins-ta* “this (is) Tins” (Rix 1991: OI S.63; Grummond 2006: 81, V.10, based on Bonfante 1990: 36, Fig. 19). For other mirrors depicting Maris as the newborn child, see Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES* CLVI and CCLVII, b, the first of which is reproduced here as our Fig. 33.

begetter! As far as the inscription on the altar stone in sum is concerned, this may, on the analogy of Oscan *Appellounēi sakoro* “Dedicated to Apollo” (Buck 1905: 152, no. 62), be interpreted as “Dedicated to Tinia, begetter of Dionysos, and Asia” or, in line with the imperative *śacni* “sacrifice!” in the text of the *Liber linteus* (see chapter 14, p. 362) below), as “Sacrifice to Tinia, begetter of Dionysos, and Asia!”—the third deity being known from scenes on mirrors as well, where she appears as *Esia*, once even in combination with Fufluns.¹³³ If this analysis holds water, the enigmatic element *-cvi-* may receive meaningful explanation as the D(-G) sg. in *-l* of the enclitic variant of the relative pro-noun *-cvi-* “who, what”, expressing the meaning “from whom (came forth)” in sum.

It should be noted, however, that our identification of Tins or Tinś with Dionysos collides with the evidence from a semi-bilingual inscription of recent date from a grave in Perugia (TLE 608 = Rix 1991: Pe 1.661), according to which the family name *Tinś* corresponds with Latin *Iuentius*, i.e. a derivative of the divine name *Juppiter* (G *Iovis*), thus indicating the identification of Tins or Tinś with the supreme deity of the Etruscan pantheon, Tin, instead of with his son (Pfiffig 1975: 231; Beekes & van der Meer 1991: 29). Facing this evidence, it should be realized that, at such a late date in the history of the Etruscan civilization, mistaken identifications are not unparalleled. One could think in this connection of the fact that the name of the female deity *Aisera-* (= Phoenician *Asherah*) as attested for the text on the Magliano disc considering the gloss TLE 803 at a later date is reinterpreted as a word for “god” in general, and subsequently by the Etruscologists even as a plural of that same word. Yet another argument against our identification of Tins or Tinś with Dionysos might be formed by the fact that in that case Dionysos is mentioned in two distinct ways on the Piacenza bronze liver (TLE 719 = Rix 1991: Pa 4.2), namely as *Tins* (3x) and as *Fuflu(n)s* (2x). But reference to a deity or deities with more than one cult name is a very common feature, compare for example the identification of the Kabeiroi with the Dioskouroi or Penates, or the fact that *Astre-* “Astarte” appears as recipient deity in the longer Etruscan version of the text on the Pyrgi gold tablets, whereas in the shorter one this

¹³³ Van der Meer 1987: 55, nos. 16-17. The given interpretation of the inscription on the altar stone improves the one offered in Woudhuizen 1992a: 107, but note that the correspondence of the element *s* to the Lycian conjunction *se* “and” and of *Asi-* to Lydian *Asi-il* (both D(-G) sg. in *-l*) as given in the dictionary part, s.v., still applies.

position is taken by *Etana*- “Athena”.¹³⁴ On balance, then, I believe that the evidence in favor of our identification of Tins or Tins as Dionysos outweighs that in favor of its identification as a declined form of Tin.

The cult of Dionysos was very popular in Etruria. In pictorial evidence of offering scenes, the men are dressed out like Satyrs and the women like Maenads, *i.e.* as followers of Dionysos (Woudhuizen 1998: 69-70; 75; figs. 7, 9, 10 and 12; cf. our Figs. 26-29 in the present monograph). In order to curb the negative effects of the orgies in honor of Dionysos on the norms and values of society—the situation being especially critical in the region of Campania and southern Italy—the Roman senate felt forced to take measures and edicted the *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* in 186 BC. Of special interest to our purpose, however, is, given the identification of Tins or Tins as Dionysos, the answer to the question: what do the Etruscan texts tell us about his cult?

The first text which is of relevance to this question, is the so-called *Liber linteus* (TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL) of recent date. Here Tins turns up in the recurrent combination *Tinsī Tiuri-m* “for Dionysos and the sun-god”, with *Tiuri* (D sg. in *-i*) originating from Luwian hieroglyphic *Tiwata*- “sun-god”, of which the second dental in the Early Iron Age became liable to rhotacism, hence *Tiwara*-.¹³⁵ This combination of Dionysos with the sun-god is reflected in the indication of the magistracy *maru Paḡaṡuras Caṡs-c* “priest of the Bakkhic-brotherhood and Cautha” from a funeral inscription from Tuscan (TLE 190 = Rix 1991: AT 1.32), if only we realize that Cautha is yet another form of address of the sun-god (Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.). Now, comparative evidence for the combination of Dionysos with the sun-god is forthcoming from Thracian, which civilization extended into the north-Aegean region—the homeland of the Tyrsenian ancestors of the Etruscans.¹³⁶ As the foremost specialist in the field, the late Alexander Fol, explains that in Thrace Apollo and Dionysos

¹³⁴ Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 158; 165; 175; Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v.; Woudhuizen 1998: 170. Note that *uni-* in this same text is not a proper name, but the form of address “lady”.

¹³⁵ TLE 1 = Rix 1991: LL II, 6, etc.; Woudhuizen 1992a, s.v. *tiuras*; Woudhuizen 1998, s.v.

¹³⁶ Note in this connection that Dionysos is already associated with the Tyrsenians, presumably when still in their Aegean homeland, in the Homeric Hymn to Dionysos, see Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (Loeb edition, 1977) 429-433. For a discussion of the problem of Etruscan origins, see Woudhuizen 2006a, section 10, or chapter 1 above.

were the same god, “The “mystery” of the faith was for the Sun to be called Apollo when in the upper hemisphere, i.e. during the day, and Dionysos when it is in the lower hemisphere, i.e. during the night.” (Fol 1998: 82). As it seems, then, the Etruscans shared this belief with the Thracians, who, as we will see below, shared it with the Greeks.

Yet another text with information on the cult of Dionysos is the Magliano disc (TLE 359 = Rix 1991: AV 4.1, c. 470 BC). Here, Tins is staged as the third deity of the divine triad on the back side of the discus, further consisting of Calu and Thanr, to which the preceding fourth section is dedicated. As both these latter gods by means of the form *tiuras* (D dual) are addressed as sun-gods, it lies at hand to identify Calu as a variant cult name of the sun-god Cautha as recorded for the first section of the text on the A side of the discus, reserved for his infernal aspect. Furthermore, it deserves our attention in this connection that the specification of Thanr as a sun-goddess ties in with Hubert Petersmann’s (1986) identification of the Greek equivalent of Thanr, Persephone, as the sun-maiden on account of the fact that the first element of her name, *perse-*, consists of an earlier reflex (cf. Linear B *pe-re-swa*) of the same root from which Greek *ἥρρα* “sun” originates. If we further realize that, as shown by Michael Janda (2000), the Eleusinian mysteries were focussed on the yearly birth of Persephone’s child, who can be positively identified as Dionysos, and that this child was a personification of fire in like manner as in Indic religion the child of the sun-maiden, *Uṣas*, is none other than *Agnis* “Fire”, it stands to reason to consider Tins in the fifth and final section of the text as a form of address of the vegetation god Maris of the third section of the text on the A side of the discus in his infernal aspect. At any rate, it seems clear from the text on the discus (= a solar symbol [sic!]) of Magliano that Tins is the son of the sun-god, which explains his association with the latter in the text of the *Liber linteus* and the indication of a magistracy in the funeral inscription referred to above, and that of his symbol the phallos with the sun as attested for a lid from an ash container from Assissi (see Fig. 34). In its entirety, the final section of the text on the discus runs as follows: *Tins* “for Dionysos”, *lursθ* “a lustrum”, *tev<i> ilace huvi* “or, (if) he has favored you <pl.>”, *θun lursθ* “a second lustrum”, *sal afrs naces* “the first during the latter half of April”.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Woudhuizen 1992b: 195 ff., esp. 225; Woudhuizen 1998: 156-157; see chapter 12 above.

The last text to be treated here is that of the Capua tile (TLE 2 = Rix 1991: TC), dating from about the same period as the Magliano disc. As we have already seen, the divine name Dionysos still occurs in this text in unsyncopated form *Tinunus* (D(-G) sg. in -s) and, in adjectival derivation, *Tinusna-*, which tallies with my suggestion that the phenomenon of syncope started in the north of Etruria and reached the south only at a later time (Woudhuizen 1992a: 72; Woudhuizen 1998: 20). The section dedicated to Dionysos in combination with Sethums is the fifth one, which runs as follows (Woudhuizen 1998: 81-83; see preceding chapter 13):

Capua tile

V, 1	<i>parθumi ilu-cve</i> <i>ísveitule</i> <i>Tinunus Seθumsal-c</i> <i>ilucu</i> <i>perpri cipen tartiria</i>	“When you shall hold a feast in July, one shall hold a feast in honor of Dionysos and Septimus on the day of the opening ceremonies: a τριττός to be consecrated (by) the priest.”
V, 1 ¹	<i>va-ci fulinuśn[es a]v[θ]</i>	“And he will bring the ithyphallic (statues) of these (two gods).”
V, 2	<i>etul ana Tinusnal ilucu</i>	“On the idus one shall hold a feast below the (statue) of Dionysos.”
V, 2 ¹	<i>ituna fulinuśnai θenunt</i> <i>eθ U[ne]</i>	“They will hold this (feast) of the ithyphallic (statues) in the presence of U[ni].”

The word to be explained in this section is *fulinuśnes* (A(m/f) pl. in -es), which also appears with yet another ending as *fulinuśnai* (G pl. in -ai). The solution of this riddle might be provided by information on the cult of the Kabeiroi of Samothrace. On this subject, Bengt Hemberg (1950: 106) informs us as follows:

“In dieser Hinsicht belehrend sind auch die im Anaktoron gefundenen Gegenstände, die man wahrscheinlich als *cunni* und Phalloi aufzufassen hat. Auf phallische Riten im Adyton könnten auch die beiden vor den Türen stehenden ithyphallischen Figuren deuten. Und man fragt sich, ob nicht auch die in der Sakristei gefundene eherne Kiste Phalloi erhalten hat.”

The suggestion that the root of our enigmatic word *fulinuśn-* shows evidence of the Greek φαλλός characterized by an *a/u*-change may perhaps receive further emphasis from the next citation:¹³⁸

“Die Kabiren treten uns in dem Aition des Nikolaos als zwei Jünglinge mit den fremd klingenden Namen Tottes und Onnes entgegen. Aus Phrygien kommen sie und tragen eine kleine Kiste, die dem bedrängten Assessos [near Miletos] Rettung bringt. Der Inhalt dieser Kiste, die wahrscheinlich in dem Kult eine besondere Rolle spielte, kann man erraten. Schon Kern hat auf die auf den Kabiren-kult in Thessalonike bezügliche Erzählung hingewiesen. Diese lässt uns ausdrücklich wissen, dass zwei Kabiren den Phallos des Dionysos in einer Kiste nach Tyrrienien [= Etruria] tragen.”¹³⁹

As a variant of the latter myth, Saon and Aeneas are said to have brought the Penates (= Kabeiroi) from Samothrace to Italy (Hemberg 1950: 294). In this connection it is relevant to note that the cult of Aeneas is not confined to Latium, but also attested for south Etruria, as not only 5th century BC statuettes of Aeneas with his father on his shoulder have been found in a sanctuary at Veii (Galinsky 1969: 125; 133; Fig. 111), but also an Etruscan scarab of the late 6th century BC shows Aeneas carrying Ankhises, “who in turn solemnly holds up the *cista mystica* containing the sacred cult objects”,¹⁴⁰ presumably, as we have seen, *phalloi* (cf. Fig. 35).¹⁴¹

If we are right in our assumption that *fulinuśn-* is based on a reflex of Greek φαλλός, it may reasonably be argued that we are in fact dealing with a word of similar formation as *Tinusnal* (D(-G) sg. of a derivative in *-n(a)-* of the GN *Tinus-* “Dionysos”) bearing reference to the statue of Dionysos, from which it would follow that

¹³⁸ For further correspondences in vocabulary between Etruscan and Greek, see Woudhuizen 2006a, appendix II or chapter 19 below.

¹³⁹ Hemberg 1950: 139; cf. Pfiffig 1975: 293 “Nach Clemens v. Alexandrien (*Protrept.* II, 19, 1) hätten zwei Korybanten oder Kabiren, Söhne des Großen Mutter, den Mysterienkorb, der den Phallos des von den Titanen getöteten Dionysos enthielt, bis zu den Etruskern gebracht”.

¹⁴⁰ Galinsky 1969: 60; on the Aeneas saga in general, see Woudhuizen 2006a, section 11 or chapter 3 above.

¹⁴¹ It is interesting to note in this connection, that, due to its cultic significance, the phallos often crowns funeral monuments in Etruria—a custom it shares with western Phrygia and the region of Smyrna in Asia Minor, see Pfiffig 1975: 195 ff. (esp. 198) and cf. Hemberg 1950: 130.

the entire formation refers to ithyphallic statues or so-called *Hermai* (cf. Fig. 36) as attested *in corpore*, as we have just seen, for the sanctuary of the Kabeiroi at Samothrace, and referred to in the literary sources by, for example, Herodotos, *Histories* II, 51 and Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War* VI 27-8. If so, the Etruscan GN *Seθums* is likely to be identified with Greek *Hermēs*.

Now, the scholia to Apollonios Rhodios, *Argonautica* 1, 197 and Lykophron, *Alexandra* 162 inform us about the Kabeiroi of Samothrace that according to the Tyrrhenians Kadmilos or Kasmilos is identical with Hermes. Furthermore, it is related by Myrsilos of Lesbos F 8 that the Kabeiroi of Samothrace are considered Tyrrhenian gods. If we combine this information with that of the given section of the Etruscan text on the Capua tile, in which, as we have seen, Tinunus or Dionysos is closely associated with Sethums alias Hermes, it may reasonably be argued that these two gods formed a *dvandva*, commonly referred to as Kabeiroi or Dioskouroi or, in Etruscan terms, *Tinas cliniaras* “the sons of Tin [D dual]” (TLE 156 = Rix 1991: Ta 3.2, c. 500-450 BC), or, in Roman terms, the Penates, which are represented in sculptural art by ithyphallic statues on either side of the door to the *adyton* as this happened to be the case with the sanctuary at Samothrace. The apparent inconsistency with the tradition by Clemens of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* II, 19, 1, referred to in note 139 above, according to which the Kabeiroi have brought the phallos of the deceased Dionysos to the Etruscans, may perhaps be overcome by pointing to the fact that Dionysos is revered in the mysteries, as we have observed in connection with the text on the Magliano disc, in form of his *celestial as well as infernal aspect* and hence may appear in myth by means of *two different personifications*.

Whatever the extent of the latter suggestion, it seems that with the help of the Etruscan texts themselves we have been able to dig into the heart and core of the Etruscan Dionysos cult.

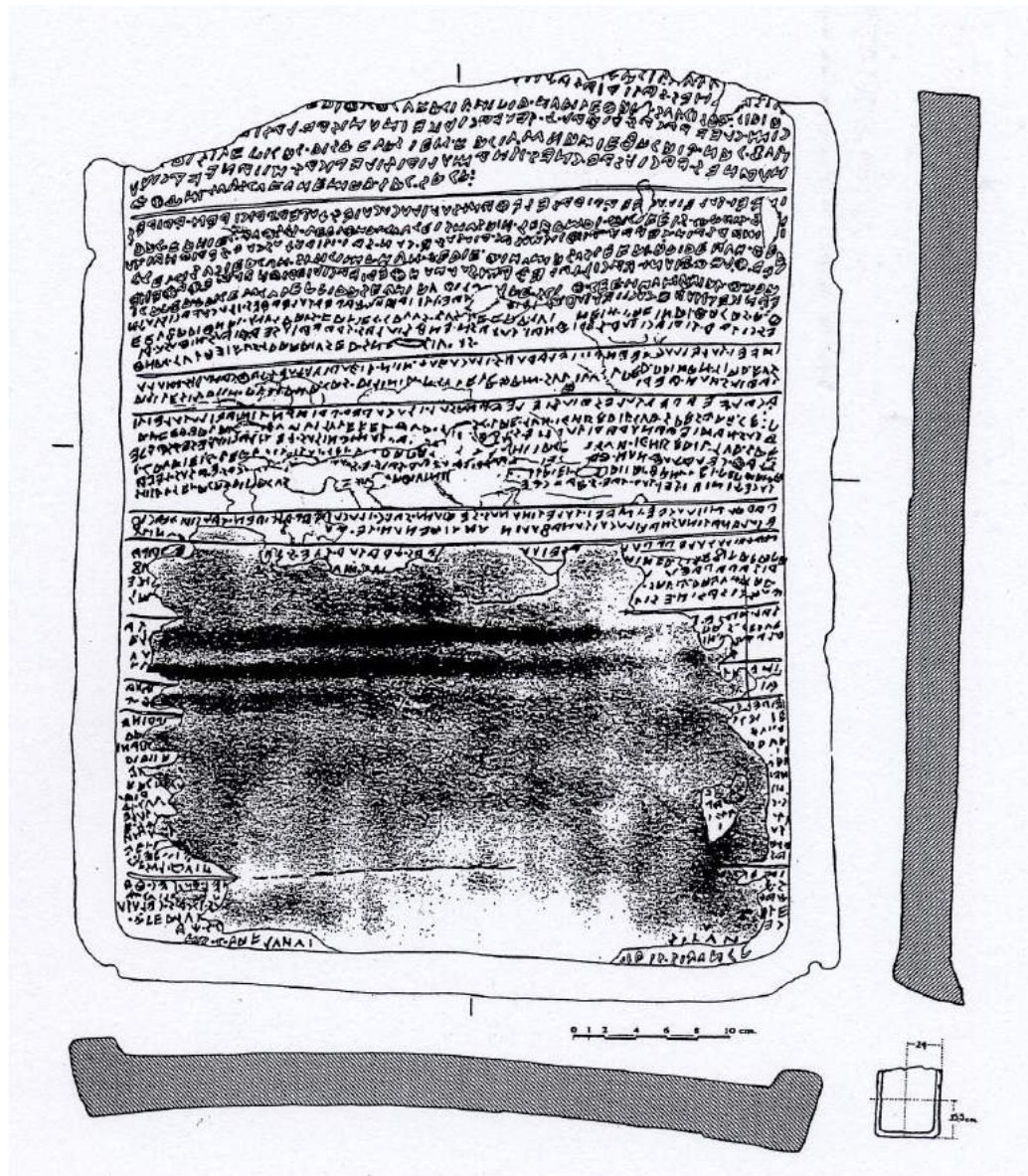
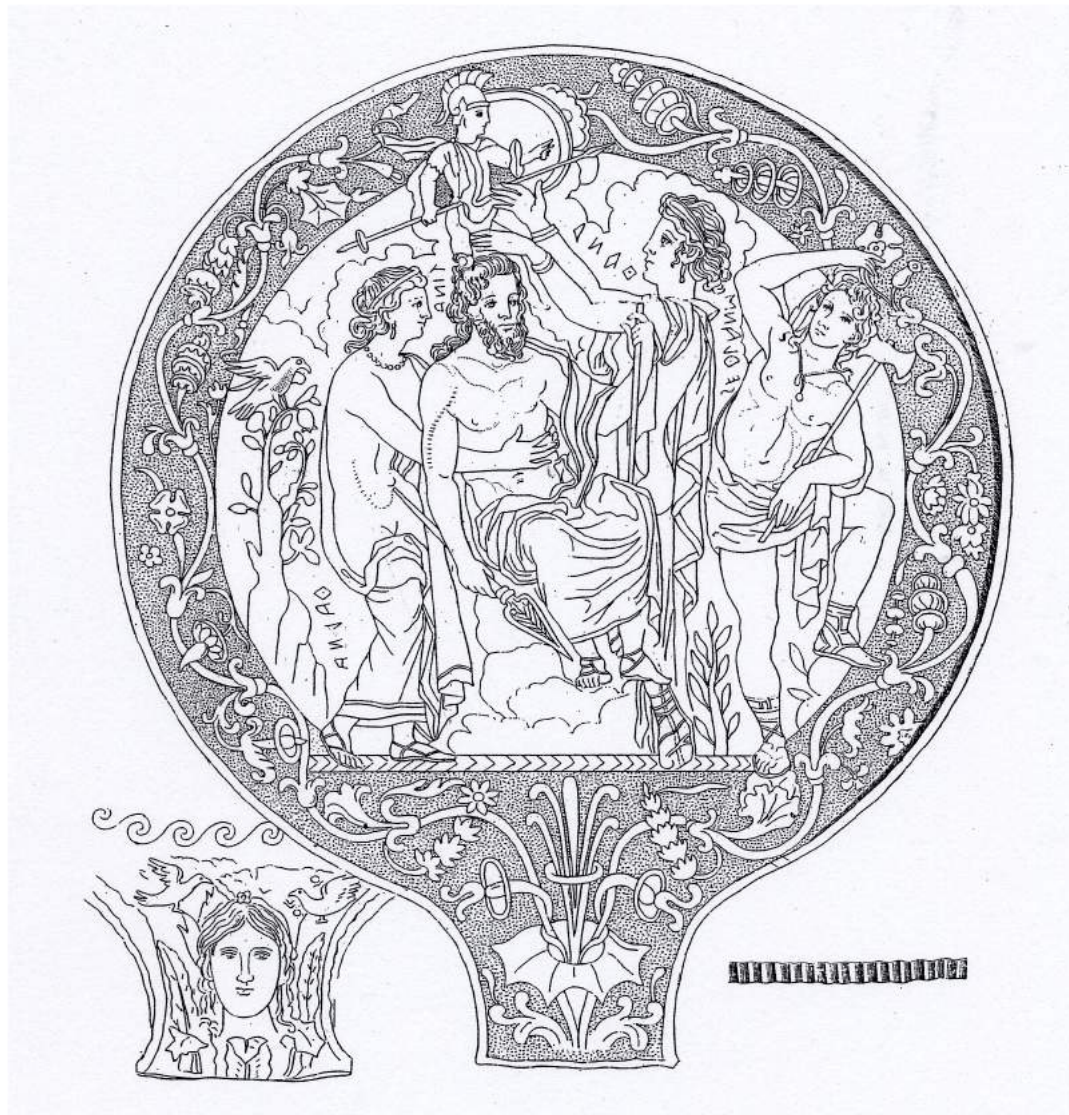


Fig. 21. Drawing of the Capua tile
(from Cristofani 1995).

archaic	new	
		/f/
		/χ/
		/m/

Fig. 22. Development of the signs for [f], [χ], and [m] in local Campanian inscriptions from the late 6th to early 5th century BC (from Woudhuizen 1998: Fig. 2).



(a)

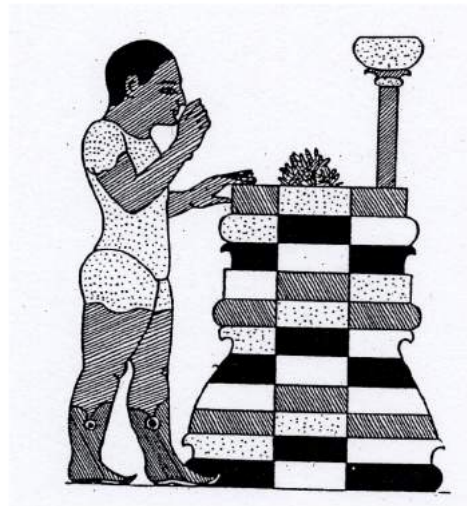
Fig. 23. Mirror scenes showing the birth of Minerva; (a) mirror from Castiglion Fiorentino (from Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES* LXVI); (b) mirror of uncertain origin (from Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES* CCLXXXIV).



(b)

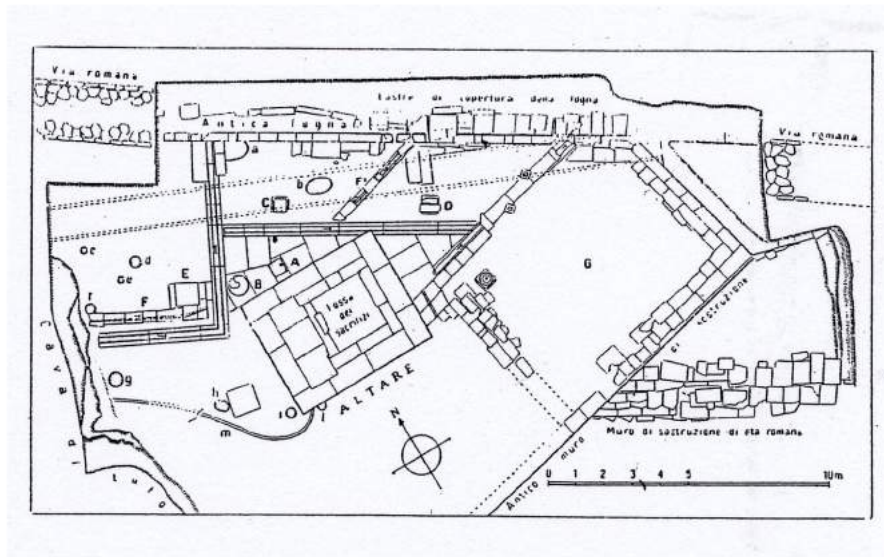


(a)

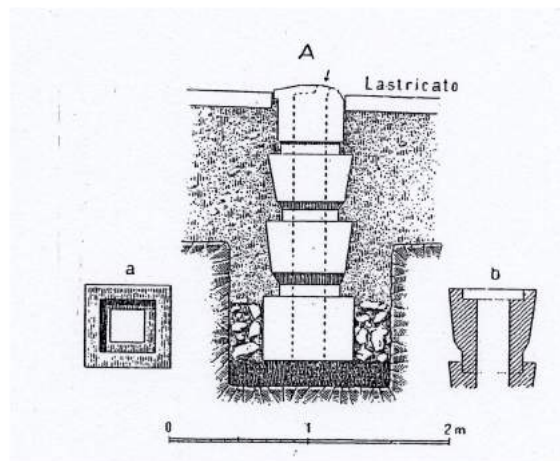


(b)

Fig. 24. Etruscan representations of fire altars:
(a) with image of goddess on top of it;
(b) with *thymiaterion* on top of it
(from Pfiffig 1975: 72, Abb. 18-19).



(a)



(b)

Fig. 25. Raised altar with drain for blood offerings behind it of the Portonaccio temple at Veii: (a) general plan of the altar site east of the temple; (b) section of the drain behind the raised fire altar (from Stefani 1953: Fig. 20).



(a)



(b)

Fig. 26. Etruscan offering scenes showing priest in the act of making a libation at the moment the victim is killed by servants dressed out like a Satyr: (a) black figured *amphora*, early 5th century BC (from Cristofani 1995: Tav. XIXa); (b) mirror from Praeneste, early 5th century BC (from Mayer-Prokop 1967: Taf. 17, 2).



(a)

Fig. 27. Mirror scenes with representations of *senaθ*:
 (a) mirror from Tuder in Umbria (from Bendinelli 1914: Tav. III);
 (b) mirror of uncertain origin (from Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES* CXI).



(b)

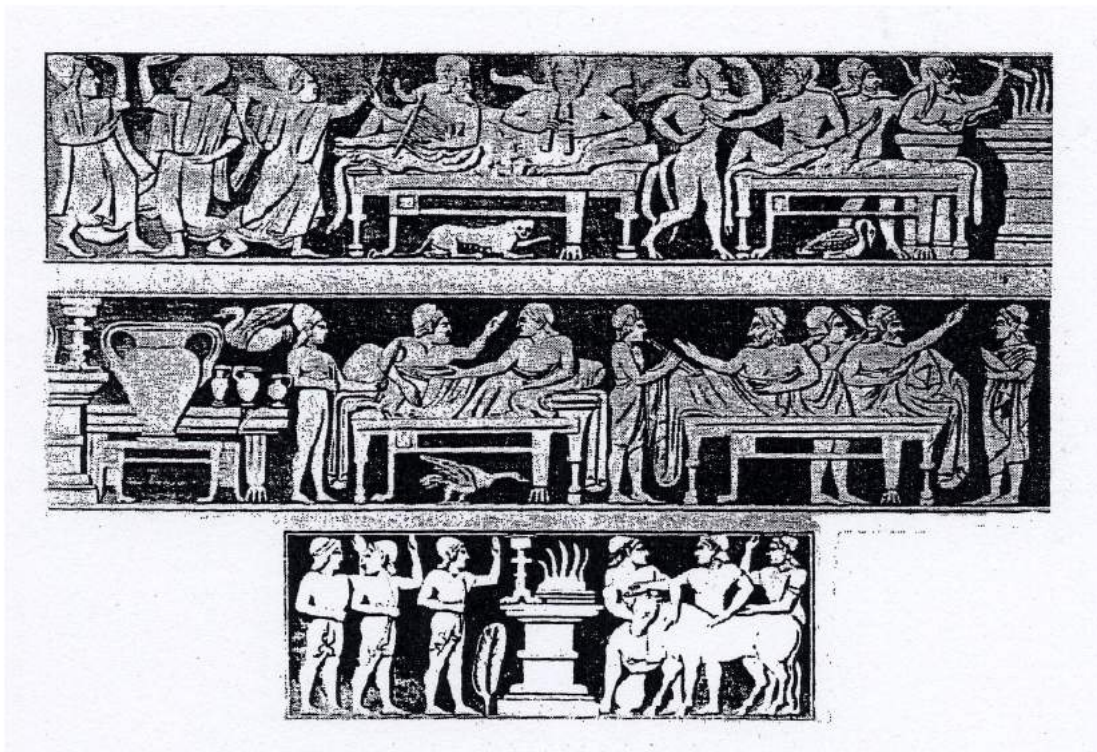
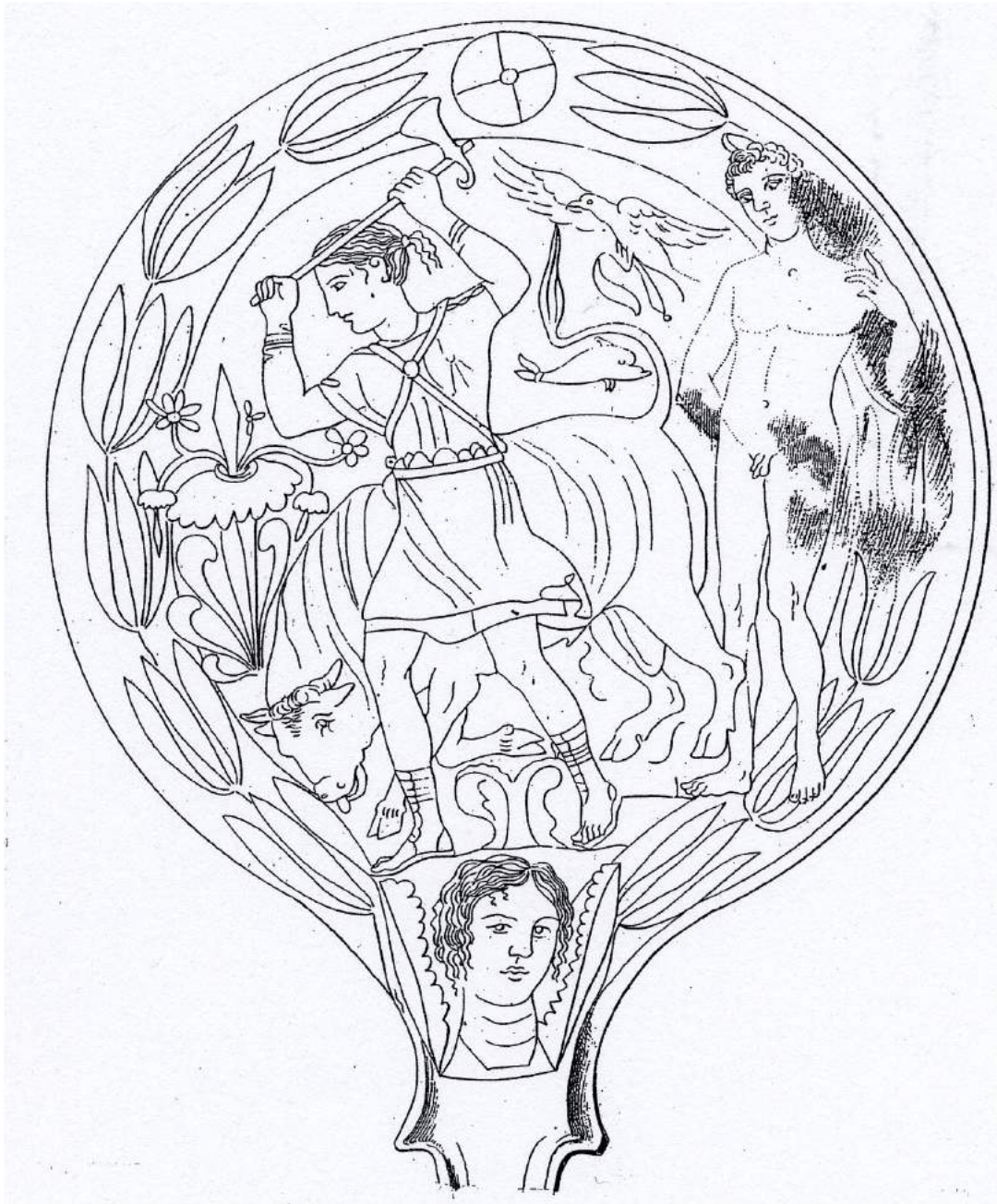


Fig. 28. Etruscan offering scene with dancing Maenads and servants dressed out like Satyrs in a relief from Chiusi, c. 500-475 BC (from Briguet 1972: 848, Fig. 1).



(a)

Fig. 29. Mirror scenes with representations of Maenads:
(a) Maenad dancing with Satyr (from Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte
ES CI); (b) Maenad slaughtering a bull (from Gerhard, Klügmann &
Körte *ES XCI*).



(b)

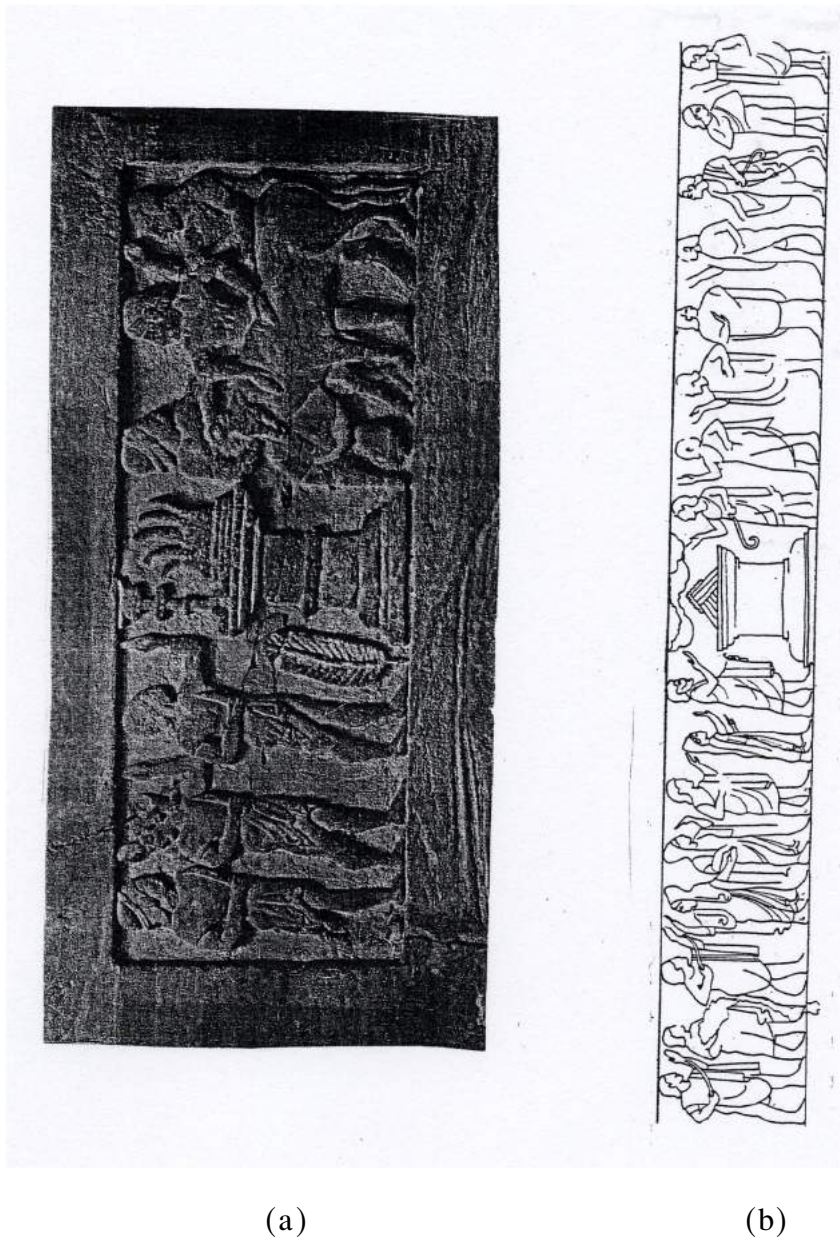


Fig. 30. Etruscan reliefs with scenes of offering: (a) executed by laymen, relief from Chiusi, c. 500-475 BC (from Jannot 1984: Fig. 105); (b) executed by the priest assisted by a girl, relief from Perugia, c. 500-475 BC (from Jannot 1984: Fig. 520).

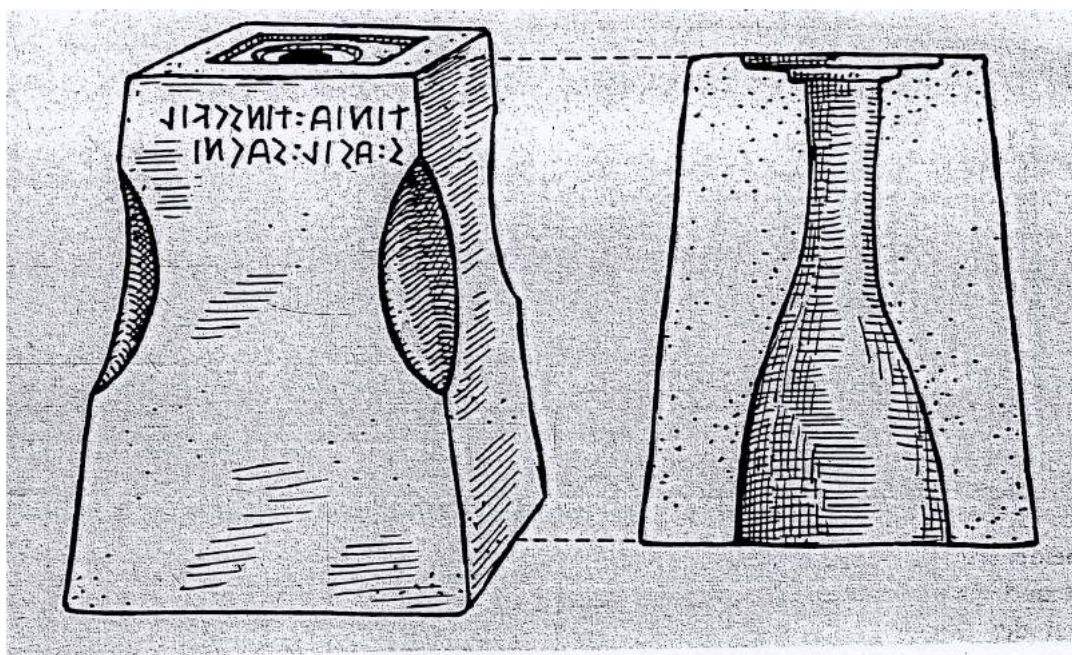


Fig. 31. Altar stone with drain for libation offerings from Volsinii
(from Pfiffig 1975: 77, Abb. 25).



Fig. 32. Mirror with the scene of the birth of Dionysos
(from Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES* LXXXII).

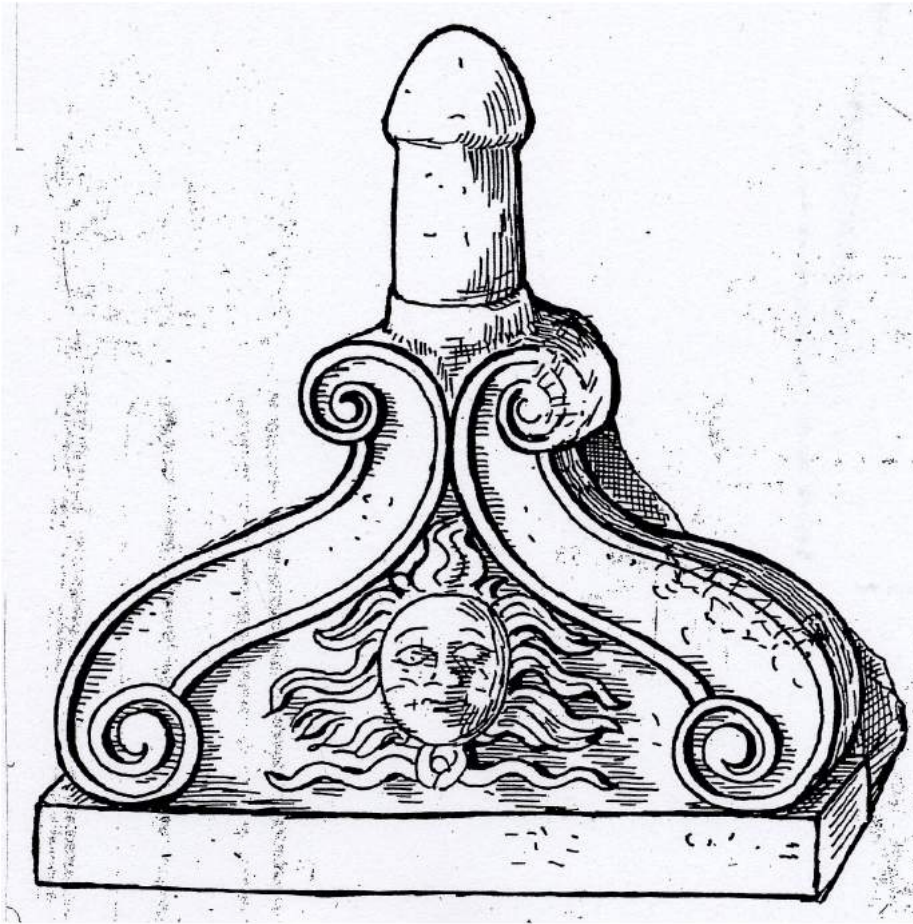


Fig. 34. Lid of an ash container from Assissi
(from Pfiffig 1975: 200, Abb. 90).



Fig. 35. *Amphora* with the depiction of *phalloi* in a *cista*
(from *Ars Erotica* [1985]: 35).

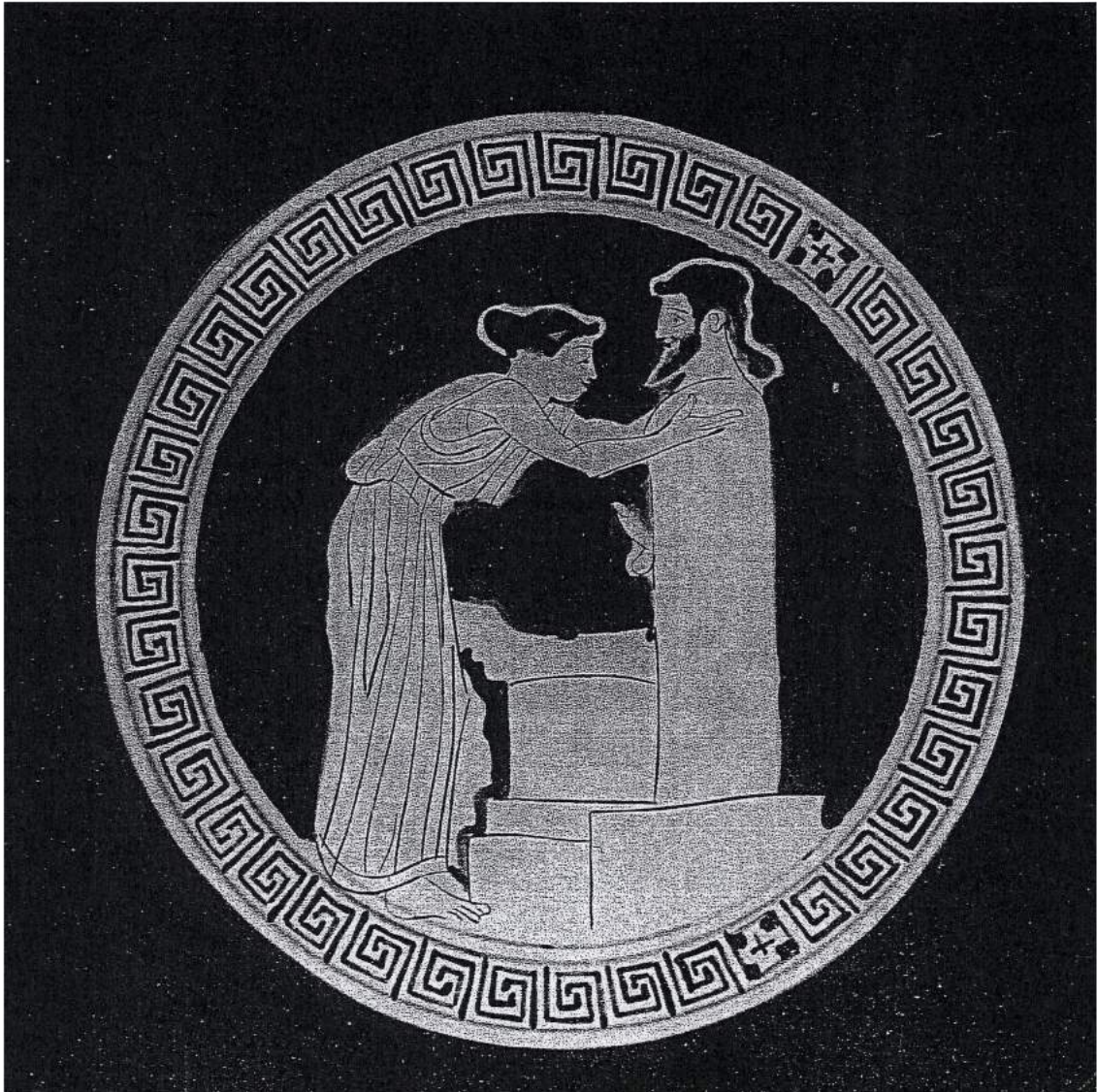


Fig. 36. Depiction of a cultic *Herma* on an Attic cup
(from *Ars Erotica* [1985]: 34).

PART IV
TEXTS OF RECENT DATE

14. THE *LIBER LINTEUS*

1. INTRODUCTION

The *Liber linteus* (Pallottino 1968: 15-22 [= TLE 1]; Rix 1991: 1-8 [= LL]) is the longest Etruscan text that has come down to us, but, unfortunately, as a result of the secondary use of its linnen for an Egyptian mummy already during Antiquity, which in turn was acquired during the 19th century AD by the museum of Zagreb, in a fragmentary and disorderly state.

The text of the *Liber linteus* has most recently been treated by Lammert Bouke van der Meer in 2007 and Valentina Belfiore in 2010. In connection with the question of the place of origin and date of the text, van der Meer (2007: 19-23) argues for the region of Perugia in the period of c. 200-150 BC. Belfiore (2010: 49) favors about the same dating. In any case, both authors agree that the calibrated radiocarbon date of 390 BC \pm 45 years is too high (van der Meer 2007: 4; Belfiore 2010: 49, note 4).

As to the place of origin, most revealing is the mention in section VII, line 20 of the form *Velθite*, which is marked by the ethnic suffix *-te-*, expressing the meaning “from the place” (Woudhuizen 2008: 139), and the root *Velθ-* which is also present, be it in assimilated variant, in *Velzna-* “Volsinii” (Woudhuizen 2008: 154). Taking this evidence at face value, it seems likely to infer that the *Liber linteus* has a bearing on the cult of the pan-Etruscan sanctuary at Volsinii near lake Bolsena (cf. Pfiffig 1957: 61 [*clavus annalis* in the temple of Nortia at Volsinii]; 69 [*fanum Voltumnae* in the region of Volsinii]). Such an inference is partly underlined by the fact that in section VI, line 7, mention is made of the form *Velθinal*, which is the D(-G) sg. in *-l* of the family name *Velthina-*. The members of this family were preeminent in politics and society more in general of the region between Volsinii and Perugia from, as far as our sources allow us to determine, the late 6th century BC, the era of Lars Porsenna, up to the time of the *cippus* of Perugia which dates from about the same period as the *Liber linteus* (Roncalli 1985: 80-81; cf. Woudhuizen 2008: 144-161).

As far as the subject matter of the *Liber linteus* is concerned, it is clear that this text is of similar contents as the ones on the discus of Magliano on the one hand and the Capua tile on the other hand and likewise presents us with ritual prescriptions or some sort of liturgical calendar. At any rate, it is possible to distinguish, as noted already by

Francesco Roncalli in 1985, three categories of information which we already came across in our earlier discussion of the texts of the discus of Magliano (Woudhuizen 1992b: 195-231; Woudhuizen 2008: 187-229) and Capua tile (Woudhuizen 1998: 9-98; Woudhuizen 2008: 230-333), namely: (1) temporal indications, especially of days in a month, (2) recipient deities, and (3) indications of offerings.

In connection with the first category, then, we are confronted with the following indications of days in a month, of which the position in a textual unit or *caput* is specified (cf. Pallottino 1937: 212; on the primary numerals, see Woudhuizen 2008: 171-186):

LL	date	translation	position
IV, 14	<i>celi</i>	"in September"	middle
IV, 21	<i>celi</i>	"in September"	near end
V, 10	<i>celi</i>	"in September"	middle
V, 16-7	<i>celi</i>	"in September"	middle
V, 18	<i>acl</i>	"(in) June"	middle
VI, 4	<i>peθereni</i>	"in July"	middle
VI, 9	<i>zaθrumsne</i>	"on the 20th day"	initial
VI, 14	<i>eslem zaθrumiś acale</i>	"on June 19th"	initial
VIII, 1	<i>θucte ciś śariś</i>	"on August 13(th)" ¹	initial
VIII, 3	<i>celi huθiś zaθrumiś</i>	"on September 24(th)"	initial
VIII, 16	<i>acl</i>	"(in) June"	middle
IX, 18	<i>celi</i>	"in September"	middle
IX, [24]	<i>celi</i>	"in September"	middle
IX, f2	<i>ciem cealχuś lauxumneti</i>	"on October 27(th)"	initial
X, 2	<i>peθereni ciem cealχuz</i>	"on July 27(th)"	middle
X, 4	<i>peθereni</i>	"in July"	middle
X, 9	<i>acl</i>	"(in) June"	middle
XI, 1	<i>acalas</i>	"in June"	initial
XI, 1	<i>celi</i>	"in September"	middle
XI, 2	<i>celi</i>	"in September"	middle
XI, 3	<i>celi</i>	"in September"	middle
XI, 8	<i>peθereni eslem zaθrum</i>	"on July 19th"	middle
XI, 12	<i>eslem cealχus</i>	"on the 29th (day)"	initial
XI, 15	<i>huθiś zaθrumiś</i>	"on the 24(th day)"	middle
XI, 17	<i>θunem cialχu[ś]</i>	"on the 28th (day)"	
	<i>eslem cialχuś</i>	"on the 29th (day)"	initial

¹ Van der Meer 2007: 28; 30.

LL	date	translation	position
XII, 10	<i>θunem cialχus</i>	“on the 28th (day)”	middle

Like it is the case in the Capua text, the indications of the days in a month tend to be positioned at the start of a section. However, as clearly deducible from the foregoing overview, the enumeration of the month names appears to be not straightforwardly linear, but wavering between going forwards and backwards. This observation is even true if we focus only on the dates at the heading of a new section, which runs from June (VI, 14) to August (VIII, 1), September (VIII, 3), and October (IX, f2), but then again to June (XI, 1). To this comes that the sequences *peθereni ciem cealχuz* and *peθereni eslem zaθrum* in the middle of the sections X and XI,² respectively, are clearly dates referring back to July after the mention of October. As it seems, then, the liturgical prescriptions are not arranged in a strictly chronological order, but sometimes thematically in the sense that, for example, offerings prescribed for festivities in June may for the sake of brevity be amplified by the mention of highly similar ones for festivities in September. If this is correct, we are, contrary to the opinion of van der Meer (2007: 28-29), not dealing with a calendar in the strict sense, but rather with a liturgical handbook.

Note in this connection that *θucte*, convincingly identified by van der Meer (2007: 28) as the month name August, is also recorded in lenited variant form *θux̄t(i)* for the text of the *tabula Cortonensis*. It occurs here in association with the day name *suθiuametal*, corresponding to, if we allow for the substitution of *tesi-* for *suθi-* to render the meaning “grave”, *tesiametale* “on the day of the burial of the god(dess)” in the longer Etruscan version of the texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets (Woudhuizen 2008: 366; cf. Agostiniani & Nicosia 2000: 38, side A, lines 19-20). Against this backdrop, it deserves our attention that the death of what appears to be rather a god³ than a goddess takes a prominent position in section XI of our text and that the form *teśami*, the D sg. in *-i* of *tesim-* “burial”, also features in this section,

² Note that *peθereni* likely constitutes as a variant of *parθumi* “in July” of the text on the Capua tile characterized by metathesis.

³ In that case none other than the central figure in the Etruscan mystery cult of Eleusinian type, *Tins̄-* “Dionysos” (see further below), in line with Frazer’s (1911: 3) observation: “The body of Dionysos was buried at Delphi beside the golden statue of Apollo, and his tomb bore the inscription, ‘Here lies Dionysos dead, the son of Semele.’”

though it must be admitted that the given undeclined form is mentioned in sections III, VII, and VIII.

Alongside the indications of a day in the month by numerals, also the ones characterized by the element *-tl-* can be found, like in *esvitle* (VIII, 2) and *θumitle* (X, 13), which are of similar type as the day names we are already familiar with from the texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets (*tesiametale*), the Capua tile (*iśveitule*, etc.), and the Magliano disc (*menitla*). It lies at hand to assume that *śacnicla* (V, 22; VI, 8 [underlined!]), which also occurs in declined variant as *śacnicleri* (II, n4; 7; V, 6; 13; VII, 18; VIII, f8; IX, 5; 12; 21) or *sacnicleri* (VIII, 11), presents us with this same type of day name be it in graphic variant characterized by the interchange between [c] and [t] also observable in, for example, the variant *θumicle* occurring in the same line (X, 13) alongside *θumitle*.

Yet another way of indicating the day name may be present in the form of numerals, marked by the morpheme *-n-*, like *zaθrumsne* “on the 20th day” in the list. If this observation holds water, we could add to the aforesaid list *huslna* (III, 4; VIII, 5) and *huslne* (III, 20; VIII, f4) as well as *θunśna* (VI, 13), which are based on the ordinal variant of the cardinal numerals *huθ* or *hut* “four” (in assibilated variant) and *θu(va)-* or *tu-* “two”, respectively. In line with the case of *zaθrumsne*, then, it would follow that *huslne* renders the meaning “on the fourth day”.

As far as endings are concerned, we are confronted in dealing with this category of evidence with the the D sg. in *-i* or *-e*, D(-G) sg. in *-ś*, *-s* or *-z*, D(-G) pl. in *-e* (*dativus temporis*), and Loc. sg. in *-ti*.

With respect to the category of recipient deities, the mention of the following divine names in D sg. in *-e(i)* or *-i* or D(-G) sg. in *-ś* or *-l* (with the exception of some undeclined ones or ones also occurring in abbreviation) is of relevance:

LL	recipient GN
VI, 15; VIII, 7	<i>Caθ, Caveθ</i>
II, n2-3; 6; III, 21-2; IV, 2; V, 4; VIII, 15; [f6-7]; IX, 3; 10-1	<i>Tinśi Tiuri-m</i>
V, 19; VI, 14	<i>Tinś</i>
II, 12; IV, 20; V, 8; 10; 14; 15; 20; IX, 23; XII, 2	<i>Aiser(aś)/Eiser(aś)</i>
II, 12; IV, [8]; V, 7; IX, 14	<i>Farθan</i>
IV, 11-2; V, 9; IX, 16; 17;	<i>Estrei Alφazei</i>

LL	recipient GN
II, 12; V, 8; 10; 14; 20; XII, 2	<i>Šeuś, Šeu-</i>
III, 14 [2x]	<i>Tarc</i>
VIII, 11; [f3]; IX, [s2]; 7; 14; 18; 22; XI, 16	<i>Neθunsl, Neθunśl</i>
XI, 14	<i>Veiveś</i>
V, 19 [2x]; 23; VII, 12; XI, 14; 18	<i>Θesan</i>
VIII, 2	<i>Culś</i>
X, 6	<i>Hamφeś Laeś</i>
VI, 3; XI, f6	<i>Hamφeś Leiveś</i>
X, 5	<i>Siml</i>
X, 8; 10; 15	<i>Velθa, Velθe</i>
X, 19	<i>Pluti</i>
XI, f4	<i>Satrs</i>
XII, 4; 6	<i>Un(i)</i>
XII, 10	<i>Ursmnal</i>

Note furthermore the following derivatives from a divine name, mostly characterized by the Loc. sg. ending in *-ti*:

LL	form based on GN
X, 8; 13; 16; f4	<i>Caθnal, Caθnai,</i> <i>Caθnis/Catnis</i>
XI, f6; XII, 4; 8	<i>Caθra, Caθre, Catrua</i>
VIII, 6	<i>Laiveis</i>
III, 15	<i>Persin</i>
X, 5	<i>Seθumati</i>
XI, 9	<i>Catneti</i>
XII, 10	<i>Unialti</i>
VI, 17	<i>Martiθ</i>
III, 18; IV, 19; VI, 12	<i>Crapśti</i>
VI, 5; XI, f4	<i>Hamφeθi</i>
III, 5; VI, 5	<i>Laeti</i>

Finally, the names of deities can be identified on the basis of their occurrence in association with *flereś*, *flere* or *flerei*, or *fler*, the D or D(-G) sg. or abbreviation of *flere*- “statue”. Note that the meaning of this word is assured thanks to its attestation in an inscription on a bronze statuette of Apollo of unspecified northern provenance (TLE

737 = Rix 1991: OB 3.2) in which the N-A(n) form *flereś* clearly denotes the object itself (see Fig. 5).

LL	<i>flere-</i> + GN
III, 13-4	<i>fler Tarc</i>
VIII, [f3]; IX, [s2]; 7; 14; XI, 16	<i>fler, flere(i) Neθunsl,</i>
VIII, 11; IX, 18; 22	<i>flere Neθunsl</i>
XI, 14	<i>fler Veiveś</i>
VI, 9	<i>fler Hamφisca</i>
VI, 10	<i>Laivisca (...) fler</i>
III, 18; IV, 14-5; 19	<i>flere in Crapśti</i>
IV, 8; VI, 12	<i>flereś (in) Crapśti</i>

Being confronted in this manner with what at first sight may seem a bewildering array of divine names, amounting up to as much as 24 individual names in sum, it seems nonetheless possible to maintain that the cult to which the liturgical text of the *Liber linteus* is dedicated in its main outlines involved basically the same divine triad as recorded for the texts on the discus of Magliano and on the Capua tile. At any rate, we come across the direct mention of the sun-god *Cauθa-* (< PIE **keu-* “to burn, set to fire”) or, as he is also called here, *Velθa-* (like Phrygian *Ouela-* originating from PIE **seh₂wōl-* “sun, eye”, cf. Woudhuizen 2008: 297 [see Fig. 37]), the mother-goddess *Aisera-* (= Phoenician *’ššr* “Asherah”), and the child or youthful *Tins* or *Tinś*, the infernal aspect of *Mariś*, attested here in locative form only, in the text on the discus of Magliano. Furthermore, it stands to reason to assume that with *Farθan*, which is nothing but Greek Παρθένος in Etruscan disguise, reference is made to the sun-maiden or infernal aspect of *Aisera-*, *Θanr-* (under consideration of rhotacism of the second dental, the divine name is identical to Phoenician *Tanit* or *Tinit*), alternatively addressed as *Uni-* (here next to the abbreviated *Un(i)* also referred to in adjectival derivative in the locative) or Ἀθήνη in the text on the Capua tile. Whatever the extent of this, the latter assumption certainly holds good for *Θesan*, who is generally acknowledged to be the Etruscan equivalent of Latin *Aurora* and Greek Ἡώς (Pfiffig 1975: 259-260; depicted with the sun-god *Usil* in the mirror-scene ES no. LXXVI [see Fig. 38]). Similarly, *Estre- Alφaz-* (with ethnic morpheme *-zi-*) or the Alban *Astarte* can also be positively identified as a variant form of address of the sun-maiden, as Phoenician *’štrt* “Astarte” is the daughter of *Asherah*,

and her name can be traced back to the PIE root **h₂stér-* “star”. Against the backdrop of this divine triad in its celestial and infernal aspects, it is interesting to note that *Tins* or *Tins̑*, corresponding to the Eleusinian Διόνυσος, who in his infernal aspect is none other than Πλούτων and as such occurs in our text in form of *Plut-*, is paired as much as 9 times with *Tiur-* “sun-god” (< PIE **Dyēw-*), who in turn is none other than *Cauθa-* or *Velθa-*, his father. And that *Farθan*, corresponding to Eleusinian Περσεφώνη (< Linear B *pe-re-swa*), whose name occurs in our text in derived form only as *Persin*, is likewise paired with her mother *Aisera-*, corresponding to Eleusinian Δημήτηρ, whereas in V, 19-20 we are confronted with the coupling of *Θesan* with on the one hand *Tins̑*, her lover, and on the other hand *Aisera-*, her mother. This latter in turn is directly associated here with, as elsewhere in the text (II, 12; V, 8; 10; 14; XII, 2), her husband *Šeu-*, which confronts us with Greek Ζεύς in Etruscan transcription (note in this connection that it is likely that the sun-god and the sky-god have merged, in any case it is clear that the latter has taken the form of address **Dyēws* from the former). Finally, the divine names *Hamφe-* and *Lae-* or *Laiv-* or *Leiv-*, which in all their three attestations (1) as mere di-vine names, (2) in form of a locality named after them, and (3) in connection with their statues, are directly associated with each other, also fit into the framework of the Etruscan mystery cult. These have been convincingly identified by Sophus Bugge (1909: 209-216), namely, as the Theban heroes Ἀμφίων and Λαΐος, a couple alternatively known as Ἀμφίων and Ζήθος, who in turn in the fragmentarily preserved tragedy *Antiope* of Euripides are referred to as λευκὸν πῶλον τῷ Διὶ (line 98), and hence may safely be identified as the Theban equivalent of the Διόσκουροι, the divine twin and Eleusinian guardians of the sun-maiden (cf. *ES* no. 159 depicting the sun-god in his chariot driven by winged horses and the sun-maiden *Thesan* [with breasts and vulva indicated!, *pace* Pfiffig 1975: 260] in the sun-boat together with her two companions, which part of the scene, for the sake of clarity, is associated with the legend *ca Θesan* “this (is) Thesan” [see Fig. 39]). Note in this connection that the Etruscan mystery cult in the ancient literary sources is ultimately traced back to the Theban one through the intermediary of Samothrace (cf. Woudhuizen 2008: 307-314). All in all, then, the mention of as much as 14 deity names can be meaningfully explained within the basic framework of the Etruscan mystery cult—in which *Tins̑* “Dionysos” takes the most prominent role with 11 individual mentions in sum.

Apart from this typical Etruscan mystery triad and their associates, however, there are also staged some Latin deities, namely *Neθuns*, which is nothing but Latin *Neptunus* in Etruscan disguise, who, apart from the prominent role of his statue, with 8 mentions in sum is almost as important as the combination of *Tinś-* with the sun-god and of *Aisera-* with both 9 mentions in sum, and *Veive-*, the Etruscan reflex of Italic *Veiovis* or the young Jupiter in Roman terms. In the mirror scenes, *Neθuns* is depicted as the elderly god with a beard and equipped with a trident or bolt of lightning on either side of the long handle. *Veiovis*, on the other hand, is identified as the youthful Jupiter or, in his infernal aspect, Plouto (Pfiffig 1975: 236-238), whom we have already seen to be identical with Dionysos in the Eleusian mysteries. The precise function of the only once mentioned *Urmsna-*, whose antecedents are unclear, within the Etruscan solar mystery cult, remains to be determined.

Of the derivative forms based on a divine name, *Caθnis* or *Catnis* reminds us of *cuveis Caθnis* “the oxen of Cautha (A(m/f) pl.)” from the text on the Capua tile, whereas, on the analogy of *Unialθ(i)* “at the temple of Uni”, *Unialti*, *Catneti*, *Martiθ*, and *Seθumati* are likely to be taken for similar indications of locality dedicated to *Uni-*, *Cauθa-*, *Maris*, and *Seθums*, respectively. The latter of these—apart from the fact that his name corresponds to Latin *Septimus*—is associated with *Tinu(nu)s* “Dionysos” in the text of the Capua tile and we see reason to identify with Greek Ἑρμῆς (Woudhuizen 2008: 297; 314). Within this category of evidence we also come across the Theban *dvandva* Amphion and Laios, as well as yet another Italic deity name if we realize that the root *Crap-* is plausibly identified as a reflex of Umbrian *Grabouie*, *Crabouie* or *Krapuvi* “Grabovius”, the epithet of the gods Jupiter, Mars, and Vofionus derived from a word for “oak” (cf. Greek γρᾱβος).⁴ Of the third and last category of divine names associated with the word *flereś* “statue”, we still have to mention *Tarc*, which name corresponds to the one of the hero *Tarkōn* of Greek literary tradition and ultimately originates from that of the Luwian storm-god and equivalent of Greek Zeus, *Tarḫunt-*. It is possible that there are a few more instances of recipient deities in the *Liber linteus* or divine names more in general, like *Siml-* of X, 5, which reminds one of Dionysos’ mother, Σεμέλη, *Satr-*, which recalls Greek Σάτυρος, an indication of ithyphallic followers of Dionysos (accordingly our total of deity names which receive meaningful ex-

⁴ Pfiffig 1975: 250-251; cf. Poultney 1959, index s.v.

planation within the frame of the Etruscan mystery cult raises from 14 to 18), and *Culś-*, the root of which is also encountered in Hittite *Gulšeš*, divinities of fate, but, if so, not many and as such these would not alter the overall picture as sketched above in a fundamental way. Note, finally, that not only the gods or their images may be recipients of offerings, but also that one may attempt to insure the success of the cult-festival by sacrifices in advance, hence the occurrence of *cilθś* or *cilθl* in D(-G) sg. in *-ś* or *-l* in the context of offerings, etc.

The third category of indications of offerings is represented by the following forms:

LL	indication of offering
II, 10; 13; IV, [7]; 9; <13>; IX, <6>; X, 16; XI, <4>	<i>tura, tur<a></i>
VI, 3	<i>turi</i>
VI, 15	<i>ture</i>
II, 11; IX, 1; 8; 14; 16	<i>zuśle, zuśleve, zusleve</i>
III, 3; VIII, 7	<i>zuśleva</i>
IV, 7; 11	<i>zuśleveś</i>
III, 17; VII, 3; 4; 5; VIII, [f2]	<i>male</i>
III, 2; 3; VIII, 5; 9; X, 21	<i>mula</i>
V, 1; XI, 10	<i>vin, vinu</i>
III, 18; 20; IV, 9; <14>; 22; VIII, 5; 8; f4 IX, 7; 22; f1; X, f1; XI, 2; 4	<i>vinum, vin<u>m</i>
III, 19; IV, 15; V, 11; 20; VIII, 12; f3; IX, [s2]; 7; 19	<i>mლაჲ</i>
V, 22	<i>mლაჲe</i>
V, 22	<i>luri</i>
VI, <15>	<i>luθ<i></i>
VI, 15	<i>luθti</i>
VI, 10	<i>lustraś</i>
III, 13; VI, 16; VII, 11; XII, 4	<i>ჲim</i>
X, 11; XI, f3	<i>ჲimθ</i>
VII, 11; 16	<i>clevana</i>
X, 21	<i>halჲza</i>
X, f2	<i>halჲze</i>
X, 21; f1; XI, 2	<i>santi, śantiś</i>
II, n5; IV, 10; 14; 22; V, 7; 9; 10; 16; IX, 13; 18; [24]; XI, 1	<i>suθ</i>

Of these indications of offerings, *χimθ* “hecatomb”, *lursθ* “lustrum”, *lur-* “game”, and *mul-* “thank-offering” are paralleled for the text on the Magliano disc, in which also *mλαχ* “beautiful” is used as an apposition to the last mentioned type of offering. In addition to this, *turza*, the diminutive of *tur-* “donation”, *śanti*, *zusle(va)*, *halχ*, *clevia-*, and *vina-* “wine” are recorded for the text on the Capua tile. Furthermore, as we have noted in the preceding chapter, the root of *zuśle(ve)* or *zuśleva* or *zuśleveś* has received meaningful explanation by van der Meer (2007: 69) in line with Greek σῶς and Latin *sus* as “pig”. If we realize that the additional element *-l-*, like in Latin, functions as a diminutive, we arrive at the proper translation of A(m/f) pl. *zuśleveś* and N-A(n) pl. *zuśleva* as “piglets”. Given the fact that the meaning of *santi* and *halχ* eludes us for the lack of comparative data, the only remaining form which needs further clarification is *suθ*, which in form of *śuθi-* or *suθi-* is paralleled for grave inscriptions as an indication of the monument itself (Rix 1991: Cr 5.2) or a part of it destined for the disposition of sacrificial animals (TLE 91 = Rix 1991: Ta 5.5). Note furthermore that a grave gift may be referred to by the derivative *śuθina*. The latter meaning is no doubt the correct one for *suθ*, if we realize that it frequently occurs in the A(m/f) pl. form *sutanaś* (IV, 21; V, 15; IX, [24]).

As far as inflection is concerned, the indications of offerings generally show either the root for A(m/f or n) sg. or A(m/f) pl. in *-i*, *-e* or *-iś*, *-eś*, *-aś* or N-A(n) in *-a*. Note that the indication of offering *lur-* “game” also occurs in prerhotacized variant *luθ-*, which in VI, 15 is paired with a writing variant of *cilθ-* “cult(-festival)” by the enclitic conjunction *-m* “and”, so that we appear to be confronted with the combination *luθ<i> celθi-m* “game<s> and festivals”. In the following, however, we will see that, next to the evidence for the accusative which is only to be expected, we are also confronted here with endings of a different nature. Thus, some of the forms in *-e* eventually will turn out to bear testimony of the D(-G) pl. (*male* and *zuśleve* or *zusleve* in IX, 1; 8; 14) or an ending of verbal nature (*mλαχε*, *ture*), which latter verdict also appears to apply to some instances of *-a* (as in case of *mula* in VIII, 5 and 9). Finally, we will argue that *luθti* is to be analyzed as a Loc. pl. in *-ti*.

In our discussion of the texts on the discus of Magliano and the Capua tile, we have noted that indications of offerings frequently occur in direct association with numerals. This is not so prominent a feature of the text of the *Liber linteus*, though numerals do occur here, like *sal* “first” in VII, 7 and XII, 11, *θu* “2” in X, f3, *θun* “second” in

IV, 17 (actually used for “second time, twice”), *θunś* “twice” in VI, 13 (actually not a numeral adverb in *-ś*, but D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the ordinal numeral “for both”), and *ciz* “thrice” in VII, 2; 3; 4; 5; 6, and sometimes even in connection with indications of offerings, like *mac* “five” being associated with *zuśleva* “piglets” in III, 3-4 and VIII, 7. With a view to this latter category of evidence, then, it may safely be deduced from the sequence *ci halχza θu eśi-c zal mula santi-c* in X, 21 that the entry *eśi* should be added to our list of indications of offerings, and as such among the ones characterized by the A(m/f) pl. ending in *-i*, even though it goes unparalleled in the texts on the Magliano disc and the Capua tile.

Other categories with which we are already familiar might be added. Thus, Francesco Roncalli (1985: 51) draws our attention to vase names also featuring in possession-formulae on pottery vessels, like *θapna* (X, 22), diminutive *θapnza* (X, 22; note that these two forms are repeated in X, f1), corresponding to *θapna* in TLE 375 = Rix 1991: Po 2.21 and TLE 646 = Rix 1991: Co 3.1 or *θafna* as in TLE 341 = Rix 1991: AV 2.5 and TLE 488 = Rix 1991: Cl 2.26, *spanza* “little plate” (I, 2) paralleled for *spanti* “plate” in TLE 869 = Rix 1991: Cr 2.1, and *pruxś* (IV, 22) (as we will see not a vase but a verbal form) recalling *pruxum* as originating from Greek πρόχους in TLE 5 = Rix 1991: Cm 2.32 and TLE 62 = Rix 1991: Cr 2.27.

In the texts on the discus of Magliano and the Capua tile, we have observed a distinction between ritual acts executed by a professional priest, the *cepen*, on the one hand, and the citizens, sometimes differentiated into common people and dignitaries, on the other hand. This same distinction can be traced in the text of the *Liber linteus*, where a professional priest, the *cepen* “priest” (VII, 9; 15; 21; X, 3; 17; 18; XI, 5) or *cepen tutin* “public priest” (VII, 8), or a religious specialist addressed as *truθ-* or *trut-* “druid” (V, 17; 18; XI, 2; 6), also turns up alongside common civilians or town officials (*spureri* Abl.-Instr. pl. in *-ri* of *spur(a)-* “town”) and members of the assembly (*meθlumeri* Abl.-Instr. pl. in *-ri* of *meθlum-* “member of the assembly”).

Unfortunately, the exact nature of the assembly remains unclear, but the political spectrum of the town, *in casu* Volsinii, seems to have entailed the following entities: (1) *ceχα* “senate”, (2) *eθri* “commons”, and (3) *śpural meθlumeś* “members of the town’s assembly”. The possibility cannot be dismissed out of hand, however, that

meθ- “league, assembly”, which also occurs in form of *meχ-*,⁵ alongside to the local assembly, also bears reference to the confederate Etruscan league (cf. TLE 87 = Rix 1991: Ta 7.59: *zilaθ amce meχl Rasnal* “he was praetor of the Etruscan league”; TLE 233 = Rix 1991: Vs 1.179 *meχl-um Rasneas Clevsinsl zilaχnve* “he exercise(d) the praetorship of the Chiusian Etruscan league”).

A full overview of titular expressions, religious and civic, is presented in the following list:

LL

religious

VII, 9; X, 18	<i>cepen</i> “priest”
X, 1-2; 17	<i>cepen sul(-)</i> “sol(ar) priest”
X, 2-3	<i>capeni mare</i> “priests among the magistrates”
VII, 8	<i>cepen tutin</i> “public priest”
VII, 15; 21-2	<i>cepen θaurχ</i> “priest of the store-room”
VII, 18	<i>cepen cilθ-cva</i> “priest with respect to what(ever concerning) the cult”
X, 3; XI, f1	<i>cepen flanac</i> or <i>flanax</i> “high priest”
VII, 18-9; XI, 5	<i>cepen cnticnθ</i> “overall leading priest”
V, 17; 18; XI, 2; 6	<i>truθ(-), trut</i> “druid”
X, 12	<i>Ras θruθur tutim</i> “by the Etruscan public druids”
X, 8	<i>Caθnis</i> “followers of Cauthas”
XII, 4; 8	<i>Caθra, Caθre</i> “for the followers of Cauthas”
VIII, 6	<i>Laiveis</i> “followers of Laios”

civic

VII, 13	<i>zelvθ</i> “praetor”
IV, [6]; 18; VIII, 13	<i>zlχne</i> “for the ones exercising the praetorship”
III, 2	<i>puruθn</i> “president”

⁵ Note that *meχ-* is a reflex of Luwian **mekki-* “numerous” < PIE **méǵh₂-* “great, many” in which the voiced velar **[ǵ]* is preserved in form of a velar stop, whereas *meθ-* corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *miāti-* “many” and Lycian *miñti-* “league, assembly”, a derivative in *-nt-* of the same PIE root in which the voiced velar **[ǵ]* has been lost, as is regular for the Luwian language group, with the noted exception of Lydian and Etruscan which are only partially affected by this distinctive phonetic development, see Woudhuizen 2008: 417, note 4; 423-424; and cf. Woudhuizen 2011: 410-412.

civic

VIII, 9	<i>hursi puruθn</i> “among the great ones the president”
VIII, 4	<i>priθaś</i> “the presidents”
X, 17	<i>pruθseri</i> “to be presiding”
VII, 22; X, 9; etc.	<i>maθ-, mata</i> “assembly”
V, 23	<i>śpural meθlumeś</i> “the members of the town’s assembly”
II, [n5]; 8; etc.	<i>meθlumθ, meθlumeri</i> “on behalf of, by the members of the assembly”
II, [n5]; 8; etc.	<i>śpureri</i> “by the town(’s official)s”
VI, 2	<i>ur-χeiś</i> “who(ever are) great (one)s”
XI, 13; XII, 7; 11	<i>ceχα</i> “the senate”
XI, 13	<i>eθri</i> “the commons”
XII, 3	<i>eterti</i> “on behalf of the commons”
X, 22	<i>etera</i> “common people”
III, 15	<i>saθ</i> “guardian(s)”
VIII, 13	<i>zatλχne</i> “for the guards”
III, 17; VIII, [f2]	<i>śaθaś</i> “men”
X, 5; 18; XI, 9	<i>aruś, araś</i> “free citizen”
X, 23	<i>neriś</i> “(ordinary) men”
X, 23; f3; f5	<i>neri</i> “for the (ordinary) man”
X, 14	<i>petna</i> “servants on foot”
VII, 7; 16; etc.	<i>śuci</i> “with a girl”

We are confronted here already with a whole spectrum of grammatical information: endingless N(m/f) sg. (*cepen*), N(m/f) sg. in *-ś* (*araś, aruś*), D sg. in *-i* (*neri*), G sg. in *-l* (*śpural*), N(m/f) pl. in *-i* (*capeni*) or *-iś* (*ur-χeiś, neriś*) or *-is* (*Laeveis*) or *-eś* (*meθlumeś*), A(m/f) pl. in *-is* (*Caθnis*) or *-aś* (*priθaś, śaθaś*), N-A(n) pl. in *-a* (*cilθ-cva, petna*), D(-G) pl. in *-e* (*Caθre, zλχne, mare, zatλχne*), and Abl.-Instr. pl. in *-θ* (*meθlumθ*) or *-ti* (*eterti*) or rhotacized *-(e)r(i)* (*θruθur, meθlumeri, śpureri*). But what primarily concerns us at the present instance, is the intricate nature of the distinction between the various religious titular expressions, and the fact that the civic ones bear testimony of a political organization which—just like Roman society—is divided between the senate, representing the aristocrats, and the popular assembly, representing the common people. As will become clear in the course of reading the text of the *Liber linteus*, Etruscan society is strongly aristocratically oriented and the ordinary man plays only a subordinate role, being put off with some low cost

kitchen ware—not to mention the position of women, which, notwithstanding the fact that aristocratic ladies could in exceptional cases rise to high, if not actually the highest, public offices (see chapter 6), happens to be reduced to the presence of a girl at the altar as required by some of the ceremonies (see Fig. 30b).

If we add to the three basic categories distinguished thus far the distinction of verbal forms, it turns out that we subsequently enable ourselves to actually translate bits and pieces of the text or sometimes even entire sections. Most productive in this respect are the verbal roots *θu-* “to place, put” (< Luwian *tuwa-*), *hexz* or *hexś-* “to carry outside” (cf. Capua tile *esχαθ-* < Greek ἔσχατος by metathesis of [s] and [χ]), and *nunθe(n)-* “to dedicate”, as will become clear from the following examples:

LL

X, f1	<i>θui θapna-c θapnza-c</i>	“Place also cups and little cups!”
XI, 9	<i>va-cl ara<ś> θui useti</i> <i>Catneti</i>	“And for him a free citizen will place during the year in the sanctuary of Cauthas.” ⁶
VI, 3	<i>Hamφeś Leiveś turi θui</i> <i>streteθ</i>	“For Amphiōn (and) Laios place donations in the (location which is) spread out!” ⁷
XI, 16	<i>cn θunt ei tul var</i>	“They will place this not (within) another boundary.” ⁸
I, 4	<i>] zixri cn θunt [</i>	“(…) to be written, they will place this (…)”
II, 11	<i>zuśle nunθen</i>	“they will dedicate piglets”
IV, 7	<i>zuśleveś nunθen</i>	“they will dedicate piglets”
IV, 13	<i>tur<a> nunθenθ</i>	“they will dedicate donation<s>”
II, 13	<i>tura nunθenθ tei</i>	“They will dedicate donations here.”
II, 10	<i>raxθ tura nunθenθ</i>	“At the regia they will dedicate

⁶ With *useti* as the Loc. sg. in *-ti* of the noun *use-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *usa-* and Lycian *uhi-* “year”.

⁷ With *streteθ* as the Loc. sg. in *-θ* of the noun *streta-*, corresponding to Latin *stratum* “pavement, street”.

⁸ With *tul* as a shorthand or abbreviated variant of *tular-* “land; border” and *var* likewise of Latin *varius* or *varia*.

		donations.”
III, 18-9	<i>flere in Crapsti un mlaχ nunθenθa clθi</i>	“To the statue in the sanctuary of Grabovius: please let them dedicate one beautiful (thank-offering) in the (...) of this (location).” ⁹
IX, 13	<i>raχθ suθ nunθenθ</i>	“at the regia they will dedicate a grave gift”
IV, 14-5	<i>flere in Crapsti un mlaχ nunθen</i>	“To the statue in the sanctuary of Grabovius they will dedicate one beautiful (thank-offering).”
IX, 7-8	<i>flere Neθunsl un mlaχ nunθen</i>	“to the statue of Neptunus they will dedicate one beautiful (thank-offering)”
IX, 18-9	<i>flere Neθunsl un mlaχ nunθen</i>	“to the statue of Neptunus they will dedicate one beautiful (thank-offering)”
IV, 11-2	<i>zušleves nunθen Estrei Alφazei</i>	“they will dedicate piglets to the Alban Astarte”
IX, 15-6	<i>nunθenθ Estrei Alφazei zusleve raχθ ei-m tul var</i>	“They will dedicate piglets to the Alban Astarte at the regia, and not (within) another boundary.”
IX, 17-8	<i>nunθenθ Estrei Alφazei tei fa-ś-i ei-m tul var celi suθ nunθenθ flere Neθunsl</i>	“They will dedicate to the Alban Astarte here, during it to her not (within) another boundary, ¹⁰ in September they will dedicate to the statue of Neptunus a grave gift.”
IV, 9	<i>raχθ tura heχsθ</i>	“At the regia one will place outside donations.”
IX, 6	<i>ena-ś raχθ tur<a> heχsθ</i>	“During it at the regia one will place outside donation<s>.”

⁹ Note that, for the use of the locative ending in *-ti* in the form *Crapsti*, the redundant preposition *in* corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *ina* “in”.

¹⁰ Note that *fa-ś-i* consists of an introductory particle *fa-*, corresponding to Lydian *fa-* of the same function, with a chain of enclitics attached to it, the D(-G) sg. in *-ś* and D sg. in *-i* of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person, the latter of which corresponds to Lycian *-i* for the same function.

In my book *Etruscan as a Colonial Luwian Language* of 2008, I restricted the section on the *Liber linteus* (pp. 337-358) to a recurrent section attested for V, 3-16 and IX, 9-22. I did this on purpose, because in my view at that time the transliteration of much of the remaining parts of the text was insecure. The new studies by van der Meer of 2007 and Belfiore of 2010, however, independently present transliterations of the remaining parts of the text which only differ among each other in a few minor details, see van der Meer 2007: 160-168 and Belfiore 2010: 28-45. This has convinced me that much of the transliteration of the remaining parts of the text—as far as completely preserved or emendable phrases are concerned—is reliable after all. In the following, I will use the transliteration by van der Meer as a starting point, primarily because he also included the emendations by Rix 1991: 1-8, which are highly plausible. The main distinctions, apart from the fact that van der Meer in a number of cases reads [s] instead of [ś], are the following:

LL	correction
III, 19:	read <i>θarθei</i> instead of <i>θarθie</i>
III, 23:	read <i>hatnec</i> instead of <i>hantec</i>
IV, 13:	read <i>cletram</i> instead of <i>cntram</i>
V, 10:	read <i>nunθenθ</i> instead of <i>nunθene</i>
V, 11:	read <i>unum</i> instead of <i>unux</i>
VI, 1:	read <i>cva</i> instead of <i>ceva</i>
VI, 2:	read <i>ceśu</i> instead of <i>ceśc</i>
VII, 10:	read <i>culucn</i> instead of <i>celucum</i>
VIII, 2:	read <i>amperi</i> instead of <i>ampneri</i>
IX, 11:	read <i>cisum</i> instead of <i>cisu</i>
IX, 14:	read <i>flerei</i> instead of <i>fleres</i>
X, 6:	read <i>hamφeś</i> instead of <i>hamφaeś</i>
X, 12:	read <i>tutin</i> instead of <i>tutim</i>
X, 23:	read <i>capa</i> instead of <i>lape</i>
XI, 1:	read <i>acalas</i> instead of <i>acnlas</i>
XI, 16:	read <i>tr[in]</i> instead of <i>tr[-]</i>
XI, f2:	read <i>aθumica</i> instead of <i>aθumic</i>
XI, f6:	read <i>[cle]tram</i> instead of <i>-----tram</i>
XII, 1:	read <i>m<l>uśce</i> instead of <i>muśce</i>
XII, 7:	read <i>caprθu</i> instead of <i>cplθu</i>
XII, 13:	read <i>matam</i> instead of <i>matan</i>

In some of the cases the epigraphical reading may be correct, but we are obviously dealing with writing errors by the scribe. This same verdict may perhaps also apply to the following instances:

LL	correction
II, [n4]:	read <i>haθnθi</i> instead of <i>haθrθi</i>
II, 7:	read <i>haθnθi</i> instead of <i>haθrθi</i>
V, 5:	read <i>haθnθi</i> instead of <i>haθrθi</i>
V, 12:	read <i>haθnθi</i> instead of <i>haθrθi</i>
XII, 4:	read <i>caθne</i> instead of <i>caθre</i>
XII, 8:	read <i>caθne</i> instead of <i>caθra</i>

though alternatively we might be dealing here with a phonetic development according to which the nasal [n] is represented by the liquid [r] in certain specific environments (*i.e.* when following a dental).

In the following section (§ 2), then, the transliteration by van der Meer as emended according to the corrections suggested above will—insofar completely preserved phrases are concerned—be presented in the left column with a translation in the right column which is based on the relationship of the Etruscan language with the Luwian languages of western and southwestern Anatolia, Luwian hieroglyphic, Lycian, and Lydian. On the basis of this etymological relationship I have been able to determine not only the meaning of numerous words and elements but also (and more fundamentally so) the grammatical paradigms as represented by the system of (pro)-nominal declension and verbal conjugation (see preceding chapters). In order to facilitate the reader, the etymological background of words and elements on the one hand and the evidence of (pro)nominal declension and verbal conjugation on the other hand will be presented in full in the commentary, be it without unnecessary repetitions for brevity's sake.

This section with the transcription and the translation of the text, the latter of which is defended in the commentary, is followed by an overview of the etymological relations called into play (§ 3) and an overview of the relevant grammatical data (§ 4). In the final section (§ 5), the transcription and translation are presented without any further comments in order to give the reader a clear view of the cohesion between the individual phrases or the larger context so to say.

The entire undertaking entails 379 Etruscan phrases in sum being translated.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Etruscan language according to this line of approach shows a number of loans from predominantly Greek and Latin, which in a few cases even affected the system of (pro)nominal declension and verbal conjugation, the criticism by Norbert Oettinger (2010: 234, note 4)¹¹ that, according to this approach, we are saddled up with an unlikely case of a “mixed language” is entirely unfounded, as *the nucleus of the Etruscan language in vocabulary as well as grammar is decidedly Luwian in nature*.

2. COMMENTARY TO THE TEXT IN TRANSLATION

In the comments to the text of the *Liber linteus*, as far as it is treated here, I will take Woudhuizen 2008 as a reference work. For new parallels with the members of the Luwian language group, viz. cuneiform Luwian, Luwian hieroglyphic, Lycian, and Lydian, not yet included in this particular work, the reader is kindly requested to consult Woudhuizen 2016-7, Woudhuizen 2011, Melchert 2004, and Gusmani 1964 unless indicated otherwise. For correspondences with Hittite, see Friedrich 1974 and 1991; for correspondences with Oscan and Umbrian, please consult the indices in Buck 1905 and for the ones with Celtic Delamarre 2003.

LL, II

[]

n1-2 *śacni-cś-[treś cilθś*
śpureś-treś-c

“Sacrifice during this (time) a
τῑττύς for the cult(-festival) and
a τῑττύς for the town!”

Comments

śacni: endingless 2nd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. of the verb *śacni*- “to sacrifice”. The root of this verb originates from cuneiform Luwian *šaknu(wa)*- as in the participle of the active *šaknuwant*- “the one sacrificing” (Woudhuizen 2016-7: 336). It can ultimately be traced back to PIE **sāk*- also represented by Latin *sacer* “sacred” (Mallory & Adams 2007: 412). Note in this connection that the 2nd

¹¹ “Woudhuizen (2008) betrachtet das Etruskische als ein kreolisiertes Luwisch, was ich für unwahrscheinlich halte.”

pers. sg. of the imp. of the active is also expressed by the root-form in Luwian hieroglyphic.

-cś: D(-G) sg. in -ś of the enclitic variant of the demonstrative pronoun *c(a)*- “this”. The root of this pronoun is related to Hittite *ka*- of the same meaning.

-treś: this form is related to the Greek numeral adverb τρίς “three times” and refers to an offering consisting of three different animals, a τριπτύς (= CT *tartiria*-), comparable to the Latin *suovetaurilia*.

cilθś: D(-G) sg. in -ś of the noun *cilθ*- “cult(-festival)”. The root of this noun is related to Latin *cultus* “honoring, reverence, adoration, veneration”, but can ultimately be traced back to that of the Lycian verb *χulθ*- “to cultivate” as attested for TL 84, § 9 (Woudhuizen 2012: 422-424).

śpureś: D(-G) sg. in -ś of the noun *śpur(e)*- “town”. The root of this noun may well come into consideration as being related to Latin *urbs* of the same meaning by means of metathesis.

-c: enclitic conjunction “and; also”. This conjunction is related to Luwian hieroglyphic -*ḫa(wa)*, Lycian -*ke*, Lydian -*k*, and Lemnian -*c* for the same function.

n2-3 *ena*]-ś *Eθrse Tinsī*
[*Tiuri-m*

“During it the Etruscans (will be devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-god.”

Comments

ena: preposition expressing the meaning “during”. This preposition is related to Luwian hieroglyphic *anan* “under” and its Lycian derivative *ēnē*, which latter is also used to express the meaning “during”.

-ś: D(-G) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers., in combination with the preposition to which it is attached, expressing the meaning “during it”, *i.e.* the ceremony under discussion. The enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. is a typical Luwian feature, but this particular form, in contrast to others (see our comparative table XLVI below), thus far goes without parallel in the Luwian group of languages.

Eθrse: N(m/f) pl. in -*e* of the auto-ethnonym *Eθrs*- “Etruscan”. This particular ethnonym is most closely paralleled by Greek Τυρσηνοί, and, if one goes further back in time to the end of the Late Bronze Age, one of the ethnonyms of the so-called Sea Peoples mentioned in Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, variously written as (1) *Twršʒ*, (2) *Twrwšʒ*, (3) *Twryšʒ* or (4) *Tʾwyršʒ* (Bagnasco Gianni 2012: 53-54;

cf. van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 216, Fig. 11.1 [= writing variant 3]; 257-265).

Tinśi: D sg. in *-i* of the GN *Tinśi*- “Dionysos”. This divine name, Greek Διώνυσος, is nothing but a syncopated variant of the Aiolic dialectal form *Dinnusō*, see appendix to chapter 13. The D sg. ending in *-i* corresponds to cuneiform Luwian *-i*, Luwian hieroglyphic *-i*, Lycian *-i*, and Lemnian *-i* for the same function.

Tiuri: D sg. in *-i* of the GN *Tiur*- “sun-god”. This divine name can be traced back to Luwian hieroglyphic *Tiwata*- “sun-god”, which in the late 8th or early 7th century BC also occurs in rhotacized variant *Tiwara*-.

-m: enclitic conjunction “but; and”. This enclitic conjunction is related to Hittite *-ma* for the same function, but incidentally turns up in Luwian hieroglyphic Late Bronze Age texts as well, whereas in form of *-m* it can be found in Lydian and Lemnian.

n3 *avilś χiś cisu]-m pute* “Who(ever will be) of age: drink
three times as well!”

Comments

avilś: G sg. in *-ś* of the noun *avil*- “year”. In the present context, the translation “of age” seems most adequate. The root of the noun *avil*- is related to Lemnian *avi*- of the same meaning. The ending in question originates from Luwian hieroglyphic *-sa* and corresponds further to Lycian *-h* (< *-s) and Lemnian *-ś*.

χiś: N(m/f) sg. in *-ś* of the relative pronoun *χi*- “who, what”. This pronoun is related to Luwian hieroglyphic *hwa*- of the same meaning, but the delabialization is paralleled for the equivalents in the related dialects, Lycian *ti*- and Lydian *pe-/pi*-. Contrary to the situation in Etruscan, however, the latter instances bear testimony of a labiovelar development [ħw] > [t] or [p], respectively. The N(m/f) sg. ending in *-ś* is, insofar the realm of the pronoun is concerned, paralleled in Luwian hieroglyphic by *-sa*, in Lydian by *-ś*, and in Lemnian by *-ś*.

cisu: adverbial formation in *-su* of the cardinal numeral *ci*- “three”. The formation for numeral adverbs in *-su* can be traced back to Luwian hieroglyphic *-su*- for the same function.

pute: endless 2nd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. of the verb *put(e)*- “to drink”. The root of this verb corresponds to that of Latin *pōto* for the same meaning.

n3-4 *tul θansur [haθnθi* “(Within) the boundarie(s which)

repinθi-c

will be set out, they will eat and spend time.”

*Comments**tul*: abbreviated form of *tular*- “land; border”.*θansur*: 3rd pers. pl. of the pres./fut. of the pass. in *-nsur* of the verb *θa*- “to set out”. The root of the verb corresponds to the one in Luwian hieroglyphic *tanuwa*- “to erect, set up”, which is marked as a factitive by the morpheme *-nuwa*-. The ending in question, on the other hand, confronts us with an assimilated variant of Latin *-ntur*.*haθnθi*: 3rd pers. pl. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-nθi* of the verb *haθ*-. The root of the verb corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *ata*- “to eat”, and the ending to cuneiform Luwian *-nti*, Luwian hieroglyphic *-ʾti* and Lycian *-ñti* for the same function.*repinθi*: 3rd pers. pl. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-nθi* of the verb *repi(n)*- “to spend time”. The verb in question is to be analyzed as a compound of the preverb *re*-, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *arḫa*, which develops into Lycian *eri* and can be used for emphatic purposes (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 80-81), with the verbal root *pi*-, originating from Luwian hieroglyphic *paī*- “to pass, spend time”.n4-5 *śacn]icleri cilθl [śpureri*
meθlumeri-c

“On the days of the sacrifices for the cult(-festival organized) by the town(’s official)s and members of the assembly.”

*Comments**śacnicleri*: D pl. in *-(e)ri* of the day name marked as such by the element *-cl-* of the root *śacni*- “sacrifice”. Note that the formans of the day name in *-cl-* is a variant, characterized by interchange between [t] and [c], of *-tl-* (Magliano disc), which in texts of earlier date also occurs in unsyncopated form of *-tal-* (Pyrgi texts) or *-tul-* (Capua tile) and for this reason must be considered the original form of the element in question.*cilθl*: D(-G) sg. in *-l* of the noun *cilθ*- “cult(-festival)”. The ending in question corresponds to the Lemnian D(-G) in *-l* and the Lydian D sg. in *-l* or *-λ* and G sg. in *-l* or *-λ*.*śpureri*: Abl.-Instr. pl. in *-(e)ri* of the noun *śpur(e)*- “town”. The ending in question corresponds to the rhotacized variant of the Luwian hieroglyphic Abl.-Instr. pl. in *-ti*, *-ri*, which is also attested at least

once for Lycian, namely in the form *tuweri* “by means of things being erected” from TL 84, § 10 (Woudhuizen 2012: 422-424).

meθlumeri: Abl.-Instr. pl. in *-(e)ri* of the noun *meθlum*- “member of the assembly”. The basic root *meθ*- “assembly” corresponds to Luwian *miāti*- “great, many” (< *mekki- “numerous”), the Lycian offshoot of which, *miñt(i)*-, also expresses the meaning “league, assembly”.

n5 *e]na-ś suθ raχti <nunθen>* “During it they will dedicate a grave gift at the regia.”

Comments

suθ: endingless A(m/f) sg. of the noun *suθ*- “grave gift”. The analysis of this noun as being of communal gender is underlined by the fact that it also occurs in A(m/f) pl. form *sutanaś*.

raχti: Loc. sg. in *-ti* of the noun *raχ*- “regia”. The ending in question corresponds to the Luwian hieroglyphic Loc. sg. in *-ti* and the Lydian one in *-t₁i₁* or *-di₁*, whereas the root of the noun *raχ*- correlates to Latin *rēgia* “palace”.

nunθen: this is a shorthand version of *nunθenθ* (see II, 10 below), the 3rd pers. pl. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-nθ* of the verb *nunθe(n)*- “to dedicate”. The latter ending is a graphic variant of *-nθi*, which, for the dropping of the final vowel, is most closely paralleled by the Lydian 3rd pers. pl. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-nt*.

[]

2 [*ec]n ze[ri l]e[c]i[n* “Burn this as smoke offerings!”

Comments

ecn: A(m/f) sg. in *-n* of the variant of the demonstrative pronoun *c(a)*- “this” characterized by prothetic vowel *e*-, which in archaic texts still reads *i*-. It seems likely that we are dealing here with a combination of two distinct demonstrative pronouns, if we realize that the prothetic *i*- corresponds to the Luwian hieroglyphic demonstrative pronoun *ī*- “this”. The A(m/f) sg. ending in *-n*, insofar as the realm of the pronoun is concerned, corresponds to cuneiform Luwian *-an*, Luwian hieroglyphic *-na*, Lycian *-ne*, and Lydian *-n* for the same function.

zeri: A(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the noun *zer*- “smoke offering”. In variant writing characterized by interchange between [z] and [ś], the same root can be encountered in *śar*- “incense” and *śarvena*- “smoke

offering ceremony” as attested for other Etruscan texts. The ending used here corresponds to the Luwian hieroglyphic A(m/f) pl. in *-i*.

lecin: endingless 2nd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. of the verb *lecin-* “to burn”. This verb corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *lāhānuwa-* “to burn, set to fire”, which is a factitive in *-nuwa-*.

2-3 *in-c ze-c fašle hemsince* “And during (it) they have (..?)ed
also one from among the revenues.”

Comments

in: preposition “in”, used here to express the closely related meaning “during”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ina* “in, among”.

ze: variant writing of the cardinal numeral “one” variously appearing in form of *ez*, *es-*, *za-*, and *sa-*. This particular cardinal numeral originates from Luwian hieroglyphic *sa-* of the same meaning (as deducible from the fact that the sign for the number “1” renders the syllabic value *sa₉*), whereas its ordinal variant variously occurring in form of *zal*, *esl-*, *sla-* or *-sle* is most closely paralleled by Lydian *isl-* “first”.

fašle: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the noun *fašl-*. From the context it is clear that the noun *fašl-* denotes some sort of offering. Against the backdrop of the relationship with Luwian, one might suggest its origin from a hypothetical **wasu-l-* for “revenue” (for the phonetic development [w] > [f] see III, 15 below). However this may be, it is in any case clear that the ending of the D(-G) pl. in *-e* corresponds to the Lycian D pl. in *-e*.

hemsince: although the meaning of the verbal root *hems-* eludes us for the lack of comparative data, it appears to be characterized here by the 3rd pers. pl. of the past tense of the act. in *-nce*. Note that this ending is formed after the pattern of the 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense of the act. in *-ce*.

3-4 *śacni-cś]-treś cilθś* “Sacrifice during this (time) a
[śpureś-treś τριτύς for the cult(-festival and)
a τριτύς for the town!”

Comments

Cf. II, n1-2 above.

4 *ena-ś ś]vels-[t]reś-c sve-c* “During it (sacrifice) a τριτύς also
for the living and oneself!”

5-6 *Eθrse [Tin]sí Tiuri-m* “(And) the Etruscans (will be

devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-god.”

Comments

Cf. II, n2-3 above.

- 6 *avilś χίς cisu[-m p]ute* “Who(ever will be) of age: drink three times as well!”

Comments

See II, n3 above.

- 6-7 *tul [θa]nsur haθnθi* “(Within) the boundarie(s which)
 repinθi-c will be set out, they will eat and spend time.”

Comments

See II, n3-4 above.

- 7-8 *śacni[cl]eri [cilθ]l śpureri* “On the days of the sacrifices for
 meθlumeri-c the cult(-festival organized) by the town(’s official)s and members of the assembly.”

Comments

See II, n4-5 above.

- 8-9 *ena[-ś] śveleri-c sve-c* “During it (sacrifice) also to the ones living and to oneself!”

Comments

śveleri: D pl. in *-ri* of the noun *śvel-* which we have just noted to render the meaning “one (who is) living”.

- 9 *an cś me-ne utince zixne* “During this (time) one has
 śetirune-c experienced it (and) will write about it and dramatize it.”

Comments

See II, 4-5 above.

- 10 *raxθ tura nunθenθ* “At the regia they will dedicate

donations.”

Comments

raχθ: writing variant of *raχti*, characterized by fortition of the dental and the loss of the final vowel in regard to the the Loc. sg. ending. For the dropping of the final vowel in an ending compare the case of the 3rd pers. pl. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-nθ(i)* as referred to in the above. Note that from a comparative point of view the variant of the Loc. sg. in *-θ* without final vowel [i] is paralleled for Lemnian.

tura: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the noun *tur-* “donation”, related to the verbal root *t(u)r(u)-* “to give”—the latter in turn corresponding to Greek δωρέω of the same meaning. The N-A(n) pl. ending in *-a* is paralleled for cuneiform Luwian *-a*, Luwian hieroglyphic in form of *-a*, in Lycian in form of *-ā*, and in Lydian in form of *-a*.

nunθenθ: 3rd pers. pl. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-nθ* of the verbal root *nunθe(n)-* “to dedicate”, of which we have already discussed the shorthand variant *nunθen* in the above (sub II, n5).

10-1 *cletram śren-χve tei*

“Here (on) the bier for what(ever number of) *śren-*.”

Comments

cletram: A(m/f) or N-A(n) in *-m* of the noun *cletra-* which no doubt originates from Umbrian *kletram* “bier”. From the context, however, it seems clear that the bier is not subject or object, but that some kind of offerings or holy objects are placed *on* it, even though this sense is not expressed by its ending or a preposition. Note that the ending in question may well be attributed to Latin or Italic adstrate influences, though it needs to be observed in this connection that the A(m/f) sg. in *-m* incidentally turns up in cuneiform Luwian (Woudhuizen 2016-7: 357) and in form *-m̃* is traceable in Lycian in form of *term̃* “territory” as attested for TL 84, § 8 (Woudhuizen 2012: 422-424).

śren-χve: combination of the endingless noun *śren-* which, in view of the context, no doubt indicates some kind of divine act or acts for which, given the fact that it has the D pl. in *-e* of the enclitic variant of the relative pronoun *χva-* “who, what” attached to it, some kind of offerings or holy objects or just materials are to be transported on the bier from one place to another. Note that the form of the relative pronoun *χva-*, in which the initial labiovelar is preserved, is most closely paralleled by Luwian hieroglyphic *hwa-* of the same meaning.

tei: D sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *t(a)*- “this”, functioning as a local adverb and expressing the meaning “here”. Note that the D sg. in *-i*, as far as the realm of the pronoun is concerned, corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *-i* (Woudhuizen 2011: 296-297; 314) and Lycian *-i* (note especially the similarity to the local adverb *ebei*).

11-2 <i>fa-ś-ei zarfneθ zuśle</i> <i>nunθen Farθan Aiseras</i> <i>Śeuś</i>	“And during it they will dedicate piglets at a smoke offering ceremony to them: to the Maid, Asherah, (and) Zeus.”
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Comments

fa-ś-ei: introductory particle *fa-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *wa-* and Lydian *fa-* for the same function, with, as usually is the case in the Luwian language, a chain of enclitics attached to it, this time consisting of the D(-G) sg. *-ś* and the D pl. *-ei* of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. Of these latter, the first mentioned form we have already encountered in the above and stated to be without parallel in the Luwian group of languages, but the second one corresponds to the D pl. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. in Lydian, *-ai*_l (see Woudhuizen 2010-1a: 211-212).

zarfneθ: Loc. sg. in *-θ* of the noun *zarfne-* which appears to be based on the root *zar-* “smoke offering” and may well confront us with a mere writing variant of *śarvena-* “smoke offering ceremony” (see in the above sub II, 2).

zuśle: A(m/f) pl. in *-e* of *zuśl-* “piglet”, a diminutive in *-l-*, also found in Latin, of the root *zuś-* corresponding to Greek σῦς and Latin *sus* “pig” (van der Meer 2007: 69). What we have here is a shorthand variant of *zuśleve*, or even *zuśleveś*—the latter clearly marked by the A(m/f) pl. ending in *-eś* which is related to Lycian *-as* for the same function.

Farθan: undeclined form of the GN *Farθan*, which, as we have already noted, is nothing but the Greek Παρθένος “the Maid” in Etruscan disguise.

Aiseras: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the GN *Aiser(a)-*, as we have seen in the above, originating from Phoenician ’ššr “Asherah”. Note that this GN is later misinterpreted as a word for “god” in general, see the gloss: *quod aesar ... Etrusca lingua deus vocatur* (TLE 803).

Śeuś: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the GN *Śeu-*, which confronts us with Greek Ζεύς in Etruscan transliteration.

- 12-3 *cletram śren-cve r[aχ]θ* “(On) the bier for what(ever number of) *śren-* at the regia.”

Comments

Note that *-cve* is merely a graphic variant of *-χve*, characterized by fortition of the initial velar.

- 13 *tura nunθenθ tei* “They will dedicate donations here.”

Comments

Cf. II, 10 above.

- 13 *fa-ś-ei nunθenθ []* “And during it they will dedicate to them: []”

Comments

Cf. II, 11-12 and II, 13 above.

[]

LL, III

[]

- 12 *[fle]r* “[] the statue.”

Comments

fler: shorthand variant of the noun *flere-* “statue”, the meaning of which is assured thanks to its use in N-A(n) sg. form *flereś* as an indication of the object in an inscription on a statuette (TLE 737 = Rix 1991: OB 3.2; cf. Woudhuizen 2008: 84; 91, Fig. 5; note that the association of *flereś* with *cen*, the A(m/f) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *c(a)-* in an inscription on a statue from the region of Perugia [TLE 651 = Rix 1991: Pe 3.3] bears testimony of incongruity in gender).

- 12 *etna-m tesim* “And from these the burial.”

Comments

etna: D(-G) pl. of the demonstrative pronoun *t(a)*- “this”, which, like its counterpart *c(a)*-, also occurs, as happens to be the case here, in a variant with prothetic vowel *e*-, which latter in turn also ultimately originates from *i*-.

tesim: endingless form of the noun *tesim*- “burial”, presumably representing the A(m/f) sg. This noun is a compound of the elements *tesi*-, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *tasa*- “stele; grave” and Lydian *tašē*- “stele”, and *(a)m*-, corresponding to Lycian *hñme*- or *ñmai*- and Lydian *amē*- < Luwian **šamnai*- “to found”. In the bilingual inscriptions from Pyrgi (TLE 874-5 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.4-5), there is also mentioned a day named after the religious event of “the foundation of the burial”, *tesiamēitale* (accordingly, the dedicator of the texts, Thefarie Velianas, won his military victory, presumably over the Greeks at Cumae, see chapter 10, on a holiday!).

- 12 *etna-m c[elu-cn]* “And from these this: only the third.”

Comments

-cn: A(m/f) sg. in *-n* of the enclitic variant of the demonstrative pronoun *c(a)*- “this”.

celu: ordinal variant, characterized by the element *-l*-, of the cardinal numeral *ci*- or *ce*- “three”. Note that the formation of the ordinal in *-l* is paralleled by Luwian hieroglyphic *-l*- for the same function, see Woudhuizen 2011: 437, note 58.

- 13 *cletram šren-χve* “(On) the bier for what(ever number of) *šren*-.”

Comments

Cf. II, 10-11 and II, 12-13 above.

- 13 *trin θezine χim* “One will consecrate (this and) lay (it) down (for) a hecatomb.”

Comments

trin: shorthand variant of *trinθ*, the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-θ* of the verb *trin*- “to consecrate”. From an etymological point of view, this verbal root is related to Luwian hieroglyphic *tarīnūwa*- “to cause to (be) venerate(d)”, whereas the ending used in the full

form corresponds to common Luwian *-ti*, Lycian *-ti* or *-di*, and, in view of the loss of the final vowel, most closely to Lydian *-t* or *-d*.

θezine: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-e* of the verb *θezi(n)-* “to lay down”. In the light of *θezi* in III, 14-15 below, this verbal form may be analyzed as a factitive in *-n-* of the root *θez-*, which in variant writing is also attested as *tes-* “to lay down” for the text on the cippus of Perugia (TLE 570 = Rix 1991: Pe 8.4).

χim: shorthand variant of *χimθ* or, as it appears in the text on the discus of Magliano (TLE 359 = Rix 1991: AV 4.1), *χimθm*, which, owing to its etymological relationship to Greek ἑκατόμβη, can positively be identified as an indication of a type of offering. Note that it appears here and elsewhere in undeclined form only.

13-4 *fler Tarc mutin-um*
anan-cveś

“And revigorate also the statue (of)
Tarkhunt together with who(ever
are participant)s!”

Comments

fler: shorthand variant of the noun *flere-* “statue”, used here for the expression of the A(n) sg.

Tarc: shorthand variant of the GN *Tarc-*, after whom one of the most important Etruscan towns, *Tarχna-* “Tarquinia”, is named and whose name originates from that of the Luwian hieroglyphic storm-god *Tarḫunt-*, also attested for Lycian in form of *Trqqñt-* or *Tarqqiz* and for Lydian in form of an epiklesis of Zeus, Ταρρυηνός.

mutin: endingless 2nd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. of the verb *mutin-* “to revigorate”, which may be analyzed as a factitive in *-n-* of the basic root *muti-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *muwata-* “strength”.

-um: variant of the enclitic conjunction “but; and”, which occurs here attached to the third word of the phrase and is therefore presumably used for the expression of the meaning “also”.

anan: preposition “together with”, of which we already came across the shorthand variant *an* (see II, 4-5 and 9). Like this latter form, *anan* originates from Luwian hieroglyphic *anan* “under”, but its particular use here for the expression of the meaning “together with” is attested only for the alternative way in Luwian to express the meaning “under”, the preposition *kata*, as in case of the expression *kata+mì* “with me” (Yalbur §§ 14, 19; Südburg § 3). Note that in its present use, *anan* rules the A case, whereas its graphic variant *ena* “during” governs the D case.

-cveś: A(m/f) pl. in -eś of the enclitic variant of the relative pronoun *cva-* “who, what”. As far as the realm of the pronoun is concerned, the A(m/f) pl. ending in -eś corresponds to Lydian *-as* of the same function.

14-5 *nac cal Tarc θezi* “And during this lay down
(offerings to) Tarkhunt!”

Comments

nac: introductory particle, corresponding to Lydian *nak* for the same function.

cal: D(-G) sg. in *-l* of the demonstrative pronoun *c(a)-* “this”. Within the realm of the pronoun, the ending in question is paralleled by the Lydian D sg. in *-λ*.

θezi: 3rd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. which is either endless or in *-i* of the verb *θez(i)-* “to lay down”, the factitive variant *θezin-* we already came across in our discussion of III, 13 above.

15 *va-cl an ścanince* “And during (it) for him they have
sa-u-c-saθ Persin paid homage as well (to) the
guardian(s) of Persephone.”

Comments

va-: introductory particle, corresponding to Luwian *wa-*, which also occurs in enclitic variant *-wa*, and Lycian *-we*. Note that, as indicated in the discussion of phrase III, 11-12, the introductory particle *fa-*, which is exactly paralleled by Lydian *fa-*, originates from Luwian hieroglyphic *wa-* by means of the phonetic development [w] > [f].

-cl: D(-G) sg. in *-l* of the enclitic variant of the demonstrative pronoun *c(a)-* “this”. For the variant of this form which is not enclitic, see discussion of the preceding phrase.

an: preposition “during”, like in II, 4-5 above referring to the time of the ceremony in question.

ścanince: 3rd pers. pl. of the past tense in *-nce* of the verb *ścani-* “to pay homage to”. The verbal root can be positively traced back to the Luwian hieroglyphic noun *saḫana-* “feudal service”.

sa-u-: combination of two distinctive introductory particles *sa-* and *u-*, corresponding to Lycian *se-we* (see Houwink ten Cate 1961: 75). Of these two particles, *-we* can be traced back to Luwian hieroglyphic *wa-*, which also occurs in enclitic variant *-wa* (so also in CL). The combination of these two introductory particles is used here in an emphatic way for the expression of the meaning “also, as well”.

ara: D sg. in *-a* of the noun *ar(a)*- ‘altar’. No doubt, we are dealing here with a loan from Latin *ara* of the same meaning, especially so if

śaθaś: A(m/f) pl. in *-aś* of the noun *śaθ*- “man”, which in shorthand variant we already came across in phrase III, 15 above. Note in this connection that the N(m/f) pl. in *-aś* correlates to Lycian *-as* for the same function.

- vinum*: A(m/f) sg. or N-A(n) sg. in *-m* of the noun *vinu-* “wine”, which, notwithstanding its ultimate origin from Semitic **wainu-*, confronts us with a patent Latin loan, presumably of the form in its entirety, which means including the ending, which in that case definitely renders N-A(n) sg. This latter view is further underlined by the fact that the word, just like the Umbrian loan *cletram* “bier”—with

the notable exception of *cl<e>tral* in VIII, 4-5 below—, is not liable to further inflection. A function of *vinum* in the phrase other than object, however, can be specified by the use of a preposition, as in case of *śin vinum* “with wine” in IX, 22 below. In addition, it deserves attention here that in the text of the Capua tile we come across the form *vinalθ* (CT II, 3b¹), the Abl.-Instr. in *-θ* of an adjectival derivative in *-l-* of the genuinely Etruscan *vina-* “wine”, also attested for the *tabula Cortonensis* (Agostiniani & Nicosia 2000: side A, lines 1-2) and linked up with Luwian hieroglyphic *wiana-*.

usi: D sg. in *-i* of the noun *us(i)-* “year”, which cannot be dissociated from Luwian hieroglyphic *usa-* and Lycian *uhi-* of the same meaning. *trinθ*: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-θ* of the verb *trin-* “to consecrate”, which we already discussed in connection with phrase III, 13 above.

18-9 <i>flere in Crapśti un mlaχ</i> <i>nunθenθa clθi</i>	“To the statue in the sanctuary of Grabovius: please let them dedicate one beautiful (thank-offering) in the (...) of this (location).”
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Comments

flere: D sg. of the noun *flere-* “statue”.

Crapśti: Loc. sg. in *-ti* of an adjectival derivative in *-ś-* of the GN *Crap-*, which is likely to be analyzed as a shorthand variant of Umbrian *Grabouie*, *Crabouie* or *Krapuvi* “Grabovius”, the epithet of the gods Jupiter, Mars, and Vofionus derived from a word for “oak” (cf. Greek γρᾱβοϋς), see Pfiffig 1975: 250-251 and cf. Poultney 1959, index s.v. The adjectival suffix *-ś-*, which also appears in form of *-s-* and *-z-*, originates from cuneiform Luwian *-ašši-*, represented in Luwian hieroglyphic in form of *-asa-*, in Lycian in form of *-hi-*, in Lydian in form of *-si-*, and in Lemnian in form of *-śi-* and *-si-*.

un: shorthand form of *unu-* or *unum*, which, for its resemblance to Latin *ūnum* (N-A(n) sg.), seems to provide us with an alternative form of the cardinal numeral “one” alongside the one variously appearing as *za-*, *ze-* or *sa-* of, as we have already noted in the discussion of phrase II, 2-3 above, Luwian background.

mlaχ: adjective “beautiful”, ultimately originating from Phoenician *mlḥ* of the same meaning. In the text of the discus of Magliano (TLE 359 = Rix 1991: AV 4.1), this adjective is directly associated with the nominal root *mul-*, a writing variant of *mal-* “thank-offering” (cf. discussion of phrase III, 17-18 above). In view of this association, which

may have been a current one, the mention of the type of offering in question may well be implied by the use of the adjective when occurring on its own, as is the case here.

nunθenθa: 3rd pers. pl. of the subj. of the act. in *-nθa* of the verb *nunθe(n)*- “to dedicate”.

clθi: Loc. sg. in *-θi* of an adjectival derivative in *-l-* of the demonstrative pronoun *c(a)*- “this”. The adjectival suffix *-l-* is related to common Luwian *-al(l)i-*, Lycian *-li-*, and Lydian *-li-*.

19- *θar-θei ciar huslne vinum* “Three to be parted into three here,
20 on the fourth day (with) wine.”

Comments

θar: cardinal numeral “three”, which can be traced back to Luwian hieroglyphic *tar-* of the same meaning, which in turn is represented in Lycian by *tri-*. Note that this form of the cardinal numeral in question occurs alongside *ci-* or *ce-*, which through the intermediate form *cre-* can be shown to originate from **tre-* or **tri-* as well but was affected by a phonetic development according to which the initial dental [t] was replaced by velar [c] in like manner as Lycian B *tbi* “two” developed into Lycian A *kbi* “two” or, more to the point, the personal name *Trzzubi-* of TL 111, based on the numeral **tri-*, turns up alongside *Krzzubi-* of TL 83 (see chapter 11 above). The same phonetic development, however, also affected the formants of day names in *-tl-*, *θumitle* “on the second day” being attested together with *θumicle* in one and the same line, namely X, 13 below.

-θei: enclitic variant of the local adverb *tei* “here”, characterized by lenition of the initial dental.

ciar: inf. of the pass. in *-r* of the verb *cia-* “to part into three”, derived from the cardinal numeral *ci-* “three”. The ending of the inf. of the pass. also occurs in full form *-ri*, and therefore may be argued to be due to influence from Latin with its inf. of the pass. in *-ri*.

huslne: D sg. in *-e* of a derivative in *-l-* of the cardinal numeral *hus-* “four” (= assibilated variant of *huθ* as attested for the dice from Tuscan and *hut* as recorded for line 16 of the text on the front side of the cippus of Perugia), which in connection with *ez* or *za-* “one” and *ci-* “three” is used for the distinction of the ordinal forms, *zal* “first” and *cial-* “third”. Accordingly, it seems likely that we are dealing here with the cardinal form *husl-* “fourth”. This in turn is marked by an additional element *-n-*, which is also present in the indication of a day in the month *zaθrumsne* based on the numeral *zaθrum-* “20”. As it

seems, then, what we have here is an indication of the day, namely the fourth (presumably counting in this instance from the start of the cult-festival and not necessarily from the beginning of the month).

- 20 *eši sese ramue racuše* “(And) one will reconfirm honors
with seals and venerate (them).”

Comments

eši: A(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the indication of offering *eš(i)-*, likely to be related to the Luwian hieroglyphic verb *aiasa-* “to honor”, and hence referring to an “honor”.

sese: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the noun *ses(e)-* “seal”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *sasa-* of the same meaning.

ramue: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-e* of the verb *ramu(e)-* “to reconfirm”. The verb is likely to be analyzed as a composite one, consisting of the preverb *ra-*, which elsewhere also occurs in form of *re-* (cf. *repi(n)-* in the discussion of phrase II, n3-4 above) and *ri-* and can be traced back to the Luwian hieroglyphic adverb *arḫa* sometimes used for emphatic purposes if we realize that this latter developed into Lycian *eri* (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 80-81), attached to the verbal root *mu(e)-* derived from Luwian hieroglyphic *muwa-* “to make strong”.

racuše: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-e* of the verb *racuś-* “to venerate”. Like in the case of the preceding verb, this one is also composite and distinguished by the preverb *ra-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *arḫa* and Lycian *eri* for emphatic purposes, but this time in combination with the verbal root *cuś-*, derived from Luwian hieroglyphic *ḫwásà-* “to venerate”.

- 21 *fa-ś-ei śpureś-tres* “And during it from them a τριττός
for the town.”

Comments

Cf. *fa-ś-ei* in II, 11-12 and II, 13 above and *śpureś-treś* in II, n1-2 above.

- 21-2 *ena-ś Eθrse Tinši Tiuri-m* “During it the Etruscan (will be
devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-
god.”

Comments

See II, n2-3 and cf. II, 5-6 above.

- 22 *avil's χi's cisu-m pute* “Who(ever will be) of age: drink
three times as well!”

Comments

See II, n3 and II, 6 above.

- 22-3 *tul θans hatne-c repine-c* “(Within) the boundarie(s which) will be set out, one will eat and spend time.”

Comments

Cf. II, n3-4 and II, 6-7 above. Note, however, that the verbs are here in the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. instead of pl. and that the first one *hatne*, bears testimony of a fortified variant of the root *haθ-* ‘to eat’ further marked as a factitive by the morpheme *-n-*.

- 23 <śacnicleri cilθl> śpureri “On the days of the sacrifices for
 meθlumeri-c the cult(-festival organized) by the
 town(’s official)s and members of
 the assembly.”

Comments

See II, n4-5 and II, 7-8.

[]

LL, IV

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- | | |
|--|--|
| 1-2 <i>[ena-ś] Eθrse Tinśi</i>
<i>Tiuri-m</i> | “During it the Etruscans (will be devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-god.” |
|--|--|

Comments

See II, n2-3 and III, 21-22 above, and cf. II, 5-6 above.

- 2 *avil's χis ec[n zeri lecin]* “Who(ever will be) of age: burn
this as smoke offerings!”

Comments

Cf. II, n3, II, 6, and III, 22 for the first and II, 2 for the second part.

- 3 *in-c ze-c fler θezince* “And during (it) they have also laid down one (offering in front of) the statue.”

Comments

Cf. II, 2-3 for the first part. For the verb *θezince*, cf. III, 13 and III, 14-15 above and note that the present form renders the 3rd pers. pl. of the past tense of the act. in *-nce* of the verbal root *θez(i)-* “to lay down”.

- 3 *cisu-m pute* “Drink three times as well!”

Comments

Cf. II, n3, II, 6, and III, 22.

- 3-4 *t[ul θans] hate-c repine-c* “(Within) the boundarie(s which) will be set out, one will eat and spend time.”

Comments

Cf. II, n3-4, II, 6-7, and especially III, 22-23 where the verbs are likewise in the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. instead of pl. Note that the fortified variant of *haθ-* “to eat”, *hat-*, contrary to the situation in III, 22-23, occurs here without the factitive morpheme *-n-*.

- 4 *meleri sveleri-c sv[e-c* “(And during it sacrifice) also to the bringers of thank-offerings, the ones living, and oneself!”

Comments

Cf. II, 8-9 for the latter part of the phrase. The form at the start of the phrase, *meleri*, renders D pl. in *-(e)ri* of the noun *mel-*, which is related to *mal-* and *mul-* “thank-offering”, and therefore likely refers to a “bringer of thank-offerings”.

- 4-5 *an] cś me-le θun mutince* “And during this (time) they have twice revigorated (something) for him.”

Comments

The first part of the phrase confronts us with a variant expression of *an cś me-ne* in II, 9 above, characterized by the replacement of *-ne* by *-le*. This latter element is, in line with the identification of the former as the A(m/f) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers., identifiable as the D(-G) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. From an etymological point of view, it corresponds to the D sg. of this pronoun in Lycian, *-li*, and in Lydian, *-λ*.

θun: ordinal variant, marked as such by the formans in *-n-* originating from Hittite *-an(n)a-* for the same function, of the cardinal numeral *θu(va)-* or *tu-* “two”, hence “second”. But against the backdrop that the participants in the ceremony have done something for the second time, a translation as numeral adverb “twice” seems feasible. In any case, the root of the numeral corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *tuwa-* “two” and, more distantly, to Lycian B *tbi-* and Lycian A *kbi-*.

mutince: 3rd pers. pl. of the past tense of the act. in *-nce* of the verb *muti(n)-* “to revigorate”.

5 *θezine ruz[e*

“One will lay down (offerings) for
the ancestors.”

Comments

ruze: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the noun *ruz-*, which is likely to be analyzed as an adjectival derivative in *-z-* of the root *ru-* corresponding to the Luwian hieroglyphic adverb *ru* “formerly”, in which manner we arrive at the translation “of a former one” or more in specific “ancestor”.

6 *nu-zlχne]-c śpureri*
 meθlumeri-c

“And for the ones exercising the
praetorship, the town(’s official)s,
and members of the assembly.”

Comments

For the latter part of the phrase, cf. II, n4-5, II, 7-8, and III, 23.

nu-: introductory particle, corresponding to Hittite *nu-* for the same function.

zlχne: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the noun *zlχn-*, related to the verb *zilχn(u)-* “to exercise the praetorship”, thus leading us to the translation of the noun as “one exercising the praetorship”.

6-7 *ena-ś [raχθ tura] zarfneθ* “And during it (they will dedicate)

donations at the regia within the
context of a smoke offering
ceremony.”

Comments

Cf. II, n2-3, II, 10, and II, 11-12 above for a discussion of the various forms in this phrase.

- 7-8 *zuśleveś nunθen [Farθan f]lereś in Crapśti* “And they will dedicate piglets to the Maid and the statue in the sanctuary of Grabovius.”

Comments

zuśleveś: A(m/f) pl. in *-eś* of the noun *zuśl-* “piglet”, see II, 11-12 for a discussion.

flereś: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of *flere-* “statue”.

- 8-9 *cletram [śren-χv]e* “(On) the bier for what(ever number of) *śren-*.”

Comments

Cf. II, 10-11, II, 12-13, III, 13, and III, 16.

- 9 *raχθ tura heχśθ* “At the regia one will place outside donations.”

Comments

Cf. II, 10 for the first part of the phrase and III, 17 for a discussion of *heχśθ*.

- 9-10 *vinum [nunθen* “They will dedicate wine.”

Comments

See III, 17-18 for a discussion of *vinum* (also A(n) sg. here) and II, n5 for that of *nunθen*.

- 10 *c]letram śren-χve* “(On) the bier for what(ever number of) *śren-*.”

Comments

Cf. II, 10-11, II, 12-13, and for exact parallels III, 13 and III, 16 above.

10 *raxθ suθ*

“At the regia (they will dedicate) a grave gift.”

Comments

suθ: shorthand variant of **suθana-* “grave gift” (cf. *śuθin-*), which, against the backdrop of its use in contrast to the A(m/f) pl. *sutanaś* in the context of IV, 21-22 and V, 15-16, presumably expresses the A(m/f) sg.

11-2 [*zarfneθ*] *zuśleveś nunθen*

Estrei Alφazei

“During the smoke offering ceremony they will dedicate piglets to Alban Astarte.”

Comments

Estrei Alφazei: D sg. in *-i* of the GN *Estre- Alφaze-*, of which the first element, like *Astre-* from the Pygi texts (TLE 874 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.4), consists of the Etruscan reflex of Phoenician *‘štrt* “Astarte”, whereas the second element is analyzable as an ethnic adjective in *-z(e)-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-zi₄-* or *-zā-* and Lycian *-zi-* for the same function, of the TN *Alba*, occurring here in lenited variant. Note that this ethnic in Latin reads *Albānus*.

12 *cletram śren-cve*

“(On) the bier for what(ever number of) *śren-*.”

Comments

Cf. II, 10-11, II, 12-13, III, 13, III, 16, and IV, 10 above.

12 *ei-m tul var*

“But not (within) another boundary.”

Comments

ei: negative adverb “not”.

tul: as we have already noted in the discussion of phrase II, n3-4, we have here an abbreviated variant of *tular-* “land; border”.

var: abbreviated form of an adjective corresponding to Latin *varius* or *varia* “varying”.

- 13 *raχθ tur<a> nunθenθ* “At the regia they will dedicate donations.”

Comments

See II, 10 above.

- 13 *fa-ś-i cletram* “And during it (offerings) for her (on) the bier.”

Comments

fa-ś-i: just like *fa-ś-ei*, we are confronted here with an introductory particle followed by a chain of enclitics, but in this particular case instead of *-ei* the final element is *-i*, which bears testimony of the D sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers., corresponding to Lycian *-i* or *-ije* for the same function.

- 13-4 *ei tul var* “(But) not (within) another boundary.”

Comments

See IV, 12 above.

- 14 *celi suθ heχśθ* “In September one will place outside a grave gift.”

Comments

celi: D sg. in *-i* of the month name *cel(i)*- “September”. Note that the identification of the month name in question as September is underlined by a gloss, where it appears in Latinized form *celius* (TLE 824).

- 14 *vin<u>m trin* “One will consecrate wine.”

Comments

For a discussion of these two forms, see III, 17-18. Note that the first word, *vin<u>m*, here also bears testimony of the N-A(n) in *-m*, like the form in its entirety, of Latin origin.

- 14-5 *flere in Crapśti un mlaχ
 nunθen* “They will dedicate a beautiful (thank-offering) to the statue in the sanctuary of Grabovius.”

Comments

Cf. III, 18-19 above.

- 15-6 *χίς esviś-c fa-ś-ei cisu-m* “Who(ever) also (takes part) in the
pute ceremony: during it for them: drink
 three times as well!”

Comments

esviś: D(-G) sg. in -ś of the noun *esvi*- “ceremony”.

- 16 *tul θans hate-c repine-c* “(Within) the boundarie(s which)
 will be set out, one will eat and
 spend time.”

Comments

See IV, 3-4 above.

- 17 *meleri sveleri-c sve-c* “Also on behalf of the bringers of
 thank-offerings, the ones living, and
 themselves.”

Comments

See IV, 4 above.

- 17-8 *an cś me-le θun mutince* “During this (time) they have twice
 revigorated (something) for him.”

Comments

See IV, 4-5 above.

- 18 *θezine ruze* “One will lay down (offerings) for
 the ancestors.”

Comments

See IV, 5 above.

- 18-9 *nu-zlχne-c śpureri* “And for the ones exercising the
meθlumeri-c praetorship, the town(’s official)s,
 and members of the assembly.”

Comments

See IV, 6 above.

- 19 *ena-ś śin <vinum> flere* “During it (one will sacrifice) with
in Crapšti wine to the statue in the sanctuary
of Grabovius.”

Comments

śin: preposition “with”, which in X, 19-20 and XI, 13 (see below) also occurs in variant forms *sin* and *sun*, and cannot be dissociated from Luwian hieroglyphic ^{KATA}*s(i)(na)* “with”, Lycian *hu-* (as in *huwe-dri-* “confederate”), and Lydian *si-* (as in *sivraλmi-* “congregation”), and, more remotely, Greek σὺν (< PIE **som-*). For its direct association with *vinum*, assumed here, see IX, 22 below.

- 20 *χίς esviś-c fa-ś-e śin* “Who(ever) also (takes part) in the
<vinum> Aiser <śic ceremony: during it for them: (one
Šeu-c> will sacrifice) with wine to
Asherah, and similarly to Zeus.”

Comments

fa-ś-e: variant of *fa-ś-ei*, characterized by monophthongization of the final element, the D pl. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers.

Aiser: root-form of the GN *Aiser(a)-* “Asherah”, which we already came across in phrase II, 11-12 above.

For the association of *śin* with *vinum*, as reconstructed here, see our remark on this topic in the preceding phrase.

śic: the reconstruction of the element *śic*, which corresponds to Latin *sic* “similarly, so, thus”, finds its basis in the closely related variant expression *Eiser śic Šeu-c* in V, 10 and V, 14 below.

- 20-1 *fa-ś-e śin <vinum> aiś* “And during it for them: (one will
cemna-c sacrifice) with wine to the god and
the twin.”

Comments

aiś: root-form of the noun *aiś-* “god”, used to express the D sg. here. Note that the identification of this noun is underlined by the gloss αἰσοί · θεοὶ ὑπο Τυρρηνῶν (TLE 804).

cemna: D sg. in *-a* of *cemn(a)-*, the meaning of which can be deduced, as observed by Belfiore 2010: 118 (with reference to Lattes), owing to its correspondence to Latin *geminus* “twin”. Of course, this expres-

sion refers to the divine twin known in Greek as the *Dioskouroi*, in Latin as the *Penates*, and in Etruscan as *Tinas cliniaras*—the latter combination being characterized by the D dual in *-as* (TLE 156 = Rix 1991: Ta 3.2; cf. chapter 6 above).

- 21 *fa-ś-e-iś raχθ sutanaś* “During it for them these: at the regia grave gifts.”

Comments

fa-ś-e-iś: just like in the case of *fa-ś-ei* in II, 11-12, II, 13, III, 21, and IV, 15-16, its monophthongized variant *fa-ś-e* in IV, 20 and IV, 20-21, and *fa-ś-i* in IV, 13 above, we are dealing here with an introductory particle with a chain of enclitics attached to it. Alongside the D(-G) sg. in *-ś*, and the D pl. in *-e* of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers., we first encounter here the A(m/f) pl. in *-iś* of this same pronoun, which corresponds to Lycian *-iz* and Lydian *-is*.

sutanaś: A(m/f) pl. in *-aś* of the noun *sutan(a)*- “grave gift”, see the discussion of the shorthand variant *suθ* of this noun in phrases II, n5 and IV, 10 above.

- 21-2 *celi suθ* “In September a grave gift.”

Comments

Cf. IV, 14 above.

- 22 *eisna peva-χ vinum trau* “You will pour *trau*-wine over the
pruχś divine omina and *pava*-.”

Comments

eisna: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of an adjectival derivative in *-n-* of the root *eis-*, which in variant form *aiś-* we already came across as a word for “god”. If this analysis applies, a meaning “divine” seems appropriate. Now, as *peva-* recalls *pava-*, a *terminus technicus* from the profession of a *haruspex*, and in the highly similar phrase IX, f2 the term *peva-* is replaced by *hinθu*, which, just like its variant form *anθ-*, originates from the Luwian preposition *anda* “in” and corresponds to the latter’s Lycian derivative *ñte* (testifying to the weakness of the initial vowel), and therefore likely bears reference to the inside, it may safely be deduced that with *aisna* or *eisna* “divine omina” from the entrails of sacrificial animals are mentioned.

traw: corresponds to *trav(a)-* in the text of the Capua tile (TLE 2 = Rix TC) and, in adjectival derivative, *traul-* from the text of the *tabula Cortonensis* (side A, line 6; cf. Agostiniani & Nicosia 2000), which, just like *pava-*, is a *terminus technicus* from the profession of the *haruspex*, if not actually a designation of inspected animals. In any case, it seems to function here as a qualification of the preceding *vinum* “wine”, in order to specify that a specific type of wine is required.

pruxś: 2nd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-ś* of the verb *prux-* “to pour”, which cannot be dissociated from Greek *προχέω* of the same meaning. The ending in question corresponds to the cuneiform Luwian and Luwian hieroglyphic 2nd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-š* and *-sa*, respectively.

[vacat]

[]

LL, V

- 1 *vinu-χ [mlax nunθen]* “And they will dedicate a beautiful
(thank-offering with) wine.”

Comments

vinu-: shorthand variant of *vinum* “wine”, cf. discussion of phrase III, 17-18 above.

-χ: graphic variant of the enclitic conjunction *-c* “and” characterized by lenition.

- 1 *etn<a> capeśi* “One will take from these
(whenever/as much as necessary).”

Comments

capeśi: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-i* of the iterative variant in *-ś-* of the verb *cap(e)-* “to take”. The formans of the iterative in *-ś-* is paralleled by Luwian hieroglyphic *-s-* of the same function, whereas the verbal root is linked up with Latin *capio* “to take, seize, grasp”. It furthermore deserves our attention that the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-i* is paralleled for cuneiform Luwian, Lycian forms like *esi* “it is” and *sijēni* “he lies” (see Mel-

chert 2004, s.v. *es-* and *si-*), and Lydian ones like *dai*₁ “it gives” and *vit*₁ “he builds” (this latter form is used as a *praesens historicum* for the expression of the past tense; cf. Woudhuizen 1984-5a: 99).

- 1-2 *fa[-ś-e] ecn zeri lecin* “And during it from these burn this
as smoke offerings!”

Comments

For the part of the phrase following the introductory particle with chain of enclitics attached to it, see II, 2 and cf. IV, 2 above. With respect to the enclitics, note that the last one is, in comparison to II, 11-2, II, 13, and III, 21 above, subject to monophthongization, as it happens to be in IV, 20 and IV, 20-21 as well.

- 2 *in-c ze-c fasle hemsince* “And during it they have (..?..)ed
also one from among the revenues.”

Comments

See II, 2-3 above and note that *fasle* occurs here in writing variant characterized by interchange between [ś] and [s].

- 3 *śacni-cs-treś cilθś* “Sacrifice during this (time) a
śpureś-treś-c τριττύς for the cult(-festival) and
a τριττύς for the town!”

Comments

See II, n1-2 and II, 3-4 above.

- 4 *ena-ś Eθrse Tinśi Tiuri-m* “During it the Etruscans (will be
devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-
god.”

Comments

See II, n2-3, III, 21-22, and IV, 1-2, and cf. II, 5-6 above.

- 4-5 *avilś χίς cisu-m pute* “Who(ever will be) of age: drink
three times as well!”

Comments

See II, n3, II, 6, and III, 22 above.

- 5 *tul θansur haθnθi repinθi-c* “(Within) the boundarie(s which) will be set out, they will eat and spend time.”

Comments

See II, n3-4 and II, 6-7 and cf. III, 22-23, IV, 3-4, and IV, 16 above.

- 6 *śacnicleri cilθl śpureri
meθlumeri-c* “On the days of the sacrifices for the cult(-festival organized) by the town(’s official)s and members of the assembly.”

Comments

See II, n4-5, II, 7-8, and III, 23 above.

- 7 *ena-ś raχθ suθ nunθenθ* “During it they will dedicate a grave gift at the regia.”

Comments

See II, n5 above and note that there *suθ* precedes a graphic variant of *raχθ*, *raχti*.

- 7-8 *etna-m Farθan Aiseraś
Śeuś* “And to these: to the Maid, Asherah, and Zeus.”

Comments

For *etna-m*, see II, 12, etc.; for the three GNs, see II, 11-12.

- 8 *cletram śren-cve* “(On) the bier for what(ever number of) *śren*.”

Comments

Cf. II, 10-11 and II, 12-13, III, 13, III, 16, and IV, 10 above, and for an exact parallel IV, 12 above.

- 8-9 *racθ suθ nunθenθ Estrei
Alφazei* “They will dedicate a grave gift to the Alban Astarte at the regia.”

Comments

For the first part of the phrase, cf. V, 7 above and for the GN IV, 11-12 above.

- 9-10 *ei-m tul var* “And (this) not (within) another boundary.”

Comments

See IV, 12 above.

- 10 *celi suθ nunθenθ Eiser
śic Śeu-c* “(But) in September they will dedicate a grave gift to Asherah, and similarly to Zeus.”

Comments

For the first part of the phrase, see IV, 21-22 above; for the GNs, cf. IV, 20 as reconstructed in the above.

- 11 *unum mlaχ nunθen* “They will (also) dedicate one beautiful (thank-offering).”

Comments

unum: N-A(n) sg. in *-m* of the cardinal numeral *unu-* “one”. For the shorthand variant *un*, see III, 18-19 and IV, 14-15 above. Note that the ending in question may reasonably be attributed to Latin adstrate influences.

- 11-2 *χis esvis-c fa-ś-e
cisu-m pute* “Who(ever) also (takes part) in the ceremony: during it [*i.e.* the ceremony] for them: drink three times as well!”

Comments

See II, 15-16 and note that the only difference is formed by the form of the enclitic pronoun *-ei*, which, like in IV, 20 and IV, 20-21, here occurs in graphic variant characterized by monophthongization.

- 12 *tul θansur haθnθi
repinθi-c* “(Within) the boundarie(s which) will be set out, they will eat and spend time.”

Comments

See II, n3-4, II, 6-7, and V, 5, and cf. III, 22-23, IV, 3-4, and IV, 16 above.

- 13 *śacnicleri cilθl śpureri*
meθlumeri “On the days of the sacrifices
for the cult(-festival organized)
by the town(’s official)s and
members of the assembly.”

Comments

See II, n4-5, II, 7-8, III, 23, and V, 6 above.

- 14 *ena-ś śin <vinum> Eiser*
śic Śeu-c “During it (one will sacrifice) with
wine to Asherah, and similarly to
Zeus.”

Comments

For the latter part of the phrase, see V, 10 above.

- 14-5 *χίς esviś-c fa-ś-e śin*
<vinum> Eiser <śic
Śeu-c> “Who(ever) also (takes part) in the
ceremony: during it for them, (*i.e.*)
with wine for Asherah, and
similarly for Zeus.”

Comments

For the first part of the phrase, see V, 11-12 above; for the latter part,
see the preceding phrase.

- 15 *fa-ś-e-iś raχθ sutanaś* “During it for them these: at the
regia grave gifts.”

Comments

See IV, 21 above.

- 16 *celi suθ* “(But) in September a grave gift.”

Comments

See IV, 21-22 above.

- 16 *va-cl θesn-in raχ* “And for him to lay down
(offerings) in the regia.”

Comments

θesn: inf. of the act. in *-n* of the verb *θes-* “to lay down”, which we
already came across in graphic variant *θez-*, characterized by inter-

change between [s] and [z], see III, 13 above. The inf. of the act. also occurs in form of *-(a)ne* and *-una*, and corresponds to common Luwian *-(u)na* and its Lycian derivative *-ne*.

- 16-7 *cresverae heczri* “(And) to be placed outside
expressions of true concern.”

Comments

We are dealing here with a phrase bearing testimony of the so-called *nominativus cum infinitivo*. The verb, *heczri*, the root of which in graphic variants *heχz-* and *heχś-* “to place outside”, characterized by lenition of the velar, we have already encountered in the above, is marked as the inf. of the pass. by the ending in *-ri*, occurring here in full instead of the shorthand variant *-r* as attested for phrase III, 19-20 above. The subject, *cresverae*, is a patent Latin loan, consisting of a compound of the elements *cārus* “dear, beloved” (here in a reflex of the old G(f) sg. *caras* as preserved in the expression *pater familias*) and *vērus* “true, real”, which even maintained its Latin N(f) pl. ending in *-ae*.

- 17 *truθ celi ep-c śuθce citz* “In September and afterwards the
druid has buried (these) in three
times.”

Comments

truθ: religious honorific title corresponding to Celtic *druid*.

ep: preposition “afterwards, behind”, which also occurs in variant forms *ap-* and *epn* and originates from Luwian hieroglyphic *apan* and Lycian *apñ* or *epñ* of the same meaning.

śuθce: 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense of the act. in *-ce* of the verb *śuθ-* “to bury”, related to *śuθi-* or *suθi-* “(part of the) grave”, *suθiu-* “burial” (as in the equivalent of *tesiametal-* from the Pyrgi texts attested for the *tabula Cortonensis* on side A in line 19, *suθiuametal-* “day of the burial of the god”), etc.

citz: numeral adverb in *-z* of the Abl.-Instr. sg. in *-t* of the cardinal numeral *ci-* “three”. Note that the Abl.-Instr. sg. ending in *-t* is related to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ti* and Lycian *-di*, but, for the loss of the closing vowel, most closely paralleled by Lydian *-d*.

- 17-8 *trin-um hetrn* “And he will consecrate (them
while) lower(ing into the grave).”

Comments

-um: variant of the enclitic conjunction *-m* “but; and”.

hetrn: inf. of the act. in *-n* of the verb *hetr-* “to lower”, the root of which is related to Lycian *ētri-* “lower, inferior”.

- 18 *acl-χ-n ais cemna-c* “But in June not (for) the god and the twin.”

Comments

acl: month name which also occurs in variant writing *acal(a)-* in VI, 14 and XI, 1 below. Thanks to a gloss, which gives the Latinized form *aclus* (TLE 801), it can positively be identified as the Etruscan name for June.

-n: enclitic variant of the negative adverb “not”, which we already came across in form of *na-* in phrase III, 17 above.

- 18-9 *truθ-t raχś rinuθ citz* “(And) the druid of the regia will renew them in three times.”

Comments

-t: N-A(n) pl. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers., corresponding to common Luwian *-ta* for the same function.

raχś: G sg. in *-ś* of the noun *raχ-* “regia”.

rinuθ: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-θ* or the verb *rinu-* “to renew”, a compound of the preverb *ri-*, which also occurs in variant form *ra-* and *re-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *arḫa* and Lycian *eri* for emphatic purposes (cf. discussion of phrase III, 20 above), with the verbal root *nu-* related to the Luwian toponymic element *nuwa-* “new” (cf. LH *İrḫanua-* “new border”, etc.).

- 19- *va-cl nunθen Θesan Tinś* “And from it they will dedicate to
20 *Θesan Eiseraś Šeuś* Thesan (and) Dionysos, to Thesan (and) Asherah, (and) Zeus.”

Comments

Among the enumeration of deities to whom one will dedicate from aforementioned offerings, there can be discovered two groups, one consisting of *Θesan* “Thesan” in combination with *Tinś* “Dionysos”, her lover, and the other of *Θesan* “Thesan” in combination with *Aiser(a)-* “Asherah” and *Šeu-* “Zeus”, her mother and father. Of the

entire series, only the last two are explicitly marked by the D(-G) sg. ending in -ś as being recipients.

- 20 *unum mlaχ nunθen* “They will (also) dedicate (to them) a beautiful (thank-offering).”

Comments

See V, 11 above.

- 20-1 *θesviti faviti-c* “(They will do so) in the room of the depositions and in the niche.”

Comments

θesviti: D sg. in -i of the noun *θesvit(i)*- “room of the depositions”, composed of the elements *θes*-, which is related to the verb *θes*- “to lay down”, and *vit(i)*-, which is related to the Lydian verb *vit_l(i)*- “to build”, originating from Hittite *weda*- or *wete*- of the same meaning.

faviti: D sg. in -i of the noun *favit(i)*-, which is of similar formation as the previous one, but this time showing a combination of the element *vit(i)*- for the building with the preverb *fa*- “next to”, corresponding to Lydian *fa*- of the same meaning.

- 21 *fa-ś-ei cisu-m θesane
uslane-c* “And during it from them also thrice to lay down and to celebrate the sun-god.”

Comments

θesane: inf. of the act. in -(a)*ne* of the verb *θes*- “to lay down”, which in syncopated writing variant *θesn* we already came across in V, 16 above.

uslane: inf. of the act. in -(a)*ne* of the verb *usla*- “to celebrate the sun-god”, bearing testimony of a root related to the GN *Usil* and like the latter ultimately derived from Luwian hieroglyphic *usa*- “year” and linked up with the latter’s offshoot in Lycian, *uhi*-.

- 22 *mlaxe luri zeri-c ze-c
a-θeliś* “One will make beautiful games and smoke-offerings, and one (of the games) free of charges.”

Comments

młaxe: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-e* of the verb *młax-* “to make beautiful”, related to the adjective *młax-* “beautiful”.

luri: A(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the noun *lur-* “game”, which also occurs in form of *luθ-* (see VI, 15 below) unaffected by rhotacism of the root-final dental. Note that the noun in question corresponds to Latin *ludus* of the same meaning.

a-θeliś: A(m/f) pl. in *-iś* of a combination of which the first element *a-* “free of” is identical to Greek *α-* “un-, without” (privative *alpha*) and the second element *θel(i)-* “charge” is related to the Lycian verb *tll(e)i-* “to pay”. Note that the ending in question corresponds to Lycian *-is* and Lydian *-is* for the same function.

22-3 *śacnicla cilθl śpurāl*
meθlumeś-c

“The members of the town’s assembly (will) also (attend) the days of the sacrifices for the cult(-festival).”

Comments

śacnicla: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the noun *śacnicl-* “day of the sacrifices”.

śpurāl: G sg. of the noun *śpur(a)-* “town”. The ending in question corresponds to Lydian *-l* for the same function.

meθlumeś: N(m/f) pl. in *-eś* of the noun *meθlum-* “member of the assembly”.

23 *ena-ś cla Θesan []*

“During it in the precinct (of) Thesan [].”

Comments

cla: D sg. in *-a* of the noun *cla-* “enclosure, precinct”, which originates from Hittite *hila-* and is related to Lycian *qla-* of the same meaning.

[]

LL, VI

1 *tś sal s[---n]a-cva śnuiuϕ* “During this the first (..?..), not what(ever) smaller (offerings).”

*t*s: D(-G) sg. in -s' of the demonstrative pronoun *t(a)*- "this".

-*cva*: N-A(n) pl. of in -*a* the enclitic variant of the relative pronoun *cva*- “who, what”. Note in this connection that, as far as the realm of the pronoun is concerned, the ending in question corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic -*a* and Lycian -*a* for the same function.

1-2 *an-i-χeis snuiwφ ur-χeis* “During (it) here who(soever are)
ceśu great (ones, please place) smaller
(offerings) in the chamber.”

-i: Loc. sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers., corresponding to Lycian *-i* for the same function.

ur-: endingless form of the adjective *ur-* “great”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ura-* “great”.

2 *an-ia-x urx hilx-vetra* “And during (it) here (sacrifice) the
august old *halxs.*”

Comments

-ia: variant of the Loc. sg. in *-i* of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers., characterized by the additional vowel [a].

urχ: endingless form of the adjective *urχ*- “august”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *uruha*- of the same meaning.

hilχ-vetra: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the compound *hilχ-vetr*- denoting some type of offering. The first element of this compound, *hilχ*-, is nothing but a variant writing of the type of offering *halχ*-, which also occurs in diminutive form as *halχz*-. Accordingly, the second element *vetr*- is likely to be taken for an adjective corresponding to Latin *vetera*, the N-A(n) pl. of *vetus* (G *veteris*) “old”. If this analysis is correct, we happen to be dealing here with old *halχs*.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 3 | <i>Hamφeś Leiveś turi θui
streteθ</i> | “For Amphiōn (and) Laios place
donations in the (location which is)
spread out!” |
|---|---|--|

Comments

Hamφeś: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the GN *Hamφe*- “Amphiōn”.

Leiveś: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the GN *Leive*- “Laios”.

turi: A(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the noun *tur*- “donation”. Cf. the discussion of *tura* in II, 10 above, and note the difference in gender.

θui: 2nd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. in *-i* of the verb *θu*- “to place”, originating from Luwian hieroglyphic *tu(wa)*- “to place, put”, offshoots of which are traceable in Lycian in form of *tuwe*-, in Lydian in form of *t₁uv(e)*-, and in Lemnian in form of *θo*-.

streteθ: Loc. sg. in *-θ* of the noun *stret(e)*-, corresponding to Latin *stratum* “pavement, street”.

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------|--|
| 3-4 | <i>face apniś</i> | “One will make additional
offerings.” |
|-----|-------------------|--|

Comments

face: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-e* of the verb *fac*- “to make, do”, corresponding to Latin *facio* of the same meaning.

apniś: A(m/f) pl. in *-iś* of the noun *apn*- “additional offering”, derived from the preposition *ap*- or *ep*- “afterwards, behind”. On the latter, see discussion of V, 17 above.

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---|
| 4 | <i>an-ia-χ apniś urχ</i> | “And during (it) here the additional
offerings (to be sacrificed in like |
|---|--------------------------|---|

manner as) the august (one).”

Comments

All elements of this phrase have already been discussed in our treatment of the phrases VI, 1-2, VI, 2, and VI, 3-4.

4-5 *peθereni snuiuφ Hamφeθi* “In July smaller (offerings to be sacrificed) in the sanctuary of Amphiōn.”

Comments

peθereni: D sg. in *-i* of the month name *peθeren-* “July”. Note that *peθereni* likely constitutes a variant of *parθumi* “in July” of the text on the Capua tile, characterized by metathesis, which latter is most clearly affiliated to the Greek month name Παρθένιος.

Hamφeθi: Loc. sg. in *-θi* of the GN *Hamφe-* “Amphiōn”, which form, like *Crapsti* in III, 18-19, IV, 14-15 and IV, 19 above and *Unialθi* in XII, 10 below, obviously refers to the sanctuary of this deity even though the expected adjectival morpheme in *-ś-* or *-l-* is lacking.

5 *etna-m Laeti* “From these also in the sanctuary of Laios.”

Comments

Laeti: Loc. sg. in *-ti* of the GN *Lae-* “Laios”, which in phrase VI, 3 above we already came across in variant writing *Leive-*. In like manner as the case with *Hamφeθi*, this form no doubt refers to a sanctuary of the deity in question.

5-6 *an-c θa-χ śin θεus* “And during (it) also set out (the boundary) with (the help of) the god!”

Comments

θa: endingless 2nd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. of the verb *θa-* “to set out”.

θεus: D(-G) sg. in *-s* of the noun *θεu-* “god”, which is nothing but a reflex of Latin *deus* of the same meaning in Etruscan disguise.

6 *nua caper-c heci* “(And) new (sacrificial animal)s to be taken, (and) slaughter (them)!”

Comments

nua: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the adjective *nu(a)-* “new”, related to the verbal root *nu-* as encountered in phrase V, 18-19 above.

caper: inf. of the pass. in *-r* of the verb *cap(e)-* “to take”, which we already came across in iterative variant in V, 1 above.

heci: 2nd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. in *-i* of the verb *hec(i)-* “to finish off, slaughter”. The verbal root originates from Luwian hieroglyphic *áka-*, which, in combination with the adverb *kata* “down, under, de-”, renders the meaning “to subdue”.

- 6 *na-χva t<r>inθaśa* “(But) not what(ever) consecrated animals.”

Comments

-χva: graphic variant of *-cva* in VI, 1 above, characterized by lenition of the velar.

t<r>inθaśa: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of nominal derivative in *-ś-* of the verb *trin-* “to consecrate”, in like manner as *sacniśa* “sacrificial animals” is a nominal derivative in *-ś-* of the verb *śacni-* “to sacrifice”. To all probability, then, we are dealing here with consecrated animals. The presence of the [θ] in final position of the verbal root, to which it does not belong, may perhaps be explained by the fact that one took the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. form *trinθ* as a starting point. Note that the emendation of the missing [r] is based on the recurrence of this form, but this time in full, in VII, 6 below.

- 7 *etna-m Velθinal* “From these only (one will sacrifice) to the Velthina-family.”

Comments

Velθinal: D(-G) sg. in *-l* of the family name *Velθina-*. The members of this family were preeminent in politics and society more in general of the region between Volsinii and Perugia from, as far as our sources allow us to determine, the late 6th century BC, the era of Lars Por-senna, up to the time of the cippus of Perugia which dates from about the same period as the *Liber linteus* (Pirovano 1985: 80-81; cf. Woudhuizen 2008: 144-161).

- 7 *etna-m aisunal* “From these only as part of the divine cult.”

Comments

aisunal: D(-G) sg. of the adjective *aisuna-*, a derivative in *-una-* of the noun *ais-* “god” comparable to *aisn-* or *eisn-*. In like manner, it may reasonably be argued to refer to something divine, but this time not omnia, but more likely the cult in general. At any rate, this view makes sense as the costs of offerings which do not belong to the cult will not have been covered by the funds for the cult—whether these funds were provided by the state or by donations from private sources, like those of its major benefactor, the Velthina-family.

- 7 *θun-χer-ś* “Twice (so) because of what(ever reason) during it.”

Comments

θun: ordinal variant in *-n* of the cardinal numeral *θu-* “two”. Like in IV, 4-5 and IV, 17-18 above, it seems to be used like a numeral adverb for the expression of the meaning “twice”.

-χer: Abl.-Instr. sg. in *-r* of the enclitic variant of the relative pronoun in its delabialized form *χi-* or *χe-* “who, what”. This form also occurs in graphic variant *-χr*, characterized by syncope (see VII, 8 below). The ending in *-r* corresponds to the rhotacized variant in *-r(i)* of the Abl.-Instr. sg. in Luwian hieroglyphic in *-ti*—rhotacism affecting also the declension of the pronoun in this respect. Note that the present form of the relative is related to the conjunction *cver(a)* “because of” (see Woudhuizen 2010-1b: 222), which shows retention of the initial labiovelar and corresponds most closely to the Luwian hieroglyphic conjunction *hwar(a)* “when, because; like”.

- 8 *iχ śacnicla* “This concerning the days of the sacrifices.”

Comments

iχ: introductory particle, but used in a way which suggests a form of the demonstrative pronoun *ic(a)-* “this” characterized by lenition of the velar.

śacnicla: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the noun *śacnicl-* “day of the sacrifices”, see V, 22-23 and note that we are dealing here with the *accusativus respectus*.

- 9 *zaθrumsne lusaś fler* “On the 20th day: with respect to
 Hamφisca θezeri the ones being absent: to be laid

down (something in front of) the
statue of Amphiōn.”

Comments

zaθrumsne: D sg. in *-e* of a derivative in *-s-* of the cardinal number *zaθrum-* “20” in order to distinguish it as an ordinal variant “20th”. As argued in the above in connection with *huslne* (III, 19-20), the additional element *-n-* probably indicates that we are dealing with a day name.

lusaś: A(m/f) pl. in *-aś* of the noun *lus-* “absentee”, the root of which is related with that of the Luwian hieroglyphic verb *lusá-*, which, in combination with the adverb *arḥa* “de-, away, (emphatic)”, means “to absent (oneself)”. Note that we are confronted here with the *accusativus respectus*.

Hamφisca: endingless form of an adjectival derivative of the GN *Hamφe-* “Amphiōn”, making clear that the statue concerned is the one of this deity.

θezeri: inf. of the pass. in *-ri* of the verb *θez(e)-* “to lay down”.

10 *Laivisca lustraś fler* “With respect to lustra: (for) the
statue of Laios.”

Comments

Laivisca: formation similar of that of *Hamφisca*, but this time with a bearing on the GN *Laivi-* “Laios”, which we have already come across in form of *Leive-* and *Lae-*, and likewise making clear that the statue involved is that of latter god.

lustraś: A(m/f) pl. in *-aś* of the noun *lustr-* “lustrum”, which in the text of the discus of Magliano occurs in form of *lursθ* and like Latin *lustrum* has a bearing on festivities held after the interval of a fixed period of, in the Etruscan case, four years (see Woudhuizen 2008: 204; 207). Note that here again we are dealing with the *accusativus respectus*.

10-1 *va-cl-tna-m θezeri-c* “And for him during these also
anθ[-]jeri-c (something) to be laid down and to
be placed (?) inside.”

Comments

anθ[-]jeri: inf. of the pass. in *-ri* of the verb *anθ[-]e-* of which the first element, which is completely preserved, is related with *hinθu* and

likewise originates from the Luwian preposition *anda* “in” and corresponds to the latter’s Lycian derivative *ñte* (testifying to the weakness of the initial vowel). Accordingly, it may safely be deduced that the verb expresses the meaning that something which is not further specified is to be placed inside.

[]

12 *etna-m eisna* “And during these the divine
omina (to be observed).”

Comments

See *etna-m*, see III, 12 above; for *eisna*, see IV, 22 above.

12 *iχ flereś Crapśti* “This for the statue in the sanctuary
of Grabovius.”

Comments

For *iχ* in its apparent use of a variant of the demonstrative pronoun *ic(a)*- “this”, see VI, 8 above; for the variant expression *flereś* in *Crapśti*, see IV, 7-8 above.

13 *θunśna θunś flerś* “On the second day for both
statue(s).”

Comments

θunśna: D sg. in *-a* of the day name (element *-n-*) *θunśn-* “second day”, which bears testimony of a derivative in *-ś-* of the ordinal numeral *θun-* of the cardinal numeral *θu(va)-* or *tu-* “2”.

θunś: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the ordinal numeral *θun-* “second”. From the context it seems clear, however, that here rather the meaning “both” applies, as the form likely refers back to the statues of Amphion and Laios as mentioned in VI, 9 and VI, 10 above.

flerś: syncopated variant of *flereś*, the D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the noun *flere-* “statue”, apparently used here for the expression of the dual.

[vacat]

14 *eslem zaθrumiś acale* “In June on the 19th (day).”

Comments

eslem zaθrumiś: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the numeral formed by the combination of *zaθrum-* “20” with *esl-* “first”, which latter, however, is marked by the subtractive element *-em* so that we arrive at the ordinal numeral “19th”. In this manner, then, the day in the month on which the divine acts specified below have to take place is indicated.

acale: D sg. in *-e* of the month name “June” which we already came across in syncopated variant *acl-* in V, 18 above.

- 14 *Tinś in śarle* “(For) Dionysos: during offerings
with incense.”

Comments

Tinś: undeclined form of the GN *Tinś-* “Dionysos”, which, like in V, 19-20 above, is used for the expression of the D sg.

śarle: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of *śarl-*, an adjectival derivative in *-l-* of the noun *śar-* “incense (< smoke offering)”.

- 15 *luθti raχ ture acil* “At the games (of) the regia one
will give a sacrificially killed
animal.”

Comments

luθti: Loc. pl. in *-ti* of the noun *luθ-* “game”. Note that this form, in variant writing *luθt* characterized by the loss of the vowel with respect to the ending, also occurs in XII, 1 below.

ture: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-e* of the verb *tur-* “to give”, discussed in connection with the related nominal form *tura* in II, 10 above.

acil: derivative in *-l-* of the root *aci-*, which is related to that of the verb *hec(i)-* “to finish off, slaughter” as discussed sub VI, 6 above, and therefore likely refers to a sacrificially killed animal. Note that *acil-* also renders services as a verbal root in the form *acilune*, an inf. of the act. in *-une*, as attested for line 9 of the text on the lateral side of the Perugia cippus (see chapter 16).

- 15 *cati-Caθ luθ<i> celθi-m* “At this (place one will hold) games
and cult(-festival)s (in honor of)
Cauthas.”

Comments

cati: Loc. sg. in *-ti* of the demonstrative pronoun *ca-* “this”. Note that this form is distinguished from its near equivalent *clθi*, which we already came across in the discussion of phrase III, 18-19 above, not only by the fortition of the dental in regard to the ending, but also by the omission of the adjectival morpheme *-l-*.

Caθ: shorthand variant of the GN *Ca(ve)θ-* “Cauthas” used here for the indication of the D sg.

luθ<i>: A(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the noun *luθ-* “game”.

celθi: A(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the noun *celθ-* “cult(-festival)”, which we are already familiar with in variant form *cilθ-*.

- 16 *χim scu-χie* “A hecatomb for (all participants),
who(ever will) walk in procession.”

Comments

χim: see III, 13 above.

scu: shorthand variant of the verb *scu-* “to walk in procession”. This verbal root, which in other texts also appears in the variant forms *ścu-* and *scuv-*, is to be analyzed as a compound of the preverb *s-*, a reflex of Lycian *ese* “with”, with the verbal root *cu-* or *cuv-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ḫwá-* “to walk, stride, run” and its derivative in Lycian, *χuva-* “to follow”.

-χie : D pl. in *-e* of the enclitic variant of the relative pronoun *χi-* “who, what”, as discussed in connection with phrase II, n3 above.

- 16 *acil hupniś painie-m* “A sacrificially killed animal also
for the donators among the dead.”

Comments

hupniś: A(m/f) pl. in *-iś* of the noun *hupn-* “dead”, which is related to Greek ὕπνος “sleep” and as such no doubt comes into consideration as a euphemism.

painie: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the noun *paini-* “donator”, an adjectival derivative in *-ni-* of the verbal root *pai-* which corresponds to Hittite *pāi-* “to give”.

- 17 *an-c Martiθ sulal* “During (it) also (one) in the
sanctuary of Mars for the sun.”

Comments

Martiθ: Loc. sg. in *-θ* of the GN *Marti-* “Mars” (= Latin *Mārs*, G *Mārtis*), no doubt, like in the case of *Hamφeθi* and *Laeti* in VI, 4-5 and VI, 5 above, bearing reference to the sanctuary of this deity.

sulal: D(-G) sg. in *-l* of the noun *sul(a)-* “sun”, corresponding to Latin *sol* of the same meaning.

[vacat]

[]

LL, VII

1-6 (Of unclear meaning, looks like a song or poetic section.)

6 *ciz trinθaśa śacni-tn* “Three times consecrated animals:
sacrifice this!”

Comments

ciz: see III, 16.

trinθaśa: see VI, 6.

-tn: A(m/f) sg. in *-n* of the enclitic variant of the demonstrative pronoun *t(a)-* “this”.

7 *an cilθ<l> ceχane sal* “During the cult(-festival), the first
 śuci-va firin arθ to the members of the senate and
 with a girl (at) and a fire on the
 altar.”

Comments

ceχane: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the noun *ceχan-* “member of the senate”. Note that the noun in question is an adjectival derivative in *-n-* of the root *ceχα-* “senate”.

sal: see VI, 1.

śuci: D sg. in *-i* of *śuc(i)-* “girl”, also featuring in the text of the discus of Magliano.

-va: enclitic variant of the introductory particle *va-*, on which see III, 15 above.

firin: A(m/f) sg. in *-n* of the noun *firi-* “fire”, which, if allowance be made for the lenition of the initial labial, corresponds to Umbrian *pir*

arθ: Loc. sg. in *-θ* of the noun *ar(a)*- “altar”, on which see III, 16-17 above.

- ### Comments

ceus: N(m/f) sg. in *-ś* of the noun *ceu-* “fire”, which originates from PIE **keu-* “to burn, set to fire”. Note that the N(m/f) sg. ending in *-ś* or *-s*, just like that of the A(m/f) in *-n*, rarely turns up in the nominal declension, but that, again, the same verdict applies to its Lycian counterpart in *-s*. In both instances, the ending in question originates from cuneiform Luwian *-š*, Luwian hieroglyphic *-sa* and is related to Lydian *-s* or *-ś* for the same function.

sve: see II, 4 above.

tutin: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the adjective *tutin-* “public”, which is a derivative in *-n-* of the noun *tuti-* “people”, corresponding to Oscan *touto-* and Umbrian *tuta-* of the same meaning (but cf. also Lycian *tuta* and Phrygian *touta* or *tuta* in this connection, as noted in chapter 6).

reu: root-form of the verb *reu-*, corresponding to *riva-* “to speak” from the text of the discus of Magliano, used for the expression of the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. From a comparative point of view, this verb is related to Greek ῥέω “to flow (of words)”.

-*zua*: enclitic variant of the reflexive pronoun of the 3rd pers. *sve*, characterized by interchange between [s] and [z].

- 9 *etna-m cepen ceren* “And of these things the priest will
 śuci-c firin <arθ> take care with a girl (at and) a fire
 on the altar.”

Comments

ceren: endingless form of the verb *ceren-* “to take care (of)” used for the expression of the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. If we realize that we are dealing here with a factitive variant in *-n-* of the basic root *cer(e)-*, a relationship of this verb to the Latin adjective *cārus* “dear, beloved” may reasonably be suggested.

For the latter part of the phrase, see VII, 7 above.

- 10 *tesim* “With respect to the burial.”

Comments

Cf. III, 12 above. Note that we are dealing here with the *accusativus respectus*.

- 10 *etna-m celu-cn caiti-m* “From these things only the third:
 this he will burn.”

Comments

For the first part of the phrase, see III, 12 above.

caiti: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-ti* of the verb *kai-* “to burn, set to fire”, corresponding to Greek καίω, κάω of the same meaning. Note that the ending *-ti* is a variant of the one in *-θ(i)*, characterized by fortition of the initial dental, and in this manner bears the closest resemblance to the cuneiform Luwian, Luwian hieroglyphic, and Lycian 3rd pers. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-ti*.

- 10-1 *caper-χva hecia aisna* “What(ever) to be taken,
 clevana χim slaughtered animals, divine omina,
 and temple-offerings (to be
 sacrificed) as a hecatomb.”

Comments

caper: see VI, 6 above.

hecia: N-A(n) in *-a* of the noun *heci(a)*- “slaughtered animal”, related to the verb *hec(i)*- “to finish off, slaughter” which we have already discussed in the context of phrase VI, 6 above.

aisna: cf. *eisna* in IV, 22 above.

clevana: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the noun *clevan(a)*- “temple-offering”, which consists of an adjectival derivative in *-n-* of the root *cleva-* “enclosure, precinct”. The latter root originates from Hittite *hila-* and is related to Lycian *qla-* of the same meaning.

11-2 *ena-c usil cerine* “And he will take care (of this)
during the year.”

Comments

usil: D(-G) sg. in *-l* of the noun *usi-* “year”, for the discussion of which see III, 17-18 above.

cerine: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-e* of the verb *cerin-*, which in writing variant *ceren-* we have already encountered in VII, 9 above.

12 *tenθa cn-tna-m Θesan* “Please preserve this from these
masn (things) only: (dedications to)
Thesan and the god.”

Comments

tenθa: 3rd pers. sg. of the subj. of the act. in *-θa* of the verb *ten-* “to hold”. Note that this verb corresponds to Latin *teneo* of the same meaning.

masn: undeclined variant of the noun *masn-* “god”, which in form of *masan-* is also attested for the bilingual texts on the gold tablets from Pyrgi and originates from Luwian hieroglyphic *masana-* “god”, while it is more distantly related to the latter’s derivative Lycian *mahana-* of the same meaning.

13 *zelvθ murś-ś etna-m* “Everytime a praetor dies during it,
θaca-c usli nexse please set out from these only
during the latter half of the year.”

Comments

zelvθ: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the honorific title *zelvθ-* “praetor”, a mere graphic variant of *zilaθ-* or *zilat-*. From a comparative point of view, this titular expression is related to Lydian *silu-* as in *siluka-*,

15 *va-cl cepen θaurχ cerene* “And for this (case) the priest of the
acil store-room will take care of the
sacrificially killed animal.”

cerene: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in -e of the verb *ceren-* or *cerin-*, which we have already encountered in VII, 9 and VII, 11-12 above.

- firiθ*: Loc. sg. in *-θ* of the noun *firi-* “fire”, see VII, 7 above.

- See III, 12 above.

- 17 *etna-m celu-cn* “From these the third only: this (he will burn).”

Comments

See III, 12 above.

- 17 *va-cl ara θuni* “And in this (case) at the altar for both (deities).”

Comments

θuni: D sg. in *-i* of the ordinal numeral *θun-* “second”, here used for the expression of the meaning “both”, *i.e.* the deities mentioned in VII, 12 above, reminiscent of that of “double” in the text of the cippus of Perugia (in line 12 of the front side and line 19 of the lateral side).

- 18-9 *śacnicleri cilθl cepen* “On the days of the sacrifices for
cilθ-cva cepen cnticnθ in the cult(-festival) the priest with
ceren cepar respect to what(ever concerning)
the cult (will be) the overall leading
priest (and) during (the acts) he
will take care of (things) to be
taken.”

Comments

-cva: N-A(n) pl. of the enclitic variant of the relative pronoun *cva-* “who, what”, see VI, 1 above. Note that we are dealing here with the *accusativus respectus*.

cnticnθ: endingless apposition to the religious title *cepen-* “priest”, which consists of the reduplication of *cant(i)-* or *canθ(i)-*, related to the titular expression *camθ(i)-* or *canθ-* for one of the highest offices in the Etruscan *cursus honorum* and ultimately originating from the Luwian hieroglyphic preposition *hanta-* “in front of” from which the honorific title *hantawat-* “king” is derived, and the latter’s reflexes in Lycian, *χñtawat(i)-* “king”, and Lydian, *Kandaulēs* (MN). In this manner, then, we arrive at the meaning “overall leading” for the apposition in question.

cepar: graphic variant of *caper(i)*, the inf. of the pass. of the verb *cap(e)-* “to take” as attested for VI, 6 and VII, 10-11 above and, in full form, VIII, 9-10 below.

- 19- *nac amce etna-m śuci firin* “And in case it has taken place
20 *<arθ>* (already) from these only with a girl (at and) a fire on the altar.”

Comments

amce: 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense of the act. in *-ce* of the verb *am-* “to be”.

For the introductory particle *nac*, see III, 14-15 above; for the latter part of the phrase, cf. VII, 7 and VII, 9 above.

20 *etna-m Velθite* “From these only at Volsinii.”

Comments

Velθite: form marked by the ethnic suffix *-te-*, expressing the meaning “from the place” and corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ti-* (also rhotacized *-r-*, see Woudhuizen 2005: 44-45), Cypro-Minoan *-te-*, and Lycian *-de-* for the same function (Woudhuizen 2008: 81; 139; cf. Woudhuizen 2011: 431), of the root *Velθ-* which is also present, be it in assimilated variant, in the place-name *Velzna-* “Volsinii” (Woudhuizen 2008: 154). Taking this evidence at face value, it seems likely to infer that the text of the *Liber linteus* has a bearing on the cult of the pan-Etruscan sanctuary at Volsinii near lake Bolsena. Such an inference is partly underlined by the mention in VI, 7 above of the form *Velθinal*, a D(-G) sg. in *-l* of the family name *Velthina-*, whose members were preeminent in politics and society more in general of the region between Volsinii and Perugia from, as far as our sources allow us to determine, the late 6th century BC, the era of Lars Porsenna, up to the time of the cippus of Perugia which dates from about the same period as the *Liber linteus* (Pirovano 1985: 80-81; cf. Woudhuizen 2008: 144-161).

20 *etna-m aisvale* “For these only (applies that they
are considered as) from things
belonging to the divine cult.”

Comments

See VI, 7 above, and note that *aisvale*, D(-G) pl. in *-e*, is replaced here by the related *aisunal* which renders D(-G) sg. in *-l*.

21 *va-cl ar<a> par ścunueri* “And in this (case) to be walked in
procession along the front side of
the altar.”

Comments

par: postposition “in front of”, related to the preverb *per* as in *perp-* “to bless, consecrate” (< Luwian hieroglyphic *para pia-* of the same

meaning) frequently used in the text of the Capua tile, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *para* and Lycian *per* or *pri* for the same function.

šcunueri: inf. of the pass. in *-eri* of a factitive in *-nu-* of the verb *šcu-* “to walk in procession”, see VI, 16 above.

21-2 *ceren cepen θaurχ* “The priest of the storeroom will take care of (the acts).”

Comments

Cf. VII, 15 above.

22-3 *etna-m iχ mata-m šuci-c* “And for these (cases): the
firin cereθi assembly will also take care of the fire also with a girl (at the altar).”

Comments

iχ: introductory particle, used here, like in VI, 8 and VI, 12 above, as a form of the demonstrative pronoun *ic(a)-* “this”.

mata: mere graphic variant of *meθ-* “assembly”, on which see II, n4-5 above.

cereθi: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-θi* of the verb *cer(e)-* “to take care (of)”, which in factitive variant in *-n-* we already came across in VII, 9, VII, 11-12, and VII, 15 above.

23 *ena-ś ara θuni* “During it on the altar for both (deities).”

Comments

Cf. VII, 17 above.

23-4 *etna-m ceren [cepen* “For these only the priest of the
θaurχ] storeroom will take care of (the acts).”

Comments

Cf. VII, 15 and VII, 21-22 above.

[]

LL, VIII

[vacat]

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>θucte ciś śariś
esvita</i> | “In August on the 13(th day),
according to the ceremony.” |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|

Comments

θucte: D sg. in *-e* of the month name *θuct-*, convincingly identified as “August” by van der Meer 2007: 28. In variant writing *θux̣t(i)* this month name is further attested for lines 19-20 of side A of the *tabula Cortonensis*.

ciś śariś: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the numeral “13”, no doubt referring to the 13th day of the month in question.

esvita: adverb in *-ta* of the noun *esvi-* “ceremony”. Note that the same formation of adverbs is recorded for *riθnaita* “ritually” from the text of the Capua tile and *m̥laχ(u)ta* “beautifully” from TLE 27 = Rix 1991: Fa 6.1. From an etymological point of view it corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ta* for the same function, see Woudhuizen 2011: 437, note 56.

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 1-2 | <i>va-cl-tna-m Culś-cva
spetri</i> | “And during this from these
what(ever) to be libated to
Culsans.” |
|-----|--|---|

Comments

Culś-: GN of which the root corresponds to Hittite *Gulšeš* “divinities of fate”.

spetri: inf. of the pass. in *-ri* of the verb *spet-* “to libate”, the root of which is also traceable in the vase name *spanti* “plate”—if only an implement used within the frame of libations—and originates, like Lycian *h̥pp̥it-*, from Hittite *šipand-* “to libate” (< PIE **spend-*). Cf. also Greek σπονδεῖον and Latin *spondeum*.

Note that the element *-tna-m* is used proleptically here, in anticipation of *etna-m* in the following phrase.

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 2 | <i>etna-m ic<a> esvitle
amperi</i> | “From all (the material)s only this
to be carried around on the days of
the ceremonies.” |
|---|--|--|

6 *rane-m scare* “And one will as such renew (and) sanctify.”

Comments

rane: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-e* of the verb *ran-*, which in variant writing *rinu-* we already encountered in V, 18-19 above. Note, however, that from a comparative point of view we may rather be dealing here with a reflex of Luwian hieroglyphic *nawa-* “new” instead of *nuwa-* of the same meaning but only used in toponyms.

scare: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-e* of the verb *scar-*, treated in the discussion of VIII, 4 above.

- 7 *reu-χ-zina Caveθ* “And one will pray (and) please
make (for) Cauthas.”

Comments

reu: see VII, 8-9 above.

zina: 3rd pers. sg. of the subj. of the act. in *-a* of the verb *zin(e)-* “to make”, corresponding to Hittite *zinna-* “to finish, complete”.

Caveθ: endless form of the GN *Ca(ve)θ-* “Cauthas”, used for the expression of the D sg.

- 7 *zuśleva-c mac ramurθi* “And one will be revigorating five
piglets.”

Comments

zuśleva: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of *zuślev-* “piglet”, see discussion of *zuśle* in II, 11-12 above.

mac: cardinal numeral “five”, attested in lenited form *maχ* for the dice from Tuscan (TLE 197a-b = Rix 1991: AT 0.14-15). Note that this numeral, like the noun *mex-* or *meθ-* “assembly”, originates from Luwian **mekki-* “numerous” referring in this particular case to the full hand with five fingers as can be further underlined by the fact that the Luwian hieroglyphic sign for the number “5”, L 392, renders the acrophonic value *ma*₇.

ramurθi: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the pass. in *-rθi* of the verb *ramu-* “to revigorate”. The verb in question is likely to be analyzed as a compound of the preverb *ra-* for emphatic purposes, originating from Luwian *arha* and Lycian *eri* for the same function, with the verbal root *mu-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *muwa-* “to make strong”. Note that the ending of the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the pass. in *-rθi* can positively be traced back to Luwian hieroglyphic by *-rti* for the same function.

- 8 *reu-χ-zineti ramueθ* “And one will pray (and) make
 vinum acilθ ame (and) revigorate (with) wine (and)
 be present at the sacrificial killing
 of the animal(s).”

Comments

zineti: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-ti* of the verb *zin(e)-* “to make”, see discussion in the context of phrase VIII, 7 above.

ramueθ: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. in *-θ* of the verb *ramue-* “to revigorate”, a lengthened variant of *ramu-* as discussed in connection with the preceding phrase.

For the combination of *acilθ ame*, see VIII, 6 above.

- 9 *mula hursi puruθn* “Please bring thank-offerings to,
 among the great ones, the
 president.”

Comments

mula: 3rd pers. sg. of the subj. of the act. in *-a* of the verb *mul-* “to bring thank-offerings”. Note that this particular verbal form is to be distinguished from its nominal look-alike *mula* as mentioned in X, 20-21 below.

hursi: A(m/f) pl. in *-i* of an adjectival derivative in *-s-* of the adjective *hur-* “great”, a mere graphic variant of *ur-* in VI, 1-2 characterized by initial [h].

puruθn: endingless form of the honorific title *puruθn-* “president”, which, like its variant *priθ-* in VIII, 4 above, corresponds to Greek πρύτανις “ruler, lord”.

- 9-10 *va-cl usi clucθraś caperi* “And for him during the year to be
 zamθi-c distinguished “third-timers” and (to
 be taken) votive offerings.”

Comments

usi: D sg. in *-i* of the noun *us(i)-* “year”, see III, 17-18.

In like manner as in phrase V, 16-17 above, we are dealing here with a *nominativus cum infinitivo* in which the nominative forms are represented by *clucθraś* (N(m/f) pl. in *-aś*) and *zamθi* (N(m/f) pl. in *-i*) and the passive infinitive by *caperi* “to be taken”. Of the nominal forms, the meaning of *zamθi* can be retrieved from oblivion owing to its etymological relationship to Luwian hieroglyphic *zāmatia-* “votive

offering”. In the case of *clucθraś*, on the other hand, we appear to be confronted with an indication of some sort of people rather than things, if only the sequence *-θr-* may come into consideration as a reflex of the Anatolian formans of agent nouns in *-tar-* (see Friedrich 1974: 39; for its origin from PIE **-ter-* or **-tor-*, see Fortson 2004: 111-112). Along this line of reasoning, the first element *clu-* may well be explained in terms of a syncopated variant of the ordinal numeral *celu-* “third”. If all this holds water, we end up with an indication of “third-timers”, that is to say individuals among the participants in the ceremonies who are present for the third time in succession. These are not “to be taken” like the votive offerings, but “to be taken apart” or “distinguished”.

- 10 *va-cl ar<a> flereri* “And for him on the altar with the
 sacnisa statues sacrificial animals.”

Comments

flereri: D pl. in *-ri* of the noun *flere-* “statue”.

sacnisa: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of a nominal derivative in *-s-* of the verb *sacni-* “to sacrifice”, hence referring to sacrificial animals. For the type of formation cf. *trinθaśa* in VI, 6 and VII, 6 above.

- 11 *sacnicleri trin flere* “On the days of the sacrifices one
 Neθunsl will consecrate for the statue of
 Neptunus.”

Comments

sacnicleri: see discussion of *śacnicleri* in the comments to II, n4-5.

trin: see discussion in the comments to III, 13.

flere Neθunsl: cf. VIII, 3-4 above; for *flere* as the D sg. in *-e* of the noun *flere-* “statue”, see III, 18-19 above.

- 11-2 *une mlax puθsθa clθ* “Please sacrifice with one beautiful
 (thank-offering) in the (...) of this
 (location).”

Comments

une: D sg. in *-e* of *un-* “one”. For the form *un* as a shorthand variant of *unum*, see III, 18-19 above. For the sequence *une mlax*, cf. X, f6 below.

clθ: Loc. sg. in *-θ* of adjectival derivative in *-l-* of the demonstrative pronoun *c(a)-* “this”. Note that this is a variant of *clθi* as attested for III, 18-19, characterized by the loss of the final vowel.

Comments

zivas: participle in *-as* of the verb *ziv-* “to live”.

Comments

ruze: see IV, 5 above.

Comments

zati: Abl.-Instr. sg. in *-ti* of the cardinal numeral *za-* “one”. From the context, it seems clear that *za-* is used here to express the ordinal meaning “first”.

14 *śacni-cś-treś cilθś* “(And) sacrifice during this (time)
śpureś-treś a τριπτύς for the cult(-festival and)
 a τριπτύς for the town!”

Comments

See II, n1-2, II, 3-4, and V, 3 above.

- 14-5 *ena-ś Eθrse Tinsī Tiuri-m* “During it the Etruscans (will be devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-god.”

Comments

See II, n2-3, III, 21-2, IV, 1-2, and V, 4, and cf. II, 5 above.

- 15 *avilś χiś hetrn* “Who(ever will be) of age: to settle down.”

Comments

For *avilś χiś*, see II, n3, etc., above; for *hetrn*, see V, 17-18 above.

- 16 *acl-χ-n ais cemna-χ* “But in June not (for) the god and the twin.”

Comments

See V, 18 above and note that the enclitic conjunction occurs here in variant form *-χ* characterized by lenition of the velar.

- 16 *θezin fler* “One will lay down (in front of) the statue.”

Comments

θezin: variant form of *θezine*, see III, 13 above, characterized by the loss of the ending in *-e*.

- 16-7 *va-cl etna-m tesim* “And from these the burial for him.”

Comments

Cf. III, 12 above.

- 17 *etna-m celu-cn trin alc[e]* “But from these this: only the third he will consecrate (after) he has dedicated (it).”

Comments

For the first part of the phrase, cf. III, 12 above.

alce: 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense of the act. in *-ce* of the verb *al-* “to dedicate (v.s)” (TLE 625, etc.). Note that this verbal form also occurs in variant writing *alice* (TLE 43 and 49 = Rix 1991: Ve 3.28 and Ve 3.1), not yet affected by syncope. In view of the latter observation, an etymological relationship to Luwian hieroglyphic *aliā-* “to desire” seems to recommend itself.

[]

f1-2 *na-χva ara nunθene* “(But) one will not dedicate
[śaθaś what(ever thing)s (or) men at the
altar.”

Comments

Cf. III, 16-17 above and note that the present phrase confronts us with a negative version of it.

f2 *na-χve heχz* “(And) one will not for what(ever
reason)s place outside.”

Comments

See III, 17 above.

f2 *ma]le huslneś-tś* “From the thank-offerings on the
fourth day during this
(ceremony).”

Comments

male: see III, 17-18 above.

huslneś: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the day name in *-n-* of the ordinal variant in *-l-* of the numeral *hus-* “four”. Cf. *huslne* in III, 19-20 and *huslna* in VIII, 5.

tś: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the enclitic variant of the demonstrative pronoun *t(a)-* “this”.

f3 *[trin flere Neθunś]l* “One will consecrate for the statue
of Neptunus.”

Comments

Cf. VIII, 11 above.

f3-4 *un mlaχ nunθen[θa clθi* “Please dedicate a beautiful (thank-

Comments

See II, n3, II, 6, III, 22, V, 4-5 above, and cf. IV, 3, IV, 15-16, and V, 11-12 above.

f7-8 *tul θans hate-c repine-c* “(Within) the boundarie(s which) will be set out, one will eat and spend time.”

Comments

See III, 22-23, IV, 3-4, and IV, 16 above.

f8 *śacnicleri cilθl* “On the days of the sacrifices to the cult(-festival

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s1 *śpureri meθlumeri-c* organized) by the town(’s official)s and members of the assembly.”

Comments

See II, n4-5, II, 7-8, III, 23, V, 6, and V, 13 above.

s1 *ena-ś raχθ <suθ nunθenθ>* “During it they will dedicate a grave gift at the regia.”

Comments

See II, n5 and V, 7 above.

s2 *trin flere Neθunśl* “One will consecrate for the statue of Neptunus.”

Comments

See VIII, f3 above.

s2 *un mlaχ nunθen]* “They will dedicate a beautiful (thank-offering).”

Comments

Cf. III, 18-19, VIII, 11-12, and VIII, f3-4 above.

- 1 *zuśleve zarve* “Together with piglets for smoke offerings.”

Comments

zuśleve: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of *zuśl-* or *zuślev-* “piglet”, see discussion in the comments to phrase II, 11-12 above.

zarve: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of *zarv-* “smoke-offering”, which in shorthand variant also occurs in form of *zer-*, see II, 2 above.

- 1 *ecn zer[i] lecin* “Burn this as smoke offerings!”

Comments

See II, 2 and cf. V, 1-2 above.

- 1-2 *in ze-c fler θezince* “During (it) they have laid down also one (in front of) the statue.”

Comments

See IV, 3 above.

- 2-3 *śacni-cś-treś cilθś* “Sacrifice during this (time) a
 śpureś-treś τριττύς for the cult(-festival and)
 a τριττύς for the town!”

Comments

See II, n1-2, II, 3-4, V, 3, and VIII, 14 above.

- 3 *ena-ś Eθrse Tinśi Tiuri-m* “During it the Etruscans (will be devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-god.”

Comments

See II, n2-3, III, 21-2, IV, 1-2, V, 4, and VIII, 14-5, and cf. II, 5 above.

- 4 *avilś χίς cisu-m pute* “Who(ever will be) of age: drink three times as well!”

Comments

See II, n3, II, 6, III, 22, V, 4-5, and VIII, f7 above, and cf. IV, 3, IV, 15-16, V, 11-12 above.

- 4-5 *tul θans haθe repine-c* “(Within) the boundarie(s which) will be set out, one will eat and spend time.”

Comments

See III, 22-23, IV, 3-4, IV, 16, and VIII, f7-8 above.

- 5-6 *śacnicleri cilθl śpureri
meθlumeri-c* “On the days of the sacrifices for the cult(-festival organized) by the town(’s official)s and members of the assembly.”

Comments

See II, n4-5, II, 7-8, III, 23, V, 6, V, 13, and VIII, f8-IX, s1 above.

- 6 *ena-ś raχθ tur<a> heχśθ* “During it at the regia one will place outside donations.”

Comments

Cf. IV, 9 above.

- 7 *vinum trin flere Neθunśl* “One will consecrate (with) wine for the statue of Neptunus.”

Comments

Cf. VIII, 11 and VIII, f3 above.

- 7-8 *un mlaχ nunθen* “They will dedicate one beautiful (thank-offering).”

Comments

See IX, s2 above, and cf. III, 18-19, VIII, 11-12, and VIII, f3-4 above.

- 8 *zuśleve zarve* “Together with piglets for smoke offerings.”

Comments

See IX, 1 above.

- 8-9 *fa-ś-ei-c ecn zeri lecin* “And during it from them also this:

burn (this) as smoke offerings!”

Comments

See V, 1-2 above and cf. II, 2 and IX, 1 above.

9 *in ze-c fler θezinc[e]* “During (it) they have laid down
(in front of) the statue.”

Comments

See IV, 3 and IX, 1-2 above.

9-10 *śJacni-cś-treś cilθś* “Sacrifice during this (time)
śpures-treś a τριτύς for the cult(-festival and)
a τριτύς for the town!”

Comments

See II, n1-2, II, 3-4, V, 3, VIII, 14, and IX, 2-3 above.

10-1 *ena-ś [Eθ]rse Tinśi* “During it the Etruscans (will be
Tiuri-m devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-
god.”

Comments

See II, n2-3, III, 21-2, IV, 1-2, V, 4, VIII, 14-5, and IX, 3 above, and
cf. II, 5 above.

11 *avilś χίς cisu-m put[e]* “Who(ever will be) of age: drink
three times as well!”

Comments

See II, n3, II, 6, III, 22, V, 4-5, VIII, f7, and IX, 4 above, and cf. IV,
3, IV, 15-16, and V, 11-12 above.

11-2 *tul θans haθe-c* “(Within) the boundarie(s which)
repine-c will be set out, one will eat and
spend time.”

Comments

See III, 22-23, IV, 3-4, IV, 16, VIII, f7-8, and IX, 4-5 above.

12-3 *śacnicleri cilθl śpureri* “On the days of the sacrifices

meθlumeri-c for the cult(-festival organized)
by the town('s official)s and
members of the assembly.”

Comments

See II, n4-5, II, 7-8, III, 23, V, 6, V, 13, VIII, f8-IX, s1, and IX, 5-6 above.

13-4 *ena-ś raχθ suθ nunθenθ* “During it they will dedicate
zusleve a grave gift at the regia together
with piglets.”

Comments

See II, n5 above and cf. IV, 10, V, 7, and IX, s1 above.

14-5 *fa-ś-ei-c Farθan flerei* “And during it to them: to the
Neθunśl raχθ Maid (and) the statue of
Neptunus at the regia.”

Comments

fa-ś-ei-c: see VIII, f5-6 and IX, 8-9 above.

flerei: D sg. in *-i* of the noun *flere*- “statue”.

Neθunśl: G sg. in *-l* of the GN *Neθunś*- “Neptunus”, which occurs here in variant writing characterized by interchange between [ś] and [s].

15 *cletram śren-χve* “(On) the bier for what(ever
number of) *śren*-.”

Comments

Cf. II, 10-11, II, 12-13, IV, 12, and V, 8, and for exact parallels see III, 13, III, 16, and IV, 10, above.

15-6 *nunθenθ Estrei Alφazei* “They will dedicate piglets to
zusleve raχθ the Alban Astarte at the regia.”

Comments

Cf. V, 8-9.

16 *ei-m tul var* “And (this) not (within) another
boundary.”

See IV, 12 and V, 9-10 above.

- Comments

tei: see II, 10-11 above.

- For the rest of the phrase, see IV, 2, V, 9-10, and IX, 16 above.

- Cf. V, 10 above and note that in the role of recipient *flere Neθunsl* “to the statue of Neptunus” replaces *Eiser śic Śeu-c* “to Asherah, and similarly to Zeus”.

- See IX, s2 and IX, 7-8 above, and cf. III, 18-19 and VIII, f3-4 above. Note that in comparison to V, 11 and V, 20 *unum* “one” is replaced here by the shorthand form *un*.

- 19- *χίς esviś-c fa-ś-ei* “Who(ever) also (takes part) in the
20 *cisu-m pute* ceremony: during it [*i.e.* the ceremony] for them: drink three times as well!”

The first part of the phrase corresponds to V, 19-20 above. For the latter part, cf. IX, 11 above and the references given there.

- See III, 22-23, IV, 3-4, IV, 16, VIII, f7-8, IX, 4-5, and IX, 11-12 above.

- See II, n4-5, II, 7-8, III, 23, V, 6, V, 13, VIII, f8-IX, s1, IX, 5-6, and IX, 12-13 above.

- Cf. V, 14 above and note that in the role of recipient *flere Neθunsl* “to the statue of Neptunus” replaces *Eiser sic Šeu-c* “to Asherah, and similarly to Zeus”.

- See V, 14-15 above.

- 23-4 *fa-ś-e śin <vinum> ais* “And during it for them with wine:
cemna-c (to) the god and the twin.”

Comments

Cf. IV, 20-21 above.

- 24 *fā-ś-e-ís raχθ sutanaś* “And during it to them these at the
regia: grave gifts.”

Comments

See IV, 21 and V, 15 above.

- 24 *celi suθ]* “In September a grave gift.”

Comments

See IV, 21-22 and V, 16 above, and cf. IV, 14 above.

[]

- f1 *nac-um aisna hinθu* “And to pour *trau*-wine over the
vinum trau prucuna divine omina from the inside.”

Comments

-um: variant form of the enclitic conjunction *-m* “but; and”, see V, 17-18 above.

hinθu: D sg. in *-u* of the noun *hinθ(u)*- “inside”, which, just like its relative *anθ-*, originates from the Luwian preposition *anda* “in” and corresponds to the latter’s Lycian derivative *ñte*—testifying to the weakness of the initial vowel.

prucuna: inf. of the act. in *-una* of the verb *pruc-* “to pour”, which we already came across in variant form *pruχ-*, characterized by lenition of the velar, and have already observed to be etymologically related to Greek *προχέω* of the same meaning (see discussion of phrase IV, 22 in the above).

[vacat]

- f2 *ciem cealχus lauχumneti* “In October on the 27(th day):
eisna θαχśeri divine omina to be assembled.”

Comments

ciem cealχus: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the numeral formed by the combination of *cealχu-* “30” with *ci-* “three”, which latter, however, is marked by the subtractive element *-em* so that we arrive at the

translation “27”. It stands to reason to assume that this cardinal numeral is used here for the ordinal “27th”, as it refers to the day in the month specified in the following. Note that the formation of multiples of ten in *-lχ-* is most closely paralleled for Lemnian in form of *-lχve-*.

lauχumneti: Loc sg. in *-ti* of the month name *lauχumne-* “October”.

θαχséeri: inf. of the pass. in *-ri* of the verb *θαχsé-*, which, in the given context, at first sight appears to express the meaning “to observe”. It seems not far-fetched, however, to think here of a connection with Hittite *takš-* “to join” (< PIE **tekš-* “to hew, fabricate”, see Mallory & Adams 2007: 220), in the sense of “to assemble”, viz. the data from the omina.

[]

LL, X

[]

1-2 [c]epen sul “Priest (of) the sun(-cult).”

Comments

cepen: see VII, 8-9 above.

sul: see VI, 17 above.

2 *peθereni ciem cealχuz* “In July on the 27(th day).”

Comments

peθereni: see VI, 4 above.

ciem cealχuz: variant writing of *ciem cealχús*, characterized by interchange between [ś] and [z], as attested for IX, f2 above.

2-3 *capeni mare-m za-χ ame* “Concerning the priests among the magistrates: (one of them) will be”

Comments

capeni: A(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the religious title *cepen-* “priest”, which occurs here in graphic variant characterized by the vowel [a] instead of [e] concerning the first syllable, in this manner emphasizing the relationship to Lydian *kave-* of the same meaning as suggested in our

comments to phrase VII, 8-9 above. Note that we are dealing here with the *accusativus respectus*.

mare: D pl. in *-e* of the honorific title *mar-* “magistrate”. This title is reminiscent of the Umbrian titular expression *maro*, but ultimately originates from Celtic *māro-* “great, illustrious”.

- 3 *nac-um cepen flanaχ* “: high priest.”

Comments

For the combination at the beginning of the phrase, see IX, f1 above. *flanaχ*: endingless apposition to the religious title *cepen-* “priest”, used for the expression of the N(m/f) sg. This apposition is marked by the element *-χ* in like manner as its equivalent *θaurχ* “of the store-room” in VII, 15 and VII, 21-22. Accordingly, we are left with the root *flana-*, which bears a striking resemblance to Latin *flāmen* “high priest”—a meaning which perfectly fits our present context.

- 4 *va-cl ar<a> ratum χuru* “And for him one shall place in July
 peθereni θucu the chariot with a dance at the
 altar.”

Comments

ratum: A(m/f or n) sg. in *-m* of the noun *ratu-* “chariot”. In root-form *ratu* this noun is attested for the text of the Capua tile (chapter 13), whereas in syncopated declined form *ratm* it can be encountered twice in the text of the *tabula Cortonensis* (chapter 15). The ending in *-m* may well be due to adstrate influences from Latin. However this may be, the root *ratu-* “chariot” corresponds to the Luwian onomastic element *radu-* (as in the royal name *Tarhundaradus* and that of a renegade high functionary, *Piyamaradus*) < PIE **rot-h₂-o-* “wheel” (Woudhuizen 2011: 401).

χuru: D sg. in *-u* of the noun *χur(u)-* “dance”, the root of which, like that of the related Greek *χορός*, corresponds to the one in Semitic *krr* “month of the dances” as attested for the Phoenician version of the bilingual inscriptions from Pyrgi (TLE 874 = Rix 1991: Cr 4.4; cf. chapter 9).

θucu: 3rd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. in *-cu* of the verb *θu-* “to place”, see discussion in the commentary to VI, 3 above.

- 5 *aruś ame acnese-m* “A free citizen will be (there) also
 ipa Seθumati Siml-χα with torches, this in the sanctuary of

Septimus and Semele.”

Comments

aruś: N(m/f) sg. in *-ś* of the noun *aru-* “free citizen”, corresponding to Lycian *aru-* of the same meaning.

acnese: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the noun *acnese-* “torch”, which bears testimony of an adjectival derivative in *-s-* of the basic root *acn(e)-* “fire”, which also occurs in variant forms *acna-* and *acni-* and like Sanskrit *agní-* and Latin *ignis* can be traced back to PIE **ǵ-ni-* (chapter 8). Within the realm of the IE Anatolian languages, this root is represented by the Hittite GN *Akniš* (see van Gessel 1998:8 and cf. Haas 1994: 297).

ipa: N-A(n) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *ip(a)-* “this”, which, like the archaic variants of its counterparts, *ic(a)-* and *it(a)-*, is characterized by the first element *i-* of pronominal nature as well, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *i-* or *ī-* “this”. Note that the root *pa-* of this demonstrative pronoun corresponds to the shorthand variant of the stressed pronoun of the 3rd pers. in Luwian hieroglyphic *pa-*, whereas from its full form *apa-* the Lycian demonstrative *ebe-* “this” is derived.

Seθumati: Loc. sg. in *-ti* of the GN *Seθuma-* “Septimus”, which form, like in the case of *Hamφeθi*, *Laeti*, and *Martiθ*, no doubt refers to a sanctuary of the deity in question.

Siml: endingless form of the GN *Siml-* “Semele”, which, in view of the pairing by the enclitic conjunction *-χα* “and”, seems to be used in an expression according to which the sanctuary of Septimus is shared by the latter god with Semele.

-χα: variant of the enclitic conjunction *-c* “and; also”, which more closely resembles the original Luwian hieroglyphic *-ha(wa)* and its Lycian derivative *-ke* for the same function.

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 6 | <i>θui χurve acil Hamφeś
Laeś suluśi</i> | “Place with dances the sacrificially
killed animal with the solar disc of
Amphiōn (and) Laios!” |
|---|--|---|

Comments

θui: see VI, 3 above.

χurve: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the noun *χurv-* “dance”, which in variant writing *χur(u)-*, characterized by interchange between [v] and [u], we have already encountered in X, 4 above.

acil: see VI, 15 above.

Hamφeś: see VI, 3 above.

Laeś: variant writing of *Leiveś* in VI, 3 above.

suluśi: D sg. in *-i* of an adjectival derivative in *-ś-* of the noun *sul(u)-* “sun”, see VI, 17 above. Literally, therefore, we only know that something solar is referred to, and the interpretation that this might be a disc is only of a hypothetical nature.

- 7 *θuni śerφue acil* “To both with smoke offerings the
(aforesaid) sacrificially killed
animal.”

Comments

θuni: see VII, 17 and VII, 23 above. Note that this form refers back to the deities Amphion and Laios in X, 6 above.

śerφue: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the noun *śerφu-* “smoke offering”. Note that we have come across this form in writing variant *zarve* in IX, 1 above.

acil: see VI, 15 above.

- 7 *ipei θuta cn-l χaśri* “Here the people this from him: to
be distributed (the fire among
them).”

Comments

ipei: D sg. in *-i* of the demonstrative pronoun *ip(a)-* “this”. Note that, as far as the type of formation is concerned, this form is similar to the local adverb *tei* (II, 10-11, etc.) or *-θei* (III, 19-20) “here”.

θuta: endingless N(m/f or n) sg. of the noun *θuta-* “people”, the root of which, in variant writing characterized by interchange between [θ] and [t], we already came across in the adjective *tutin-* “public”, see VII, 8-9 above.

χaśri: inf. of the pass. in *-ri* of the verb *χaś-* “to multiply, distribute”, originating from Luwian hieroglyphic *hasa-* “to procreate, beget”.

- 8 *hez sul* “One will place outside the sol(ar
disc).”

Comments

Both elements of this phrase have been discussed in the above, see III, 17 and VI, 17.

- 8 *scvetu Caθnis* “One shall walk in procession like
followers of Cauthas.”

Comments

scvetu: 3rd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. in *-tu* of the verb *scve-* “to walk in procession”, which, in writing variant *scu-* we have already come across in VI, 16 above. Note that the present form *cve-* of the verbal root most closely resembles the Luwian hieroglyphic original *ḫwá-* “to run, march”. Furthermore, it deserves our attention in this connection that the ending of the 3rd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. in *-tu* corresponds to cuneiform Luwian *-du*, Luwian hieroglyphic *-tu* and, Lycian *-tu* for the same function, and, in doing so, reveals that the variant in *-cu* results from interchange between [t] and [c] as referred to in the discussion of the cardinal numeral *θar* “three” in III, 19-20 above.

Caθnis: A(m/f) pl. in *-is* of the adjectival formation *Caθn-* bearing reference to “followers of Cauthas”. Note that we are dealing here with a similar formation as *Laiveis* in VIII, 6 above—be it in this specific instance based on the GN *Laive-*, etc., “Laios”.

- 8 *scanin Velθa* “One will pay homage to Veltha.”

Comments

scanin: endingless form of the verb *scani(n)-* “to pay homage” used for the expression of the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. Note that this verb also occurs in form of *scanince* for the 3rd pers. pl. of the past tense of the act. in *-nce*, see III, 15 above.

Velθa: D sg. in *-a* of the GN *Velθ(a)-*, an alternative designation of the sun-god—occurring alongside *Ca(ve)θ-* “Cauthas” (< PIE **ḱeu-* “to burn, set to fire”)—bearing testimony of the PIE root **seh₂wōl-* “sun; eye” (chapter 13).

- 9 *ipe ipa maθ-cva ama* “During these (acts) this: please
let them, what(ever number of
members of) the assembly, be
present.”

Comments

ipe: D pl. in *-e* of the demonstrative pronoun *ip(a)-* “this”, see X, 5 above.

ipa: N-A(n) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *ip(a)*- “this”, see X, 5 above.

maθ:- shorthand variant form of *mata*- “assembly” (see VII, 22-23 above), characterized by lenition of the dental in like manner as this happens to be the case with the root *meθ*- (see II, n4-5 above).

ama: 3rd pers. pl. of the subj. of the act. in *-a* of the verb *am*- “to be”, see VII, 14 above. Note that the ending in question corresponds to the Luwian hieroglyphic 3rd pers. pl. of the subj. of the act. in *-a* (see Woudhuizen 2011: 309; 314).

9 *trin-um hetrn* “And one will consecrate (them while) lower(ing into the grave).”

Comments

See V, 17-18 above.

9-10 *acl-χ-n eis cemna-c* “But in June not for the god and the twin.”

Comments

See V, 18 above.

10 *iχ Velθa* “With respect to Velθa this:”

Comments

Velθa: endingless A(m/f) sg. of the GN *Velθa*-. Note that we are dealing here with the *accusativus respectus*, again.

iχ: introductory particle, used here, in like manner as in VI, 8 and VI, 12 above, like a form of the demonstrative pronoun *ic(a)*- “this”.

10 *etna-m tesim* “From these (things) the burial.”

Comments

See III, 12 above.

10-1 *etna-m celu-cn hinθθin* “From these (things) this: only the
 χimθ third one will keep inside (for) a
 hecatomb.”

Comments

For the beginning of the phrase, see III, 12 above.

hinθθin: endingless form of the verb *hinθθin*- “to keep inside” used for the expression of the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. The verb is of a composite nature, consisting of the preverb *hinθ* “inside” related to the noun *hinθ(u)*- “inside” as encountered in IX, f1 above, and the verbal root *θin*- “to hold, keep” which elsewhere occurs in variant form *θen(u)*- (Capua tile) or *ten(u)*- (*tabula Cortonensis*)—the latter of which we already came across in VII, 12 above.

χimθ: variant form of *χim*- “hecatomb” (see III, 13 above), more closely resembling the full form *χimθm* as attested for the text on the discus of Magliano.

- 11 *anan-c eši* “And among (this): honors.”

Comments

anan: see III, 13-14 above. Note that the Lydian offshoot of Luwian *annan*, *ān*, also expresses the meaning “among” in Lyd. no. 22, § 4.

eśi: see III, 20 above.

- 11-2 *va-cl ścanin Ras θruθur* “And one will pay homage to him
tutin-c an masn-ur also (under supervision) of the
 Etruscan public druids (in the
 service of) the great god.”

Comments

scanin: see X, 8 above.

Ras: shorthand form of the ethnic adjective *Ras-* ‘Etruscan’, also occurring in full form, characterized by the ethnic morpheme *-n-*, *Raśna-* or *Rasn(e)-* corresponding to Greek Ῥασέννα.

θruθur: Abl.-Instr. pl. in *-r* of the religious title *θruθ(u)*- “druid”, which, in variant writing *truθ*- we already came across in V, 17 and V, 18-9 above.

tutin: see VII, 8-9.

an: shorthand variant of *anan* (see preceding phrase), discussed in the commentary to phrase II, 4-5, where it is used to express the meaning “during” whereas “in (the service of)” is more appropriate here.

masn: see VII, 12 above.

-*ur*: enclitic variant of the adjective *ur*- “great”, see VI, 1-2 above.

- 13 *θumicle Caθnai-mec faci* “On the second day one will finish
off five of the (sacrificial animal)s

of Cauthas.”

Comments

θumicle: D sg. in *-e* of the day name in *-cl-* of the ordinal variant *θum-* of the numeral *θu-* “two”. Note that the common ordinal form is *θun-* as discussed in the commentary to phrase IV, 4-5 above.

Caθnai: G pl. in *-ai* of the adjective *Caθn-*, which in the present context likely refers to sacrificial animals selected especially for the cult of Cauthas. Note that the ending of the G pl. in *-ai* corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *-aī*, Lycian *-āi*, Lydian *-ai*, and Lemnian *-ai* for the same function.

mec: graphic variant of *mac* “five” (see VII, 7 above), characterized by interchange between the vowels [a] and [e].

faci: 2nd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act., which is either endless or in *-i*, of the verb *fac(i)-* “to make, do”, which we have already encountered in phrase VI, 3-4 above and which, like the Umbrian equivalent of the related Latin *facio*, *façia* (see Poultney 1959, index, s.v.), in the religious context can be used for the expression of the meaning “to finish off”, as obviously is the case here.

13-4 *θumitle unuθ huteri*

“On the second day out of one to be made four (parts).”

Comments

θumitle: D sg. in *-e* of the day name in *-tl-* of the ordinal variant *θum-* of the numeral *θu-* “two”. As noted in the discussion of *śacnicleri* in the comments to phrase II, n4-5 above, we are confronted here in one and the same line with two variants of the same day name, characterized by interchange between [t] and [c].

unuθ: Abl.-Instr. sg. in *-θ* of the cardinal numeral *unu-* “one”, which, alongside the D sg. in *-e*, *une* (VIII, 11-12), we already came across in full form of the N-A(n) sg. *unum* (V, 11 and V, 20) and its shorthand variant *un* (III, 18-19, etc.).

huteri: inf. of the pass. in *-ri* of a verb *hut(e)-*, derived from the cardinal numeral *huθ* or *hut-* “four”, the meaning of which is assured owing to the correspondence in connection with a place name in Attica of “pre-Greek” Ὑττηνία to Greek *Tetrapolis*. Note, however, that in the present text this numeral otherwise occurs in assimilated variant *hus-* as attested for the day name *husln-*, see III, 19-20.

14 *ipa θucu*

“These one shall place.”

Comments

ipa: N-A(n) pl. of the demonstrative pronoun *ip(a)*- “this”.

θucu: see X, 4 above.

14 *petna ama*

“Let there be servants on foot.”

Comments

petna: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the noun *petn(a)*- “pedestrian, servant on foot”, which confronts us with an adjectival derivative in *-n-* of the root *pet-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *pata-* “foot”.

ama: see X, 9 above.

14-5 *nac cal hinθu heχz*

“And for him place outside entrails!”

Comments

For the first part of the phrase, see III, 14 above. For the verbal form, see III, 17 above, whereas *hinθu*, against the backdrop of IX, f1, likely refers to organs from the inside used for divination, in other words: entrails.

15-6 *Velθe maθ-cve nuθ-in*
śarśnauś

“For Veltha and what(ever number of members of) the assembly one will renew (things) in the incense storeroom.”

Comments

Velθe: D sg. in *-e* of the GN *Velθ(a)*- “Veltha”, cf. X, 8 above.

maθ: variant writing of *meθ*- “assembly”, which also occurs in form of *mat(a)-*, see X, 9 above and the references given there.

-cve: D pl. in *-e* of the enclitic variant of the relative pronoun *cva*- “who, what”, see II, 12 above.

nuθ: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-θ* of the verb *nu*- “to renew”. Note that the same verbal root is present in the verb *rinu*- as attested for phrase V, 18-19, the first element *ri-* being a preverb corresponding, as we have seen, to Luwian hieroglyphic *arḫa* and Lycian *eri* in their function as an emphatic.

in: see II, 2-3.

śarśnauś: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the noun *śarśnau*- “incense storeroom”, a derivative of *śar*- “incense”.

- 16 *tei-ś tura Caθnal* “Here from it donations (next) to
the (sacrificial animal(s)) of
Cauthas.”

Comments

tei: D sg. in *-i* of the demonstrative pronoun *t(a)*- “this”, used as local adverb for the meaning “here”, see II, 10-11 above.

-ś: D(-G) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers., see II, n2-3 above.

tura: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the noun *tur*- “donation”, see II, 10 above.

Caθnal: D(-G) sg. in *-l* of the adjective *Caθn-*, which in the present context, just like in the case of X, 13 above, likely refers to sacrificial animals selected especially for the cult of Cauthas.

- 16-7 *θui-um χuru* “Place with a dance also!”

Comments

θui: see VI, 3 above.

-um: see V, 17-18 above.

χuru: see X, 4 above.

- 17 *cepen sul-χva maθ-cva-c
pruθseri* “The priest concerning what(ever
matter)s (of) the sun(-cult) and
what(ever number of members of)
the assembly to be presiding.”

Comments

cepen: see VII, 9 above.

sul: see VI, 17 above.

-χva: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the enclitic variant of the demonstrative pronoun *χva*- “who, what” (see VI, 6 above), which occurs here in one and the same phrase with its variant *-cva* characterized by fortition of the initial velar.

maθ: see X, 9 above.

-cva: see VI, 1 above.

pruθseri: inf. of the pass. in *-ri* of the verb *pruθs(e)*- “to preside”, which is related to the honorific title *priθ-* or *puruθn-* “president”, see VIII, 4 and VIII, 9, respectively.

- 18 *va-cl araś θui useti* “And for him a free citizen will
place in the course of the year.”

Comments

araś: N(m/f) sg. in *-ś* of the noun *ara-* “free citizen”, which in variant writing *aru-* we are already familiar with, see X, 5 above.

θui: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-i* of the verb *θu-* “to place”, not to be mixed-up with its homophone 2nd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. as attested for VI, 3, etc., in the above.

useti: Loc. sg. in *-ti* of the noun *use-* “year”, see III, 17-18 above.

18-9 *cepen faθin-um zaneś* “But the priest will keep apart the first ones (of every deposition).”

Comments

faθin: endingless form of the verb *faθin-* used for the expression of the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. Like *hinθθin-* in X, 10-11 above, this verb is of composite nature, being a compound of the preverb *fa-*, also present in noun *favit(i)-* “niche” as attested for V, 20-21 above, and the verbal root *θin-* “to hold, keep”, again.

-um: note that this introductory particle can also be attached to the second word or element of the phrase instead of the first, as is usual for enclitic introductory particles.

zaneś: A(m/f) pl. in *-eś* of an adjectival derivative in *-n-* of the cardinal numeral *za-* “one”, used here for the expression of the ordinal “first”.

19 *vuv-cni-cś Pluti-m tei* “And during this (time) burn an ox also to Pluto here!”

Comments

vuv: undeclined form of the noun *vuv-* “ox”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *wawa-* of the same meaning.

cni: endingless 2nd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. of the verb *cni-* “to burn”, of which the root is related to the noun *acn(e)-* “fire” (< PIE **ḡ-gni-*, see X, 5 above), especially so if we realize that the initial vowel has been lost by the fact that it occurs here as an enclitic.

-cś: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the enclitic variant of the demonstrative pronoun *c(a)-* “this”, see II, n1-2.

Pluti: D sg. in *-i* of the GN *Plut-* “Pluto”, corresponding to Greek Πλούτων.

-m: enclitic conjunction “but; and” (see II, n2-3 above), used here for the expression of the meaning “also”.

- 19- *mut-ti ceśa-sin ara ratum* “He will preserve this in the room
 20 with the altar (and) the chariot.”

Comments

mut: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-t* of the verb *mu-* “to preserve”, also present in *ramue-* (III, 20) and, like in the latter case, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *muwa-* “to make strong”.

ti: N-A(n) in *-i* of the stressed pronoun of the 3rd pers. *t(i)-*. This particular pronoun is paralleled by the Lydian stressed pronoun of the 3rd pers., *t(i)-*, as attested in D sg. form *tλ* for Lyd. no. 50, line 5. The N-A(n) ending in *-i*, in the realm of the pronoun, is paralleled by Luwian hieroglyphic *-ī* (Woudhuizen 2011: 295-296; 314) and Lydian *-i₁* (Woudhuizen 2010-1a: 212) for the same function.

ceśa: D sg. in *-a* of the noun *ceś(a)-* “chamber, room”, cf. VI, 1-2 above.

sin: writing variant of the preposition *šin* “with”, characterized by interchange between [š] and [s], see IV, 19 above.

ara: D sg. in *-a* of the noun *ar(a)-* “altar”, see III, 16-17 above.

ratum: see X, 4 above. Note that the analysis of this form as an A(m/f or n) sg. in *-m* to be attributed to Latin adstrate influences still applies as its relationship to *ceś(a)-* “chamber, room” is expressed by the preposition *sin* “with”, which neutralizes the need for inflection.

- 20 *aisna leitr-um* “But the divine omnia to be
 disposed of as a fire offering.”

Comments

eisna: see IV, 22 above.

leitr: inf. of the pass. in *-r* of the verb *leit-*, which appears to be a derivative in *-t-* of a noun *lei-* corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *lāi-* “fire-offering”. Note that the introductory particle *-um* is, just like in the case of X, 18-19 above, attached to the second word in the phrase.

- 20-1 *zuθe-va zal eśi-c ci* “For grave gifts: the first honors,
halχza θu eśi-c zal mula three little *halχs* and two honors,
santi-c the first thank-offerings and *sants*.”

Comments

zuθe: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the noun *zuθ-* “grave gift”, which is nothing but a graphic variant of *suθ-* (II, n5), *śuθ-* (V, 17) or *sut-* (as in

sutan(a)- of IV, 21, etc.) characterized by the use of [z] for the initial sibilant.

-*va*: enclitic variant of the introductory particle *va-*, see III, 15 above.

zal: ordinal numeral “first”, cf. the cardinal variant *ze-* in II, 2 above.

eśi: see III, 20 above.

halχza: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the noun *halχz-*, derived from the indication of an offering *halχ-* by means of the diminutive morpheme *-z-*, see discussion of *hilχ-vetra* in VI, 2 above.

θu: cardinal numeral “two”, cf. the discussion of the ordinal variant *θun* in the comments to IV, 4-5.

mula: N-A(n) pl. in -a of the noun *mul(a)*- “thank-offering”, which is related to the verb *mula*- “to offer as a thank-offering” as already encountered in VIII, 5 above.

santi: A(m/f) pl. in -i of the noun *sant(i)*-, indicative of some sort of offering, the exact nature of which eludes us for the lack of comparative data.

- 22 *θapna θapnza-c* “With regard to the cups and little
 cups.”

Comments

θapna: N-A(n) pl. in -a of the vase name *θapn(a)*- “cup”.

θapnza: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the vase name *θapnz(a)-* “little cup”, distinguished from the preceding word by the use of the diminutive morpheme *-z-* which we just came across in connection with *halχza* of the preceding phrase.

Note that both forms bear testimony of the *accusativus respectus*.

- 22 *lena etera* “In sofar as with a bearing on the
common people:”

Comments

lena: preposition “concerning”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *lana* “towards”, which, however, is used as a postposition.

etera: N-A(n) pl. in -a of the noun *eter(a)*- “common people”, derived from Lycian *ētri*- “lower, inferior”.

- 22-3 *θe-c peisna hausti*
fanuše neriś capa
- “For them also he will keep on adding new “give away” ones for drinking the (ordinary) men may take.”

Comments

θui: see VI, 3 above; for the rest of the phrase, see X, 22 above.

f1-2 *mucu-m halχze*

“One shall sacrifice with little *halχs* as well.”

Comments

mucu: 3rd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. in *-u* of the verb *muc-* “to sacrifice”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *muḫa-* of the same meaning. Note that, as far as the ending is concerned, comparative evidence is provided by cuneiform Luwian *pāiu* “let him give” < *pāi-* “to give” (Melchert 2003: 174-175) and Lycian *esu* “let him be” < *es-* “to be” (Melchert 2004: 17).

halχze: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the noun *halχz-*, as we have noted in the comments to phrase X, 20-21 above, a diminutive in *-z-* of the indication of an offering *halχ-*.

f2 *θui θi*

“Place this!”

Comments

θui: see VI, 3 above.

θi: N-A(n) sg. in *-i* of the stressed pronoun of the 3rd pers. *θ(i)-*, which in variant writing characterized by fortition of the dental we already came across in X, 19-20 above.

f2-3 *va-cl cesa-sin θumsa*
cilva neri

“And for him: the chamber with the secondary and tertiary (facilitie)s for the (ordinary) man:”

Comments

cesa: endingless A(m/f or n) sg. of the noun *ces(a)-* “chamber, room”, which we already encountered in variant writings in VI, 2 (*ceś(u)-*) and X, 19-20 (*ceś(a)-*) above.

sin: see X, 19-20 above.

θumsa: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of an adjectival derivative in *-s-* of the variant of the ordinal numeral *θum-* “second”, which we also came across in connection with the day name in X, 13 above.

cilva: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of a derivative in *-v-* of the ordinal numeral *cil-* “third”, cf. VIII, 9-10 above and note that the cardinal variant may appear in form of *ci-* as well as *ce-* “three”.

neri: D sg. in *-i* of the noun *ner-* “(ordinary) man”, see X, 22-23 above.

f3 *can-va carsi* “And one will take care of this
continuously.”

Comments

can: A(m/f) sg. in *-n* of the demonstrative pronoun *c(a)-* “this”. Note that this form also occurs in syncopated variant *cn*, see VII, 12 above.
-va: enclitic variant of the introductory particle *va-*, also attested in phrase X, 20-21 above.

carsi: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-i* of the iterative variant in *-s-* of the verb *car-* “to take care (of)”, which in form *cer-* characterized by interchange between [a] and [e] we came across from VII, 9 above onwards.

f3-4 *pu-tna-m θu cala-tna-m* “And sacrifice for them: two
 tei beautiful (offering)s for them
 here!”

Comments

pu: endingless 2nd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. of the verb *pu-* “to sacrifice”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *pu-* of the same meaning.

cala: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the adjective *kal(a)-* “beautiful”, which corresponds to Greek καλός of the same meaning.

f4 *lena haustiś* “In regard to drinkers:”

Comments

lena: preposition “in regard to, concerning”, see X, 22 above.

haustiś: A(m/f) pl. in *-iś* of the noun *haust-* “drinking”, see X, 22-23 above.

f4 *ena-c eśi Catnis heci* “And during (it) slaughter the
 honors of Cathas!”

Comments

ena: see II, n2-3 above.

eśi: see III, 20 above.

Caθnis: A(m/f) pl. in *-is* of the adjective *Caθn-* “of Cauthas”, which is directly associated here with the preceding *eśi* “honors”.

heci: see VI, 6 above.

- f5 *spurta sul-sle napti* “In the town he will observe the first sun.”

Comments

spurta: Loc. sg. in *-ta* of the noun *spur-* “town”, see II, n1-2 above, where it occurs in variant writing *špur(e)-*, characterized in regard to the initial sibilant by interchange between [š] and [s].

sul: see VI, 17 above.

-sle: enclitic variant of the ordinal numeral “first”, cf. II, 2 above.

napti: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-ti* of the verb *nap-* “to observe”.

- f5 *θui Laiscla* “Place on Laios’ day!”

Comments

Laiscla: D sg. in *-a* of the day name in *-cl-* of an adjectival derivative in *-s-* of the GN *Lai-* “Laios”. Note that this GN occurs in variant writings *Lae-* (VI, 5 and X, 6), *Laive-* (VIII, 6), and *Leive-* (VI, 3).

- f5 *heχz neri* “One will place outside for the (ordinary) man.”

Comments

heχz: see III, 17 above.

neri: see X, 23 above.

- f6 []

- f6 *trin-um vetis* “And one will consecrate the mountains!”

Comments

trin: see III, 13 above.

vetis: A(m/f) pl. in *-is* of the noun *vet(i)-* “mountain”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *wati-* of the same meaning.

- f6 *une mlac sanθi* “One will sacrifice with one beautiful (thank-offering).”

Comments

une: D sg. in *-e* of *un-* “one”, see VIII, 11-12 above.

sanθi: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in -*θi* of the verb *san(t)*- of which the root is related to the indication of offering *sant(i)*-, see X, 20-21 above.

1 *acalas* “In June.”

acalas: D(-G) sg. in -s of the month name *acal(a)*- ‘June’. Note that this form in variant characterized by D sg. ending in -e, *acale*, is attested for VI, 14 above.

1 *celi pen* “In September one will pay.”

pen: endingless form of the verb *pen*(θ)- “to pay” used for the expression of the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. Note that the root of this verb corresponds to Greek $\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ “to pay the penalty”.

1 *etna-m ---sna* “And from these on (...?) day.”

---*sna*: D sg. in -*a* of a day name comparable to *zaθrumšn-* (VI, 9), *husln-* (III, 19-20, etc.), and *θunśn-* (VI, 13).

1 *celi suθ* “In September a grave gift.”

See IV, 21-22, V, 16, and IX, 24 above, and cf. IV, 14 above.

2 *va-cl vinum śantiś-tś* “And for him wine and *śants* during
this (ceremony).”

santis: A(m/f) pl. in *-is* of the noun *sant(i)-*, which in writing variant *sant(i)-* we have already encountered in X, 20-21 above and which

denotes some type of offering the exact nature eludes us for the lack of comparative data.

2 *celi pen* “In September one will pay.”

Comments

See XI, 1 above.

2-3 *trut-um θi θapneś-ts* “The druid this: the cups during this (ceremony).”

Comments

trut: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the religious title *trut*- “druid”, which in writing variant *truθ*- we already came across in V, 17 and V, 18-19 above.

θi: N-A(n) sg. in -i of the stressed pronoun of the 3rd pers., see X, f2 above.

θapneś: A(m/f) pl. in *-eś* of the vase name *θapn-* “cup”, which in the N-A(n) pl. form *θapna* we already encountered in X, 22 and X, f1 above.

3 *trutanaśa hanθ<θ>in* “He will keep inside the things
belonging to the druid.”

Comments

trutanaša: N-A(n) in -a of a derivative in -š- of the adjective *trutun-* “of the druid”. Note that the adjective *trutun-* < *truθ-* or *trut-* “druid” is of similar formation as *tutin-* “public” < *θuta-* “people”. The overall formation in -š- can be compared to *trinθaša* (< *trinθ-*) and *sacnisa* (< *sacni-*) in VII, 6 and VIII, 10 above, respectively.

hanθ<θ>in: see X, 10-11 above.

3-4 *celi tur<a>* “In September donations.”

Comments

For *celi*, cf. IV, 14, etc.; for *tur*<*a*>, cf. II, 10, etc.

4 *het-um vinum θi-c* “He will eat (with) wine from this
as well.”

6-7 *etna-m han* $\theta<\theta>$ *in* “And from these he will keep inside.”

han $\theta<\theta>$ *in*: see XI, 3 above.

- See III, 12 above.

- Note that the element *a-* “from ... onwards” corresponds to Latin *a(b)* “from ... away”, and that *θumi* is the D sg. in *-i* of the variant *θum-* of the ordinal *θun-* “second”.

- Cf. X, 2 above.

- mur*: endingless form of the verb *mur*- “to die” (cf. XI, 5-6 above) used for the expression of the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act.
in: see II, 2-3 above.

cilθs: see II, n1-2 above.

- ara*<*ś*> and *useti*: see X, 18 above.

θui: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-i* of the verb *θu-* “to place”, see X, 18 above.

Catneti: Loc. sg. in *-ti* of the adjective *Catn(e)-* “of Cauthas”, which form, like in the case of *Hamφeθi*, *Laeti*, *Martiθ*, and *Seθumati*, no doubt refers to a sanctuary of the deity in question—whose name occurs here in graphic variant characterized by fortition of the dental.

9-10 *slapi-χun slapinaś*

“With respect to the first offerings: what(ever) one will offer first.”

Comments

slapi: endingless form of the verb *slapi-* “to offer first” used for the expression of the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. Note that the verb is of composite nature, consisting of the ordinal numeral *sla-* “first” (cf. II, 2-3 above) and the verbal root *pi-* “to give”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *pia-*, Lycian *pije-*, and Lydian *bi-* of the same meaning.

-χun: A(m/f) sg. in *-n* of the enclitic variant of the relative pronoun *χu-* “who, what”, which we have already encountered in variant form *χva-*.

slapinaś: A(m/f) pl. in *-aś* of the noun *slapin(a)-* “first offering”, which consists of the elements *sla-* “first” (cf. II, 2-3 above) and a nominal derivative in *-n-* of the verb *pi-* “to give”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *pia-*, Lycian *pije-*, and Lydian *bi-* of the same meaning. Note that we once more are confronted here with the style figure of the *accusativus respectus*.

10 *fa-vin ufli spurta*

“Also with wine to the cow-shed at the town.”

Comments

fa: preposition also present in the noun *favit(i)-* “niche” (V, 20-21) and the verb *fanuś-* “to keep on renewing” (X, 22-23).

ufli: D sg. in *-i* of adjectival derivative in *-l-* of the noun *uf-* “cow”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *uwa-* “ox”, in sum presumably referring to a cow-shed.

spurta: see X, f5 above.

10-1 *eisna hinθu cla θesns*

“You will lay down divine omina from the inside in the precinct.”

Comments

For *eisna hinθu*, cf. *aisna hinθu* in IX, f1 above.

cla: D sg. in *-a* of the noun *cla-* “enclosure, precinct”, which we already came across in V, 23 above, just like its derivative *clevan(a)-* in VII, 10-11 above.

θesns: 2nd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-s* of the verb *θesn-* “to lay down”, which we already encountered in V, 16 above.

[vacat]

12 *eslem cealχus* “On the 29th (day).”

Comments

Cf. *ciem cealχus* in IX, f2 above, and note that, apart from the variant writing of the ending characterized by interchange between [ś] and [s], the numeral with the subtractive element *-em* attached to it is *esl-* “first” instead of *ci-* “three”.

12-3 *etna-m aisna canal tuxla-c* “And from these: the divine omīna for Evil and Destiny.”

Comments

canal: D(-G) sg. in *-l* of the noun *cana-*, likely to be interpreted, with a view to the context, as an indication of evil.

tuxla: D sg. in *-a* of the noun *tuxl-* “destiny” (cf. the GN *Tuxulχa*, on which see Pfiffig 1975: 334-336), the root of which corresponds to Greek *τύχη* of the same meaning.

13 *eθri sun-tna-m ceχa* “(To be reported to) the commons and with these the senate.”

Comments

eθri: N(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the noun *eθr(i)-* “commons”, related to *eter(a)-* “common people” and similarly derived from Lycian *ētri-* “lower, inferior”. In the present context, it is clear that with “commons” members of a political institution are meant which are distinguished from those of the senate (see below). As a verb is implied only, we cannot be sure, but it seems highly likely that we are dealing here with an expression in *nominativus cum infinitivo* of which the inf. of the pass. is omitted. If so, it deserves attention in this connection that

the N(m/f) pl. ending in *-i* corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *-i*, Lycian *-i*, and Lydian *-i*₁ for the same function.

sun: writing variant of the preposition *śin* or *sin* “with”. Note that this writing variant, alongside to Greek σύν, is also closely paralleled by Lycian *hu-* < **su-* “con-” as in the adjective *huwedri-* “confederate”, see TL 57, § 6 (Woudhuizen 2012: 420-421).

ceḫa: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the noun *ceḫa-* “senate” (cf. the use of this form in line 21 of the text on the lateral side of the cippus of Perugia, where it definitely renders the nominative). Note that the same root is present in *ceḫan-* “member of the senate”, a derivative in *-n-* as already encountered in VII, 7 above. The root of this noun is ultimately linked up with Luwian hieroglyphic *ḫuḫa-* “grandfather”, its Lycian derivative *ḫuga-* of the same meaning, and the related Lydian MN *Gygēs*.

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 14 | <i>cn-tna-m Ṫesan fler</i>
<i>Veiveś Ṫezeri</i> | “And this from these to be laid
down (by them for) Thesan and the
statue of Veiovis.” |
|----|--|---|

Comments

Ṫesan: undeclined form of the GN *Ṫesan-* used, as in the other cases of her mention (see V, 19-20, etc.), for the expression of the D sg.

Veiveś: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the GN *Veive-* “Veiovis”.

Ṫezeri: see VI, 9 above.

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|--|
| 15 | <i>etna-m aisna a[----]a</i> | “And from these: the divine omina
[].” |
|----|------------------------------|--|

Comments

aisna: see VII, 10-11 above with reference to its graphic variant *eisna* in IV, 22 above.

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| 15-6 | <i>iḫ huṫiś zaṫrumiś fler-ḫve</i>
<i>tr[in] Neṫunśl</i> | “This on the 24(th day): one will
consecrate for what(ever has a
bearing on) the statue of
Neptunus.” |
|------|--|--|

Comments

For the day name expressed by the numeral, see VIII, 3 above.

For *fler-χve tr[in] Neθunśl*, cf. *trin flere Neθunśl* in IX, s2, etc., and note that *-χve*, as explained in II, 10-11 above, renders the D pl. in *-e* of the enclitic variant of the relative pronoun.

- 16 *cn θunt ei tul var* “They will place this not (within)
another boundary.”

Comments

θunt: 3rd pers. pl. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-nt* of the verb *θu-* “to place”, cf. VI, 3 above.

ei tul var: see IV, 12 above.

[vacat]

- 17 *θunem cialχu[ś e]tna-m* “On the 28th (day): for these.”

Comments

θunem cialχuś: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the numeral consisting of the multiple of ten in *-lχ-* of *ci-* “three” and the ordinal variant of *θu-* “two”, *θun*, the latter of which has the subtractive element *-em* attached to it, so that we are dealing here with “on the 28th” as the indication of the day in the month.

Note that *etna* “for these” likely refers back here to Thesan and the statue of Veiovis as mentioned in XI, 14 above.

- 17-8 *iχ eslem cialχuś canal* “And on the 29th: for Evil (and)
fler [] the statue [].”

Comments

eslem cialχuś: cf. XI, 12 above.

canal: cf. XI, 12-13 above.

- 18 *cn-tna-m Θesan* “And this from these: (to be laid
down for) Thesan.”

Comments

See XI, 14 above.

[]

- f0-1 *[cepen] flanac farsi lant* “The high priest will offer (what)

they will bring.”

Comments

cepen flanac: cf. X, 3 above.

farsi: endingless form of the verb *farsi*- “to offer” used for the expression of the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. This verb corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *wa₃āsa₃rī-*, which presumably renders the same meaning.

lant: 3rd pers. pl. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-nt* of the verb *la-* “to bring”, which, by means of the typical IE Anatolian interchange between [d] and [l], may well be assumed to be related to Luwian hieroglyphic *ta₄-* “to come” (note that the semantic difference can be bridged by the fact that the Luwian hieroglyphic verb *ta₄-* together with the preverb *katia* renders the meaning “to come for damage”, which in effect boils down to “to bring damage”).

f1-2 *c[epen] flanac farsī tunt* “The high priest will offer (what)
they will place.”

Comments

See preceding phrase, and note that *lant* is replaced here by *tunt*, the 3rd pers. pl. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-nt* of the verb *tu-* “to place”, with which in variant writing *θu-* (see VI, 3) we are already familiar.

f2 *ena-c etna-m a-θumi-ca* “And during (it) from these from
θlup-cva the second (day) onwards these:
what(ever) *θlup-*.”

Comments

For *a-θumi*, see XI, 7 above. The meaning of the noun *θlup-*, which has the N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of the enclitic variant of the relative pronoun *cva-* “who, what” (see VI, 1) attached to it, eludes us for the lack of comparative data.

f3 *ceśu-m tei lanti* “And they will bring (these) to the
room here.”

Comments

ceśu: D sg. in *-u* of the noun *ceś(u)-* “chamber, room”, see VI, 1-2 above.

lanti: variant of *lant* characterized by the additional vowel [i] in regard to the ending of 3rd pers. pl. of the pres./fut. of the act., which

is more original against the backdrop of its origin from cuneiform Luwian *-nti*, Luwian hieroglyphic *-ⁿti* and Lycian *-ñti* for the same function.

f3 *inin-c eši tei χimθ* “And during (it) here honors (as) a hecatomb.”

Comments

inin: reduplicated variant of *in*, see II, 2-3 above.

f4 *streta Satrs* “Spread out for Satyr(s)!”

Comments

streta: endingless 2nd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. of the verb *streta-* “to spread out”, which is related to the noun *strete-* linked up with Latin *stratum* “pavement, street”, see VI, 3 above.

Satrs: D(-G) sg. in *-s* of the GN *Satr-* “Satyr”, which, in view of the pictorial evidence of followers of Dionysos being dressed up like Satyrs, is used here for the expression of the plural.

f4-5 *ena-c θucu Hamφeθi-ś* “And during (it) one shall place in
rinuś θui the sanctuary of Amphiōn, (and)
you will renew from it (and) do
place (once more)!”

Comments

θucu: see X, 4 above.

rinuś: 2nd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-ś* of the verb *rinu-* “to renew”, see V, 18-19 above.

f5 *araś mucu-m* “And a free citizen shall sacrifice.”

Comments

For *araś* see X, 18 above and for *mucu* see X, f1-2 above.

f5 *an-ia-χeś Rasna hilar* “During (it) here who(ever) are
from Etruscan (background) to be
favored.”

Comments

For *an-ia*, see VI, 2 and VI, 4 above.

Rasna: D sg. in *-a* of the ethnic adjective *Rasn(a)-* “Etruscan”, which in shorthand variant *Ras-* we already encountered in X, 11-12 above.
hilar: inf. of the pass. in *-r* of the verb *hila-* “to favor”, which in act. variant *hilare* we already encountered in VII, 14 above.

Comments

Hamφes: writing variant of *Hamφes* in VI, 3 and X, 6 characterized by interchange between [s] and [š] in regard to the ending.
Leiveš: see VI, 3 above.

1. *luθt raχ m<l>uśce* “At the games (of) the regia one has offered thank-offerings.”

m<l>úsce: 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense in *-ce* of the verb *mluś-* “to offer thank-offerings”, which bears testimony of an iterative variant in *-ś-* of the verbal root otherwise occurring in form of *mul-*, *mulvani-*, *muluvane-*, etc., all based on the same root as Luwian hieroglyphic *muluwa-* “thank-offering”.

Comments

ca: N-A(n) pl. in -a of the demonstrative pronoun *c(a)*- “this”.
useti: see X, 18 and XI, 9 above.

capiθi: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-θi* of the verb *cap(i)*- “to take”, see V, 1 above.

1-2 *etna-m aisna* “From these also divine omina.”

Comments

aisna: see discussion of its graphic variant *eisna* in IV, 22 above.

2 *iχ nac reuśce Aiseraś* “And one has prayed to Asherah
Seuś (and) Zeus.”

Comments

reuśce: 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense in *-ce* of iterative variant in *-ś-* of the verb *reu-* “to speak”, see VII, 8-9, VIII, 7, and VIII, 8 above.

3 *θunχule-m muθ hilar* “And in honor of the double cults
the bull to be favored.”

Comments

θunχule: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the noun *θunχul-* “double cult”, based on the ordinal numeral *θun-* “second” and *χul-* as a reflex of *cilθ-* or *celθ-* “cult” in like manner as its closest comparison *θunχulθ-* from the text on the cippus of Perugia (line 12 of the front side and lines 19-20 of that on the lateral side).

muθ: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the noun *muθ-* “bull”, the meaning of which can be assured if we realize that we are dealing here with a derivative in *-θ-* of the basic root *mu-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *muwa-* “bull” (sign L 107).

hilar: see XI, f5 above.

3-4 *θune eterti-c Caθne χim* “In honor of both also on behalf of
the commons for the followers of
Cauthas a hecatomb.”

Comments

θune: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the ordinal numeral *θun-* “second”, like *θun-* in *θunχul-* of the preceding phrase referring back to the two deities mentioned in XII, 2 above.

eterti: Abl.-Instr. pl. in *-ti* of the noun *eter-* “common”, which we have already encountered in variant forms *eθr(i)-* and *eter(a)-* in the above, see XI, 13 and X, 22, respectively. Note that the ending in question,

Caθne: D(-G) pl. in -e of the adjective *Caθn*- “of Cauthas”, here, like in case of *Caθnis* in X, 8 above, referring to followers of Cauthas.

- ### Comments

puts: endingless form of the verb *puts-* “to sacrifice time and again”, representing the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. Note that we are dealing here with an the iterative in *-s-* of a variant writing of the verbal root *puθ-* which we already came across in the discussion of phrase VIII, 11-12 above, characterized by fortition of the root-final dental.

- ### Comments

5 *θuna tecu-m* “And both (cult)s one shall set out.”

- ### Comments

tecu: 3rd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. in *-cu* of the verb *te-* “to set out”, which is nothing but a graphic variant of *θa-* as treated in the commentary to II, n3-4.

- 5 *etrinθi muθ* “One will consecrate the bull.”

Comments

etrinθi: variant of *trinθ* (III, 17-18), characterized by prothetic vowel and full form of the ending of the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-θ(i)* or *-t(i)*.

- 6 *nac θuca Un-χva* “And please place what(ever for)
Uni!”

Comments

θuca: 3rd pers. sg. of the subj. of the act. in *-ca* of the verb *θu-* “to place”, which root is also present in the form of *θui* (VI, 3, etc.).

- 6 *het-um hilar* “One will eat to be favored”

Comments

het: see XI, 4 above.

- 6 *θuna θenθ* “Both (cults) one will hold.”

Comments

θenθ: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-θ* of the verb *θen-* “to hold”, which in variant form characterized by fortition of the initial dental we have already encountered in VII, 12 above.

- 7 *hursi-c* “And concerning the great ones:”

Comments

hursi: A(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the noun *hurs-* “great one”. Note that this form is paralleled for VIII, 9 above, and used here for the expression of the *accusativus respectus*.

- 7 *caprθu ceχa-m* “One shall be taken (apart), also
the senate.”

Comments

caprθu: 3rd pers. sg. of the imp. of the pass. in *-rθu* of the verb *cap(e)-* “to take”, see V, 1 above. Note that the ending in question corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *-rtu* for the same function.

- 7 *ena-c eisna hinθu* “And during (it) the divine omnia
from the inside.”

Comments

For *eisna hinθu*, see XI, 10-11 above and cf. *aisna hinθu* in IX, f1 above.

8 *het-um hilar* “And one will eat to be favored.”

Comments

See XII, 6 above.

8 *θuna eterti-c Caθne* “The (cults of) both also on behalf
of the commons and for the
followers of Cauthas.”

Comments

Cf. XII, 3-4 above and note that we here have *θuna*, the N-A(n) pl. in -a, instead of *θune*, the D(-G) pl. in -e, of the ordinal numeral *θun-* “second”.

9 *etna-m aisna* “And from these the divine omina.”
9 *iχ mata-m* “This: (to be reported to) the
assembly also.”

Comments

Cf. the context of XI, 12-13. In line with this observation, we are likely dealing here as well with a *nominativus cum infinitivo*, of which the inf. of the pass. has been omitted, so that *mata* may positively be identified as rendering the nominative case.

9-10 *va-cl-tna-m θunem* “And during this (time) from these
 cialχus on the 28th (day).”

Comments

va-cl-tna-m: see VI, 10-11 and VIII, 1-2 above.

θunem cialχus: see XI, 17 above.

10-1 *masn Unialti Ursmnal* “The god in the sanctuary of Uni
 aθre acil and Ursmna will personally
approve the sacrificially killed
animal.”

Comments

masn: see VII, 12 and X, 11-12 above.

Unialti: Loc. sg. in *-ti* of adjectival derivative in *-l-* of the GN *Uni-*, bearing reference to the sanctuary of the goddess in question.

Ursmnal: D(-G) sg. in *-l* of the GN *Ursmna-* “Ursmna”.

aθre: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. of the act. in *-e* of the verb *aθr-* “to authorize”. The root of this verb can also be traced in iterative variant in *-s-*, *atrse-*, as attested for TLE 135 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.182 and, from an etymological point of view, is linked up with Luwian hieroglyphic *atara-* “person, image” and its Lycian derivative *atra-* or *atla-* of the same meaning.

- 11 *an śacni-cn cilθ<ś>* “During (it) sacrifice this for the
cult(-festival)!”

Comments

an: preposition “during”, see II, 4-5 above.

śacni: see II, n1-2 above.

-cn: see III, 12 above.

cilθ<ś>: see II, n1-2 above.

- 11 *ceχa sal* “The senate (will do so) first.”

Comments

ceχa: see XI, 13 above.

sal: ordinal numeral “first”, see VI, 1 above.

- 12 *cus cluce* “The ones who(ever are) from the
(group of) “third(-timers)” (to be
distinguished).”

Comments

cus: shorthand variant of the N(m/f) pl. of the relative pronoun *cva-* “who, what”, which in full may well be reconstructed along the line of the A(m/f) pl. *-cveś* (III, 13-14).

cluce: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of *cluc-*, which confronts us with a shorthand variant of *clucθr-* “third-timer”.

- 12 *caperi zamti-c sve-m* “(And) to be taken votive offerings
also for oneself.”

Comments

Cf. VIII, 9-10 above, where *zamti* occurs in variant writing *zamθi*, characterized by lenition of the dental.

sve: see II, 4 above.

12-3 *θumsa mata-m*

“Secondarily the assembly (will do so) as well.”

Comments

θumsa: see X, f2-3.

mata-m: see VII, 22-23.

13 *clucθraś hilar*

“The “third-timers” to be favored.”

Comments

Note that we are dealing here with the style figure of a *nominativus cum infinitivo*, and that hence *clucθraś*, like in VIII, 9-10 above, renders the N(m/f) pl. in *-aś*. For *hilar*, see XI, f5 above.

[vacat]

3. OVERVIEW OF THE ETYMOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS

For convenience sake in this section a list is presented of the etymological relationships used in preceding discussion of the text of the *Liber linteus*.

	Etruscan	Luwian hieroglyphic ¹²	meaning
		vocabulary	
1.	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	encl. pron. of the 3rd person
2.	<i>aci-l-</i> (cf. <i>hec(i)-</i>)	<i>áka-</i> (c. <i>kata</i>)	“to subdue”
3.	<i>acne-s-</i>	<i>Akniš</i> (Hit.)	“fire-god” ¹³
4.	<i>aθr-</i>	<i>atara-</i>	“person, image”
5.	<i>al(i)-</i>	<i>àliā-</i>	“to desire”
6.	<i>(a)m-</i>	<i>šamnai-</i> (Hit.)	“to found”

¹² On Hittite, see Friedrich 1974 and 1991.

¹³ Van Gessel 1998: 8; cf. Haas 1994: 297.

	Etruscan	Luwian hieroglyphic	meaning
7.	<i>an, anan</i> (cf. <i>ena-</i>)	<i>anan</i>	“under”
8.	<i>anθ-</i> (cf. <i>hinθ-</i>)	<i>anda</i>	“in”
9.	<i>ap-</i> (cf. <i>ep-</i>)	<i>apan</i>	“afterwards, behind”
10.	<i>c(a)-/-c(a)-</i>	<i>ka-</i> (Hit.)	“this”
11.	<i>-c</i> (cf. <i>-χ</i>)	<i>-ḫa(wa)</i>	“and; also”
12.	<i>ceχa-</i>	<i>ḫuḫa-</i>	“grandfather”
13.	<i>cve-, cu-, cu-nu-</i>	<i>ḫwá-</i>	“to run, march”
14.	<i>-cva-</i> (cf. <i>-χva-</i>)	<i>ḫwa-</i>	“who, what”
15.	<i>cla-, cleva-</i>	<i>ḫila-</i> (Hit.)	“enclosure, precinct”
16.	<i>cnti-cnθ-</i> (redupl.)	<i>ḫanta- ḫantawat-</i>	“in front of” “king”
17.	<i>Culś-</i>	<i>Gulšeš</i> (Hit.)	divinities of fate
18.	<i>cuś-</i>	<i>ḫwásà-</i>	“to venerate”
19.	<i>ena-</i>	<i>anan</i>	“under”
20.	<i>ep-</i> (cf. <i>ap-</i>)	<i>apan</i>	“afterwards, behind”
21.	<i>eś(i)-</i>	<i>aiasa-</i>	“to honor”
22.	<i>etrin-</i> (cf. <i>trin-</i>)	<i>tarīnūwa-</i>	“to cause to (be) venerate(d)”
23.	<i>va-, -va</i> (cf. <i>fa-</i>)	<i>wa-, -wa</i>	introductory particle
24.	<i>ven(e)-</i>	<i>wana-</i>	“altar; stele”
25.	<i>vet(i)-</i>	<i>wati-</i>	“mountain”
26.	<i>vit(i)-</i>	<i>weda-, wete-</i> (Hit.)	“to build”
27.	<i>vuv-</i>	<i>wawa-</i>	“ox”
28.	<i>za-, ze-</i> (cf. <i>sa-</i>)	<i>sa₉</i> (L 380)	“one”
29.	<i>zamθ(i)-, zamt(i)-</i>	<i>zāmatia-</i>	“votive offering”
30.	<i>zat-l-χ-</i> (cf. <i>śaθ-</i>)	<i>ziti-</i> (> Lyc. <i>-σατης</i>)	“man”
31.	<i>zin(e)-</i>	<i>zinna-</i> (Hit.)	“to finish, complete”
32.	<i>ziχn-</i>	<i>zikuna-</i>	“written account”
33.	<i>haθ-, hat-, het-</i>	<i>ata-</i>	“to eat”
34.	<i>hec(i)-</i> (cf. <i>aci-l-</i>)	<i>āka-</i> (c. <i>kata</i>)	“to subdue”
35.	<i>hila-</i>	<i>īla-</i>	“to favor”
36.	<i>hinθ-</i> (cf. <i>anθ-</i>)	<i>anda</i>	“in”
37.	<i>hur-s-</i> (cf. <i>ur-</i>)	<i>ura-</i>	“great”
38.	<i>θa-</i> (cf. <i>te-</i>)	<i>tanuwa-</i>	“to erect, set up”

Etruscan	Luwian hieroglyphic	meaning
39. <i>θar</i>	<i>tar-</i>	“three”
40. <i>θαχś-</i>	<i>takš-</i> (Hit.)	“to assemble”
41. <i>θu-</i> (cf. <i>tu-</i>)	<i>tu(wa)-</i>	“to place, put”
42. <i>θu-</i>	<i>tuwa-</i>	“two”
43. <i>i-/e-</i>	<i>ī-</i> (CL <i>i(ya)-</i>)	“this”
44. <i>in, inin</i>	<i>ina</i> (< Akk. <i>INA</i>)	“in, among”
45. <i>la-</i>	<i>ta₄-</i>	“to come (> bring)”
46. <i>lecin-</i>	<i>lāhānuwa-</i>	“to burn, set to fire”
47. <i>lei-t-</i>	<i>lāi-</i>	“fire offering”
48. <i>lena</i>	<i>lana</i>	“towards”
49. <i>lusa-</i>	<i>lusá-</i> (c. <i>arḥa</i>)	“to absent (oneself)”
50. <i>-m</i> (cf. <i>-um</i>)	<i>-ma</i> (Hit.)	“but; and”
51. <i>mac, mec</i>	<i>ma₇</i> (L 392)	“five”
52. <i>maθ-, mata-, meθ-</i>	<i>Mai-, miāti-</i> (< *mekki-)	“great, many”
53. <i>mal-</i> (cf. <i>mula-</i>)	<i>maluwa-</i>	“thank-offering”
54. <i>masn-</i>	<i>masana-</i>	“god”
55. <i>mele-</i> (cf. <i>mal-</i>)	<i>maluwa-</i>	“thank-offering”
56. <i>mena-ś-</i>	<i>maniyahḫ-</i> (Hit.)	“to handle”
57. <i>mlu(-ś)-</i> (cf. <i>mal-</i>)	<i>maluwa-</i>	“thank-offering”
58. <i>muc-</i>	<i>muḥa-</i>	“to sacrifice”
59. <i>mu(e)-</i>	<i>muwa-</i>	“to make strong”
60. <i>muθ-</i>	<i>muwa-</i> (L 107)	“bull”
61. <i>mula-</i> (cf. <i>mal-</i>)	<i>maluwa-</i>	“thank-offering”
62. <i>muti(-n)-</i>	<i>muwata-</i>	“strength”
63. <i>na-, -n</i>	<i>na</i>	“not”
64. <i>n(e)-</i> (cf. <i>nu(-ś)-</i>)	<i>nawa-</i>	“new”
65. <i>neχ-</i>	<i>neku-</i> (Hit.)	“to diminish, become less (of light)”
66. <i>nu-</i>	<i>nu-</i> (Hit.)	introductory particle
67. <i>nu(-ś)-</i> (cf. <i>n(e)-</i>)	<i>nuwa-</i> (toponyms)	“new”
68. <i>-p(a)-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	“he, it; that (person or thing)”
69. <i>par</i>	<i>para</i>	“before, in front,

Etruscan	Luwian hieroglyphic	meaning
		pre-"
70. <i>pai-n-, pei-s-n-</i>	<i>pāi-</i> (Hit., CL)	"to give"
71. <i>pet-n(a)-</i>	<i>pata-</i>	"foot"
72. <i>pi(-n)-</i>	<i>pāi-</i>	"to pass, spend time"
73. <i>pi(-n)-</i>	<i>pia-</i>	"to give"
74. <i>pu-</i>	<i>pu-</i>	"to sacrifice"
75. <i>puθ-s-, put-s-</i>	<i>puti-</i>	"to sacrifice"
76. <i>śacni-</i>	<i>šaknu(wa)-</i> (CL)	"to sacrifice"
77. <i>śaθ-, saθ-</i> (cf. <i>zat-</i>)	<i>ziti-</i> (> Lyc. -σατης)	"man"
78. <i>ścani(-n)-</i>	<i>saḥana-</i>	"feudal service"
79. <i>śve-l-</i>	<i>suwa-</i>	"to fill (> fulfill)"
80. <i>śin</i>	^{KATA} <i>s(i)(na)</i>	"with"
81. <i>śnuiuφ</i>	<i>šannapi</i> (Hit.)	"sporadic"
82. <i>ra-, re-, ri-</i>	<i>arḥa</i> (> Lyc. <i>eri</i>)	emphatic
83. <i>ratu-</i>	<i>radu-</i> (onomastics)	"chariot"
84. <i>rua, ru-z-</i>	<i>ruwana, ru</i>	"formerly"
85. <i>sa-</i> (cf. <i>za-</i>)	<i>sa</i> ₉ (L 380)	"one"
86. <i>ses(e)-</i>	<i>sasa-</i>	"seal"
87. <i>spet-</i>	<i>šipand-</i> (Hit.)	"to libate"
88. <i>ta-</i>	<i>tā-</i>	"this"
89. <i>Tarc-</i>	<i>Tarḥunt-</i>	"storm-god"
90. <i>te-</i> (cf. <i>θa-</i>)	<i>tanuwa-</i>	"to erect, set up"
91. <i>teśa-, tesi-</i>	<i>tasa-</i>	"stele; grave"
92. <i>Tiur-</i>	<i>Tiwat/ra-</i>	"sun-god"
93. <i>trin-</i> (cf. <i>etrin-</i>)	<i>tarīnūwa-</i>	"to cause to (be) venerate(d)"
94. <i>tu-</i> (cf. <i>θu-</i>)	<i>tu(wa)-</i>	"to place, put"
95. <i>-um</i> (cf. <i>-m</i>)	<i>-ma</i> (Hit.)	"but; and"
96. <i>Un(i)-</i>	<i>wanati-</i>	"woman, wife"
97. <i>ur-</i> (cf. <i>hur-s-</i>)	<i>ura-</i>	"great"
98. <i>urχ-</i>	<i>uruḥa-</i>	"august"
99. <i>us(e)-, us(i)-</i>	<i>usa-</i>	"year"
100. <i>uf-</i>	<i>uwa-</i>	"ox"
101. <i>-χ, -χα</i> (cf. <i>-c</i>)	<i>-ḥa(wa)</i>	"and; also"
102. <i>χaś-</i>	<i>ḥasa-</i>	"to procreate, beget"
103. <i>-χva-</i> (cf. <i>-cva-</i>)	<i>ḥwa-</i>	"who, what"
104. <i>-χe- -χe-</i>	<i>ḥwahwa-</i>	indefinite

Etruscan	Luwian hieroglyphic	meaning
105. <i>fa-</i> (cf. <i>va-</i>)	<i>wa-</i>	introductory particle
106. <i>farsi-</i>	<i>wa₃āsa₃rī-</i>	“to offer (?)”
107. <i>faśl-, faśl-</i>	<i>wasūrli-</i> word formation	“revenue”
108. <i>-l-</i>	<i>-ali-</i>	adjectival
109. <i>-ś-/-s-/-z-</i>	<i>-asa-</i>	adjectival
110. <i>-n-</i>	<i>-wana-</i>	ethnic
111. <i>-z(e)-</i>	<i>-zi₄-/-zā-</i>	ethnic
112. <i>-te-</i>	<i>-ti-, -r-</i>	ethnic
113. <i>-n(u)-</i>	<i>-nu(wa)-</i>	factive
114. <i>-ś-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	iterative
115. <i>-χ-</i>	<i>-hi-</i>	“-ship”
116. <i>-θr-</i>	<i>-tar-</i> (Hit.)	agent noun
117. <i>-ta</i>	<i>-ta</i>	adverb
118. <i>-l-</i>	<i>-l-</i>	ordinal
119. <i>-n-</i>	<i>-an(n)a-</i> (Hit.)	ordinal
120. <i>-s(u), -z</i>	<i>-su-</i>	“x-times”
(pro)nominal declension & verbal conjugation		
121. <i>-ś (aruś, ceuś)</i>	<i>-sa</i>	N(m/f) sg.
122. <i>-n (firin)</i>	<i>-na</i> (CL also <i>-m</i>)	A(m/f) sg.
123. <i>-i</i>	<i>-ī</i>	N-A(n) sg.
124. <i>-a, -i</i>	<i>-a, -i</i>	D sg.
125. <i>-ś</i>	<i>-sa</i>	G sg.
126. <i>-t(i), -θ, -r</i>	<i>-ti, -ri</i>	Abl. sg.
127. <i>-ti, -θ(i)</i>	<i>-ti</i>	Loc. sg.
128. <i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	N(m/f) pl.
129. <i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	A(m/f) pl.
130. <i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	N-A(n) pl.
131. <i>-ai > -e</i> (D-G)	<i>-aī</i>	D pl.
132. <i>-ai</i>	<i>-aī</i>	G pl.
133. <i>-ti, -θ(i), -(e)r(i)</i>	<i>-ti, -r(i)</i>	Abl. pl.
134. <i>-ś</i>	<i>-sa</i>	2nd pers. sg. pres./fut. act.
135. <i>-t(i), -θ(i)</i>	<i>-ti</i> (CL also <i>-i</i>)	3rd pers. sg. pres./fut. act.
136. <i>-nt(i), -nθ(i)</i>	<i>-ⁿti</i>	3rd pers. pl. pres./fut. act.
137. <i>-rθi</i>	<i>-rti</i>	3rd pers. sg.

Etruscan	Luwian hieroglyphic	meaning
138. <i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	pres./fut. pass.
139. <i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	3rd pers. sg. subj.
140. —	—	3rd pers. pl. subj.
141. <i>-tu</i>	<i>-tu</i> (CL also <i>-u</i>)	2nd pers. sg. imp.
142. <i>-rtu</i>	<i>-rtu</i>	3rd pers. sg. imp.
143. <i>-una</i>	<i>-(u)na</i>	3rd pers. sg. imp. pass. inf. act.

Etruscan	Lycian	meaning
	vocabulary	
1. <i>-a-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers.
2. <i>aθr-</i>	<i>atla-/atra-</i>	“person, image”
3. <i>(a)m-</i>	<i>hñme-/ñmai-</i>	“to found”
4. <i>an, anan</i> (cf. <i>ena-</i>)	<i>ēnē</i>	“under; during”
5. <i>anθ-</i> (cf. <i>hinθ-</i>)	<i>ñte</i>	“in”
6. <i>ap-</i> (cf. <i>ep-</i>)	<i>apñ, epñ</i>	“afterwards, behind”
7. <i>ara-, aru-</i>	<i>aru-</i>	“free citizen”
8. <i>-c</i> (cf. <i>-χ</i>)	<i>-ke</i>	“and; also”
9. <i>ceχa-</i>	<i>χuga-</i>	“grandfather”
10. <i>cla-, cleva-</i>	<i>qla-</i>	“enclosure, precinct”
11. <i>cnti-cnθi-</i> (redupl.)	<i>χñtawat(i)-</i>	“king”
12. <i>ena-</i> (cf. <i>an</i>)	<i>ēnē</i>	“under; during”
13. <i>ep-</i> (cf. <i>ap-</i>)	<i>apñ, epñ</i>	“afterwards, behind”
14. <i>eθr(i)-, eter(a)-</i> (cf. <i>hetr-</i>)	<i>ētri-</i>	“lower, inferior”
15. <i>va-, -va</i>	<i>-we</i>	introductory particle
16. <i>zat-l-χ-</i> (cf. <i>śaθ-</i>)	<i>-σατης</i> (onomastics) ¹⁴	“man”
17. <i>hetr-</i> (cf. <i>eθr(i)-</i>)	<i>ētri-</i>	“lower, inferior”
18. <i>hinθ-</i> (cf. <i>anθ-</i>)	<i>ñte</i>	“under; during”

¹⁴ Houwink ten Cate 1961: 171-172.

	Etruscan	Lycian	meaning
19.	<i>θel(i)-</i>	<i>tll(e)i-</i>	“to pay”
20.	<i>θu-</i> (cf. <i>tu-</i>)	<i>tuwe-</i>	“to place, put”
21.	<i>θu-</i>	<i>tbi-, kbi-</i>	“2”
22.	<i>maθ-, mata-, meθ-</i>	<i>miñt(i)-</i>	“league, assembly”
23.	<i>masn-</i>	<i>mahana-</i>	“god”
24.	<i>me-</i>	<i>me-</i>	introductory particle
25.	<i>mur-</i>	<i>Murñna-</i>	≈ Greek <i>Hadēs</i> ¹⁵
26.	<i>na-, -n</i>	<i>ne</i>	“not”
27.	<i>par</i>	<i>per, pri</i>	“before, in front”
28.	<i>pi(-n)-</i>	<i>pije-</i>	“to give”
29.	<i>ś-</i>	<i>ese</i>	“with”
30.	<i>śaθ-, saθ-</i> (cf. <i>zat-</i>)	<i>-σατης</i> (onomastics)	“man”
31.	<i>ra-, re-, ri-</i>	<i>eri</i> ¹⁶	emphatic
32.	<i>sa-u</i>	<i>se-we</i> ¹⁷	introductory particles
33.	<i>spet-</i>	<i>hppñt-</i>	“to libate”
34.	<i>sun</i>	<i>hu-</i>	“con-”
35.	<i>Tarc-</i>	<i>Trqqñt-, Tarqqiz</i>	“storm-god”
36.	<i>ta-</i>	<i>θθ-</i>	“this”
37.	<i>tu-</i> (cf. <i>θu-</i>)	<i>tuwe-</i>	“to place, put”
38.	<i>tuti-n-</i>	<i>tuta-</i>	“people”
39.	<i>us(e)-, us(i)-</i>	<i>uhi-</i>	“year”
40.	<i>-χ, -χα</i> (cf. <i>-c</i>)	<i>-ke</i>	“and; also”
41.	<i>χi-</i>	<i>ti-</i>	“who, what”
42.	<i>χul-</i> (PC <i>χulθ-</i>)	<i>χult-</i> word formation	“to cultivate” ¹⁸
43.	<i>-l-</i>	<i>-li-</i>	adjectival
44.	<i>-ś/-s/-z-</i>	<i>-hi-</i>	adjectival
45.	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-ñni-</i>	ethnic
46.	<i>-z(e)-</i>	<i>-zi-</i>	ethnic
47.	<i>-te-</i>	<i>-de-</i>	ethnic

¹⁵ Woudhuizen 2012: 427-428 (TL 139, § 4).

¹⁶ Houwink ten Cate 1961: 80-81.

¹⁷ Houwink ten Cate 1961: 75.

¹⁸ Woudhuizen 2012: 422-424 (TL 84, § 9).

Etruscan	Lycian	meaning
(pro)nominal declension & verbal conjugation		
48. —, -ś	—, -s	N(m/f) sg.
49. —, -n	—, -ñ, -ñ ¹⁹	A(m/f) sg.
50. -a, -i	-a, -i	D sg.
51. -ś	-h	G sg.
52. -t(i), -θ	-di, -de	Abl.-Instr. sg.
53. -i	-i	N(m/f) pl.
54. -aś, -eś, -iś	-as, -is	A(m/f) pl.
55. -a	-ā	N-A(n) pl.
56. -ai > -e (D-G)	-e (< *-ai)	D pl.
57. -ai	-āi > -ē	G pl.
58. -(e)r(i)	-ri	Abl.-Instr. pl. ²⁰
59. -t(i), -θ(i), -i, -e	-ti, -di, -i, ²¹ -e	3rd pers. sg. pres./fut. act.
60. -nt(i), -nθ(i)	-ñti	3rd pers. pl. pres./fut. act.
61. -tu, -u	-tu, -u	3rd pers. sg. imp.
62. -n(e)	-ne	inf. act.

Etruscan	Lydian	meaning
vocabulary		
1. -a-	-a-	enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers.
2. (a)m-	amē ²²	“to found”
3. anan	ān ²³	“among”
4. -c/-χ	-k	“and; also”
5. capen-, cepen-	kave-	“priest”
6. ceχa-	Gygēs	MN
7. cnti-cnθ (redupl.)	Kandaulēs	MN
8. esl-, sla-, -sle	isl-	“first”

¹⁹ Woudhuizen 2012: 422-424 (TL 84, § 8).

²⁰ Woudhuizen *forthc.*, discussion of TL 84, § 10.

²¹ Woudhuizen 2012: 428-429 (N 320, § 8: *esi* “it is”); 419 (TL 49, § 1: *sijēni* “he lies”).

²² Woudhuizen *forthc.* (Lyd. no. 22, § 2).

²³ Woudhuizen *forthc.* (Lyd. no. 22, § 4).

	Etruscan	Lydian	meaning
9.	<i>ven(e)-</i>	<i>vāna-</i>	“grave”
10.	<i>vit(i)-</i>	<i>vit_l(i_l)-</i>	“to build”
11.	<i>zlχ-</i>	<i>siluka-</i>	“praetorship”
12.	<i>θu-, tu-</i>	<i>t_lu(ve)-</i>	“to place, put”
13.	<i>iχ</i>	<i>ak(-)</i>	introductory particle
14.	<i>-m</i>	<i>-m</i>	“but; and”
15.	<i>mur-</i>	<i>mru-</i>	“to die”
16.	<i>na-, -n</i>	<i>nī-</i>	“not”
17.	<i>nac</i>	<i>nak</i>	introductory particle
18.	<i>pi(-n)-</i>	<i>bi-</i>	“to give”
19.	<i>śin</i>	<i>si-</i> ²⁴	“with, con-”
20.	<i>t(i)-, θ(i)-</i>	<i>t-</i>	stressed pronoun of the 3rd pers.
21.	<i>Tarc-</i>	Ταργυτηνός	“storm-god”
22.	<i>teśa-, tesi-</i>	<i>taśē-</i>	“stele”
23.	<i>Un(i)-</i>	<i>kāna-</i>	“woman, wife”
24.	<i>χi-</i>	<i>pe-/pi-</i>	“who, what”
25.	<i>fa-</i>	<i>fa-</i>	introd. particle
26.	<i>fa-</i>	<i>fa-</i>	“next to”
		word formation	
27.	<i>-l-</i>	<i>-li-</i>	adjectival
28.	<i>-ś-/s-/z-</i>	<i>-si-</i>	adjectival
29.	<i>-χ-</i>	<i>-k-</i>	“-ship”
	(pro)nominal declension & verbal conjugation		
30.	<i>-ś</i>	<i>-s, -ś</i>	N(m/f) sg.
31.	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	A(m/f) sg.
32.	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i_l</i>	N-A(n) sg.
33.	<i>-l (D-G)</i>	<i>-l, -λ</i>	D sg.
34.	<i>-l</i>	<i>-l, -λ</i>	G sg.
35.	<i>-t(i), -θ</i>	<i>-di_l, -d</i>	Abl.-Instr. sg.
36.	<i>-ti, -θ(i)</i>	<i>-t_li_l, -di_l</i>	Loc. sg.
37.	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i_l</i>	N(m/f) pl.
38.	<i>-iś, -eś, -aś</i>	<i>-is, -as</i> (pronoun)	A(m/f) pl.
39.	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	N-A(n) pl.
40.	<i>-ai (D-G)</i>	<i>-ai_l, -āi_l</i>	D pl.

²⁴ Woudhuizen *forthc.* (Lyd. no. 22, § 10, etc.: *sivraλmi-* “congregation”).

	Etruscan	Lydian	meaning
41.	-ai	-ai _l	G pl.
42.	-t(i), -θ(i), -i	-d, -i _l ²⁵	3rd pers. sg. pres./fut. act.
43.	-nt, -nθ	-nt	3rd pers. pl. pres./fut. act.

	Etruscan	Lemnian	meaning
vocabulary			
1.	avil-	avi-	“year”
2.	-c/-χ	-c	“and; also”
3.	θu-, tu-	θo-	“to place, put”
4.	-m	-m	“but, and”
word formation			
5.	-ś/-s/-z-	-śi/-si-	adjectival
6.	-lχ-	-lχve-	multiples of ten
(pro)nominal declension & verbal conjugation			
7.	-ś	-ś (pronoun)	N(m/f) sg.
8.	-i	-i	D sg.
9.	-l	-l	D-G sg.
10.	-ś	-ś	G sg.
11.	-θ(i)	-θ	Loc. sg.
12.	-ai	-ai	G pl.
13.	-ce, -ke, -χe	-ke	3rd pers. sg. past tense act.

	Etruscan	Greek	meaning
vocabulary			
1.	a-	ᾶ-	“un-, without”
2.	am-	ἔμμεναι (Aiolic)	“to be”
3.	cai-	καίω, κάω	“to burn, set to

²⁵ Woudhuizen 2005: 124 (Lyd. no. 1, § 1: *dai_l* ‘it gives’); Woudhuizen 1984-5a: 99 (Lyd. no. 11, line 2: *Vāntas vit_li_l* ‘Vantas has built’; Lyd. no. 22, line 11: *Mlimnas vit_li_l* ‘Mlimnas has built’; note that we are confronted here with examples of a *praesens historicum*).

	Etruscan	Greek	meaning
			fire”
4.	<i>cala-</i>	καλός	“beautiful”
5.	<i>Eθrse</i>	Τυρσηνοί	“Etruscans”
6.	<i>zús-l-</i>	σὺς	“pig”
7.	<i>Hamφe-</i>	Ἀμφίων	“Amphion”
8.	<i>heχś-/heχz-</i>	ἔσχατος	“extreme, farthest”
9.	<i>hupn-</i>	ὕπνος	“sleep”
10.	<i>hus-l-n(e)-, hut(e)-</i>	Ἰττηνία	“Tetrapolis”
11.	<i>La(iv)e/i-, Leiv-</i>	Λάϊος	“Laios”
12.	<i>peθeren-</i>	Παρθένιος	month name
13.	<i>pen-</i>	πενθέω	“to pay the penalty”
14.	<i>Persi-</i>	Περσεφόνη < Lin. B pe-re-swa	“Persephone”
15.	<i>Plut-</i>	Πλούτων	“Pluto”
16.	<i>priθ-, pruθ-s-, puruθn-</i>	πρύτανις	“ruler, lord”
17.	<i>pruc-, prux-</i>	προχέω	“to pour”
18.	<i>Šeu-</i>	Ζεύς	“sky-god”
19.	<i>śin, sin</i> (cf. <i>sun</i>)	σύν	“with”
20.	<i>Ras(-n)-</i>	Ῥασέννα	“Etruscan”
21.	<i>reu(-ś)-</i>	ρέω	“to flow (of words)”
22.	<i>Satr-</i>	Σάτυρος	“satyr”
23.	<i>sve-</i>	σφέ or ƒhe, έέ, έ	reflexive pronoun of the 3rd pers.
24.	<i>Siml-</i>	Σεμέλη	“Semele”
25.	<i>sun</i> (cf. <i>śin</i>)	σύν	“with”
26.	<i>Tinś-</i>	Διόνυσος	“Dionysos”
27.	<i>-treś-, -tres</i>	τρίς	“three times”
28.	<i>tur-</i>	δωρέω	“to give”
29.	<i>tuxl-</i>	τύχη	“destiny”
30.	<i>χim(θ)</i>	ἐκατόμβη	type of offering
31.	<i>χurv-, χur(u)-</i>	χορός	“quire”
32.	<i>Farθan</i>	Παρθένος	“the Maid”
33.	<i>firi-</i>	πῦρ	“fire”
		verbal conjugation	

	Etruscan	Greek	meaning
34.	-ce	-κε	3rd pers. sg. aorist act.

	Etruscan	Latin/Italic ²⁶	meaning
		vocabulary	
1.	a-	a(b)	“from ... away, onwards”
2.	acne-s-	ignis	“fire”
3.	Alϕa-z(e)- Etruscan	Albānus Latin/Italic	“Alban” meaning
4.	amp-	amb-	“around”
5.	ar(a)-	ara	“altar”
6.	cap(e)-, cap(i)-	capio	“to take, seize, grasp”
7.	car-s- (cf. cere/i-n-)	cārus	“beloved, dear”
8.	celθ-, cilθ-	cultus	“honoring, rever- ence, adoration, veneration”
9.	cletram	kletram (Umbr.)	“bier”
10.	cemn(a)-	geminus	“twin”
11.	ceś/s(a)-, ceś(u)-	casa	“cottage, little house”
12.	cere/i-n- (cf. car-s-)	cārus	“beloved, dear”
13.	Crap-ś-	Grabovius, Krapuvi (Umbr.)	“sky-god”
14.	cres-vera-	cārus + vērā	“expression of true concern”
15.	var	varius, varia	“varying”
16.	vetr(a)-	vetus (vetera)	“old”
17.	vinum	vinum	“wine”
18.	zat- (cf. śaθ-)	satelles	“bodyguard”
19.	zuś-l-, zus-le-v-	sus	“pig”
20.	hausti-	haustus	“drinking”
21.	θen-, θin- (cf. ten-)	teneo	“to hold”

²⁶ On Oscan and Umbrian, see Buck 1905, indices, s.v.

	Etruscan	Latin/Italic	meaning
22.	<i>θeu-</i>	<i>deus</i>	“god”
23.	<i>θuta-</i> (cf. <i>tuti-n-</i>)	<i>touto-</i> , <i>tuta-</i> (Osc./Umbr.)	“people”
24.	<i>luθ-</i>	<i>lūdus</i>	“play, game”
25.	<i>lustr-</i>	<i>lūstrum</i>	religious feast
26.	<i>mar-</i>	<i>maro-</i> (Umbr.)	“magistrate”
27.	<i>Marti-</i>	<i>Mārs, Mārtis</i>	“war-god”
28.	<i>mur(-ś)-</i>	<i>morior</i>	“to die”
29.	<i>Neθunś-/Neθuns-</i>	<i>Neptunus</i>	“sea-god”
30.	<i>ner-</i>	<i>ner</i> (Osc.)	“man”
31.	<i>put-</i>	<i>pōto</i>	“to drink”
32.	<i>śaθ-, saθ-</i> (cf. <i>zat-</i>)	<i>satelles</i>	“bodyguard”
33.	<i>śetiru-</i>	<i>satira</i>	“poetry, drama”
34.	<i>śic</i>	<i>sic</i>	“similarly, so, thus”
35.	<i>śpur(a)-</i>	<i>urbs</i>	“town, city”
36.	<i>raχ-</i>	<i>rēgia</i>	“palace”
37.	<i>sac-n-</i> (cf. <i>scar-</i>)	<i>sacer, sacra</i>	“holy, sacred”
38.	<i>scar-</i> (cf. <i>sac-n-</i>)	<i>sacer, sacra</i>	“holy, sacred”
39.	<i>Seθuma-</i>	<i>Septimus</i>	≈ Greek <i>Hermēs</i>
40.	<i>sve-</i>	<i>suus</i>	reflexive pronoun of the 3rd pers.
41.	<i>stret(e)-</i>	<i>stratum</i>	“pavement, street”
42.	<i>sul-</i>	<i>sōl</i>	“sun”
43.	<i>ten-</i> (cf. <i>θen-</i>)	<i>teneo</i>	“to hold”
44.	<i>tuti-n-</i> (cf. <i>θuta-</i>)	<i>touto-</i> , <i>tuta-</i> (Osc./Umbr.)	“people”
45.	<i>unum</i>	<i>ūnum</i>	“one”
46.	<i>χul-</i> (cf. <i>celθ-</i>)	<i>cultus</i>	“honoring, reverence, adoration, veneration”
47.	<i>fac(i)-</i>	<i>facio</i> (Umbr. <i>façia</i>)	“to make, do; finish off”
48.	<i>firi-</i>	<i>pir</i> (Umbr.)	“fire”
49.	<i>flana-χ-</i>	<i>flāmen</i> word formation	“high priest”
50.	<i>-l-</i>	<i>-l-</i>	diminutive
	(pro)nominal declension & verbal conjugation		
51.	<i>-m</i>	<i>-m</i>	A(m/f or n) sg.
52.	<i>-ae</i>	<i>-ae</i>	N(f) pl.

	Etruscan	Latin/Italic	meaning
53.	<i>-nsur</i> (< *- <i>nθur</i>)	<i>-ntur</i>	3rd pers. pl. pres./fut. pass.
54.	<i>-re</i>	<i>-re</i>	inf. act.
55.	<i>-r(i)</i>	<i>-ri</i>	inf. pass.

	Etruscan	Phoenician	meaning
		vocabulary	
1.	<i>Aiser(a)-, Eiser(a)-</i>	<i>'ššr</i>	“Asherah”
2.	<i>Estre-</i>	<i>'štrt</i>	“Astarte”
3.	<i>vinu-</i>	<i>*wainu-</i>	“wine”
4.	<i>młax-</i>	<i>mlh</i>	“good, beautiful”
5.	<i>χurv-, χur(u)-</i>	<i>krr</i>	month of the dances

	Etruscan	Celtic ²⁷	meaning
		vocabulary	
1.	<i>θruθ-, truθ-, trut(a)-</i>	<i>druid-</i>	“priest”
2.	<i>mar-</i>	<i>māro-</i>	“great, illustrious”

4. OVERVIEW OF THE SYSTEM OF (PRO)NOMINAL DECLENSION & VERBAL CONJUGATION

With respect to the grammatical overview, it needs to be stressed that the analysis of forms may be complicated by the fact that the scribe (or perhaps scribes) is (or are) sometimes sloppy in representing the endings, as in case of *nunθen(θ)*, *hexz* or *hexśθ*, *trin(θ)*, *θan(sur)*, *zuśle(veś)*, *fler* or *flere(i)*, *var*, the root-form *Tinś* alongside the D sg. *Tinśi*, etc. In connection with the given verbal roots in *-n*, this complication is worsened by the possible use of the factitive in *-n*-, which

²⁷ See Delamarre 2003, s.v.

may affect the distinction of the ending in *-nt/-nθ*. Furthermore, we may in certain cases be able to determine the fact that a noun is used for the N, like *mata* “assembly” in VII, 22-23, *ceχα* “senate” in XI, 13 and *θuta* “people” in X, 7, or A, like in case of *tesim* “with respect to the burial” in III, 12, etc., *cletram* in II, 10-11, etc., *vinum* in III, 17-18, etc., and *ratum* “chariot” in X, 4, but we still do not know—because in all the four first mentioned instances of the seven in sum we are dealing with endingless forms—whether it is m/f or n sg. or even n pl., so we cannot integrate these forms in our overview. Finally, it deserves attention that some of the given forms appear to be not liable to further declension, like *vinum* “wine”, or barely so, like *cletram* “bier”, so that *vinum* may represent “wine” as well as “with wine”—certainly so when preceded by the preposition *sin* “with” as in IX, 22—and *cletram*, as it seems to do consistently, “on the bier”.

If allowance be paid to these remarks, the relevant grammatical information may be summarized in the following overviews of the paradigms:

	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	—, -ś	-i, -e, -iś, -eś, -aś
A(m/f)	—, -n	-i, -e, -is, -iś, -eś, -aś
N-A(n)	—, -a	-a
D	-a, -e(i), -i, -u	-ri, -(e)ri
D(-G)	-l, -s/-ś/-z	-e
G	-l, -ś	-ai
Abl.-Instr.	-t(i), -θ	-ti, -θ, -(e)r(i)
Loc.	-ta, -ti, -θ(i)	-t(i)

Table XLIII. Declension of the noun.

	relative/demonstrative		3rd person	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	χiś	cus, χeś, -χeiś/-χeis		
A(m/f)	(e)c(a)n, -tn, -χun	-cveś	-ne	-iś
N-A(n)	ica, ipa	(i)ca, ipa, -cva/-χva	θi, ti	-t
D	tei, ipei	-cve, -χve, -χie, ipe, θi, -i	θe, -e(i)	

	relative/demonstrative		3rd person	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
D(-G)	<i>c(a)l, cs/cś, tś, -cval</i>	<i>etna, -tna</i>	<i>-ś, -l(e)</i>	
G				
Abl.-Instr.	<i>-cveti, -χ(e)r</i>			
Loc.	<i>cati, clθ(i)</i>	<i>-i(a)</i>		

Table XLIV. Declension of the pronoun.

	present/future	past tense	subjunctive	imperative
2nd sg. act.	<i>-ś</i>			—, <i>-i</i>
3rd sg. act.	<i>-t(i), -θ(i), -i, -e</i>	<i>-ce</i>	<i>-a, -θa, -ca</i>	<i>-tu, -cu, -u</i>
3rd pl. act.	<i>-nt(i), -nθi, -n(θ)</i>	<i>-nce</i>	<i>-a, -nθa</i>	
3rd sg. pass.	<i>-rθi</i>			<i>-rθu</i>
3rd pl. pass.	<i>-nsur (< -n(a)θur)</i>			
	active		passive	
infinitive	<i>-una, -(a)n(e), -re</i>		<i>-(e)r(i)</i>	
participle	<i>-as</i>			

Table XLV. Conjugation of the verb.

If we relate the data of the foregoing paradigms to the ones of the most closely related members of the Luwian language group, Luwian hieroglyphic, Lycian, and Lydian (for a recent grammatical sketch of Luwian hieroglyphic, see Woudhuizen 2011: 313-315; for that of Lycian, see Melchert 2004: x-xii and cf. Woudhuizen 2008: 396-397; for that of Lydian, see Woudhuizen *forthc.*), the following observations may be of relevance:

- (1) The endless N(m/f) sg. and A(m/f) sg., which occur alongside incidental instances of the inherited endings *-ś* and *-n*, is a feature Etruscan shares with Lycian. Note that the Lycian A(m/f) sg. in *-ñ* also occurs in variant form *-ñ̃*.

- (2) The G sg. and D sg. in *-l* are features which Etruscan shares with Lydian.
- (3) The loss of the final vowel in the ending of the Abl.-Instr. in *-t(i)* and *-θ* is also a feature Etruscan shares with Lydian.
- (4) The A(m/f) pl. in *-i* as found in Etruscan is a feature typical of Luwian hieroglyphic, in contradistinction to Lycian *-is* and *-as* and Lydian *-is* and, only in the realm of the pronoun, *-as* or *-aś*, reflexes of which are also found in Etruscan in form of *-is*, *-iś*, *-eś*, and *-aś*. As opposed to this, the Etruscan N(m/f) pl. in *-iś*, *-eś*, and *-aś* likely comes into consideration as being A(m/f) pl. in origin, its use being extended to the N(m/f) pl. on the basis of analogy.
- (5) The Etruscan D pl. in *-ri* or *-(e)ri* likely comes into consideration as originating from the rhotacized variant of the Luwian hieroglyphic Abl. pl. in *-ti*, viz. *-ri*—the rhotacism itself in this connection being a feature typical of Luwian hieroglyphic, which is incidentally shared by Lycian and not at all by Lydian.
- (6) The D(-G) pl. in *-e*, which ultimately originates from **-ai* by monophthongization of the diphthong as actually attested for Luwian hieroglyphic in form of *-aī* and Lydian in form of *-ai_l*, is shared by Etruscan with Lycian.
- (7) The D sg. forms *tei* and *ipei*, which function as local adverbs for the expression of the meaning “here”, are most closely paralleled by Lycian *ebei* of the same function. The same verdict also applies to the Loc. sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. *-i(a)* against the backdrop of Lycian *-i*.
- (8) The remark on the D sg. in *-l* in the realm of the declension of the noun also applies to that of the pronoun.
- (9) The remarks on the A(m/f) pl. of the declension of the noun also apply to that of the pronoun.
- (10) The D pl. in *-e* in the declension of the pronoun may reasonably be argued to originate from the D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the declension of the noun by means of analogy.
- (11) The D(-G) pl. of the demonstrative pronoun *it(a)-* or *et(a)-* is, like its counterpart *ic(a)-* or *ec(a)-* in other Etruscan texts (*i.e.* the discus of Magliano and the Capua tile), characterized by an additional element *-n-* which is paralleled only for the plural forms in the declension of the pronoun in Lydian. Similarly, the D pl. in *-ei* of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. is most closely paralleled by Lydian *-ai_l*.
- (12) In regard to the conjugation of the verb, it deserves our attention that the loss of the final vowel with respect to the endings of the 3rd pers. sg. and pl. of the pres./fut. of the act., *-t(i)* or *-θ(i)* and *-nt(i)* or

-nθ(i), respectively, is a typical feature Etruscan shares with Lydian. On the other hand, the alternative endings in *-i* and *-e* of the 3rd pers. sg. of the same tense are paralleled in the first instance for both Lycian (*esi, sijēni*) and Lydian (*dai₁, vit₁i₁*) and in the second instance for Lycian only (Melchert 2004: xii). In Lycian also we find corresponding evidence for the 3rd pers. sg. of the imp. of the act. in *-u* alongside *-tu*.

Even though it is crystal clear that on the basis of the foregoing paradigms the nucleus of Etruscan grammar adheres to the principles of the grammar of its Luwian relatives, Luwian hieroglyphic, Lycian, and Lydian, it must be admitted that in some cases Greek and Latin or more in general Italic adstrate influences have not only affected the realm of vocabulary, but also penetrated that of grammar, like in case of the 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense of the act. in *-ce*, corresponding to the Greek *kappa*-aorist in *-κε*, and the A(m/f or n) sg. in *-m*, the N(m/f) pl. in *-ae*, the 3rd pers. pl. of the pres./fut. of the pass. in *-nsur* < *-ntur*, the inf. of the act. in *-re* and that of the pass. in *-ri*, corresponding to Lat. *-m*, *-ae* (f), *-ntur*, *-re*, and *-ri*, respectively.

In connection with the reading of the Luwian hieroglyphic signs L 376 and L 377 (see Woudhuizen 2011: 89-98) it is of interest to observe that the new reading as *zi* and *zā*, respectively, is valid in the case of *ziχn-* “to write”, *zamθ(i)-* or *zamt(i)-* “votive offering”, and the ethnic formans in *-ze-*, which correspond to Luwian hieroglyphic *zikuna-* “written account”, *zāmatia-* “votive offering”, and ethnic formation in *-zi₄-* or *-zā-*. On the other hand, the validity of the old reading as *i* and *ī*, respectively, applies in the case of *trin-* “to consecrate”, *hila-* “to favor”, *lei-t-* “to be disposed of as a fire offering”, *(re)pin-* “to spend time”, *farsi-* “to offer”, the prothetic *i-* of the demonstrative pronouns, the N(m/f) pl. and A(m/f) pl. in *-i*, the G pl. in *-ai*, the N-A(n) in *-i* of the stressed pronoun of the 3rd pers., *ti*, and the preposition *in* “in”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *tarīnūwa-* “to cause to (be) venerate(d)”, *īla-* “to favor”, *lāi-* “fire-offering”, *paī-* “to pass, spend time”, *wa₅āsa₅rī-* “to offer (?)”, the demonstrative pronoun *i-* or *ī-* “this”, the N(m/f) pl. and A(m/f) pl. in *-i*, the G pl. in *-aī*, the pronominal N-A(n) ending in *-ī*, and the preposition *ina* “in, among”, respectively.

Finally, there can be no doubt that Etruscan, just like Luwian hieroglyphic (Woudhuizen 2011: 407-410), is an Indo-European language of *centum*-type. To the evidence noted before in this connection, comprising: *Ca(ve)θ-* “Cauthas” < PIE **k₁eu-* “to burn, set to

fire”, *χim(θ)*- “hecatomb” < PIE **k̑ntóm* “100”, and *c(a)*- “this” < PIE **k̑i*- “this” (see chapter 20 below), and in which connection the case of *qutef(a)*- “to take revenge” < PIE **k̑at*- “strife, fight” should have been mentioned (cf. Woudhuizen 2011: 408-409), can now be added the cases of *cai*- “to burn” and *ceu*- “fire”, both originating also from PIE **k̑eu*- “to burn, set to fire”, as well as *θαχś*- “to assemble” < PIE **teks*- “to hew, fabricate”.

APPENDIX:

ENCLITIC PRONOUN OF THE 3RD PERSON AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE EVIDENCE FROM THE LUWIAN LANGUAGE GROUP

Of special interest is the declension of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers., which, attached to introductory particles or the first element of a phrase more in general are such a characteristic feature of the IE Anatolian languages. In this overview I make use of the latest results relevant to the topic, see Woudhuizen 2010-1b: 230 (Etruscan), Woudhuizen 2011: 313 (Luwian hieroglyphic), Woudhuizen 2010-1a: 212 and Woudhuizen *forthc.* Table 1 (Lydian), and Woudhuizen 2012: 432 (basically the same as the overview given here, but focussed on the Lycian evidence and with some supplements to the Lydian paradigm). All the forms of the paradigms below are from clarified contexts, *i.e.* phrases in the respective language translated word for word and with a keen eye even for the smallest details.

	Etr.	LH	Lyc.	Lyd.
	sg.			
N(m/f)	-s(e), -ś	-sa		-ś
A(m/f)	-n(e)	-na	-ne/-ñn, -ē	-in
N-A(n)		-ta, +r(a)	-d(e), -n(e), -ē	-ad
D	-i	-tu, -ru, -ta	-i/-j/-ij/-ije, -li	-λ, -mλ
D(-G)	-l(a), -s/-ś			
Abl.		-ta		-t
Loc.	-i(a)	-ta, +r(a)		-i

	Etr.	LH	Lyc.	Lyd.
			pl.	
N(m/f)		-ta, -r(a)		
A(m/f)	-is/-iś, -n	-ta, +ra, -na	-d, -iz, -ñne	-aś, -is
N-A(n)	-t(a)	-ta, -ra	-de	
D	-e(i)	-maī, -ta, +ra	-uwe/-uwā, -i/-ije	-mś, -ś, -ai,
G	-iei			
Abl.				
Loc.		-ta		

Table XLVI. Overview of the Etruscan forms of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. and of those in the related dialects, Luwian hieroglyphic, Lycian, and Lydian.

As to the order of the different forms of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. when these occur together in a chain attached to an introductory particle, it has been established for Luwian hieroglyphic that the unmarked sequence is -D-A-N, whereas the Abl. always takes final position (Woudhuizen 2011: 393-394; cf. overview 394-398). In marked sequences, however, this order may be reversed. The latter observation apparently applies to the Lycian evidence, which can be summarized as follows (Woudhuizen 2012: 431):

Lycian

- (1) TL 4: *se -d -i* “them for him” (-A-D)
- (2) TL 84, § 9: *me -d -i* “it for him” (-A-D)
- (3) N320, § 9: *se -de -li* “it for him” (-A-D)

On the other hand, the Lydian data on the topic turn out to be in conformity with the regular order, if only we realize that -mś, as first established by Onofrio Carruba (1969: 43-44), renders the D pl. (cf. Woudhuizen 2012: 432-433):

Lydian

- (1) no. 22, § 17: *ak -mλ -ad* “for her it” (-D-A)
- (2) no. 22, § 10: *ak -mś -ad* “for them it” (-D-A)
- (3) no. 10, 10: *fak -mś -ad* “for them (= their) it” (-D-A)
- (4) no. 22, § 14: *ak -mś -aś* “for them (= their) them” (-D-A)
- (5) no. 4b, § 3: *fak -mλ -t* “for him because of it” (-D-Abl.)

Now, the relevant data from Etruscan can be summarized as follows (note that this overview includes some forms of the enclitic demonstrative pronouns *-c(a)-* and *-t(a)-*):

Etruscan

- (1) CT III, 1: *nu-l-is* “in his honor these” (-D-A)
- (2) LL VI, 10-11; VIII, 1-2; XII, 9-10: *va-cl-tna-m* “for him during these; during this from these” (-D-D)
- (3) CT II, 1: *va-cil-ia* “to her here” (-D-Loc.)
- (4) PC, F 13: *fa-la-ś* “for her the aforesaid” (-D-N)
- (5) LL IV, 13; IX, 17-18: *fa-ś-i*: “during it to, for her” (-D-D)
- (6) LL II, 11-12; 13; III, 21; IV, 15-16; 20; 20-21; V, 1-2; 11-12; 14-15; 21; IX, 19-20; 23-24: *fa-ś-e(i)* “during it to, for them; during it from these” (-D-D)
- (7) LL VIII, f5-6; IX, 8-9; 14-15: *fa-ś-ei-c*: “during it for them; during it from them” (-D-D)
- (8) LL IV, 21; V, 15; IX, 24: *fa-ś-e-iś* “during it for them these” (-D-D-A)

To the Etruscan evidence may, for the sake of completeness, also be added the following sequence:

- (9) CT IV, 3⁴: *ica-la-ie-i* “for her of these” (-D-G)

even though comparative data from the related Luwian languages on the position of G in the chain of enclitics, for the simple fact that G forms of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. in these languages as yet go unrecorded, are entirely lacking.

With the proviso of the latter observation and if allowance be made for the fact that the Etruscan Loc. takes the position of the Luwian Abl., it may safely be concluded that, insofar as the order of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. is concerned, Etruscan abides to the principles of Luwian grammar.

5. TEXT IN TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

LL, II

[]

n1-2 *śacni-cś-[treś cilθś*
śpureś-treś-c

“Sacrifice during this (time) a
 τριττός for the cult(-festival) and
 a τριττός for the town!”

n2-3 *ena] -ś Eθrse Tinśi*
[Tiuri-m

“During it the Etruscans (will be
 devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-
 god.”

n3 *avilś χiś cisu]-m pute*

“Who(ever will be) of age: drink
 three times as well!”

n3-4 *tul θansur [haθnθi*
repinθi-c

“(Within) the boundarie(s which)
 will be set out, they will eat and
 spend time.”

n4-5 *śacn]icleri cilθl [śpureri*
meθlumeri-c

“On the days of the sacrifices for
 the cult(-festival organized) by the
 town(’s official)s and members of
 the assembly.”

n5 *e]na-ś suθ raχti <nunθen>* “During it they will dedicate a grave
 gift at the regia.”

[]

2 *[ec]n ze[ri l]e[c]i[n*
 2-3 *in-c ze-c faśle hemsince*

“Burn this as smoke-offerings!”
 “And during (it) they have (..?)ed
 also one from among the revenues.”

3-4 *śacni-cś]-treś cilθś*
[śpureś-treś

“Sacrifice during this (time) a
 τριττός for the cult(-festival and)
 a τριττός for the town!”

4 *ena-ś ś]vels-[t]reś-c sve-c*

“During it (sacrifice) a τριττός also
 for the living and oneself!”

4-5 *an [cś m]e-ne uti[nce*
ziχn]e ś[eti]rune-c

“During this (time) one has
 experienced it (and) will write
 about it and dramatize it.”

5-6 *Eθrse [Tin]śi Tiuri-m*

“(And) the Etruscans (will be
 devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-
 god.”

6 *avilś χiś cisu]-m p]ute*

“Who(ever will be) of age: drink

- 6-7 *tul [θa]nsur haθnθi* three times as well!”
repinθi-c “(Within) the boundarie(s which)
will be set out, they will eat and
spend time.”
- 7-8 *śacni[cl]eri [cilθ]l śpureri* “On the days of the sacrifices for
meθlumeri-c the cult(-festival organized) by the
town(’s official)s and members of
the assembly.”
- 8-9 *ena[-ś] śveleri-c sve-c* “During it (sacrifice) also to the
ones living and to oneself!”
- 9 *an cś me-ne utince ziχne* “During this (time) one has
śetirune-c experienced it (and) will write
about it and dramatize it.”
- 10 *raχθ tura nunθenθ* “At the regia they will dedicate
donations.”
- 10-1 *cletram śren-χve tei* “Here (on) the bier for what(ever
number of) *śren-*.”
- 11-2 *fa-ś-ei zarfneθ zuśle* “And during it they will dedicate
nunθen Farθan Aiseraś piglets at a smoke offering
Śeuś ceremony to them: to the Maid,
Asherah, (and) Zeus.”
- 12-3 *cletram śren-cve r[aχ]θ* “(On) the bier for what(ever
number of) *śren-* at the regia.”
- 13 *tura nunθenθ tei* “They will dedicate donations
here.”
- 13 *fa-ś-ei nunθenθ []* “And during it they will dedicate to
them: []”

[]

LL, III

[]

- 12 *[fle]r* “[] the statue.”
- 12 *etna-m tesim* “And from these the burial.”
- 12 *etna-m c[elu-cn]* “And from these this: only the
third.”
- 13 *cletram śren-cve* “(On) the bier for what(ever
number of) *śren-*.”

13	<i>trin θezine χim</i>	“One will consecrate (this and) lay (it) down (for) a hecatomb.”
13-4	<i>fler Tarc mutin-um anan-cveś</i>	“And revigorate also the statue (of) Tarkhunt together with who(ever are participant)s!”
14-5	<i>nacl cal Tarc θezi</i>	“And during this lay down (offerings to) Tarkhunt!”
15	<i>va-cl an ścanince sa-u-c-saθ Persin</i>	“And during (it) for him they have paid homage as well (to) the guardian(s) of Persephone.”
16	<i>cletram śren-χve</i>	“(On) the bier for what(ever number of) <i>śren-</i> .”
16	<i>iχ ścanince ciz</i>	“And they have paid homage thrice.”
16-7	<i>va-cl ara nunθene śaθaś</i>	“And for him one will dedicate the men at the altar.”
17	<i>na-χve heχz</i>	“One will not place (anything) outside for what(ever reason)s.”
17-8	<i>male vinum usi trin[θ]</i>	“For the thank-offerings one will consecrate the wine for the year.”
18-9	<i>flere in Crapśti un mlaχ nunθenθa clθi</i>	“To the statue in the sanctuary of Grabovius: please let them dedicate one beautiful (thank-offering) in the (...) of this (location).”
19-20	<i>θar-θei ciar huslne vinum</i>	“Three to be parted into three here, on the fourth day (with) wine.”
20	<i>eśi sese ramue racuśe</i>	“(And) one will reconfirm honors with seals and venerate (them).”
21	<i>fa-ś-ei śpureś-tres</i>	“And during it from them a τριττός for the town.”
21-2	<i>ena-ś Eθrse Tinśi Tiuri-m</i>	“During it the Etruscan (will be devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-god.”
22	<i>avilś χiś cisu-m pute</i>	“Who(ever will be) of age: drink three times as well!”
22-3	<i>tul θans hatne-c repine-c</i>	“(Within) the boundarie(s which) will be set out, one will eat and spend time.”
23	<i><śacnicleri cilθl> śpureri meθlumeri-c</i>	“On the days of the sacrifices for the cult(-festival organized) by the town(’s official)s and members of

the assembly.”

[]

LL, IV

[]

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| 1-2 | <i>[ena-ś] Eθrse Tinśi
Tiuri-m</i> | “During it the Etruscans (will be devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-god.” |
| 2 | <i>avilś χiś ec[n zeri lecin]</i> | “Who(ever will be) of age: burn this as smoke offerings!” |
| 3 | <i>in-c ze-c fler θezince</i> | “And during (it) they have also laid down one (offering in front of) the statue.” |
| 3 | <i>cisu-m pute</i> | “Drink three times as well!” |
| 3-4 | <i>t[ul θans] hate-c repine-c</i> | “(Within) the boundarie(s which) will be set out, one will eat and spend time.” |
| 4 | <i>meleri sveleri-c sv[e-c</i> | “(And during it sacrifice) also to the bringers of thank-offerings, the ones living, and oneself!” |
| 4-5 | <i>an] cś me-le θun mutince</i> | “And during this (time) they have twice revigorated (something) for him.” |
| 5 | <i>θezine ruz[e</i> | “One will lay down (offerings) for the ancestors.” |
| 6 | <i>nu-zlχne]-c śpureri
meθlumeri-c</i> | “And for the ones exercizing the praetorship, the town(’s official)s, and members of the assembly.” |
| 6-7 | <i>ena-ś [raxθ tura] zarfneθ</i> | “And during it (they will dedicate) donations at the regia within the context of a smoke offering ceremony.” |
| 7-8 | <i>zuśleveś nunθen [Farθan
f]lereś in Crapśti</i> | “And they will dedicate piglets to the Maid and the statue in the sanctuary of Grabovius.” |
| 8-9 | <i>cletram [śren-χv]e</i> | “(On) the bier for what(ever number of) śren-.” |
| 9 | <i>raxθ tura hexśθ</i> | “At the regia one will place outside |

		donations.”
9-10	<i>vinum [nunθen</i>	“They will dedicate wine.”
10	<i>c]letram śren-χve</i>	“(On) the bier for what(ever number of) <i>śren-</i> .”
10	<i>raxθ suθ</i>	“At the regia (they will dedicate) a grave gift.”
11-2	<i>[zarfneθ] zuśleveś nunθen</i> <i>Estrei Alφazei</i>	“During the smoke offering ceremony they will dedicate piglets to Alban Astarte.”
12	<i>cletram śren-cve</i>	“(On) the bier for what(ever number of) <i>śren-</i> .”
12	<i>ei-m tul var</i>	“But not (within) another boundary.”
13	<i>raxθ tur<a> nunθenθ</i>	“At the regia they will dedicate donations.”
13	<i>fa-ś-i cletram</i>	“And during it (offerings) for her (on) the bier.”
13-4	<i>ei tul var</i>	“(But) not (within) another boundary.”
14	<i>celi suθ hexśθ</i>	“In September one will place outside a grave gift.”
14	<i>vin<u>m trin</i>	“One will consecrate wine.”
14-5	<i>flere in Crapsti un mlaχ</i> <i>nunθen</i>	“They will dedicate a beautiful (thank-offering) to the statue in the sanctuary of Grabovius.”
15-6	<i>χis esvis-c fa-ś-ei cisu-m</i> <i>pute</i>	“Who(ever) also (takes part) in the ceremony: during it for them: drink three times as well!”
16	<i>tul θans hate-c repine-c</i>	“(Within) the boundarie(s which) will be set out, one will eat and spend time.”
17	<i>meleri sveleri-c sve-c</i>	“Also on behalf of the bringers of thank-offerings, the ones living, and themselves.”
17-8	<i>an cś me-le θun mutince</i>	“During this (time) they have twice revigorated (something) for him.”
18	<i>θezine ruze</i>	“One will lay down (offerings) for the ancestors.”
18-9	<i>nu-zlχne-c śpureri</i> <i>meθlumeri-c</i>	“And for the ones exercising the praetorship, the town(’s official)s, and members of the assembly.”

- 19 *ena-ś śin <vinum> flere* “During it (one will sacrifice) with
in Crapšti wine to the statue in the sanctuary
of Grabovius.”
- 20 *χίς esviś-c fa-ś-e śin* “Who(ever) also (takes part) in the
<vinum> Aiser <śic ceremony: during it for them: (one
Šeu-c> will sacrifice) with wine to
Asherah, and similarly to Zeus.”
- 20-1 *fa-ś-e śin <vinum> aiś* “And during it for them: (one will
cemna-c sacrifice) with wine to the god and
the twin.”
- 21 *fa-ś-e-iś raχθ sutanaś* “During it for them these: at the
regia grave gifts.”
- 21-2 *celi suθ* “In September a grave gift.”
- 22 *eisna peva-χ vinum trau* “You will pour *trau*-wine over the
pruχś divine omina and *pava*-.”

[vacat]

[]

LL, V

- 1 *vinu-χ [mlaχ nunθen]* “And they will dedicate a beautiful
(thank-offering with) wine.”
- 1 *etn<a> capeśi* “One will take from these
(whenever/as much as necessary).”
- 1-2 *fa[-ś-e] ecn zeri lecin* “And during (it) from these burn
this as smoke offerings!”
- 2 *in-c ze-c fasle hemsince* “And during (it) they have (..?..)ed
also one from among the revenues.”
- 3 *śacni-cs-treś cilθś* “Sacrifice during this (time) a
śpureś-treś-c τριτύς for the cult(-festival) and
a τριτύς for the town!”
- 4 *ena-ś Eθrse Tinśi Tiuri-m* “During it the Etruscans (will be
devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-
god.”
- 4-5 *avilś χίς cisu-m pute* “Who(ever will be) of age: drink
three times as well!”
- 5 *tul θansur haθnθi repinθi-c* “(Within) the boundarie(s which)
will be set out, they will eat and

- 6 *śacnicleri cilθl śpureri
meθlumeri-c* spend time.”
“On the days of the sacrifices for
the cult(-festival organized) by the
town(’s official)s and members of
the assembly.”
- 7 *ena-ś raχθ suθ nunθenθ* “During it they will dedicate a grave
gift at the regia.”
- 7-8 *etna-m Farθan Aiseraś
Śeuś* “And to these: to the Maid,
Asherah, and Zeus.”
- 8 *cletram śren-cve* “(On) the bier for what(ever
number of) *śren*.”
- 8-9 *racθ suθ nunθenθ Estrei
Alφazei* “They will dedicate a grave gift
to the Alban Astarte at the regia.”
- 9-10 *ei-m tul var* “And (this) not (within) another
boundary.”
- 10 *celi suθ nunθenθ Eiser
śic Śeu-c* “(But) in September they will
dedicate a grave gift to Asherah,
and similarly to Zeus.”
- 11 *unum mlaχ nunθen* “They will (also) dedicate one
beautiful (thank-offering).”
- 11-2 *χiś esviś-c fa-ś-e
cisu-m pute* “Who(ever) also (takes part) in the
ceremony: during it [*i.e.* the
ceremony] for them: drink three
times as well!”
- 12 *tul θansur haθnθi
repinθi-c* “(Within) the boundarie(s which)
will be set out, they will eat and
spend time.”
- 13 *śacnicleri cilθl śpureri
meθlumeri* “On the days of the sacrifices
for the cult(-festival organized)
by the town(’s officials) and
members of the assembly.”
- 14 *ena-ś śin <vinum> Eiser
śic Śeu-c* “During it (one will sacrifice) with
wine to Asherah, and similarly to
Zeus.”
- 14-5 *χiś esviś-c fa-ś-e śin
<vinum> Eiser <śic
Śeu-c>* “Who(ever) also (takes part) in the
ceremony: during it for them, (*i.e.*)
with wine for Asherah, and
similarly for Zeus.”
- 15 *fa-ś-e-iś raχθ sutanaś* “During it for them these: at the
regia grave gifts.”
- 16 *celi suθ* “(But) in September a grave gift.”

16	<i>va-cl θesn-in raχ</i>	“And for him to lay down (offerings) in the regia.”
16-7	<i>cresverae heczri</i>	“(And) to be placed outside expressions of true concern.”
17	<i>truθ celi ep-c súθce citz</i>	“In September and afterwards the druid has buried (these) in three times.”
17-8	<i>trin-um hetrn</i>	“And he will consecrate (them while) lower(ing into the grave).”
18	<i>acl-χ-n ais cemna-c</i>	“But in June not (for) the god and the twin.”
18-9	<i>truθ-t raχś rinuθ citz</i>	“(And) the druid of the regia will renew them in three times.”
19-	<i>va-cl nunθen Θesan Tinś</i>	“And from it they will dedicate to Thesan (and) Dionysos, to Thesan (and) Asherah, (and) Zeus.”
20	<i>Θesan Eiseraś Šeuś</i>	
20	<i>unu-m mlaχ nunθen</i>	“They will also dedicate (to them) a beautiful (thank-offering).”
20-1	<i>θesviti faviti-c</i>	“(They will do so) in the room of the depositions and in the niche.”
21	<i>fa-ś-ei cisu-m θesane uslane-c</i>	“And during it from them also thrice to lay down and to celebrate the sun-god.”
22	<i>mlaχe luri zeri-c ze-c a-θeliś</i>	“One will make beautiful games and smoke offerings, and one (of the games) free of charges.”
22-3	<i>śacnicla cilθl śpurat meθlumeś-c</i>	“The members of the town’s assembly (will) also (attend) the days of the sacrifices for the cult(-festival).”
23	<i>ena-ś cla Θesan []</i>	“During it in the precinct (of) Thesan [].”

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LL, VI

1	<i>tś sal s[---n]a-cva śnuiuφ</i>	“During this the first (..?..), not what(ever) smaller (offerings).”
1-2	<i>an-i-χeis śnuiuφ ur-χeiś</i>	“During (it) here who(soever are)

	<i>ceśu</i>	great (one)s, (please place) smaller (offerings) in the chamber.”
2	<i>an-ia-χ urχ hilχ-vetra</i>	“And during (it) here (sacrifice) the august old <i>halχs</i> .”
3	<i>Hamφeś Leiveś turi θui streteθ</i>	“For Amphiōn (and) Laios place donations in the (location which is) spread out!”
3-4	<i>face apniś</i>	“One will make additional offerings.”
4	<i>an-ia-χ apniś urχ</i>	“And during (it) here the additional offerings (to be sacrificed in like manner as) the august (one).”
4-5	<i>peθereni śnuiuφ Hamφeθi</i>	“In July smaller (offerings to be sacrificed) in the sanctuary of Amphiōn.”
5	<i>etna-m Laeti</i>	“From these also in the sanctuary of Laios.”
5-6	<i>an-c θa-χ śin θεus</i>	“And during (it) also set out (the boundary) with (the help of) the god!”
6	<i>nua caper-c heci</i>	“(And) new (sacrificial animal)s to be taken, (and) slaughter (them)!”
6	<i>na-χva t<r>inθαśa</i>	“(But) not what(ever) consecrated animals.”
7	<i>etna-m Velθinal</i>	“From these only (one will sacrifice) to the Velthina-family.”
7	<i>etna-m aisunal</i>	“From these only as part of the divine cult.”
7	<i>θun-χer-ś</i>	“Twice (so) because of what(ever reason) during it.”
8	<i><u>iχ śacnicla</u></i>	“This concerning the day of the sacrifices.”
9	<i>zaθrumsne lusaś fler Hamφisca θezeri</i>	“On the 20th day: with respect to the ones being absent: to be laid down (something in front of) the statue of Amphiōn.”
10	<i>Laivisca lustraś fler</i>	“With respect to lustra: (for) the statue of Laios.”
10-1	<i>va-cl-tna-m θezeri-c anθ[-]eri-c</i>	“And for him during these also (something) to be laid down and to be placed (?) inside.”

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- 12 *etna-m eisna* “And during these the divine omnia (to be observed).”
 12 *iχ flereś Crapśti* “This for the statue in the sanctuary of Grabovius.”
 13 *θunśna θunś flerś* “On the second day for both statue(s).”

[vacat]

- 14 *eslem zaθrumiś acale* “In June on the 19th (day).”
 14 *Tinś in śarle* “(For) Dionysos: during offerings with incense.”
 15 *luθti raχ ture acil* “At the games (of) the regia one will give a sacrificially killed animal.”
 15 *cati-Caθ luθ<i> celθi-m* “At this (place one will hold) games and cult(-festival)s (in honor of) Cauthas.”
 16 *χim scu-χie* “A hecatomb for (all participants), who(ever will) walk in procession.”
 16 *acil hupniś painie-m* “A sacrificially killed animal also for the donators among the dead.”
 17 *an-c Martiθ sulal* “During (it) also (one) in the sanctuary of Mars for the sun.”

[vacat]

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LL, VII

- 1-6 (Of unclear meaning, looks like a song or poetic section.)
 6 *ciz trinθaśa śacni-tn* “Three times consecrated animals: sacrifice this!”
 7 *an cilθ<l> ceχane sal* “During the cult(-festival), the first
śuci-va firin arθ to the members of the senate and with a girl (at) and a fire on the altar.”
 8-9 *va-χr ceuś cilθ-cval sve-m* “And by means of what the fire for

	<i>cepen tutin reu-χ-zua</i>	what(ever belongs to) the cult(-festival will burn) also for themselves the public priest will tell himself."
9	<i>etna-m cepen ceren śuci-c firin <arθ></i>	"And of these things the priest will take care with a girl (at and) a fire on the altar."
10	<i>tesim</i>	"With respect to the burial."
10	<i>etna-m celu-cn caiti-m</i>	"From these things only the third: this he will burn."
10-1	<i>caper-χva hecia aisna clevana χim</i>	"What(ever) to be taken, slaughtered animals, divine omina, and temple-offerings (to be sacrificed) as a hecatomb."
11-2	<i>ena-c usil cerine</i>	"And he will take care (of this) during the year."
12	<i>tenθa cn-tna-m Θesan masn</i>	"Please preserve this from these (things) only: (dedications to) Thesan and the god."
13	<i>zelvθ murś-ś etna-m θaca-c usli neχse</i>	"Everytime a praetor dies during it, please set out from these only during the latter half of the year."
14	<i>acil ame</i>	"(If) there will be a sacrificially killed animal."
14	<i>etna-m cilθ-cveti hilare acil</i>	"During which(ever time there will be) a cult(-festival) for these (occasions) only to favor the sacrificially killed animal."
15	<i>va-cl cepen θaurχ cerene acil</i>	"And for this (case) the priest of the storeroom will take care of the sacrificially killed animal."
15-6	<i>etna-m ic<a> clevana śuci-c firith-vene acil</i>	"In these (cases) only these temple-offerings with a girl (at the altar) and the sacrificially killed animal in the fire on the altar."
16-7	<i>etna-m tesim</i>	"And with these the burial."
17	<i>etna-m celu-cn</i>	"From these the third only: this (he will burn)."
17	<i>va-cl ara θuni</i>	"And in this (case) at the altar for both (deities)."
18-9	<i>śacnicleri cilθl cepen</i>	"On the days of the sacrifices for

- cilθ-cva cepen cnticnθ in
ceren cepar* the cult(-festival) the priest with
respect to what(ever concerning)
the cult (will be) the overall leading
priest (and) during (the acts) he
will take care of (things) to be
taken.”
- 19- *nac amce etna-m śuci firin* “And in case it has taken place
20 *<arθ>* (already) from these only with a
girl (at and) a fire on the altar.”
- 20 *etna-m Velθite* “From these only at Volsinii.”
20 *etna-m aisvale* “For these only (applies that they
are considered as) from things
belonging to the divine cult.”
- 21 *va-cl ar<a> par ścunueri* “And in this (case) to be walked in
procession along the front side of
the altar.”
- 21-2 *ceren cepen θaurχ* “The priest of the storeroom will
take care of (the acts).”
- 22-3 *etna-m iχ mata-m śuci-c
firin cereθi* “And for these (cases): the
assembly will also take care of the
fire also with a girl (at the altar).”
- 23 *ena-ś ara θuni* “During it on the altar for both
(deities).”
- 23-4 *etna-m ceren [cepen
θaurχ]* “For these only the priest of the
store-room will take care of (the
acts).”

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LL, VIII

[vacat]

- 1 *θucte ciś śariś
esvita* “In August on the 13(th day),
according to the ceremony.”
- 1-2 *va-cl-tna-m Culś-cva
spetri* “And during this from these
what(ever) to be libated to
Culsans.”
- 2 *etna-m ic<a> esvitle
amperi* “From all (the material)s only this
to be carried around on the days of

the ceremonies.”

[vacat]

3	<i>celi huθiś zaθrumiś</i>	“In September on the 24(th day).”
3-4	<i>fler-χva Neθunsl śucri θezeri-c</i>	“What(ever belongs to) the statue of Neptunus to be taken care of by girls and to be laid down (by them).”
4	<i>scara priθaś raχ</i>	“Please sanctify the presidents (at) the regia.”
4-5	<i>tei menaś cl<e>tral</i>	“Here one handles (the things) regarding the bier.”
5	<i>mula-χ huslna vinum</i>	“And please bring thank-offerings, on the fourth day (with) wine.”
6	<i>Laiveis-m acilθ ame</i>	“And one will be followers of Laios at the sacrificial killing of the animal(s).”
6	<i>rane-m scare</i>	“And one will as such renew (and) sanctify.”
7	<i>reu-χ-zina Caveθ</i>	“And one will pray (and) please make (for) Cauthas.”
7	<i>zuśleva-c mac ramurθi</i>	“And one will be revigorating five piglets.”
8	<i>reu-χ-zineti ramueθ vinum acilθ ame</i>	“And one will pray (and) make (and) revigorate (with) wine (and) be present at the sacrificial killing of the animal(s).”
9	<i>mula hursi puruθn</i>	“Please bring thank-offerings to, among the great ones, the president.”
9-10	<i>va-cl usi clucθraś caperi zamθi-c</i>	“And for him during the year to be distinguished “third-timers” and (to be taken) votive offerings.”
10	<i>va-cl ar<a> flereri sacnisa</i>	“And for him on the altar with the statues sacrificial animals.”
11	<i>sacnicleri trin flere Neθunsl</i>	“On the days of the sacrifices one will consecrate for the statue of Neptunus.”
11-2	<i>une mlaχ puθsθa clθ</i>	“Please sacrifice one beautiful (thank-offering) in the (...) of this

		(location)."
12	<i>θar-tei zivas</i>	"(And) here three while living."
12-3	<i>fler θezine ruze</i>	"One will lay down (in front of) the statue for the ancestors."
13	<i>nu-zlχne zati zatlχne</i>	"And for the ones exercising the praetorship at the first time (and then) for the guards."
14	<i>śacni-cś-treś cilθś śpureś-treś</i>	"(And) sacrifice during this (time) a τριττός for the cult(-festival) and a τριττός for the town!"
14-5	<i>ena-ś Eθrse Tinši Tiuri-m</i>	"During it the Etruscans (will be devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-god."
15	<i>avilś χίς hetrn</i>	"Who(ever will be) of age: to settle down."
16	<i>acl-χ-n ais cemna-χ</i>	"But in June not (for) the god and the twin."
16	<i>θezin fler</i>	"One will lay down (in front of) the statue."
16-7	<i>va-cl etna-m tesim</i>	"And from these the burial for him."
17	<i>etna-m celu-cn trin alc[e]</i>	"But from these this: only the third he will consecrate (after) he has dedicated (it)."

[]

f1-2	<i>na-χva ara nunθene [śaθaś</i>	"(But) one will not dedicate what(ever thing)s (or) men at the altar."
f2	<i>na-χve hexz</i>	"(And) one will not for what(ever reason)s place outside."
f2	<i>ma]le huslneś-tś</i>	"From the thank-offerings on the fourth day during this (ceremony)."
f3	<i>[trin flere Neθunś]l</i>	"One will consecrate for the statue of Neptunus."
f3-4	<i>un mlaχ nunθen[θa clθi</i>	"Please dedicate a beautiful (thank-offering) in the (...) of this (location)."
f4	<i>θar-tei ciar] huslne vinum</i>	"(And) three here to be parted into three, on the fourth day (with) wine."

f4-5	<i>eši [sese ramue racuše]</i>	“One will reconfirm honors with seals and venerate (them).”
f5-6	<i>fa-ś-ei-c śacni-cś-treś [cilθś śpureś-treś]</i>	“And during it for them: sacrifice during this (time) a τριττύς for the cult(-festival and) a τριττύς for the town!”
f6-7	<i>ena-ś Eθ]rse Tinši [Tiuri-m</i>	“During it the Etruscans (will be devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-god.”
f7	<i>avilś χίς cisu-m pute</i>	“Who(ever will be) of age: drink three times as well!”
f7-8	<i>tul θans hate-c repine-c</i>	“(Within) the boundarie(s which) will be set out, one will eat and spend time.”
f8	<i>śacnicleri cilθl</i>	“On the days of the sacrifices to the cult(-festival

LL, IX

s1	<i>śpureri meθlumeri-c</i>	organized) by the town(’s official)s and members of the assembly.”
s1	<i>ena-ś raχθ <suθ nunθenθ></i>	“During it they will dedicate a grave gift at the regia.”
s2	<i>trin flere Neθunśl</i>	“One will consecrate for the statue of Neptunus.”
s2	<i>un mlaχ nunθen]</i>	“They will dedicate a beautiful (thank-offering).”
1	<i>zuśleve zarve</i>	“Together with piglets for smoke offerings.”
1	<i>ecn zer[i] lecin</i>	“Burn this as smoke offerings!”
1-2	<i>in ze-c fler θezince</i>	“During (it) they have laid down also one (in front of) the statue.”
2-3	<i>śacni-cś-treś cilθś śpureś-treś</i>	“Sacrifice during this (time) a τριττύς for the cult(-festival and) a τριττύς for the town!”
3	<i>ena-ś Eθrse Tinši Tiuri-m</i>	“During it the Etruscans (will be devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-god.”
4	<i>avilś χίς cisu-m pute</i>	“Who(ever will be) of age: drink

		three times as well!"
4-5	<i>tul θans haθe repine-c</i>	"(Within) the boundarie(s which) will be set out, one will eat and spend time."
5-6	<i>śacnicleri cilθl śpureri meθlumeri-c</i>	"On the days of the sacrifices for the cult(-festival organized) by the town('s official)s and members of the assembly."
6	<i>ena-ś raχθ tur<a> heχśθ</i>	"During it at the regia one will place outside donations."
7	<i>vinum trin flere Neθunśl</i>	"One will consecrate (with) wine for the statue of Neptunus."
7-8	<i>un mlaχ nunθen</i>	"They will dedicate one beautiful (thank-offering)."
8	<i>zuśleve zarve</i>	"Together with piglets for smoke offerings."
8-9	<i>fa-ś-ei-c ecn zeri lecin</i>	"And during it from them also this: burn (this) as smoke offerings!"
9	<i>in ze-c fler θezinc[e</i>	"During (it) they have laid down (in front of) the statue."
9-10	<i>ś]acni-cś-treś cilθś śpures-treś</i>	"Sacrifice during this (time) a τριττύς for the cult(-festival and) a τριττύς for the town!"
10-1	<i>ena-ś [Eθ]rse Tinśi Tiuri-m</i>	"During it the Etruscans (will be devoted) to Dionysos and the sun-god."
11	<i>avilś χis cisu-m put[e]</i>	"Who(ever will be) of age: drink three times as well!"
11-2	<i>tul θans haθe-c repine-c</i>	"(Within) the boundarie(s which) will be set out, one will eat and spend time."
12-3	<i>śacnicleri cilθl śpureri meθlumeri-c</i>	"On the days of the sacrifices for the cult(-festival organized) by the town('s official)s and members of the assembly."
13-4	<i>ena-ś raχθ suθ nunθenθ zusleve</i>	"During it they will dedicate a grave gift at the regia together with piglets."
14-5	<i>fa-ś-ei-c Farθan flerei Neθunśl raχθ</i>	"And during it to them: to the Maid (and) the statue of Neptunus at the regia."

- 15 *cletram śren-χve* “(On) the bier for what(ever number of) *śren-*.”
- 15-6 *nunθenθ Estrei Alφazei* “They will dedicate piglets to
zusleve raχθ the Alban Astarte at the regia.”
- 16 *ei-m tul var* “And (this) not (within) another boundary.”
- 17 *nunθenθ Estrei Alφazei* “They will dedicate to the Alban
tei Astarte here.”
- 17-8 *fa-ś-i ei-m tul var* “During it to her, and not (within) another boundary.”
- 18 *celi suθ nunθenθ flere* “In September they will dedicate
Neθunsl a grave gift to the statue of Neptunus.”
- 19 *un mlaχ nunθen* “They will dedicate (also) one beautiful (thank-offering).”
- 19- *χiś esviś-c fa-ś-ei* “Who(ever) also (takes part) in the
20 *cisu-m pute* ceremony: during it [*i.e.* the ceremony] for them: drink three times as well!”
- 20 *tul θans* “(Within) the boundarie(s which)
haθe-c repine-c will be set out, one will eat and spend time.”
- 21 *śacnicleri cilθl śpureri* “On the days of the sacrifices
meθlumeri-c for the cult(-festival organized) by the town(’s official)s and members of the assembly.”
- 22 *ena-ś śin vinum flere* “During it (one will sacrifice) with
Neθunsl wine to the statue of Neptunus.”
- 22-3 *χiś [eśviś-c* “Who(ever) also (will take part) in the ceremony.”
- 23 *fa-ś-e(i) śin <vinum>* “And during it for them with wine:
Aiser <śic Śeu-c> to Asherah, and similarly to Zeus.”
- 23-4 *fa-ś-e śin <vinum> ais* “And during it for them with wine:
cemna-c (to) the god and the twin.”
- 24 *fa-ś-e-iś raχθ sutanaś* “And during it to them these at the regia: grave gifts.”
- 24 *celi suθ]* “In September a grave gift.”
- []
- f1 *nac-um aisna hinθu* “And to pour *trau*-wine over the

vinum trau prucuna

divine omina from the inside.”

[vacat]

f2 *ciem cealχuś lauχumneti*
eisna θαχśeri

“In October on the 27(th day):
divine omina to be assembled.”

[]

LL, X

[]

1-2 *[c]epen sul*
2 *peθereni ciem cealχuz*
2-3 *capeni mare-m za-χ ame*

“Priest (of) the sun(-cult).”

“In July on the 27(th day).”

“Concerning the priests among
the magistrates: (one of them) will
be”

3 *nac-um cepen flanaχ*
4 *va-cl ar<a> ratum χuru*
peθereni θucu

“: high priest.”

“And for him one shall place in July
the chariot with a dance at the
altar.”

5 *aruś ame acnese-m*
ipa Seθumati Siml-χα

“A free citizen will be (there) also
with torches, this in the sanctuary of
Septimus and Semele.”

6 *θui χurve acil Hamφeś*
Laeś suluśi

“Place with dances the sacrificially
killed animal with the solar disc of
Amphiōn (and) Laios!”

7 *θuni śerφue acil*

“To both with smoke offerings the
(aforesaid) sacrificially killed
animal.”

7 *ipei θuta cn-l χαśri*

“Here the people this from him: to
be distributed (the fire among
them).”

8 *hexz sul*

“One will place outside the sol(ar
disc).”

8 *scvetu Caθnis*

“One shall walk in procession like
followers of Cauthas.”

8 *ścanin Velθα*

“One will pay homage to Veltha.”

9 *ipe ipa maθ-cva ama*

“During these (acts) this: please
let them, what(ever number of

		members of) the assembly, be present.”
9	<i>trin-um hetrn</i>	“And one will consecrate (them while) lower(ing into the grave).”
9-10	<i>acl-χ-n eis cemna-c</i>	“But in June not for the god and the twin.”
10	<i>iχ Velθa</i>	“With respect to Veltha this:”
10	<i>etna-m tesim</i>	“From these (things) the burial.”
10-1	<i>etna-m celu-cn hinθθin χimθ</i>	“From these (things) this: only the third one will keep inside (for) a hecatomb.”
11	<i>anan-c eši</i>	“And among (this): honors.”
11-2	<i>va-cl ścanin Ras θruθur tutin-c an masn-ur</i>	“And one will pay homage to him also (under supervision) of the Etruscan public druids in (the service of) the great god.”
13	<i>θumicle Caθnai-mec faci</i>	“On the second day one will finish off five of the (sacrificial animal)s of Cauthas.”
13-4	<i>θumitle unuθ huteri</i>	“On the second day out of one to be made four (parts).”
14	<i>ipa θucu</i>	“These one shall place.”
14	<i>petna ama</i>	“Let there be servants on foot.”
14-5	<i>nac cal hinθu heχz</i>	“And for him place outside entrails!”
15-6	<i>Velθe maθ-cve nuθ-in śarśnauś</i>	“For Veltha and what(ever number of members of) the assembly one will renew (things) in the incense storeroom.”
16	<i>tei-ś tura Caθnal</i>	“Here from it donations (next) to the (sacrificial animal(s)) of Cauthas.”
16-7	<i>θui-um χuru</i>	“Place with a dance also!”
17	<i>cepen sul-χva maθ-cva-c pruθseri</i>	“The priest concerning what(ever matter)s (of) the sun(-cult) and what(ever number of members of) the assembly to be presiding.”
18	<i>va-cl araś θui useti</i>	“And for him a free citizen will place in the course of the year.”
18-9	<i>cepen faθin-um zaneś</i>	“But the priest will keep apart the first ones (of every deposition).”

19	<i>vuv-cni-cś Pluti-m tei</i>	“And during this (time) burn an ox also to Pluto here!”
19-20	<i>mut-ti ceśa-sin ara ratum</i>	“He will preserve this in the room with the altar (and) the chariot.”
20	<i>aisna leitr-um</i>	“But the divine omina to be disposed of as a fire offering.”
20-1	<i>zuθe-va zal eśi-c ci halχza θu eśi-c zal mula santi-c</i>	“For grave gifts: the first honors, three little <i>halχs</i> and two honors, the first thank-offerings and <i>sants</i> .”
22	<i>θapna θapnza-c</i>	“With regard to the cups and little cups:”
22	<i>lena etera</i>	“Insofar as with a bearing on the common people:”
22-3	<i>θe-c peisna hausti fanuše neriś capa</i>	“For them also he will keep on adding new “give away” ones for drinking the (ordinary) men may take.”
23	<i>epa θui neri</i>	“Place these for the (ordinary) man!”

[]

f1	<i>santi-c vinum</i>	“[] and <i>sants</i> (and) wine.”
f1	<i>θui θapna-c θapnza-c</i>	“Place also cups and little cups!”
f1-2	<i>mucu-m halχze</i>	“One shall sacrifice with little <i>halχs</i> as well.”
f2	<i>θui θi</i>	“Place this!”
f2-3	<i>va-cl cesa-sin θumsa cilva neri</i>	“And for him: the chamber with the secondary and tertiary (facilitie)s for the (ordinary) man:”
f3	<i>can-va carsi</i>	“And one will take care of this continuously.”
f3-4	<i>pu-tna-m θu cala-tna-m tei</i>	“And sacrifice for them: two beautiful (offering)s for them here!”
f4	<i>lena haustiś</i>	“In regard to drinkers:”
f4	<i>ena-c eśi Catnis heci</i>	“And during (it) slaughter the honors of Cathas!”
f5	<i>spurta sul-sle napti</i>	“In the town he will observe the first sun.”

f5	<i>θui Laiscla</i>	“Place on Laios’ day!”
f5	<i>hexz neri</i>	“One will place outside for the (ordinary) man.”
f6	[]	
f6	<i>trin-um vetis</i>	“And one will consecrate the mountains!”
f6	<i>une mlac sanθi</i>	“One will sacrifice with one beautiful (thank-offering).”

LL, XI

1	<i>acalas</i>	“In June.”
1	<i>celi pen</i>	“In September one will pay.”
1	<i>etna-m ---sna</i>	“And from these on (...?..) day.”
1	<i>celi suθ</i>	“In September a grave gift.”
2	<i>va-cl vinum śantiś-tś</i>	“And for him wine and śants during this (ceremony).”
2	<i>celi pen</i>	“In September one will pay.”
2-3	<i>trut-um θi θapneś-tś</i>	“The druid this: the cups during this (ceremony).”
3	<i>trutanaśa hanθ<θ>in</i>	“He will keep inside the things belonging to the druid.”
3-4	<i>celi tur<a></i>	“In September donations.”
4	<i>het-um vinum θi-c</i>	“He will eat (with) wine from this as well.”
4	<i>va-cl hexz</i>	“And for him one will place outside.”
4-5	<i>etna-m iχ mata-m</i>	“And from these this: the assembly also.”
5-6	<i>cnticnθ cepen teśami-tn murce θi nunθen</i>	“And the overall leading priest for the burial this: (when) he [= the god] has died they will dedicate from this.”
6	<i>etna-m θi truθ</i>	“And from these this: the druid.”
6-7	<i>etna-m hanθ<θ>in</i>	“And from these he will keep inside.”
7	<i>etna-m celu-cn</i>	“And from these this: only the third.”
7	<i>etna-m a-θumi-tn</i>	“And from these this from the second (day) onwards.”

- 8 *peθereni eslem zaθrum* “In July (on) the 19th (day).”
 8-9 *mur in Velθineś cilθś* “He [= the god] will die during the cult(-festival) of the Velthina-family.”
 9 *va-cl ara<ś> θui useti* “And for him a free citizen will
Catneti place during the year in the sanctuary of Cauthas.”
 9-10 *slapi-χun slapinaś* “With respect to the first offerings: what(ever) one will offer first.”
 10 *fa-vin ufli spurta* “Also with wine to the cow-shed at the town.”
 10-1 *eisna hinθu cla θesns* “You will lay down divine omina from the inside in the precinct.”

[vacat]

- 12 *eslem cealχus* “On the 29th (day).”
 12-3 *etna-m aisna canal tuxla-c* “And from these: the divine omina for Evil and Destiny.”
 13 *εθri sun-tna-m ceχα* “(To be reported to) the commons and with these the senate.”
 14 *cn-tna-m Θesan fler* “And this from these to be laid
Veiveś θezeri down (by them for) Thesan and the statue of Veiovis.”
 15 *etna-m aisna a[----]a* “And from these: the divine omina [].”
 15-6 *iχ huθiś zaθrumiś fler-χve* “This on the 24(th day): one will
tr[in] Neθunśl consecrate for what(ever has a bearing on) the statue of Neptunus.”
 16 *cn θunt ei tul var* “They will place this not (within) another boundary.”

[vacat]

- 17 *θunem cialχu[ś e]tna-m* “On the 28th (day): for these.”
 17-8 *iχ eslem cialχuś canal* “And on the 29th: for Evil (and)
fler [] the statue [].”
 18 *cn-tna-m Θesan* “And this from these: (to be laid down for) Thesan.”

[]

f0-1	<i>[cepen] flanac farsi lant</i>	“The high priest will offer (what) they will bring.”
f1-2	<i>c[epen] flanac farsi tunt</i>	“The high priest will offer (what) they will place.”
f2	<i>ena-c etna-m a-θumi-ca θlup-cva</i>	“And during (it) from these from the second (day) onwards these: what(ever) <i>θlup-</i> .”
f3	<i>ceśu-m tei lanti</i>	“And they will bring (these) to the room here.”
f3	<i>inin-c eśi tei χimθ</i>	“And during (it) here honors (as) a hecatomb.”
f4	<i>streta Satrs</i>	“Spread out for Satyr(s)!”
f4-5	<i>ena-c θucu Hamφeθi-ś rinuś θui</i>	“And during (it) one shall place in the sanctuary of Amphiōn, (and) you will renew from it (and) do place (once more)!”
f5	<i>araś mucu-m</i>	“And a free citizen shall sacrifice.”
f5	<i>an-ia-χeś Rasna hilar</i>	“During (it) here who(ever) are from Etruscan (background) to be favored.”
f6	<i>[cle]tram Cat-rua Hamφes Leiveś</i>	“(On) the bier (things) formerly (of) Cauthas for Amphiōn (and) Laios.”

LL, XII

1.	<i>luθt raχ m<l>uśce</i>	“At the games (of) the regia one has offered thank-offerings.”
1	<i>ca useti capiθi</i>	“These one will take during the course of the year.”
1-2	<i>etna-m aisna</i>	“From these also divine omina.”
2	<i>iχ nac reuśce Aiseraś Seuś</i>	“And one has prayed to Asherah (and) Zeus.”
3	<i>θunχule-m muθ hilar</i>	“And in honor of the double cults the bull to be favored.”
3-4	<i>θune eterti-c Caθne χim</i>	“In honor of both also on behalf of the commons for the followers of Cauthas a hecatomb.”
4	<i>ena-χ Un-χva meθlumθ puts</i>	“And during (it) one will sacrifice what(ever) for Uni on behalf of the

		members of the assembly.”
5	<i>muθ hilar</i>	“The bull to be favored.”
5	<i>θuna tecu-m</i>	“And both (cults) one shall set out.”
5	<i>etrinθi muθ</i>	“One will consecrate the bull.”
6	<i>nac θuca Un-χva</i>	“And please place what(ever for) Uni!”
6	<i>het-um hilar</i>	“One will eat to be favored”
6	<i>θuna θenθ</i>	“Both (cults) one will hold.”
7	<i>hursi-c</i>	“And concerning the great ones:”
7	<i>caprθu ceχa-m</i>	“One shall be taken (apart), also the senate.”
7	<i>ena-c eisna hinθu</i>	“And during (it) the divine omina from the inside.”
8	<i>het-um hilar</i>	“And one will eat to be favored.”
8	<i>θuna eterti-c Caθne</i>	“The (cults of) both also on behalf of the commons and for the followers of Cauthas.”
9	<i>etna-m aisna</i>	“And from these the divine omina.”
9	<i>iχ mata-m</i>	“This: (to be reported to) the assembly also.”
9-10	<i>va-cl-tna-m θunem cialχuś</i>	“And during this (time) from these on the 28th (day).”
10-1	<i>masn Unialti Ursmnal aθre acil</i>	“The god in the sanctuary of Uni and Ursmna will personally approve the sacrificially killed animal.”
11	<i>an śacni-cn cilθ<ś></i>	“During (it) sacrifice this for the cult(-festival)!”
11	<i>ceχa sal</i>	“The senate (will do so) first.”
12	<i>cus cluce</i>	“The ones who(ever are) from the (group of) “third(-timers)” (to be distinguished).”
12	<i>caperi zamti-c sve-m</i>	“(And) to be taken votive offerings also for oneself.”
12-3	<i>θumsa mata-m</i>	“Secondarily the assembly (will do so) as well.”
13	<i>clucθraś hilar</i>	“The “third-timers” to be favored.”

[vacat]



Fig. 37. Mirror with scene depicting the sun-god
(Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES* V, 158).



Fig. 38. Mirror with scene depicting the youthful sun-god *Usil* with the sun-maiden *Θesan* and the elderly sea-god *Neθuns* (from Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES* LXXVI).



Fig. 39. Mirror with scene depicting the sun-god in his chariot driven by winged horses and the sun-boat with *Θεσαν* and her twin companions (from Gerhard, Klügmann & Körte *ES V*, 159).

15. THE *TABULA CORTONENSIS*

One of the longer Etruscan inscriptions of recent date has only come to light in Cortona during the early 1990s and has been published by Luciano Agostiniani and Francesco Nicosia in 2000. It is baptized *tabula Cortonensis* and concerns a bronze tablet of which 7 fragments have been preserved and only one, the eighth, once forming the lower left side of the tablet, is missing. As a result of this, the lines 26 to 32 of the front side are only partly preserved, whereas the missing fragment has no repercussions for the text on the back side, which only consists of 8 lines at the top side (see Fig. 40).

The contents of the text can be recovered from oblivion to a substantial extent, but there remain some *hapax legomena* which are difficult to interpret due to the apparent lack of comparative data. Our guidelines, therefore, will be provided by known elements in the vocabulary, especially the verbs, and elements of grammar, like the evidence for case endings and enclitics. The text lacks the otherwise typical use of introductory particles with chains of enclitics attached to them and bears testimony of strong Italic adstrate influences.

At any rate, it seems clear that the main topic is formed by a donation or grant, *pes* = N-A(n) sg. in -s of a nominal derivative *pe-* from the verb *p(i)-* “to give”, by a certain Petru Scevas. Apparently, as deducible from sections I and II, this *pes* entails a building or *thesauros*, in which the necessities for the cult of the gods of the Cusu-brotherhood are to be stored. Accordingly, we are dealing with a building inscription, and the table with the inscription no doubt was once fixed to one of its walls. In style, then, the first phrase informs us that the dedicator has taken the funds necessary for the building from the revenues of his trade in wine and other business activities. Next, the purposes for the use of the *thesauros* are neatly stipulated, indicating what should be stored in it and what not. The cultic provisions are further said to be secured for a period of an Etruscan *saeculum* of, most likely, 96 years. As an interesting detail, all things stored in the *thesauros* may be used for the cult of the brotherhood in question, but one is kindly requested to keep the table with the inscription and the original lock to the entrance in place! In section III a number of persons are listed as being witnesses to the act of inauguration of the building, whereas in section IV other persons, among which some representatives of the Cusu-family and Petru Scevas himself together with his wife, are staged as guardians, or the executive committee, of the *thesauros*. Next, in section V the juridical

validity of the act of inauguration is stressed by specifying that the inscription has been installed at the proper time and publicly approved. To underline this latter fact, among the persons enlisted in section VI who testified their approval in word and by the act of making a dedication figures no lesser person than the current praetor of the Etruscan league himself! In the last section, VII, finally, it is stipulated that in the month of the festivities during the term of office of what appear to be the current local magistrates the chamber and the cult implements and provisions stored in it will be under the auspices of the persons enumerated, amongst which figures once more a member of the Cusu-family.

In order to emphasize to what extent the text is made up of enumerations of the various persons and dignitaries involved in their various capacities, I have in the following transliteration rendered the personal names in normal lettering, but the actual wording of the text in bold type.

Side A

I ¹*et Pētruiś Scēvēś*
ēliuntś v² ina-c restm-c

cenu tēnθur śar
Cus³ uθuraś Larisalisvla

pes-c spante tēnθur
⁴*sa śran śar-c*

clθ-n tērsna θui

spanθi mġ eśiēθi-c
Raśnas IIIIC

in-ni pes Pētruś pav⁶ a-c
traula-c Tiur tēn[θ]ur-c

“Owing to Petru Scevas,
who has taken from wine
as well as some other
business.”

“The (*thesauros*) will
store meal(s and) incense
for the Larisian Cusu-
brotherhood.”

“And the *thesauros* will
store (wine for) libations
as well as *śran* and
incense.”

“And in this (*thesauros*)
do not put the (things)
pertaining to the τριτρώες!”

“One will libate and bring
thank-offerings for an
Etruscan (*saeculum* of) 96
(years).”

“During (it) the *thesauros*
of Petru will not store *pava*
as well as the remains of
animals inspected (on
behalf of) the sun-god.”

- tēnθa zacina-t<a>*
pr⁷ inisera-c zal
- II *cs ēsis vērē Cusuθursum*
p⁸es Pētruś-ta Scevaś
- III *nuθanaθur Lart Pētr⁹uni*
Arnt Pini
Lart V[i]pi Lusce
Laris Salini V¹⁰ētnal
Lart Vēlara Larθalisa
Lart Vēlara¹¹Aulesa
Vēl Pumpu Pruciū
Aule Cēlatina Sē¹²tmnal
Arnza Fēlśni Vēlθinal
Vēl Luisna
¹³Lusce Vēluslna Nufresa
Laru Slanzu Larz¹⁴a
Lart Vēlaveś
Arnt Pētru Raufe
- IV *ēpru¹⁵s ame Vēlχe Cusu*
Larisal cleniar-c
Laris¹⁶[C]usu L[a]risalisa
Lariza-c clan Larisal
Pētr¹⁷u Scē[va]ś
Arntlei Pētruś puia
- V *¹⁸cēn zic ziχuxē*
sparzēstis sazleis
in¹⁹θuxti
Cusuθuraś
suθiuametal
- suθive²⁰naś*
ratm θuxt
ceśu tlteitēi
sianś spa²¹rzēte θui
- “Please keep this table and original lock to the entrance.”
- “And during this (period) this *thesauros* of Petru Scevas will support the gods of the (feast)s of the Cusu-brotherhood.”
- “(The following persons) will be witnesses: Lart Petruni, Arnt Pini, Lart Vipi Lusce, Laris Salini, (son of) Vetna, Lart Velara, (son of) Larth, Lart Velara, (son of) Aule, Vel Pumpu Preciu, Aule Celatina, (son of) Setmna, Arnza Felsni, (son of) Velthina, Vel Luisna, Luscus Veluslna Nufresa, Laru Slanzu Larza, Lart Velaveś, Arnt Petru Raufe.”
- “Guardian(s) will be: Velkhe Cusu and Laris Cusu, the sons of Laris, (grandsons) of Laris, and Lariza, son of Laris, Petru Scevas, (and) Arntlei, the wife of Petru.”
- “This inscription he has written for the Cusu-brotherhood according to the municipal customs in the month of August, on the day of the burial of the god(dess).”
- “During the burial feast (in) the month of August, place the chariot in the room for the religious revenues

sal-t<a> zic fratuce
Cusuθuraś La²²risalisvla
Pētruś-c Scēvaś

pes-ś Tarχian²³ ēś

VI *cn-l nuθe male-c*

Lart Cucrina Lausisa
²⁴*zilaθ mexl Raśnal*
[La]ris Cēlatina Lau²⁵sa [cla]n-c
*Arnt Lusci [A]rnθal **clan-c***
Larz²⁶a Lart Turmna Salina[l
*Lart Cēlatina A]²⁷pna**l cleniar-c***
Vēlχe [papal]²⁸śer-c Vēlχe
Cusu Aule[sa]²⁹aninal-c
Laris Fuln[i clenia]³⁰r-c Lart
Pētce Uslnal []³¹inaθur
Tēcsinal Vēl[θur Titlni Velθur]³²uś
Laris-c Cusu Uslna[l]

drawn from the citizens!”
 “(And) one has approved
 this first (showing of the)
 inscription of the Larisian
 Cusu-brotherhood and of
 Petru Scevas,
 (and) the *thesauros* as well
 as (its provision)s for the
 Tarkhunt cult.”
 “This for him (the
 following persons), will
 testify and make (clear by)
 a dedication:
 Lart Cucrina, (son of)
 Lausi, *praetor* of the
 Etruscan league, and Laris
 Celatina, son of Lausa,
 and Arnt Luseni, son of
 Arnth, Larza (and) Lart
 Turmna of Salina, sons of
 Lart Celatina of Apna,
 grandsons (of) Velkhe,
 Velkhe Cusus, (son) of
 Aule, and [...], sons (of)
 Laris Fulni, Lart Petce of
 Uslna [

Side B

¹*Aule Salini Cusual*

VII ²*zilci Larθal Cusuś Titinal* ³*Larisal-c Saliniś Aulesla*

celtinēitis⁴-ś Tarsminas-ś
sparza-in θuxt
ceśu⁵ratm suθiu suθiu-svē

Aule Salini, (son) of
 Cusu.”
 “During the praetorship of
 Larth Cusu, (son of)
 Titina, and Laris Salini,
 (son of) Aule, according to
 the regulations of the cult
 and the Etruscan civic
 (custom)s in the month
 August, the chamber (and)
 the funereal chariot (and)
 funerary (accessories)
 belonging to it (will be

Vēlχeś Cusuś A⁶ulesla
Vēlθuruś Titlniś Vēlθurusla
⁷*Larθal-c Cēlatinaś Apnal*
Larisal-c Cē⁸latinaś Pitlnal

under the auspices) of
 Velkhes Cusu, (the son) of
 Aule, Velthur Titlnis, (the
 son) of Velthur, and Larth
 Celatinas of Apna and Laris
 Celatinas of Pitlna.”

Comments

The first phrase of section I starts with the preposition *et*, otherwise known in form of *eθ*, which normally rules the dative case but in this particular instance the genitive case, and recalls Greek *ἐντί*. Usually, this preposition renders the meaning “in the presence of”, but in the present context it is evidently used to express a causal relationship: *et Pētruiś Scēvēś* “owing to Petru Scevas”. Then follows a participle, *eliuntś*, corresponding to Greek *ἐλόντος*, from which depends the sources of the money from which the funds to build the *thesauros* has been taken by its founder, *vina-c restm-c*, “wine”, *i.e.* trade in wine, and, on account of the correspondence to Latin *res* of the first element of the second component of this coordinated couple, some other sort of business.

In the following of section I, the proper use of the *thesauros* is pointed out, the key word being the verb *tēnθur*, which occurs as much as three times, the 3rd person singular of the present/future middle-passive of *ten-* “to hold”, “it will be holding, keeping”. First of all, the objects for storage are *cenu* and *śar*, the first of which recalls Latin *cena* “meal”, whereas the second appears to be linked up with *seril*, an adjectival derivation from *ser-*, which in the text of the Capua tile designates “smoke offering”, so perhaps we are dealing here with a word for incense. These materials are explicitly stated to be stored *Cusuθuraś Larisalisvla* “for or on behalf of the Larisian Cusu-brotherhood”—a brotherhood founded by a certain Laris who later in the text turns out to be the grandfather of its present representatives. In the next phrase, then, reference is made to *śar* again, here coordinated with *śran*, an indication of a type of offering we already came across in our treatment of the *Liber linteus* in the preceding section and an inscription on a mirror as discussed in chapter 6. These two objects are preceded by *spante*, which either renders the accusative of the neuter or the D(-G) pl. in *-e*, in which latter case we should emend the object wine destined “for libations”. Note that the phrase consists of two clauses, coordinated by the conjunction *sa*, which in form of *s* we already encountered in the appendix to chapter

13 and have seen to correspond to Lycian *se* “and”. Subsequently, the text goes over to the negative, a transition marked as such by the element *-n* “not” attached to the locative singular of the demonstrative pronoun, *clθ* “in this (thesauros)”, at the start of the phrase, which is ruled by the imperative *θui* “place!” known from the *Liber linteus* and various grave inscriptions. What should not be placed in the *thesauros* is indicated by *tērsna*, probably a N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of a derivative in *-n-* of the root *tērs-* no doubt corresponding to *treś* “τρίτρός” from the text of the *Liber linteus*. As this type of offering involves three different kinds of animals, usually a pig, a sheep and a bovid, one can easily imagine that reference is made here to necessities of their maintenance like water and fodder. Then the text jumps to a remark of general nature, characterized by two verbal forms in the 3rd person singular of the present/future of the active in *-θi* coordinated by the enclitic conjunction *-c* “and”, *spanθi* and *mleśiēθi*, the first of which has a bearing on libations (cf. the previous *spante*) and the second, showing a syncopated variant of the root *mul-*, on thank-offerings. Apparently, therefore, the afore-mentioned goods to be stored in the building should enable one to libate and bring thank-offerings in future, *Raśnas IIIIC* for a period of time in Etruscan time reckoning of a *saeculum* of 96 years (no doubt, the stores would need to be supplemented in the course of time to ensure this). Then again a phrase in the negative, stipulating that *in-* “during (this period)” the *pes Pētruś* “thesauros of Petru” should not (the element *-ni* attached to the preposition *in-*) *tēnθur-c* “store as well” *pava-c traula-c Tiur*, of which the second element may be analyzed as an adjectival derivative in *-l-* of the root *trau-* corresponding to *trav(a)-* in the text of the Capua tile, where this designates animals for inspection, thus leading us to the meaning “things related to animals for inspection” for the entire formation. The word *pava* is known from the legend of a mirror scene, where it occurs in combination with *Tarχies* “of/for Tarkhie” (Rix 1991: AT S.11). As the scene shows someone in the act of inspecting a liver, the word *pava* may well be a *terminus technicus* from the discipline of the *haruspex*. At any rate, both these provisions or implements for inspection of animals are assigned to the realm of or considered as being in the service of the cult of sun-god, *Tiur*. In the last phrase of section I, finally, one is kindly requested by means of the 3rd person singular of the subjunctive of the active of *ten-* “to hold”, *tēnθa*, to keep *zacina-t<a>* “this inscribed table” (with a writing variant of *zic* as first element and enclitic demonstrative pronoun) *prinisera-c zal*

“and the original lock to the entrance” (cf. Latin *primi-* “first” and *sera* “bolt”).

Section II is the shortest one, and relates that *cś* “during this (period)” *pes Pētruś-ta Scevaś* “this *thesauros* of Petru Scevas” *vērē* “will support” *ēsiś* “the gods” *Cusuθurśum* “of the (feast)s of the Cusu-brotherhood”, in which *ēsiś* shows the A(m/f) pl. in *-iś* of the monophthongized variant of *ais-* “god” as known from the glosses (TLE 804), the root of the verb originates from Luwian hieroglyphic *warā-* “to help, support”, and the form *Cusuθurśum* shows the Latin genitive plural in *-um* of an adjectival derivative in *-ś-* of *Cusuθur-* “Cusu-brotherhood” (for the element *θur-* “brotherhood”, cf. Lycian *θurtta-* of the same meaning, see Woudhuizen *forthc.*).

Next, section III consists of a verbal form *nuθanaθur*, the 3rd person plural of the present/future of the middle-passive in *-nθur* of the verbal root *nuθa-* “to testify”, which is related to the cuneiform Luwian noun *nūt-* “assent, approval” (Melchert 1993, s.v.), followed by a list of personal names in the nominative, who accordingly act as witnesses to the event of the inauguration of the building.

A similar construction is found in section IV, where the noun *eprus* “guardian” (< Greek ἐπίουρος), showing the N(m/f) sg. in *-s* otherwise primarily engaged in the realm of the gentilicia and the pronoun, and the verbal form *ame*, the 3rd person singular of the present/future of the active of *am-* “to be”, are followed by a number of personal names in the nominative, again, with kinship relationships indicated, comprising two members of the Cusu-family and Petru Scevas with his wife.

After this intermezzo of enumerations of persons, in section V we are confronted again with running text, in which I distinguish three separate phrases, dominated by their respective verbs: *zixuxē* “he has written”, *θui* “place!”, and *fratuce* “one has approved”, the latter of which shows the Italic root *brat(u)-* known from Oscan expressions like *brat data*, etc., as the corresponding form of Latin *gratia* or *gratis* (Untermann 2000, s.v. *brateis* and *bratom*). Now, the first phrase starts reasonably clear with the sequence *cēn zic zixuxē* “he has written this inscription”. What follows is a combination in A(m/f) pl. in *-iś*, the first element of which may likely be analyzed as being based on an ethnic in *-z-* of a writing variant of *spur-* “town”, whereas the second element recalls PIE **sed-lo-* “to settle” (Mallory & Adams 2007: 68). It is tempting, therefore, to interpret this combination on the analogy of *tesnśteis Raśneś* “according to the Etruscan laws” from the text of the Perugia *cippus* (see chapter 16) as “ac-

cording to the municipal customs”. As such, the inscription, which is written *Cusuθuraś* “on behalf of the Cusu-brotherhood”, may be suggested to have been first disclosed *in θuxti* “in the month of August” (cf. the indication of the month *θucte* in the *Liber linteus*), *suθiuametal* “on the day of the burial of the god(dess)”, a day name corresponding closely to *tesiametale* in the longer version of the Etruscan texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets. In the next phrase, *suθivenaś* is of similar building as *racvanies* from the text on the Capua tile, and may accordingly be taken for an “ethnic” in *-vena-* of the root *suθi-* “grave” characterized by the D(-G) sg. in *-s*, leading us to the interpretation “during the burial feast”. During this event, then, *θuxt* “(in) the month of August” one should place (*θui*) the *ratm* “chariot” (presumably showing the Latin accusative singular in *-m*) *ceśu* “(in) the chamber” *tlteltēi* “for the things paid or revenues” (< Lycian *tliti-* “to pay”) *sianś* “to or of the religious (ceremonies)” (< Hittite *šiuš* “god”) *sparzete* “by or drawn from the citizens”. It might be surmised that these religious dues were paid by the citizens in kind, so that the result of the taxes could directly be stored in the *thesauros*, but we cannot be sure about this. The third and last phrase of section V informs us that *fratuce* “one has approved” *sal-t<a> zic* “this first (showing of) the inscription”, i.e. the disclosure of the inscription, *Cusuθuraś Larisalisvla Pētruś-c Scēvaś* “of the Larisian Cusu-brotherhood and Petru Scevas”, *pes-ś Tar-χianēś* “(and) the *thesauros* as well as (its provision)s for the Tarkhunt cult” (A(m/f) pl. in *-eś* of a derivative of *Tarχ-* “Tarkhunt”).

After this, section VI is of similar formation as sections III and IV, and consists of a short phrase followed by an enumeration of persons. The phrase runs as follows: *cn-l* “this for him” *nuθe male-c* “will testify and make (clear by) a dedication”. Among the names enumerated, some of which are lost beyond the means of reconstruction because of the missing eighth piece of the tablet, figures prominently that of the *zilaθ meχl Raśnal* “the *praetor* of the Etruscan league”!

The enumeration of the persons supporting the inauguration of the building in word and by the act of a dedication runs to the first line on the back side of the tablet. After this, we are confronted with a final section, VII, which informs us that *zilci Larθal Cusuś Titinal Larisal-c Saliniś Aulesla* “during the praetorship of Larth Cusu, (son of) Titina, and Laris Salini, (son of) Aule”, no doubt the current local magistrates, *celtinēitis-ś Tarminaś-ś sparza* “according to both the regulations of the cult and the Etruscan civic customs” *in θuxt* “in the

month of August” *ceśu ratm suθiu suθiu-svē* “the chamber, the funeral chariot (and) the funerary (accessories) belonging to it” will be under the auspices of the persons enumerated in the D(-G) sg. in the following, including a member of the Cusu-family also listed among the guardians. Note that this text refers to the Etruscans both by the form *Raśna-*, corresponding to the *Rasenna* of Dionysios of Halikarnassos (cf. *Rasunie-* in an inscription from Pontecagnano dated c. 650 BC, which is included in chapter 6), as well as the form *Tars-* (cf. *Eθrse* of the *Liber linteus*), corresponding to the *Tursenoi* of Dionysios’ predecessor Herodotos of Halikarnassos: evidently, therefore, Dionysios’ account that the Etruscans call themselves *Rasenna* instead of *Tyrsenians* is a reduction of the actual state of affairs!

As far as matters of grammar are concerned, the following evidence for the declension of the noun is of relevance (see Table XLVII):

	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	—, -s	
A(m/f)	—	-iś, -eś, -aś
N-A(n)	—, -s	-a
D	-i	
D(-G)	-ś/-s	-e
G	-l, -ś	-um (Latin)
Abl.-Instr.		-te
Loc.	-ti	

Table XLVII. Declension of the noun.

Note that the preservation of the N(m/f) sg. in -s in the form *eprus* “guardian” underlines our remarks in connection with the Etruscan version of the bilingual inscriptions from Delphi that on the basis of the comparison to Lycian incidental use of this ending and that of the A(m/f) sg. in -n might be expected even though these endings, in Etruscan as much as in Lycian, are generally omitted. The use of the Latin genitive plural in -um, moreover, is paralleled for the Etruscan inscription on boundary stones from Smindja in the territory of Carthage in present-day Tunisia (Rix 1991: Af 8.1-8.8), which is characterized by the form *Dardanivm* “of the Dardanians” (see additional note 2 to chapter 3). It might be significant for our understand-

ing of this feature that the Etruscan colonists in the region of Carthage are generally assumed to originate from Chiusi upstream the Tiber in the hinterland of coastal Etruria, which means from the neighborhood of Cortona where the bronze table with the text presently under discussion has been found.

If we turn to the declension of the pronoun, we are confronted with the following paradigm (see Table XLVIII):

	demonstrative		3rd person	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
A(m/f)	<i>cn, cēn</i>			
N-A(n)	<i>-ta</i>			
D(-G)	<i>cś</i>		<i>-l</i>	
Loc.	<i>clθ</i>			

Table XLVIII. Declension of the pronoun.

As all these forms are by now familiar to us, we can without further ado advance to the conjugation of the verb, in the frame of which it is relevant to note that we have come across the following endings (see Table XLIX):

	present/future	past tense	subjunctive	imperative
2nd sg. act.				—
3rd sg. act.	<i>-θi, -ē</i>	<i>-ce/-χe</i>	<i>-θa</i>	
3rd sg. pass.	<i>-θur</i>			
3rd pl. pass.	<i>-n(a)θur</i>			
	active		passive	
participle	<i>-nt-</i>			

Table XLIX. Conjugation of the verb.

Of the endings encountered for the first time here, the 3rd person sg. of the present/future tense of the passive in *-θur* seems, in

like manner as that of the plural in *-nθur*, more likely to be attributed to Latin influences than to inheritance from the Luwian parent language even though the latter is likewise characterized by the morpheme *-r-* for the expression of the passive. Furthermore, the text on the bronze table from Cortona provides us with evidence of the 3rd person sg. of the subjunctive of the active in *-θα*, which correlates with the one of the plural in *-nθα* from the text of the *Liber linteus* and hence might further underline that the variant in *-ca* results from a velarization of the dental in similar way as we have suggested for the endings of the past tense and imperative of the active. Finally, the form *ēliunts*, which is nothing but Greek ἐλόντος in Etruscan disguise, bears testimony of the well-known and widely dispersed IE participial formation of the active in *-nt-*, but presumably as a loan element.

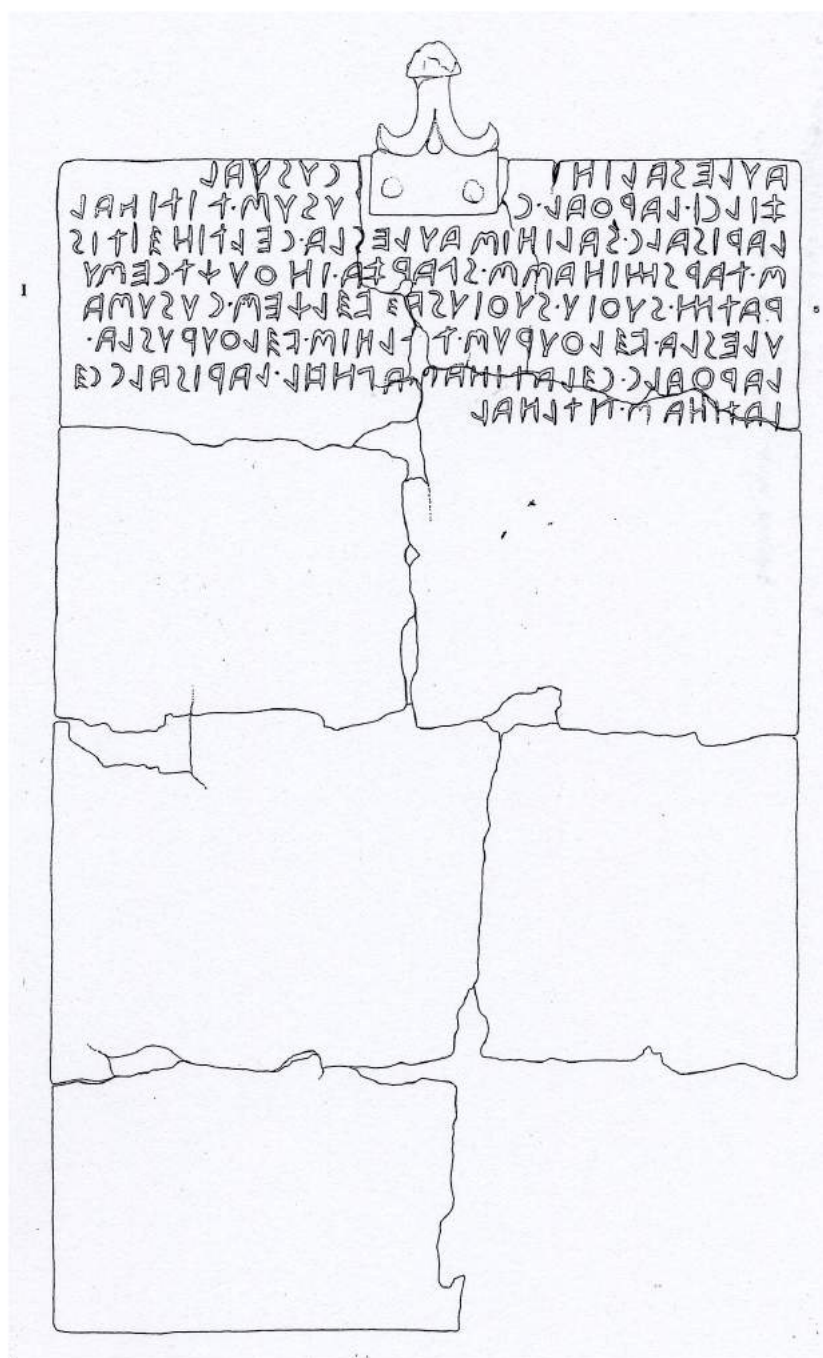
Additional note: overview of the month names

MONTH NAME	GLOSSES	CAPUA TILE	<i>LIBER LINTEUS</i>	
“March”	<i>velcitanus</i>			
“April”	<i>cabreas</i>	<i>apirase</i>	II	
“May”	<i>ampiles</i>	<i>anpilie</i>	III	
“June”	<i>aclus</i>	<i>acalve</i>	IV	<i>acale</i> VI, 17
“July”	<i>traneus</i>	<i>parθumi</i>	V	<i>peθereni</i> X, 2; XI, 8
“August”	<i>hermius</i>			<i>θucte</i> VIII, 4
“September”	<i>celius</i>			<i>celi</i> IV, 14; etc.
“October”	<i>χosfer</i>			<i>lauχumneti</i> IX, 33



(a)

Fig. 40. Drawing of the *tabula Cortonensis*:
 (a) front side; (b) back side
 (from Agostiniani & Nicosia 2000: Tavole 8-9).



(b)

16. THE *CIPPUS* OF PERUGIA

The *cippus* of Perugia, which came to light in 1822 AD and is inscribed on the front and lateral side with an inscription of recent date (TLE 570 = Rix 1991: Pe 8.4), does not entail a boundary stone, as often suggested, but a *mortgage* stone, placed on the terrain of the Velthina-brotherhood. According to the decision of the arbiter or judge, however, the mortgage will not be implemented if the Velthina family will comply as from day one of placement of the stone to the terms of the decision by the judge. These terms are that the Velthina family must allow the members of the Afuna family to exercise the funerary cult for the deceased first wife of the pater familias, Larth Afuna, named *Tezan*, who is buried in the precinct of the Velthina-brotherhood. Such an allowance involves that the Velthina family must open the housing and terrain of the precinct to visits by the neighboring inhabitants who want to pray for her and must make the necessary arrangements in order to enable the Afuna family, their relatives and neighbors to once every year hold a procession of three days and have common meals in this period in honor of the deceased woman. If the Velthina family will comply to these terms, the head of the Afuna family will subsequently pay them in compensation for the costs. Finally, to assure that the terms of the decision by the judge, which is ratified by the senate, will be heeded by both parties in good spirit they are summoned to sacrifice together in honor of both cults of the precinct, *in casu* that of the Velthina-brotherhood itself and that of the deceased first wife of Larth Afuna.

The following transliteration of the text is in accordance to the edition in Pirovano 1985: 74-87, esp. 79, with the noted exception of the emendations of the first line, in which I follow Pfiffig 1961. Note that punctuation is consistently applied only in the text on the lateral side (see Fig. 41).

Front side

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ¹[t]eurat.tan-na.La.Rezu[ś]
²ame 2. va-χr lautn.Velθinaś e³śtla
Afunaś sle-leθ caru⁴Tezan
fuśleri tesnśteiś⁵Raśneś | <p>“Judge Larth Rezus will not implement this,”</p> <p>“provided that the Velthina family as from day one (of the placing of the stone) (will allow) the first wife of Afuna, the beloved Thesan, to be venerated according to the</p> |
|---|--|

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>3. <i>ipa ama hen naper</i> ⁶<i>XII</i></p> <p>4. <i>Velθinaθuraś araś pe⁷raś-c
emu-l-m lescu-l zuci en⁸esci
eplularu</i> [vacat]</p> <p>5. ⁹<i>Auleśi.Velθinaś Arznal
cl¹⁰enši.θii.θil ścuna.cenu.
e¹¹pl-c feli-c Larθalś Afuneś</i>
[vacat] ¹²<i>clen θun-χulθe</i></p> <p>6. ¹³<i>fa-la-ś.χi-em fuśle.</i></p> <p>7. <i>Velθina</i> ¹⁴<i>hinθa cape</i></p> <p>8. <i>muni-clet masu</i> ¹⁵<i>naper.śran</i></p> <p>9. <i>cz-l-θii falśti</i></p> <p>10. <i>V¹⁶elθina hut.naper.pene-zś</i></p> <p>11. ¹⁷<i>masu.acnina.clel.</i></p> <p>12. <i>Afuna Vel¹⁸θina mler-zinia.
intemame¹⁹r.</i></p> <p>13. <i>cn-l.Velθina.zi-a<vil>
śatene</i> ²⁰<i>tesne.</i></p> | <p>Etruscan laws.”</p> <p>“May this be from the last first of December onwards.”</p> <p>“(In regard to) the house and land of the Velthina-brotherhood: the neighboring inhabitant(s) must be (able to) visit her and must (be able to) pray for her, the woman in question.”</p> <p>“(From the side) of Aule Velthina, the son of Arnz, (it must be permitted that) these will hold a procession (and) a meal in here: the neighbors as well as relatives (and) members (of) the Afuna (family), son(s) of Larth, in honor of the double cults.”</p> <p>“The aforesaid will venerate her for minimal 3 days.”</p> <p>“The Velthina (family) will take (away) the (thing)s inside.”</p> <p>“Inside the precinct you be obliged (to leave in place) the latest <i>śran</i> to the god(s)!”</p> <p>“During this for her these will make a fire offering.”</p> <p>“The Velthina (family) will pay the latest four (sacrifices) during this (ceremony).”</p> <p>“It (will be obliged) to light a fire for the god(s) of the precinct.”</p> <p>“The Afuna (and) Velthina (families together will offer) things made by way of thank-offerings to be found inside”</p> <p>“This for her: Velthina once (every) year to lay down from grave gifts.”</p> |
|--|--|

14. *eca.Velθinaθuraś θ²¹aura-helutes-ne-Raśne-cei*
²²tesnšteiś Raśneś “These being taken from the storeroom of the Velthina-brotherhood, not from the Etruscan (one)s in here according to the Etruscan laws.”
15. *χimθ śp²³el θuta ścuna* “Sacrifice a hecatomb!, (let it be) that the people hold a procession.”
16. *Afuna mena²⁴hen.naper.ci* “May the Afuna (family) organize as from the last first (of December) three (days).”
17. *cn-l hare utuśe* “This for her: one will eat (and) drink.”
- Lateral side
18. *¹Velθina.ś²atena.zuc³i. enesci.* “The Velthina (family should give) funerary offerings to the woman in question.”
19. *ip⁴a.śpelane⁵θi.fulum-χ⁶va.* “These it will sacrifice for (as many years as) what(ever number of) stars (in heaven).”
20. *śpelθi. ⁷reneθi.* “It [= the Velthina family] will sacrifice (and) renew.”
21. *eśt<l>⁸a-c.Velθina⁹acilune.[θ] ¹⁰turune. śc¹¹une.ze-a<vil>.zuc¹²i. enesci.* “And (if) as from day one the Velthina (family will allow them [*i.e.* the Afuna family]) to kill sacrificial animals, to give these to, (and) to walk in procession once every year for the woman in question,”
22. *a-θ¹³umi-cś.Afu¹⁴naś. penθn¹⁵a.* “(that) from the second (day) during this (period) onwards (the head) of the Afuna family will pay in compensation (of the costs).”
23. *ama.Velθ¹⁶ina.Afun[a] ¹⁷θuruni.ei-n ¹⁸zeriuna. cl¹⁹a.θil.θun-χ²⁰ulθl.* “Let it be that the Velthina (and) Afuna (families) will offer (together a donation, but) not bring it as a smoke offering, (in) the precinct for this double cult of (them).”

24. *iχ.ca*²¹*ceχα.ziχux*²²*e* “This the senate has ordained.”

From a grammatical point of view, the first phrase offers no great problems: it consists of a subject, *Larth Rezuś*, who is specified by the occupational term *teurat* as “judge”, an object *tan* “this”, and a verb *ame* “he is/will be”. To this comes that the negative adverb *na* “not” turns the entire message into its opposite. The salient point is, however, that the demonstrative points to the stone itself and that only from realizing that this is a mortgage stone we arrive at the correct interpretation according to which the judge will not make “this” happen, *i.e.* the mortgage, in other words will not implement its consequences. In the next phrase, then, the condition to which the family whose property (at least insofar it concerns its brotherhood) is in danger of being mortgaged must comply is specified. It starts with the introductory particle *va-*, to which the Abl.-Instr. sg. of the relative, *-χr*, literally “by which”, is attached. This combination is followed by the subject, *lautn Velθinaś* “the family of Velthina”. As the only verbal form in the phrase, *fuśleri*, renders the infinitive of the passive in *-ri*, the verb lined with the subject should be considered as being implied only, and on the basis of the context it lies at hand to assume that the Velthina family must do or allow something. Accordingly, they must allow *Afunaś sle-leθ Tezan caru* “the first wife” (cf. Lycian *leθ-* “wife”) of *Afuna* (*i.e.* the head of the family, later specified as *Larth*), “the beloved Thesan” (cf. Latin-Faliscan *kara-* “beloved, dear”) *fuśleri tesnšteiś Raśneś* “to be venerated according to the Etruscan laws”, which leaves us with the residual indication of the day, *eśtla*, based on the numeral *eś-* “1”, and hence expressing the meaning “as from day one” that the mortgage stone is placed.

Subsequently, in phrase 3 the wish is formulated, by means of *ama*, the 3rd person singular of the subjunctive of the active in *-a* of the verb *am-* “to be”, that the permission in this case from the side of the Velthina family may already have been granted from a date indicated as *hen naper XII*, which, on the basis of the correspondence of the first element to Greek *ἔν*, the neuter of *εἶς* “1”, and of the second element *naper* to Latin *nuper* “recently, lately”, refers to the first of December just anterior to the placement of the mortgage stone. Presumably, this is of relevance because the veneration of the dead Thesan should take place in December.

In the following section, from phrase 4 onwards, it is minutely stipulated to which conditions the Velthina family should comply. First of all, *Velθinaθuraś araś peraś-c* “(in regard to) the house and

land of the Velthina-brotherhood” (cf. Lydian *aara-* and *pira-*)—this in contradistinction from the possessions of the Velthina family itself—, *eplularu* “the neighboring inhabitant(s)” (cf. Lycian *epe-wētlīmēi-* “περίοικοι”) *emu* “must be” *-l* “for her”, which can only mean that they must be allowed to visit the grave of the dead lady, *-m* “and” *lescu* “must utter” *-l* “to her”, which means that they must be able to pray for her, *zuci enesci* which, considering the fact that the second element appears to consist of the preposition *ene* “under”, either refers to “the woman under consideration” or “the woman buried (lit.: under the ground) here” (in the translation I have opted for the first possibility). Note in this connection that the D(-G) sg. the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person, *-l* for her” is twice attached here to the verb instead of the first element of the phrase. This phenomenon is paralleled for Lydian *-l* in Lyd. no. 22, §§ 5, 8, and 11, and for the reflexive *-li* in the Luwian hieroglyphic inscription conducted in the Late Bronze Age forerunner of the Lydian language, the Arzawan language, Beyköy 2, §§ 10 and 39 (Woudhuizen *forthc.*).

Next, in phrase 5 the rights of the Afuna family and their relatives and acquaintances to hold a procession and to have a common meal in the precinct of the Velthina brotherhood are formulated, the key words being *ścuna*, the infinitive of the active in *-na* of the verb *scu(vu)-* “to hold a procession, walk in procession”, and *cenu*, corresponding to Latin *cena* “meal”. The phrase begins with the convicted party in the genitive: *Auleši Velθinaś Arnzal clenši* “(from the side) of Aule Velthina, the son of Arnz”. It continues with the beneficiaries in the nominative plural and their rights: *θii θil ścuna cenu epl-c feli-c Larθalś Afuneś* “these (N(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the stressed pronoun of the 3rd person *θi-*) here (D(-G) sg. in *-l* of the same stressed pronoun) to hold a procession (and have a common) meal: the neighboring (inhabitants) (shorthand of the preceding *epl-tularu*) as well as the relatives (cf. Latin *fello* “to suckle” from which *filius* “son”) (and) the (member)s (of) the Afuna (family), son(s) of Larth”. Finally, the phrase ends with the combination *θun-χulθe*, the last element of which renders the D(-G) pl. in *-e*, stressing the fact that the precinct of the Velthina-brotherhood serves two cults, that of the brotherhood itself and that of the deceased wife of Larth Afuna: “in honor of the double cults (with *χulθ-* as a writing variant of *cilθ-* or *celθ-* “cult”)

In the phrases 6 to 9 the details of the foregoing rights are worked out. First of all, in a phrase starting with the introductory particle *fa-* and a chain of enclitics attached to it, the beneficiary party

(N(m/f) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person in *-ś*) *fuśle* “will venerate” *-la* “her (D(-G) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person in *-l* with superfluous vowel [a])” *xi-em* “for a period of minimal 3 days (with *xi-* as a writing variant of *ci* “3”)”.¹ During this period, then, *Velθina* “the Velthina (family)” *cape* “will take (away)” *hinθa* “the (things) inside (of the building) (with *hinθa* as a writing variant of the preverb *inte* “inside”)”.² But with a noted exception: *muni*, an endless imperative of the 2nd person singular of the active of a verbal root related to *munist-* “obligation, duty” from the longer Etruscan version of the texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets, placed in first position for stress, so “you be obliged”. From the context it can be deduced that they are obliged to leave in place, *clet* “in the precinct (Loc. sg. in *-t* of *cla-* “precinct”)” *naper śran* “the latest *śran*”, a type of offering we already came across in the texts of the *Liber linteus*, the *tabula Cortonensis*, and a mirror, *masu* “to the god(s) (with *masu-* as a variant writing of *masan-* “god” from the shorter Etruscan version of the texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets)”. Subsequently, the text continues in phrase 9 to stipulate that *cz* “during this period (of three days)” *θii* “these”, which refers back to the ones in procession, so the Afuna family and its relatives and acquaintances, *falśti* “will make a fire offering”, with a writing variant of *falzathi* from the text on the discus of Magliano and the use of the 3rd person singular of the present /future of the active in *-ti* for the expression of the plural, *-l* “for her”.

Apart from facilitating the procession, however, the Velthina family is also summoned to actively contribute to the cult of the deceased Thesan, and at her own expenses. Thus we read in phrase 10 that *Velθina hut naper pene-zś* “The Velthina (family) will pay the last four (sacrifices) during this (ceremony)”, in which I take *pene* as a defective writing of the verb *penθ-* “to pay” (see below), related to the Greek verbal root *πενθ-* “to suffer”, and the enclitic form *-zś* on account of the noted assibilation of [θ] into [z] as a writing variant of the D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the stressed pronoun of the 3rd person *-θ(i)-*. In

¹ Note that the combination *fa-la-ś* shows the regular order of the enclitic pronouns according to Luwian grammar, which requires that, in unmarked position at least, dative forms precede the accusative and nominative ones, see Laroche 1959: 144, § 50 and cf. the appendix to chapter 14.

² Note that *hinθial* “soul” as in *hinθial Teriasals* (TLE 88 = Rix 1991: Ta 7.67) or *Teriasiaś* (TLE 330 = Rix 1991: Vc S.11) “the soul of Teiresias” and *hinθial Patriucles* “the soul of Patroklēs” (TLE 295 = Rix 1991: Vc 7.15) is an adjectival derivative of *hinθa*, literally meaning “the inside”.

addition to this, it is summoned in phrase 11 *acnina* “to light a fire”, an infinitive of the active in *-na* of a root strikingly recalling Sanskrit *agni-*, *masu* “for the god(s)” *clel* “of the precinct”. Furthermore, the Velthina family is, together with the Afuna family, responsible for the preparation of a type of offering indicated as *mlezzinia*. This can be analyzed as a compound of the Abl.-Instr. pl. in *-r* of *mle-* “thank-offering” with the N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of an adjectival derivative in *-ia-* of the root *zin-* “to make”, in sum leading to the translation “things made by way of thank-offering”, which in turn are *intemamer* “to be found inside” (cf. *intehamai-* from the text of the Capua tile). But it even goes on in phrase 13-14: *cn-l* “this for her:” *Velθina* “the Velthina (family)” *zi-a<vil>* “once every year” *śatene tesne* “to lay down from grave gifts”, with *śatene* as the D(-G) pl. in *-e* of a noun attested in variant form *sutan-* for the text of the *Liber linteus*, whereas the root of the infinitive of the active in *-ne*, *tes-*, no doubt corresponds to that of Greek τίθημι in like manner as the first element of *tesnšte-* “law”, *eca* “these” *helutes* “being taken (cf. Greek ἐλόντες under consideration of gender incongruency, which is not inconceivable with loan elements)” *Velθinaθuraś θaura* “from the storeroom of the Velthina-brotherhood” *ne Raśne cei* “not from the Etruscan (one)s in here”, with *Raśne* as a D(-G) pl. in *-e*, *tesnšteiś Raśneś* “according to the Etruscan laws”, the latter elements rendering A(m/f) pl. in *-iś* and *-eś*, respectively.

The stipulations on the front side of the stele are then rounded off as follows in phrases 15-17: *χimθ śpel* “sacrifice a hecatomb!”, with the type of offering *χimθ* as known from the text on the discus of Magliano and the *Liber linteus* and *śpel* as the endingless imperative of the 2nd person singular of the active of a verbal root also present in the forms *śpelaneθi* and *śpelθi* from the text on the lateral side, *θuta ścuna* “(let it be) that the people will hold a procession”, with *θuta* “people” as known from the longer Etruscan version of the texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets, *Afuna mena* “may the Afuna (family) organize (this procession), with *mena* as the 3rd person singular of the subjunctive of the active in *-a* of the verb *men-* “to handle, organize” as known from the text on the discus of Magliano, *hen naper ci* “as from the last first (of December) three (days)”, picking up the date from phrase 3 again, *cn-l* “this in honor of her:”, *hare utuśe* “one will eat (and) drink”, with *har-* as the rhotacized variant of *haθ-* or *hat-* “to eat” as encountered in our discussion of the text of the *Liber linteus* and *utuś-* as an iterative derivation in *-ś-* of the root *utu-* “water” known from the text on the Capua tile.

If we turn to the text on the lateral side, it so happens that this, after rephrasing the clause of phrase 13, constitutes a continuation of the one on the front side. First of all, then, we have in phrase 18 the recapitulation of phrase 13, which runs as follows: *Velθina śatena zuci enesci* “The Velthina (family should give) funerary offerings to the woman in question”. It subsequently continues with a clause in which the element *fulum-χva* corresponds to *pulum-χva* “what(ever number of) star(s)” from the final section of both Etruscan versions of the texts on the Pyrgi gold tablets, where it functions as a simile for eternity. Accordingly, we arrive at the interpretation of phrase 19 *ipa śpelaneθi fulum-χva* as “these it will sacrifice forever”. After partly repeating this clause in phrase 20 with an extra element, the verbal root *rene-* “to renew” (cf. *ran(e)-* of the same meaning from the text of the *Liber linteus*), we are informed that *ést<l>a-c* “and (if) as from day one (it will be that)” *Velθina* “the Velthina (family will allow them)” *acilune [θ] turune ścune* “to kill sacrificial animals (cf. *acil-* “sacrificially killed animal” from the text of the *Liber linteus*), to give these (with *θ* as a shorthand variant of the A(m/f) pl. of the stressed pronoun of the 3rd person, *θii*), to, and to walk in procession” *ze-a<vil>* “once every year” *zuci enesci* “in honor of the woman in question”, *a θumi-cś* “(that) from the second (day) during this (period) onwards” (for the element *a*, distinguishable as a separate entity on account of the day name *θumitle* from the *Liber linteus* (LL X, 13), cf. Latin *a(b)* “from”) *Afunaś* “(the head) of the Afuna (family)” *penθna* will pay in compensation (of the costs)”. This gesture towards the convicted party is followed by a clause aiming at reconciliation between the former contestants: *ama* “let it be that” *Velθina Afun[a] θuruni* “the Velthina (family and) the Afuna (family) will give (offerings)”, *ei-n zeriuna* “(but) not make smoke offerings (for the root of the verb *zeriuna*, cf. *śar* and *seril* from the texts of the *tabula Cortonensis* and the Capua tile, respectively)” *cla* “(at) the precinct” *θil θun-χulθl* “for this double cult”. The text ends with the dry remark that the decision of the judge has been ratified by the senate: *iχ ca ceχa ziχuxē* “This the senate has ordained”.

In the preceding discussion of the text on the Perugia *cippus*, we have come across the following evidence concerning the declension of the noun (see Table L):

	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	—	-i, -eś
A(m/f)	—	-iś, -eś
N-A(n)	-ś	-a
D	-i	
D(-G)		-e
G	-l, -ś	
Abl.-Instr.		-r
Loc.	-t	

Table L. Declension of the noun.

As far as the declension of the pronoun is concerned, the following data are of relevance (see Table LI):

	demonstrative/relative		3rd person	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)			-ś	θii
A(m/f)	<i>cn, tan</i>		-n	θ<ii>
N-A	<i>ca, -χva</i>	<i>eca, (ca, -χva)</i>		
D	<i>cei</i>			
D(-G)	<i>cś, cz</i>		θil, -l(a)	
Abl.-Intr.	<i>χr</i>			

Table LI. Declension of the pronoun.

In connection with the conjugation of the verb, the relevant data can be summarized as follows (see Table LII):

	present/future	past tense	subjunctive	imperative
2nd sg. act.				—
3rd sg. act.	-θi/-ti, -e	-χe	-a	-u

	active	passive
infinitive	-(<i>u</i>) <i>na</i> , -(<i>u</i>) <i>ne</i> , - <i>ni</i>	- <i>r(i)</i>

Table LII. Conjugation of the verb.

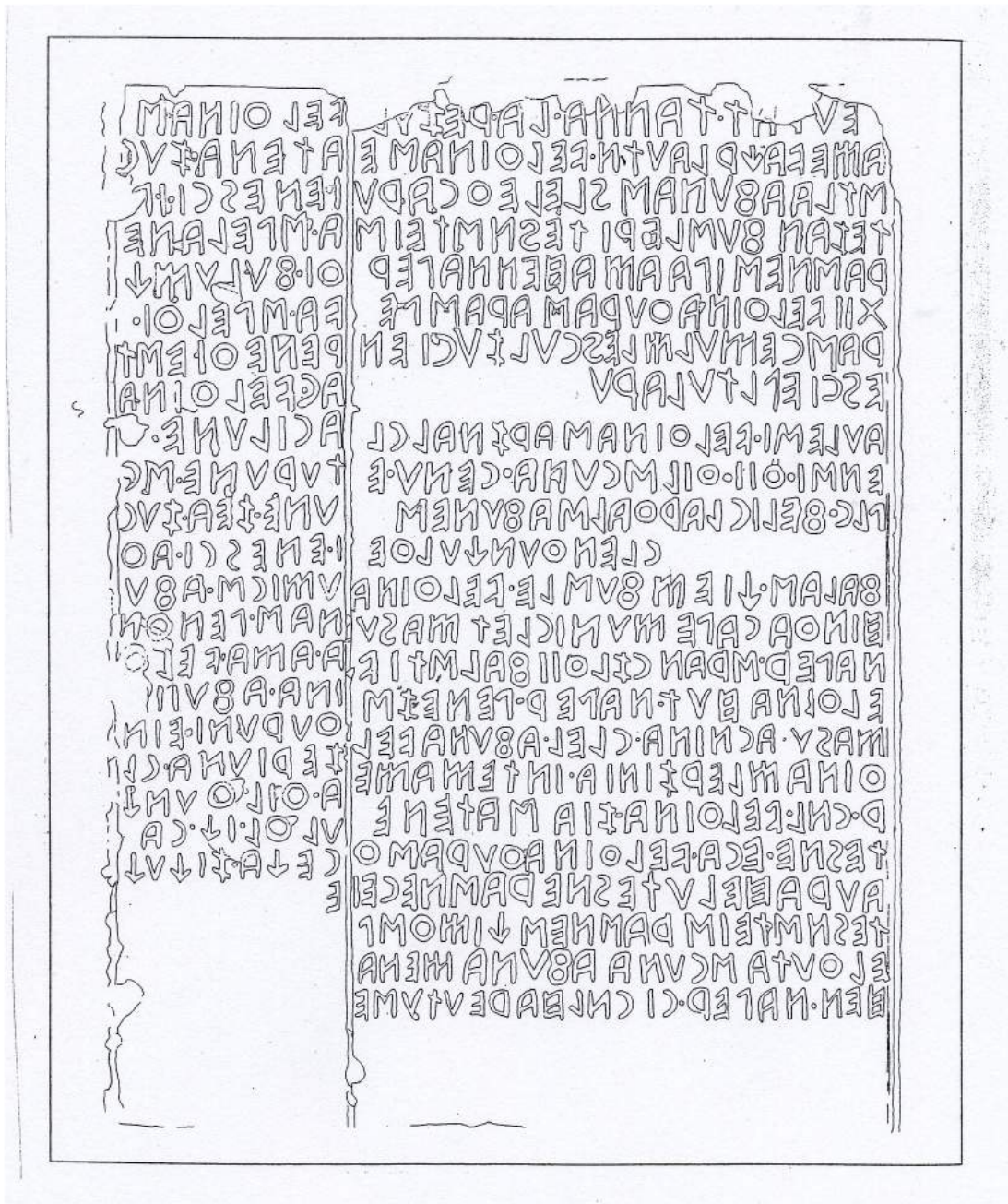


Fig. 41. Drawing of the text on the front and lateral side of the Perugia cippus (from Pirovano 1985: 78).

17. SOME MORE TEXTS*

While reading the manual of the Etruscan language by Rex Wallace of 2008 and the more popular work on the Etruscan language by Giulio Facchetti of 2001, my attention was drawn to the following newly discovered texts, or redrawn to some already known ones also given below, of which the understanding in my opinion may be improved on the basis of my analysis of the Etruscan language as presented in Woudhuizen 2008. Most of these texts are assigned to the late period, but some of them date to the archaic or classical times.

Note that for the sake of brevity I have restricted myself in the comments as far as possible to references to Etruscan words and elements listed in the index of my work of 2008 (Woudhuizen 2008: 445-465), without repetition of their Luwian background, if this applies, as worked out to the full in this work, so that only new Luwian identifications are highlighted.

Caere, bronze weight with lead nucleus, *ca.* 350 BC (Wallace 2008: 176-177)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>raθs Turmsal Velus luvχmsal</i> | “For the chariot of Turms (serving) for the priest-kingship of Vel.” |
| 2. <i>θucti θui meθlmθ mu[l]-sl[e]-c</i> | “In the month of August, place also the first thank-offering by the members of the assembly!” |
| 3. <i>im-s epl masani Hercules Alpan tece IIC</i> | “During the (ceremony) one has placed around (it) 98 (offerings) for the god Heraklēs of Alba.” |
| 4. <i>ei ut-ta θesca ac penθα</i> | “Do not lay down these in this manner and pay,” |
| 5. <i>[v(-)] hulave zilci La<r>θale Nulaθes</i> | “I will raise (the funds) during the praetorship of Larth from Nola.” |

* This chapter is an updated and reworked version of Woudhuizen 2010-1b.

Comments

Phrase 1

raθs: D(-G) sg. in -s of the noun *raθ-*, a writing variant characterized by *θ/t*-interchange of *rat(u)-* “chariot”.

Turmsal: G sg. in -l of the GN *Turms-* “Turms”. On the identification of Turms as *Hermēs paidokōrēs*, who features in the Bakchic mystery cult, see Pfiffig 1975: 239-241.

Velus: G sg. in -s of the masculine *praenomen Vel-* “Vel”.

luvχmsal: D(-G) sg. in -l of the noun *luvχms-* “priest-kingship”, an adjectival derivative in -s- of a variant writing of the root *lauχm-* or *laχum-* “king”, corresponding to Latin *lucumo*.

Phrase 2

θucti: D sg. in -i of the month name *θuct-*, a writing variant characterized by *c/χ*-interchange of *θuχt-* “August”. The various editions read †*θusti*, but note the difficulty of deciding between *s* and *c* with respect to *masani* in phrase 3.

θui: 2nd person sg. of the imperative in -i of the verb *θu-* “to place”, which also occurs in writing variant *tva-*.

meθlmθ: Abl.-Instr. pl. in -θ of the noun *meθlm(e)-* “member of the assembly”.

mul: endingless A(m/f) sg. or N-A(n) sg. of the noun *mul-* “thank-offering”. Note that in reading *l* instead of *n* I follow the edition by Adriano Maggiani of 2002. However, if the reading *n* should prevail, as Giulio Facchetti and Koen Wylin 2004 maintain, comparative data are provided by the combination *mun-sle* as attested for a grave inscription from Tarquinia (Rix 1991: Ta 5.2; cf. infra), the first element of which bears testimony of the endingless A(m/f) sg. or N-A(n) sg. of the noun *mun(i)-* “obligation”, related to the verb *muni-* “to have a duty, be obliged” and the nominal derivative in -st-, *munist-*, also expressing the meaning “obligation”. In that case, the obligation is to be expected “from the side of” the members of the assembly. All in all, the general sense remains the same, as “obligation” in that case is nothing but an alternative indication of an offering.

-sle: endingless A(m/f) sg. or N-A(n) sg. of the ordinal number *sle* “first”, which also occurs in the variant forms *sal*, *zal*, and *esl-*. For its enclitic use in attachment to the same nominal root, cf. MD *mul-sle* “the first as a thank-offering”.

-c: enclitic conjunction “and; also”, also occurring in variant forms characterized by *c/k/χ*-interchange -*ke* and -*χ*.

Phrase 3

im-: variant form of the preposition *in-* “during”, characterized by *m/n*-interchange.

-s: D(-G) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person. For its combination in writing variant -*ś* characterized by *ś/s*-interchange with a writing variant of the preposition *in-*, cf. *ena-ś* “during it (= the festival)” in LL (chapter 14).

epl: preposition “around, behind”.

masani: D sg. in -*i* of the noun *masana/i-* “god”, also attested in endingless variant *masan* for the shorter Etruscan version of PB. Note that with the present reading I follow Maggiani 2002: 167. Facchetti & Wylin 2004 prefer *macuni*, which, if correct, should be analyzed as *mac-Uni*, with the variant of the cardinal numeral *maχ* “5” characterized by *c/χ*-interchange as attested for LL and the D sg. in -*i* of the GN *Un(i)-* “Uni”, corresponding to Latin *Iuno*. Accordingly, 5 subsidiary offerings should be placed for the mother of Heraklēs, *Uni*. I consider this latter reading less likely, as we have to assume an asyndetical chiasmic construction, but nevertheless by no means impossible.

Hercles: D(-G) sg. in -*s* of the GN *Hercle-* “Heraklēs” of Greek origin.

Alpan: undeclined adjective corresponding to the form *Hercles*, based on the PIE root **alb^ho-* “white” and referring in this particular case, in like manner as in case of its occurrence in an inscription from Cortona (Rix 1991: Co 3.4 on a statuette dated to the 4th or 3rd century BC), where it is associated with the GN *Culśanś*, to the Alban hills.

tece: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in -*ce* of the verbal root *te-* “to place”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *ta₄-* (Tilsevet § 1, see Woudhuizen 2011: 216) of the same meaning.

Phrase 4

ei: negative adverb “not”.

ut: corresponding to the Latin adverb *ut* “in this manner”.

-*ta*: N-A(n) pl. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person “these”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic -*ta* and Lycian -*de* of the same function (see appendix to chapter 14).

θesca: 3rd person sg. of the subjunctive in -*ca* of the verb *θes-*, a writing variant characterized by *θ/t*-interchange of *tes-* “to lay down”.

ac: corresponding to the Latin copulative particle *ac* “and also”.

penθa: 3rd person sg. of the subjunctive in *-a* of the verb *penθ-* “to pay”.

Phrase 5

With respect to the space following the verbal form *penθa* and preceding the verbal form *hulave*, both in the reading by Facchetti & Wylin, Maggiani and the authors just mentioned agree that there might be identified a *v*, perhaps in combination with yet another letter. If so, I would suggest the presence of the sentence introductory particle *va-* or *ve-* here.

hulave: 1st person sg. of the present/future in *-ve* of the verb *hula-* “to raise, elevate”. Note that the ending *-ve* corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *-wa* for the same function, and the verbal root *hula-*, against the backdrop of *u/wa*-interchange, provides us with a closer match for Luwian hieroglyphic *wala-* of the same meaning as the variant *fal(a)-* with which we are already familiar (for *v/f*-interchange, cf. the introductory particle *va-/fa-*).

zilci: D sg. in *-i* of the noun *zil(a)c-* “praetorship”, which also occurs in variant writing characterized by *c/χ*-interchange as *zilχ-*.

La<r>θale: adjectival derivative in *-ale* used for the expression of a D(-G) relationship of the masculine praenomen *Larθ-* “Larth”.

Nulaθes: G sg. in *-s* of a derivative in *-θe-* “from the place”, which also occurs in variant writing characterized by *θ/t*-interchange as *-t(e)-*, of the place name *Nula-* “Nola”. Note that the ethnic in *-θe-* or *-t(e)-* can now ultimately be traced back to Luwian hieroglyphic *-ti-* or, in rhotacized variant, *-r-* as attested for the forms *Kir(a)ti-* and *Kir(a)âr-* “from Kir, Kiraean” from the Assur letter e, §§ 29 and 25 (Woudhuizen 2005: 43-45), respectively. By the way: the praetor Larth may just as well be a citizen of Caere with the gentilicium *Nolaθes* signaling his ultimate Campanian roots.

Against the backdrop of the foregoing interpretation, the weight bearing the inscription was probably used in the process of weighing substance(s) used in offering ceremonies for which normally (*i.e.* if the financial arrangements announced by its dedicator would turn out to be ineffective) payment was due.

Volaterrae, *cippus*, recent date (Rix 1991: Vt 8.1)

1. A. Titeśi Caleśi cina “(Concerning) the meal(s) of

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>2. <i>cś mes-tleś huθ naper
lescan<a> Lete-m</i></p> <p>3. <i>θui araśa</i></p> <p>4. <i>θent mase Laei</i></p> <p>5. <i>tre-cś θe<s>nśt menaθa</i></p> | <p>A. Tite Cales:”</p> <p>“During this the last four (of) the days (dedicated) to the god (one has) to pray also for Letō.”</p> <p>“Place the things belonging to the altar!”</p> <p>“One will hold (a feast) for the god Laios.”</p> <p>“Three (days) during this one may lawfully organize (games).”</p> |
|--|--|

Comments

Phrase 1

Titeśi: adjectival derivative in *-śi* of the *praenomen* *Tite*- “Tite” used for the expression of a genitive relationship.

Caleśi: adjectival derivative in *-śi* of the *gentilicium* *Cale*- “Cales” used for the expression of a genitive relationship.

cina: endingless A(m/f) sg. of the noun *cena*- “meal”, also attested in variant form *cenu*- for TC and PC. Note that we are confronted here with an *accusativus respectus*.

Phrase 2

cś: D(-G) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *c(a)*- “this”, referring back to the object *cina*- “meal” of the previous phrase.

mes: endingless D sg. of the noun *mes*- “god”, which also occurs in the variant forms *meśe*- and *masan*-.

-tleś: A(m/f) pl. in *-eś* of the enclitic element *-t(a)l*- “day”, attested for day-names like *tesiametal*- from PB and *suθiuametal*- from TC, both meaning “day of the burial”, and *menitl*- “day of the ceremonies” from MD (see further below).

huθ naper: “last four”. This combination is also found in PC.

lescan<a>: infinitive in *-n<a>* of the verb *lesca*- “to pray” also present in PC.

Lete: D sg. in *-e* of the GN *Let*- “Letō”, also attested in variant form *Leθams*- for CT and like this latter related to the noun *leθ*- “wife”.

-m: enclitic conjunction “and; also”.

Phrase 3

θui: 2nd person sg. of the imperative in *-i* of the verb *θu-* “to place”, which also occurs in writing variant *tva-*.

araśa: N-A(n) pl. in *-a* of adjectival derivative in *-ś-* of the noun *ara-* “altar”.

Phrase 4

θent: 3rd person sg. of the present/future in *-t* of the verb *θen(u)-* “to hold”.

mase: D sg. in *-e* of the noun *mas-* “god”, which we already came across in phrase 2 in variant form *mes-*.

Laei: D sg. in *-i* of the GN *Lae-* “Laios” also attested for LL.

Phrase 5

tre: cardinal number *tre-* “three”, otherwise featuring in the indication of sacrificial animals *treś* or *tartiria-* “τρίτῳς” in LL and CT.

-cś: enclitic variant of the D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the demonstrative pronoun *c(a)-* “this”, likewise referring back to the object *cina-* “meal” of phrase 1.

θe<s>nśt: adverb related to the noun *teśnste-* “law” as attested for PC.

menaθa: 3rd person sg. of the subjunctive in *-θa* of the verb *mena-* “to handle, organize”, which in reduplicated variant *mimeni-* is used in MD in the context of the organization of games.

Perugia, quadrangular stone or *cippus*, recent date (Rix 1991: Pe 4.1)

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>cehen cel Tezan penθna</i> | “With respect to this precinct: |
| <i>θauruś Θanr</i> | Thesan (has) to pay for the |
| | storeroom (on behalf of) |
| | Thanr.” |

Comments

cehen: writing variant of the A(m/f) sg. in *-n* of the demonstrative pronoun *c(a)-* “this”, otherwise occurring in form of *(e)cn* or *cēn*.

cel: endingless A(m/f) sg. of the noun *cel-* “precinct”, otherwise occurring in form of *cla-* or *cle-*. Note that the combination *cehen cel* confronts us with an *accusativus respectus*.

Tezan: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the female *praenomen* *Tezan*, also attested for PC and presumably related to the female GN *Θesan* (= the Etruscan equivalent of Latin *Aurora* and Greek *Eōs*).

penθna: infinitive in *-na* of the verb *penθ-* “to pay”.

θauruś: D(-G) sg. in *-ś* of the noun *θauru-* “storeroom”, which in variant form *θaura-* is also attested for PC.

Θanr: endingless D sg. of the female GN *Θanr-* (= the Etruscan equivalent of Latin *Libera* and Greek *Korē* or *Persephonē*).

Uncertain origin, bronze statue base, *ca.* 350-300 BC (Rix 1991: OA 3.9; photo & drawing Bonfante/Bonfante 2002: 175, fig. 52)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. <i>Caesi Prisnies i turce</i>
 <i>Hercles clen ceḡa munis</i></p> | <p>“Caesie Prisnies has given this to Heraklēs as a representative (of) the Senate on behalf of an obligation.”</p> |
| <p>2. <i>en Cae lur-ḡve truta ala</i>
 <i>alpnina luθs in-pa lvḡna</i></p> | <p>“(because) during whatever (number of) game(s) Cae may (have) dedicate(d himself to the task of) arbiter to wear the white (dress) of the game and during (them) to rule.”</p> |

Comments

Phrase 1

Caesi: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the masculine *praenomen* *Caesi*, cf. *Kaisie* (Rix 1991: Cr 3.14 from Caere, on a vase dated to the late 7th or early 6th century BC). This *praenomen* recurs in phrase 2 in short-hand variant *Cae*.

Prisnies: N(m/f) sg. in *-s* of the *gentilicium* *Prisnies*, cf. Latinized *Prisnius* (Rix 1991: OA 3.9 of uncertain origin, on a copper base of recent date).

i: endingless N-A(n) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *i-* “this”, corresponding to cuneiform Luwian *i(ya)-* and Luwian hieroglyphic *i-* or *ī-* “this”.

turce: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ce* of the verbal root *tur-* “to give”.

Hercles: D(-G) sg. in *-s* of the GN *Hercle-* “Heraklēs” of Greek origin, as we have already noted above.

clen: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the noun *clan-* or *clen-* “son”, which is also used to refer to an official representative, originally of subordinate rank.

ceḫa: endingless form of the noun *ceḫa*- “Senate” (< Luwian *ḫuḫḫa*- “grandfather” in like manner as Latin *Senatus* < *senex* “old man”).
munis: D(-G) sg. in -s of the noun *mun(i)*- “obligation”.

Phrase 2

en: variant form of the preposition *in*- “during”, characterized by *eli*-interchange. Note that this preposition recurs in form of *in*- later on in this phrase.

lur-ḫve: D pl. in -e of the enclitic variant of the relative pronoun -*cv(a)*- “who(ever), what(ever)”, characterized by *c/ḫ*-interchange, attached to the rhotacized variant *lur*- of the noun *luθ*- “game”.

truta: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the noun *truta*- “arbiter”. This noun either originates from Luwian hieroglyphic *tarwana*- “judge”, which, in combination with the marker of agent nouns -*talli*-, occurs in Lydian as *tarvtalli*- (Gusmani 1964: Lyd. no. 5, line 1), or it corresponds to the Etruscan variant of Celtic *druid*, *truθ*- or *trut*-.

ala: 3rd person sg. of the subjunctive in -a of the verbal root *al(i)*- “to dedicate”.¹

alpina: infinitive in -na of the verb *alpni*-, based, like the adjective *Alpan* “Alban”, on the PIE root **alb^ho-* “white”, and therefore in the context likely referring to the white color of the cloths an arbiter is wearing. Note that the arbiter in the painting of the Tomb of the Augurs, here addressed as *tevaraθ*, is wearing a white tunic — be it partly covered by a dark brown colored piece of cloth with purple or red bands, see Mansuelli 1963: 74-75.

luθs: G sg. in -s of the noun *luθ*- “game” in its original, unrhhotacized form.

in: preposition “during”.

-*pa*: enclitic conjunction “and; but”.

lvḫna: infinitive in -na of the verb root *lvḫ*-, related to the noun *lauḫm*- or *laḫum*- or *luvḫm*- “(priest-)king”.

Vulci, bronze base or small altar, *ca.* 300 BC (Wallace 2008: 175; drawing Faccchetti 2001: 85)

1. *Truḫun Peθunus V. lav*

“Tryphōn, freedman of Vel

¹ Cf. Rix 1991: Ve 3.1 from Veii, on a vase dated *ca.* 750-725 BC: *mi Atianaia Aḫapri alicē Venelisi* “Atianaia Akhapri has dedicated me to Venel” and, in a variant writing characterized by *c/ḫ*-interchange, Rix 1991: Vs 3.6 from Volsinii, on an altar stone of recent date: *Hermu Zar[u] aliḫe [-? -] Cvl[sansl]* “Hermu Zaru has dedicated to Culsans”.

lurmicla turce XXX cver

Pethunus, has given on the day
of the game(s) because of
(their) 30(th anniversary)."

Uncertain origin, statuette, recent date (Rix 1991: OA 3.6)

1. *Vel Matlnas turce lurmitla cvera* "Vel Matlnas has given on the
day of the game(s) because of
(the occasion)."

Comments

Truḫun: endingless N(m/f) sg. of masculine *praenomen* originating from Greek Τρύφων.

Peḫunus: Latinized variant of the *gentilicium* *Peḫnaś* or *Peḫnas*, probably characterized by the G sg. in -s here.

V: abbreviation of masculine *praenomen* *Vel*, no doubt representing the G form *Velus* here.

lav: abbreviation of *lavtni*, the Etruscan equivalent of Latin *libertus* "freedman".

lurmitla: D sg. in -a of the compound in *lurmitl-*, consisting of the root *luḫ-* "game" in rhotacized variant *lur-*, extended here by the morpheme -mi-, in combination with -t(a)l- or -tul- "day", as in *tesiametal-* from PB and *suḫiuametal-* from TC, both meaning "day of the burial", a whole series based on an ordinal numeral, like *celutul-* "the third day", or a deity's name, like *tiniantul-* "Tin's day" from CT, and *menitl-* "day of the ceremonies" from MD. In LL, the last mentioned element occurs, just like in our first example, in variant form -cl-, characterized by c/t-interchange: *śacnicl-* "day of the sacrifices".

turce: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in -ce of the verb *tur-* "to give".

cver(a): conjunction "because of", which in fact renders the rhotacized variant of the Abl.-Instr. in -r(a) of the relative *cva-* "who, what".

Tarquinius, grave inscription, 3rd century BC (Rix 1991: Ta 1.35)

1. *Setre Curunas Velus*
[R]amḫa[s] Avenal-c
samman śuḫ[i]ḫ arce

"Setre Curunas, (the son) of
Vel and Ramtha Avenas, has
erected the memorial in the
tomb"

Comments

Šetre: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the masculine *praenomen* *Šetre*- “Setre”.

Curunas: N(m/f) sg. in -s of the *gentilicium* *Curuna*- “Curunas”.

Velus: G sg. in -s of the masculine *praenomen* *Vel*- “Vel”.

[*R*]amθa[s]: G sg. in -s of the female *praenomen* *Ramθa*- “Ramtha”.

Avenal: G sg. in -l of the *gentilicium* *Avena*- “Avenas”.

-c: enclitic conjunction “and”.

samman: endingless A(m/f or n) sg. of the noun *samman*- “memorial”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *sàma*- of the same meaning (Karaburun § 5; Kululu 2, § 2; cf. Greek τό σῆμα, σῆμαν- in compounds), and the root of the related verb *samana*- “to make, set up a memorial” (Boybeyınarı 2, § 8; Hama 4, § 2) (for the Luwian hieroglyphic forms, see Woudhuizen 2011: 353).

śuθiθ: Loc. sg. in -θ of the noun *śuθi*- “(part of) the tomb”.

arce: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in -ce of the verb *ar*- “to erect”.

Tarquinia, grave inscription, ca. 200-100 BC (Rix 1991: Ta 1.107; drawing: Bonfante/Bonfante 2002: 176, fig. 53)

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Felsnas La. Leθes svalce</i> | “Larth Felsnas, (son) of |
| <i>avil CVI</i> | Lethe, lived 106 year(s).” |
| 2. <i>murce Capue</i> | “He died at Capua.” |
| 3. <i>tlece Hanipaluscle</i> | “He served as a mercenary at |
| | the day of Hannibal’s |
| | (victory).” |

Comments

Phrase 1

La: abbreviation of the N(m/f) sg. of the masculine *praenomen* *Larθ*- “Larth”.

Felsnas: N(m/f) sg. in -s of the *gentilicium* *Felsna*- “Felsnas”.

Leθes: G sg. in -s of the masculine *praenomen* *Leθe*- “Lethe”.

svalce: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in -ce of the verbal root *sval*- “to live”.

avil: endingless A(m/f or n) sg. of the noun *avil*- “year”, used for the pl. here.

Phrase 2

murce: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ce* of the verbal root *mur-* “to die”, derived from or related to that of Latin *morior* of the same meaning.

Capue: D sg. in *-e* of the TN *Capua-* “Capua”. Note that the D is used here to express a locative relation.

Phrase 3

tlece: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ce* of the verbal root *tle-* “to pay, be paid”, related to that of the noun *tltelte-* “(things) paid for, revenues” from TC, originating from Lycian *ttl(e)i-* “to pay”.

Hanipaluscl-: D sg. in *-e* of the compound *Hanipaluscl-* consisting of the G sg. in *-s* of the Punic MN *Hanipalu-* “Hannibal” with the element *-cl-* attached to it corresponding to the variant characterized *c/t*-interchange of *-t(a)l-* “day”. Now, “at the day of Hannibal’s” can, of course, only bear reference to that of his crushing victory against the Romans at Cannae in 216 BC.

Tarquinia, grave inscription, *ca.* 350-325 BC (Rix 1991: Ta 5.2)

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Larθiale Hulχniesi Marcesi-c</i> | “During (the praetorship) of |
| <i>Caliaθesi mun-sle nac-nvaiasi</i> | Larth Hulkhnies and Marce |
| <i>θamce Lei[</i> | Caliathes as a first obligation |
| | Lei[] has built for his son.” |

Comments

For the dating-formula at the beginning, cf. *zilci Velusi Hulχniesi* “during the praetorship of Vel Hulkhnies” at the start of yet another grave inscription from Tarquinia (Rix 1991: Ta 5.5) and *zilci La<r>θale Nulaθes* “during the praetorship of Larth from Nola” in the inscription on a weight from Caere discussed in the above.

mun: endingless A(m/f) sg. or N-A(n) sg. of the noun *mun(i)-* “obligation”, related to the verb *muni-* “to have a duty, be obliged” and the nominal derivative in *-st-*, *munist-*, also expressing the meaning “obligation”.

-sle: endingless A(m/f) sg. or N-A(n) sg. of the ordinal number *sle* “first”, which also occurs in the variant forms *sal*, *zal*, and *esl-*. For its enclitic use in attachment to the same nominal root, cf. MD *mul-sle* “the first as a thank-offering”.

nac: sentence introductory particle.

nvaiasi: adjectival formation in *-(a)si*, used for the expression of a dative relationship, of the nominal root *nvai-* “son”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *nawaī-* for the same meaning. The same root

also occurs in abbreviated variant as *nva-* (Rix 1991: Ta 1.50) and *na-* (Rix 1991: Ta 1.51, etc.), in their turn corresponding to the Luwian hieroglyphic graphic variants of *nawai-*, *nawa-* and *na-*, respectively, always in combination with the particle *nac-*, which, however, is not used in these contexts to mark the beginning of a new phrase and of which the use, therefore, remains in need of further clarification. Note also in this connection the variant form *nuva-* of the kinship term under consideration in the combination *nacnuva* as attested for yet another inscription from Tarquinia (Rix 1991, Ta 7.60), of which the meaning “son” can be verified thanks to its use in variant form *nuvi* in a bilingual inscription from Clusium (Rix 1991: Cl 1.1181).

θamce: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ce* of the verb *θam-* “to build”.

Clusium, grave inscription, ca. 500-450 BC (Wallace 2008: 166 [ETP 285])

1. *ei-n θui ara anan* “Do not place anything below the altar!”

Comments

ei: negative adverb “not”, also occurring in form of monophthongized *e* (on the latter see below).

-n: A(m/f) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person, also occurring in “syllabic” variant *-ne*. Note that this form is used here for the neuter “it” or perhaps the indefinite “anything”. Its combination with the negative adverb *ei* is paralleled for PC § 23.

θui: 2nd person sg. of the imperative in *-i* of the verb *θu-* “to place”, which also occurs in writing variant *tva-*.

ara: D sg. in *-a* of the noun *ara-* “altar”.

anan: postposition “below, under”, also attested in variant form *ana* for CT. Note that the final *n* is paralleled for its Luwian equivalent *anan*, which latter rules the D case in like manner as this happens to apply here.

Perugia, grave inscription, 2nd century BC (Rix 1991: Pe 5.2)

2. *e-tve θaure lautneś-cle caresri* “Do not place (anything) in the storeroom on the day that the family members themselves are commemorating.”

Comments

e: writing variant of the negative adverb *ei* “not”, characterized by monophthongization.

tve: writing variant of the endingless 2nd person sg. of the imperative of the verb *tva*- “to place”, which, as we have seen, also occurs in writing variant *θu*-.

θaure: D sg. in *-e* of the noun *θaura*- “storeroom”.

lautneś: N(m/f) pl. in *-eś* of the noun *lautn*- “family”.

-cle: D sg. in *-e* of the writing variant of the element *-t(a)l*- “day” characterized by *c/t*-interchange.

caresri: infinitive of the middle-passive in *-ri* of the verb *cares*-, which may be analyzed as a derivative in *-s-* of the noun *caru*- “beloved, dear”. If correct, the verb likely renders the meaning “to take care of, to caress”, or, within funerary context as presently applies, “to commemorate”. Note that the combination of *caresri* with *lautneś* confronts us with a *nominativus cum infinitivo* construction.

Tarquinia, grave inscription, *ca.* 175-150 BC (Rix 1991: Ta 5.6)

1. *eθ fanu śaθe-c lavtn Pumpus* “In the presence of the female
scunis śuθiθi in flenzna teisnica and male (member)s (of the)
 Pumpus family participants in a
 procession in(to) the grave
 may lay down (offerings) du-
 ring worship of the image(s).”

Comments

eθ: preposition “in the presence of”, ruling the D.

fanu: endingless D(-G) pl. of the adjective *fanu*- “female”, related to the GN *Uni*- “Lady” and likewise originating from Luwian hieroglyphic *wana(ti)*- “woman”.

śaθe: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the adjective *śaθ*- “male”, which root is also present in writing variant characterized by *ś/z*- and *θ/t*-interchange in the derivative *zatlaθ* “armed guard” and Latin *satelles* of the same meaning (Wallace 2008: 130). As a matter of fact, in the latter case we are dealing with an adjectival derivative in *-(a)li*- of the Lycian variant *-σατης* as attested for names in Greek transcription, of Luwian hieroglyphic *ziti*- “man” (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961: 171-172).

-c: enclitic conjunction “and”.

lavtn: endingless D-G pl. of the noun *lautn*- “family”.

Pumpus: G sg. in *-s* of the *gentilicium* *Pumpu-* of Italic origin, cf. Osco-Umbrian *Pumpe-*, which is related to Latin *quinque* “5”.

scunis: N(m/f) pl. in *-is* of the noun *scun-* “participant in a procession”, which is based on the same root as the verb *ścu-*, *scu-* or *scuv-* “to walk in procession”.

śuθiθi: Loc. sg. in *-θi* of the noun *śuθi-* “grave”.

in: preposition “during”.

flenzna: infinitive in *-na* of the verb *flenz-*, the root of which may well be related to that of the noun *fler-* “statue(tte)” if we are indeed dealing here with an *r/n*-stem.

teisnica: 3rd person pl. of the subjunctive in *-ca* of the verb *teisni-* “to lay down”, which appears to be a derivative in *-ni-* of *tes-* or *θes-* for the same meaning.

Library of the Vatican, copied in the 15th century (Facchetti 2001: 231)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Larθi Cilnei Luvχumesal</i>
<i>Cilnies sex</i> | “Larθi Cilnei, daughter of Laukhumes Cilnies.” |
| 2. <i>an Aritima-χ Meani ar[u]since</i> | “During (her lifetime) she was civic magistrate in regard to (the cult of) Artemis and Mean.” |
| 3. <i>Crθlu-m lupu Felznealc</i> | “And (when) Cruthlus (had) die(d) in the region of Felsina, |
| 4. <i>nax-um-se puia amce Arnθal</i>
<i>Spurinas</i> | (then) she became the wife of Arnth Spurinas.” |
| 5. <i>cver puθsce [s]uθu uzr</i> | “(And) so he consecrated (this) grave (for her and her) son(s).” |
| 6. <i>ei-n-χ sal lurce-φu lurce</i> | “And not (for the) first (time) he organized them, games after games.” |
| 7. <i>ces puia amce avil XIII</i> | “For this (person) she was 14 year(s) the wife.” |
| 8. <i>lupu-m avils LXXXIII</i> | “And she die(d) (at the age) of 83 year(s).” |

Comments

Phrase 1

Larθi: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the female *praenomen* *Larθi*- “Lar-thi(a)”.

Cilnei: endingless (Nm/f) sg. of the *gentilicium* *Cilnei*-, otherwise occurring in male variant *Cilnie*- “Cilnies”. For the combination of female praenomen with gentilicium in the nominative, cf. *Larθi Leθanei* in a dedicatory inscription from Tarquinia (Rix 1991: Ta 3.9).

Luvχumesal: D-G sg. in -(a)l of the masculine *praenomen* *Luvχumes*- “Laukhumes”.

Cilnies: D-G sg. in -s of the *gentilicium* *Cilnie*- “Cilnies”.

seχ: endingless D sg. of the noun *seχ*- “daughter”.

Phrase 2

an: preposition “during”, also occurring in writing variants *en* and *in*.

Aritima: D sg. in -a of the GN *Aritim*- “Artemis”.

-χ: enclitic conjunction “and”, also attested in writing variant -c.

Meani: D sg. in -i of the GN *Mean*- “Mean” as recorded for various mirror scenes.

ar[u]since: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in -ce of the verb *arusin*- “to be civic magistrate”, which may reasonably be analyzed as a factitive in -n- of an adjectival derivative in -si- of the noun *aru*- “citizen”, corresponding to Lycian *aru*- of the same meaning.

Phrase 3

Crθlu: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the gentilicium *Crθlu*- “Cruthlus”.

-m: enclitic conjunction “and”.

lupu: endingless form representing the 3rd person sg. of the past tense in -ce of the verb *lupu*- “to die”.

Felznealc: ethnic formation in -c “from the place” as attested in writing variant -χ in *Rumaχ* “from Rome” of adjectival derivative in -al- of the TN *Falzne*- “Felsina”.

Phrase 4

naχ: sentence introductory particle attested in writing variant *nac* for PB.

-um: enclitic conjunction “and” also occurring in form of -m.

-se: N(m/f) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person, otherwise occurring in form of -s or -ś. Note that the present syllabic writing

variant is paralleled for the A(m/f) form of this pronoun, *-n*, also appearing as *-ne*.

puia: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the noun *puia*- “wife”.

amce: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ce* of the verb *am*- “to be”.

Arnθal: G sg. in *-(a)l* of the masculine *praenomen* *Arnθ*- “Arnth”.

Spurinas: G sg. in *-s* of the *gentilicium* *Spurina*- “Spurinas”.

Phrase 5

cver: conjunction “because of” (see above).

puθsce: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ce* of the verb *puθs*- “to consecrate”. The root of the verb is related to Luwian hieroglyphic *pu*- or *puti*- “to sacrifice” as attested for Maraş 14, § 9 and Maraş 8, § 10, respectively (see Woudhuizen 2011: 351).

[s]uθu: endingless A(m/f or n) sg. of the noun *suθi*- “(part of the) grave”, which also appears in writing variant *śuθi*-.

uzr: endingless form showing a writing variant of the root *huśur*- “son, boy” and likely representing the D sg. or pl. here.

Phrase 6

ei: negative adverb “not”, also occurring in monophthongized writing variant *e*.

-n: A(m/f) sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person, used here proleptically for the pl. “them” (note that Latin *lūdus* is of masculine gender) in like manner as this is the case with its Lycian equivalent *-ñne* in the trilingual text from Xanthos, § 2 (cf. Laroche 1979). For the proleptic use of this form, cf. the prohibition against stealing in a vase inscription from Clusium: *e-n mini pi kapi* “do not give (or) take it, (viz.) me, (away)” (Rix 1991: Cl 2.4).

-χ: enclitic conjunction “and”, also attested in writing variant *-c*.

sal: ordinal numeral “first”.

lurce: 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ce* of the verb *lur*- “to organize games”, derived from the rhotacized variant *lur*- of the noun *luθ*- “game”.

-φu: enclitic variant of the preposition *apa* “behind, after”, which is also encountered in form of *epn* and from an etymological point of view corresponds to Luwian *ap(p)an* of the same meaning.

Phrase 7

ces: D(-G) sg. in *-s* of the demonstrative pronoun *c(a)*- “this”.

avil: endingless A(m/f or n) sg. of the noun *avil*- “year”, used for the pl. here.

Phrase 8

-m: enclitic conjunction “and”.

avils: G sg. in *-s* of the noun *avil-* “year”, used for the pl. here.

In consulting the papers of a colloquium held on the occasion of the 109th yearly meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, held January 3-6, 2008, in Chicago, and published by Nancy Thomson de Grummond and Ingrid Edlund-Berry in 2011, I stumbled upon the discussion of a newly found Etruscan inscription from Orvieto by Simonetta Stopponi in an appendix to her main contribution on new discoveries at the Campo della Fiera at this site. In my opinion, it can be transliterated and interpreted as follows:

Orvieto, inscribed statue base, c. 525-500 BC (Stopponi 2011: 37-42)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Kanuta Larecenas lauteniθa</i>
<i>Aranθia Pinies puia turuce</i> | “Kanuta Larecenas, freedman,
(and) Aranthia Pinies, (his)
wife, have given.” |
| 2. <i>Thus-χval marveθul faliaθere</i> | “It (= the monument) has been
raised in honor of (the one)
who (is) of Tlōs on the day of
the Great (Gods).” |

Comments

Phrase 1

Kanuta: endingless N(m/f) sg. of masculine *praenomen* *Kanuta-*, known, as Stopponi duly notifies, from the Oscan possession formula *Kanuties sim* “I am of Kanutie”, where it appears in adjectival derivative in *-ie-* and characterized by the G sg. ending in *-s*. In view of the fact that the root of this name also appears in the Phrygian compound *Kanutieivais* “son of Kanuties” (Woudhuizen 2008-9: 197-198 [discussion of P-03]), it may reasonably be assumed to be of Phrygian antecedents (cf. also Linear A *ka-nu-ti* from HT 97a.3 as referred to in Woudhuizen 2009: 109).

Larecenas: N(m/f) sg. in *-s* of the *gentilicium* *Larecena-* “Larecenas”.
lauteniθa: endingless N(m/f) sg. of a variant form of regular *lautniθa-* or *lautnita-* “freedman”.

Aranθia: endingless (m/f) sg. of the female *praenomen* *Aranθia-* “Aranthia”. Note that the female nature of this underlined by fact that it also occurs in variant writing *Arnθia-* or *Arntia-*, of which the fe-

male nature is established by Hadas-Lebel 2004: 276. It is interesting to note in this connection, as Stopponi does, that in an inscription from Volsinii (Rix 1991: Vs. 1.14, late 6th/early 5th century BC: [*mi Ar]anθia Laricenas Valχaes* “I (am) for Aranthia Laricenas Velkhaes”) the female *praenomen* *Aranθia-* occurs in combination with the *gentilicium* *Laricena-*, a writing variant of *Larecena-*, so that we might well be dealing here with a daughter or more distant relative of the dedicators in the present inscription.

Pinies: N(m/f) sg. in *-s* of the *gentilicium* *Pinie-* “Pinies”, primarily attested for inscriptions from the region of Tarquinia (Rix 1991: Ta 1.20-4; 1.26), but once also for an inscription from Vulci (Rix 1991: Vc 1.101).

puia; endless N(m/f) sg. of the kinship term *puia-* “wife”.

turuce: 3rd pers. pl. of the past tense in *-ce* of the verbal root *turu-* “to give”.

Phrase 2

Thusχval: D(-G) sg. in *-l* of the GN *Thusχva-*, which in form *Thuscu* and *Thusc* is also recorded for the Piacenza bronze liver (Maggiani 2011). Notwithstanding so, the name is of composite nature, the second element being the enclitic variant of the relative pronoun *cva-* or *χva-* “who, what”, also traceable, in variant form *cvi-* or *χvi-*, in the GN *Tinścvil* and female *praenomen* *Thanaxvil*. Accordingly, the first element *Thus-* may be linked up to the Lycian place name *Talawa* or *Tlawa*, Greek Τλῶς. With literally “(the one) who (is) of Tlōs”, then, reference is likely made to Lethams or Greek Letō.

marveθul: the present form is singled out as a day name by the final element *-θul-*, which is nothing but a writing variant of *-tul-* “day” as attested for numerous day names in CT (Woudhuizen 2008: 242-244), characterized by *θ/t*-interchange. The first element of this form, *marve*, may well be analyzed as a D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the root *marv-*, related to the indication of a religious functionary, *maru-* “priest” (in Rix 1991: AT 1.32 from the region of Tarquinia: *maru paχαθuras caθs-c* “priest of the Bakkhic-brotherhood and Cautha”, but ultimately related to Gaulish *maros* “great” (Delamarre 2003: 218-219; originating from Proto-Indo-European **mē-*, *mō-*). In line with this latter relationship, it may reasonably be argued that *marveθul* refers to the day for the festivities of the Great Gods (Greek Θεοὶ Μεγάλους; Phrygian *mekas devos* [D pl.], see Woudhuizen 2008-9: 197-198), also known as the Kabeiroi, Penates, or, in the Etruscan

context, *Tinas cliniaras* “the sons of Tin [D dual]” as attested for an in from Tarquinia, Rix 1991: Ta 3.2).

faliaθere: 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense of the middle-passive in *-θere* of the verbal root *falia-*, a writing variant of *fala-* “to elevate, raise”. The present writing variant of the verbal root is easily explained against the background of its Luwian equivalent, occurring in form of *wala-* as well as *walia-* (Woudhuizen 2011: 370). The closest comparative evidence for the present ending in *-θere* is provided by cuneiform Luwian *-tar(i)* (Woudhuizen 2016-7: 356; 358) and Hittite *-tari* (Friedrich 1960: 108; 110) but note that these endings render the pres./fut. instead of the past tense.

In consuming the works of Roger Lambrechts of 1959 and 1970, I came across two Etruscan phrases which are worthwhile to take a closer look at.

The first phrase can be found in a funereal inscription from Tarquinia, catalogued by Massimo Pallottino as TLE 99 (= Rix 1991: Ta 1.170, c. 350-300 BC). After informing us that the owner of the tomb, *Larθ Ceisinis Velus clan* “Larth Ceisinis, the son of Velus”, *cizi zilaχnce meθlum nurϕzi canθce* “Three times he exercised the praetorship (and) nine times he presided over the member(s) of the assembly”, the text ends with the sequence *meiani municleθ*. Now, owing to Lambrechts’ planche I, Figs. 2-3, it can be determined that the reading of the first *i* in *meiani* is certain. The second element of this sequence can, against the backdrop of its correspondence to *municlet* from line 14 of the text on the front side of the *cippus* from Perugia (TLE 570), positively be identified as a compound of the 2nd person singular of the imperative of the active in *-i* of the verb *mun(i)-* “to be obliged” with the locative singular in *-θ* of the noun *cle-* “precinct” (Woudhuizen 2008: 377). Hence, it renders the meaning “you be obliged in the precinct”. The first element of the given sequence is also of composite nature and consists of three smaller elements in sum: *me-i-ani*. Of these latter elements, then, the first, *me-*, confronts us with yet another instance of the sentence introductory particle *me-* as reconstructed for the bilingual inscriptions from Delphi (Woudhuizen 2008: 140-141) and actually encountered in phrase 2 on side A of the text on the discus of Magliano (Woudhuizen 2008: 215-216; 223). Next, the second, *-i*, happens to be the dative singular of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person “to, for him (or: to, for her)” as attested twice for the largest Etruscan text, that of the *Liber linteus*,

namely in IV, 13 and IX, 17 (Woudhuizen 2013: 52; 98; 153; 158). Finally, the third element, *ani*, is the infinitive of the active in *-ni* (cf. *θuruni* “to give” in line 17 of the text on the lateral side of the *cippus* of Perugia, see Woudhuizen 2008: 379; 393) of the verb *a-* “to sacrifice”, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *a-* for the same meaning (Woudhuizen 2011: 137; 319). In sum, the final phrase of TLE 99 runs as follows in transliteration and translation: *me-i-ani muni-cleθ* “you be obliged to sacrifice to him in the precinct”.

The second phrase comes from a border inscription from Montepulciano, catalogued by Pallottino as TLE 515 (= Rix 1991: Cl 8.5, recent). From the drawing as presented by Lambrechts 1970: 39 it can be deduced that the sections a and c in Pallottino’s transliteration belong together as in these parts of the text, in contradistinction of that of section b, punctuation in the form of two dots in columnar arrangement is used. Hence the phrase in question runs as follows in transliteration: **tular:hilar:nes-l^cclaruxieś*. In actual fact, the phrase consists of a main clause, *tular hilar*, and a subordinate clause, *nes-l^cclaruxieś*. If we realize that the main clause is governed by the verbal form *hilar*, which renders the infinitive of the passive in *-r(i)* (Woudhuizen 2008: 393) of the root *(h)ila-* “to favor” (Woudhuizen 2008: 453), the borders (*tular* corresponds to Latin *fines*) of what on the basis of section b appears to be a precinct of a private person, are to be favored by means of a feast in honor of the owner. As stipulated in the subordinate clause, which is marked as such by the combination of the negative adverb *nes* “not” with the dative singular of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person *-l* “to, for him” as attested twice for the text on the discus of Magliano (Woudhuizen 2008: 214; 223-224), it is prohibited that such a ritual favoring of the borders is executed by *claruxieś* “colonists”—the latter form rendering the nominative plural in *-eś* as paralleled for *Afuneś* “the members of the Afuna family” in line 11 of the text on the front side of the *cippus* from Perugia (Woudhuizen 2008: 376; 387) and *meθlumeś* “the members of the assembly” in the *Liber Linteus* section V, line 23 (Woudhuizen 2013: 64; 151) of the noun *claruxi-* “colonists”, which is a loan from Greek κληροῦχος (Lambrechts 1970: 71). Note that the subordinate clause depends from the verbal form *hilar* and, in doing so, bears testimony of a *nominativus cum infinitivo* construction. In sum, then, the phrase runs as follows: *tular hilar* “the borders (of the private precinct) to be favored (by means of a ritual feast)”, *nes-l^cclaruxieś* “(but these) not

(to be favored) in his honor (i.e. the owner of the precinct) by colonists”. It may safely be concluded, therefore, that the Latin colonists in the region were excluded by the Etruscans from their ritual practices.

Also of interest is a dedicatory inscription from Carthage, of which the first phrase reads as follows:

Rix 1991: Af 3.1, c. 6th century BC (ivory *tessera hospitalis*)
mi puinel Karθazie “I (am) for the Lady of the
 Carthaginians”

Comments

puinel: D(-G) in *-l* of *puina-* “lady”, a derivative in *-n-* of *puia-* “wife” with which reference is made to the goddess of the Carthaginians, no doubt Tanit.

Karθazie: D(-G) pl. in *-e* of the ethnic *Karθazi-* “Carthaginian”. The ethnic formation in *-zi-* is paralleled for Luwian hieroglyphic and especially Lycian, cf. *Sppartazi* “Spartans” and *Atānazi* “Athenians”, In the latter language also we find the closest comparative data for the ending of the G pl. in *-e*, as in the coin legend *Pttarazē* “of the Patarians”. Note also in this connection the coin legends of the Elymoi in Sicily, half way between Etruria and Carthage, reading *Erukaziie* “of the Erycinians” and *Segestazie* “of the Segestians”.

PART V

GRAMMATICAL & ETYMOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

18. OVERVIEW OF THE ETRUSCAN SYSTEM OF (PRO)NOMINAL DECLENSION & VERBAL CONJUGATION

1. EXAMPLES OF NOMINAL DECLENSION

(1) **N(m/f) sg.:** *Avle Havrnas* “Avle Havrnas” (REE 55, 128), *Aplu* “Apollo” (DB 3), *aras̄, ara<ś>, aruś* “free citizen” (LL X, 5; 18; XI, <9>; f5), *Aranθ* “Arnth” (Cr 3.2), *Aranθia Pinies* “Aranthia Pinies” (Stopponi 2011, § 1), *Arnθ Aleθnas* “Arnth Alethnas” (AT 1.96), *aska* “askos” (Fa 2.3), *Afuna* “the Afuna (family)” (PC F, 17; 23; L, 16), *Cae* “Cae” (OA 3.9, § 2), *Caesi Prisnies* “Caesie Prisnies” (OA 3.9, § 1), *cepen* “priest” (LL VII, 8-9; 18-19; X, 17; 18-19; MD A, 3), *cepen θaurχ* “priest of the storeroom” (LL VII, 15; 21-22; [23-24]), *cepen sul* “sol(ar) priest” (LL X, 1-2), *cepen tutin-zua* “the public priest himself” (LL VII, 8-9), *cepen flanaç, cepen flanaχ* “high priest” (LL X, 3; XI, f0-1; f1-2), *ceus̄* “fire” (LL VII, 8-9), *clan* “son” (Ta 1.170), *clen ceχa* “representative (of) the Senate” (OA 3.9, § 1; OB 3.2), *cnticnθ cepen* “overall leading priest” (LL VII, 18-19; XI, 5-6), *Crθlu* “Cruthlus” (Facchetti 2001, § 3), *ēprus* “guardian” (TC IV, 14-15), *Velθina* “the Velthina (family)” (PC F, 13; 15-16; 17-18; 19; L, 1; 8; 15-16), *Vel Matlnas* “Vel Matlnas” (OA 3.6), *Venel Atelinas* “Venel Atelinas” (Ta 3.2), *zelnθ* “praetor” (LL VII, 13), *Θefarie Velianas* “Thefarie Velianas” (PB L, 1), *Θefarie Veliiunas* “Thefarie Velianas” (PB S, 1), *Kanuta Larecenas* “Kanuta Larecenas” (Stopponi 2011, § 1), *lavtun* “the people” (CT IV, 3¹), *Larθ Ceisinis* “Larth Ceisinis” (Ta 1.170), *Larθi Cilnei* “Larthi Cilnei” (Facchetti 2001, § 1), *Mamerce Velχanas* “Mamerce Velkhanas” (Cr 3.11), *Manurke Tursikina<s>* “Mamerce Tursikinas” (Cl 2.3), *masn* “god” (LL XII, 10-11), *muθ* “bull” (LL XII, 3; 5 [2x]), *pruxum* “prokhous” (Cr 2.27), *puia* “wife” (Facchetti 2001, §§ 4; 7), *puruθn* “president” (LL VIII, 9), *qutun* “kōthōn” (Fa X.1), *Renazu* “Renazu” (Fa X.1), *Šetre Curunas* “Setre Curunas” (Ta 1.35), *Spitus Larθ* “Larth Spitus” (Ta 1.164), *teurat (...)* *La. Rezuś* “judge (...) Larth Rezus” (PC F, 1), *Tezan* “Thesan” (Pe 4.1), *truθ, trut, truta* “druid; arbiter” (LL V, 17; 18-19; XI, 2-3; 6; OA 3.9, § 2), *Truφun* “Tryphon” (Wallace 2008: 175), *χulixna* “kylix” (Cm 2.13), *Felsnas La.* “Larth Felsnas” (Ta 1.107).

(2) **A(m/f) sg.:** *cehen cel* “this precinct” (Pe 4.1), *Velθa* “with respect to Veltha” (LL X, 10), *cēn zic* “this inscription” (TC V, 18), *vinum*,

vin<u>m “wine” (LL III, 17-18; IV, 9-10; 14; 22; IX, f1; X, f1; XI, 2), *-cn ziχ neθśrac* “this *liber haruspicianus*” (Ta 1.17), *Qumeθen Xalχedn* “the Khalkidian from Cumae” (DB, 5-6), *cn suθi* “this (part of the) grave” (Cr 5.2), *suθ* “grave gift” (LL IV, 10; 14; 21-22; V, 7; 8-9; 10; 16; IX, <s1>; 13-14; 18; [24]; XI, 1), *firin* “fire” (LL VII, 7; 9; 17; 20; 22).

(3) **N-A(n) sg.:** *acnanas(a)* “fire place” (Ta 1.164; AT 1.105), *araś peras-c* “house and land” (PC F, 6-7), *cina* “meal” (Vt 8.1, § 1), *cleva* “the precinct [A]” (PB S, 1), *muluvana* “the (...) pertaining to the thank-offerings” (AT 3.2), *eca sren* “this (type of offering)” (Vt S.2), *zacina-t<a> prinisera-c* “this table and the lock to the entrance” (TC I, 6), *ita tmia* “this holy place” (PB L, 1), *pes* “donation, grant; thesauros” (TC I, 3; 5), *unum* “one” (LL V, 11; 20), *χarsterium* “thank-offering” (DB, 8-9), *fler* “statue” (LL III, 13; VIII, 3), *fleres* “statuette” (OB 3.2), *fler Hamφisca* “the statue of Amphiōn” (LL VI, 9), *Laivisca fler* “the statue of Laios” (LL VI, 10).

(4) **D sg.:** *acale, acalve* “in June” (CT IV, 1; LL VI, 14), (*eθ*) *Aθene* “(in the presence of) Athena” (CT II, 1c³), *a-θumi* “from the second (day) onwards” (LL XI, 7; f2), *anpilie* “in May” (CT III, 1), *ara, ar<a>* “at, on, along the altar; below the altar (c. *anan*)” (LL III, 16-17; VII, 17; <21>; 23; VIII, <10>; f1-2; X, <4>; Wallace 2008: 166), *Araθia* “for Arathia” (Cl 2.3; Poetto & Facchetti 2009), *Aritima-χ Meani* “for Artemis and Mean” (Facchetti 2001, § 2) “(*spulare* [= *spurale*]) *Aritimi* “for (the municipal) Artemis” (OB 3.2), *Capue* “at Capua” (Ta 1.107), *celi* “in September” (LL IV, 14; 21-22; V, 10; 16; 17; VIII, 3; IX, 18; [24]; XI, 1 [2x]; 2; 3-4), *cemna* “to the twin” (LL IV, 20-21; V, 18; IX, 23-24; X, 9-10), *ceśa, ceśu, cesa* “in(to) the chamber, room” (LL VI, 1-2; X, 19-20; f2-3; XI, f3), *cla* “in the precinct” (LL V, 23; XI, 10-11), *-cle* “on the day” (Pe 5.2), *Estrei Alφazei* “to the Alban Astarte” (LL IV, 11-12; V, 8-9; IX, 15-16; 17), *Velθa, Velθe* “to, for Veltha” (LL X, 8; 15-16), *vene* “at, on the altar” (LL VII, 15-16), *zaθrumsne* “on the 20th day” (LL VI, 9), *zilci* “during the praetorship” (Ta 5.5; TC VII, 2; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 5), *zuci enesci* “for the woman in question” (PC F, 7-8; L, 2-3; 11-12), *Hanipaluscle* “at the day of Hannibal’s (victory)” (Ta 1.107), *hausti* “for drinking” (LL X, 22-23), *hinθu* “from the inside” (LL IX, f1; X, 14-15; XI, 10-11; XII, 7), *hulsna, huslne* “on the fourth day” (LL III, 19-20; VIII, 5; f2; f4), (*mλαχ*) *Θanra* “for (beautiful) Thanr” (MD B, 4), *θaure* “in the storeroom” (Pe 5.2), *θesviti* “in the room of the

depositions” (LL V, 20-21), *θucte*, *θucti* “in August” (LL VIII, 1; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 2), *θumicle*, *θumitle* “on the second day” (LL X, 13; 13-14), *θumsa* “in the second place, secondarily” (LL XII, 12-13), *θuni* “to, for both” (LL VII, 17; X, 7), *θunśna* “on the second day” (LL VI, 13), *Laiscla* “on Laios’ day” (LL X, f5), *Larθaia* “for Larthia” (OA 2.1), *Larθa Śarsinaia* “for Larth Sarsina” (Ta 2.5), *Larθia* “for Larthia” (Vt 1.85), *Lete* “for Letō” (Vt 8.1, § 2), *lurmicla*, *lurmitla* “on the day of the game(s)” (OA 3.6; Wallace 2008: 175), *masani* “for the god” (Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 3), *mase Laei* “for the god Laios” (Vt 8.1, § 4), *neri* “for the (ordinary) man” (LL X, 22-23; f2-3; f5), *parθumi*, *peθereni* “in July” (CT V, 1; LL VI, 4-5; X, 2; 4; XI, 8), *Pluti* “to Pluto” (LL X, 19), *śuci* “with a girl” (LL VII, 7; 9; 15-16; 19-20; 22-23), *Rasna* “from Etruscan (background)” (LL XI, f5), *suluśi* “with the solar disc” (LL X, 6), *(eθ) suci* “(in the presence of) a girl” (MD A, 3), *teśami* “for the burial” (LL XI, 5-6), *Tinśi* “to Dionysos” (LL II, n2-3; 6; III, 21-22; IV, 1-2; V, 4; VIII, 14-15; f6-7; IX, 3; 10-11), *Tiuri* “to the sun-god” (LL II, [n2-3]; 5-6; III, 21-22; IV, 1-2; V, 4; VIII, 14-15; [f6-7]; IX, 3; 10-11), *tlteitēi* “for the revenues” (TC V, 20), *(eθ) tuθiu* “(in the presence of) the people” (MD B, 4), *tuχla* “for Destiny” (LL XI, 12-13), *une* “with one” (LL VIII, 11-12; X, f6), *usi* “for, during the year” (LL III, 17-18; VIII, 9-10), *usli neχse* “during the latter half of the year” (LL VII, 13), *uflī* “to the cow-shed” (LL XI, 10), *χuru* “with a dance” (LL X, 4; 16-17), *favitī* “in the niche” (LL V, 20-21), *fler*, *flere*, *flerei* “to, for the statue” (LL III, 18-19; IV, 14-15; 19; VIII, 11; 12-13; [f3]; IX, [s2]; 14-15; 18; 22), *---sna* “on (..?..) day” (LL XI, 1).

(5) **D(-G) sg.:** *acalas* “in June” (LL XI, 1), *avils LXXX* “for (a period of) eighty year(s)” (MD A, 1), *Aiseraś*, *Aiseras* “to Asherah” (LL II, 11-12; V, 7-8; XII, 2; MD A, 2), *Atranēs zilacal seleitala Acnasvers* “during the praetorship of Artanēs (and) the sultanate of Xerxēs” (PB L, 2), *afrs* “during April” (MD A, 3), *afrs naces* “in the latter half of April” (MD B, 5), *Caθnal* “to the (sacrificial animal(s)) of Cauthas” (LL X, 16), *Calus* “for Calu” (CT II, 3b), *(m)laχ Θanra* *Calus(-c)* “for (beautiful Thanr and) Calu” (MD B, 4), *canal* “for Evil” (LL XI, 12-13; 17-18), *Cauθas* “for Cautha” (MD A, 1), *ciem cealχuz*, *ciem cealχus* “on the 27th (day)” (LL IX, f2; X, 2), *cilθl* “for the cult(-festival)” (LL II, n4-5; 7-8; III, <23>; V, 6; 13; 22-23; VII, 18-19; [f8]; IX, 5-6; 12-13; 21), *cilθś* “for the cult(-festival)” (LL II, [n1-2]; 3-4; V, 3; VIII, 14; [f5-6]; IX, 2-3; 9-10; XI, 8-9; XII, <11>), *ciś sariś* “on the 13(th day)” (LL VIII, 1), *cl<e>tral* “for the bier”

(LL VIII, 4-5), *Culśanśl* “to Culsans” (Co. 3.4), *Cusuθuras* “for the Cusu-brotherhood” (TC I, 2-3), *eśviś*, *esviś* “in the ceremony” (LL IV, 15-16; 20; V, 11-12; 14; IX, 19-20, [22-23]), *eslem cealχus*, *eslem cialχus* “on the 29th (day)” (LL XI, 12; 17-18), *eslem zaθrumiś* “on the 19th (day)” (LL VI, 14), *Etanal* (*masan<a>*) “for (the goddess) Athena” (PB S, 1), (*Araθia*) *Velaveśnas* “for (Arathia) Velavesnas” (Cl 2.3), *Velθinal* “to the Velthina family” (LL VI, 7), *Hamφeś*, *Hamφes* “for Amphiōn” (LL VI, 3; X, 6; XI, f6), *Hercles* “for Heraklēs” (OA 3.9, § 1; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 3), (*Larθia*) *Θarnieś* “for Larthia Tharnies” (Vt 1.85), *θauruś* “for the storeroom” (Pe 4.1), *θunχulθl* “for the double cult” (PC L, 19-20), *huθiś zaθrumiś* “on the 24(th day)” (LL VIII, 3; XI, 15-16), *θeus* “with god” (LL VI, 5-6), *θunem cialχus* “on the 28th (day)” (LL XI, [17]; XII, 9-10), *θunś flerś* “for both statue(s)” (LL VI, 13), *Kulśnuteraś Šminθiakś(-ke)* “for Kulśnutera (and) the Sminthian” (Ad 6.1), *Laeś*, *Leiveś* “for Laios” (LL VI, 3; X, 6; XI, f6), *Laruns* “in honor of Larun” (CT III, 1), *Leθamsul* “in honor of, to Lethams” (CT II, 1a; 1c²; III, 2; IV, 1), *luvχmsal* “for the priest-kingship” (Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 1), *Mariśl* “to Maris” (MD A, 3), *mlakas* “for a beautiful (person)” (Fa 2.3; Poetto & Facchetti 2009), *munis* “on behalf of an obligation” (OA 3.9, § 1), (*Araθia*) *Numasianas* “for (Arathia) Numasianas” (Poetto & Facchetti 2009), *puinel* “for the lady” (Af 3.1), *śarśnauś* “in the incense storeroom” (LL X, 15-16), *śvels* “for the living” (LL II, 4), *Šeuś* “to Zeus” (LL II, 11-12; V, 7-8; 19-20; XII, 2), *śpureś*, *śpures* “for the town” (LL II, [n1-2]; [3-4]; III, 21; V, 3; VIII, 14; [f5-6]; IX, 2-3, 9-10), *Satrs* “for Satyr(s)” (LL XI, f4), *Selvansl* “to Selvans” (Ta 3.9; REE 55, 128), *raθs* “for the chariot” (Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 1), *sulal* “for the sun” (LL VI, 17), (*Larθaia*) *Telicles* “for Larthia Teliclēs” (AO 2.1), *Tinunus Seθumsal(-c)* “in honor of Dionysos (and) Sethums” (CT V, 1), (*ana*) *Tinusnal* “(below) the (statue) of Dionysos” (CT V, 2), *tiurunias* “during the month of offering(s) to the sun-god” (PB S, 1), *tularias* “to the protector of the boundarie(s)” (REE 55, 128), (*va-*)*cal tmial* “(and) for this holy place” (PB S, 3), *unial-Astres* “for the lady Astarte” (PB L, 1), *usil* “during the year” (LL VII, 11-12), *flereś* “to, for the statue” (LL IV, 7-8; VI, 12; IX, 7), *Fuflunsul Paxies* “To Fufluns the Bakkhian” (Vc 4.1-2).

(6) **G sg.:** *Avileś* “of Avle” (Vt 1.154), *avilś*, *avils* “of age; (at the age) of (so many) year(s)” (Facchetti 2001, § 8; LL II, [n3]; 6; III,

22; IV, 2; V, 4-5; VIII, 15; [f7]; IX, 4; 11), *avils maxs zaθrums* “(at the age) of twenty five year(s)” (Vc 1.94), *aisunal* “as part of the divine cult” (LL VI, 7), *Apulas Sepunes* “of Apula Sabinus” (Cm 2.2), *Arnzal* “of Arnz” (PC F, 9), *Arnθal Spurinas* “of Arnth Spurinas” (Facchetti 2001, § 4), *Arntiaś* “of Arnti” (Co 3.3), *Afunaś* “of Afuna” (PC F, 3; L, 13-4), *clel* “of the precinct” (PC F, 15), *cluvenias* “of *cluvenia*” (PB L, 1), *Cupes Alθrnas* “of Cupe Althrnas” (Cm 2.13), *Cusuθuraś* “of the Cusu-brotherhood” (TC V, 21), *Veives* “of Veiovis” (LL XI, 14), *Velθinaś* “of Velthina” (PC F, 2; 9), *Velθinaθuraś* “of the Velthina-brotherhood” (PC F, 6; 20), *Velθines* “of the Velthina family” (LL XI, 8-9), *ēliuntś* “having taken (from)” (TC I, 1), *Velus* “of Vel” (Ta 1.170; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 1), *Velus [R]amθa[s] Avenal-c* “of Vel and Ramtha Avenas” (Ta 1.35), *Velet (...)* *Numesiesi* “of Vel Numasios” (Ta 3.1), *Velθurus Aprθnal(-c)* “of Velthur (and) Aprthna” (Ta 5.5), *Hamφes* “of Amphiōn” (LL X, 6), *Laeś* “of Laios” (LL X, 6), *Larces* “of Larce” (Po 2.21), *Larθal (clan)* “(son) of Larth” (Vc 1.94; Ta 1.96; 1.164), *Larθus* “of Larth” (Poetto & Facchetti 2009), *Larices* “of Larice” (Cr 2.2), *Laucies Mezenties* “of Lūcius Mezenties” (Heurgon 1992), *Leθes* “of Lethe” (Ta 1.107), *Lemausnas* “of Lemausnas” (Fa X.1), *Luvχumesal Cilnies* “of Laukhumes Cilnies” (Facchetti 2001, § 1), *luθs* “of the game” (OA 3.9, § 2), *(zilaθ) mexl Raśnal* “(praetor) of the Etruscan league” (TC VI, 24), *Neθunśl*, *Neθunsl* “of Neptunus” (LL VIII, 3-4; 11; f3; IX, [s2]; 7; 14-15, 18; 22; XI, 15-16), *Nulaθes* “of (the one) from Nola” (Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 5), *Peθunus* “of Pethunus” (Wallace 2008: 175), *Pētruiś Scēvēś*, *Pētruś Scevaś*, *Pētruś Scēvaś* “of Petru Sceves or Scevas” (TC I, 1; 8; V, 22), *Pētruś* “of Petru” (TC I, 5), *śpural* “of the town” (LL V, 22-23), *raχś* “of the regia” (LL V, 18-19), *Titelas* “of Titela” (Cr 2.9), *Turmsal* “of Turms” (Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 1), *Unial* “of Uni” (Vt S.2).

(7) **Abl.-Instr. sg.:** *canzate* “during the term of office as president” (Ta 3.9), *cit-z* “in three times” (LL V, 17; 19), *vinalθ* “during (a libation) of wine” (CT II, 3b¹), *zati* “at the first time” (LL VIII, 13), *Θanurari* “in the service of Thanr” (CT IV, 3²), *unuθ* “out of one” (LL X, 13-14), *user* “out of gratitude” (CT II, 3c; 3c¹).

(8) **Loc. sg.:** *acilθ* “at the sacrificial killing of the animal(s)” (LL VIII, 6; 8), *arθ* “at the altar” (LL VII, 7; <9>; <19-20>), *casθialθ lacθ* “at the royal mausoleum” (MD A, 1; 2), *Catneti* “in the sanctuary of

Cauthas” (LL XI, 9), *cialaθ* “in the third place” (MD A, 3), *cleθ*, *clet* “in the precinct” (PC F, 14; Ta 1.170), *Crapsti* “in the sanctuary of Grabovius” (LL III, 18-19; IV, 7-8; 14-15; 19; VI, 12), *Velclθi* “in the (territory) of Vulci” (Vc 4, 1-2), *zarfneθ* “at, within the context of a smoke offering ceremony” (LL II, 11-12; IV, 6-7; [11-12]), *zilcti purtsvavcti* “in the presidency praetorship” (Vc 1.94), *Hamφeθi* “in the sanctuary of Amphiōn” (LL VI, 4-5; XI, f4-5), *Laeti* “in the sanctuary of Laios” (LL VI, 5), *lauχumneti* “in October” (LL IX, f2), *laχ(u)θ* “at the regia” (CT IV, 3⁵; 3⁶), *Martiθ* “in the sanctuary of Mars” (LL VI, 17), *suθiθ*, *suθiθi* “in the grave, (part of) the tomb” (Ta 1.35; 1.182; 5.6), *eclθ suθiθ*, *calti suθiti* “in this (part of the) grave” (Ta 1.182; 5.5), *racθ*, *raχθ*, *raχti* “at the regia” (LL II, n5; 10; 12-13; IV, [6-7]; 9; 10; 13; 21; V, 7; 8-9; 15; IX, [s1]; 6; 13-14; 14-15; 15-16; [24]), *Seθumati* “in the sanctuary of Septimus” (LL X, 5), *spureθi* “in the town” (AT 1.108), *spurta* “in, at the town” (LL X, f5; XI, 10), *streteθ* “in the (location which is) spread out” (LL VI, 3), *Tarχnalθ* “in the (territory) of Tarquinia” (Ta 1.17), *Unialθ(i)*, *Unialti* “at the (temple, sanctuary) of Uni” (CT II, 2; 2¹; LL XII, 10-11), *useti* “during, in the course of the year” (LL X, 18; XI, 9; XII, 1), *firiθ* “in the fire” (LL VII, 15-16).

(9) **N(m/f) pl.:** *Afuneś* “the Afunes” (PC F, 11), *claruxieś* “colonists” (Cl 8.5), *clucθraś* “third-timers” (LL VIII, 9-10; XII, 13), *cresverae* “expressions of true concern” (LL V, 16-17), *eθri* “the commons” (LL XI, 13), *Eθrse* “the Etruscans” (LL II, n2-3; 5-6; III, 21-22; IV, 1-2; V, 4; VIII, 14-15; f6-7; IX, 3; 10-11), *Velθane* “the Velthanes” (DB, 2), *Velturis* “Voturnians” (CT X, line 62), *zamθi*, *zamti* “votive offerings” (LL VIII, 9-10; XII, 12), *Laiveis* “followers of Laios” (LL VIII, 6), *marni tuθi* “the magistrates (and) the people” (MD A, 2), *meθlumeś* “the members of the assembly” (LL V, 22-23), *neriś* “the (ordinary) men” (LL X, 22-23), *scunis* “participant in a procession” (Ta 5.6), *ur-χeiś* “who(soever are) great (ones)” (LL VI, 2), *feli* “relatives” (PC F, 11).

(10) **A(m/f) pl.:** *a-θeliś* “free of charges” (LL V, 22), (*cuiesχu* (...)) *apires racvanies* “(whoever (are)) participants in the April regalia” (CT II, 1a¹), *apniś* “additional offerings” (LL VI, 3-4; 4), *ati-c sani-sva* “as well as his older relatives” (Cr 5.2), *Caθnis* “followers of Cauthas” (LL X, 8), *capeni* “concerning the priests” (LL X, 2-3), *celθi* “cult(-festival)s” (LL VI, 15), *celtinētis* “according to the

regulations of the cult” (TC VII, 3), *cuveis Caθnis* “the oxen of Cautha” (CT II, 1b), *elutes* “(things) being taken from” (PC F, 21), *eši* “honors” (LL III, 20; VIII, f4-5; X, 11), *θu eši* “two honors” (LL X, 20-21), *eši Caθnis* “honors of Cauthas, the Cauthnian honors” (LL X, f4), *ēsīs* “the gods” (TC II, 7), *vetis* “mountains” (LL X, f6), *zaneš* “the first ones (of every deposition)” (LL X, 18-19), *zeri* “as smoke offerings” (LL II, [2]; IV, [2]; V, 1-2; 22; IX, [1]; 8-9), *zušle* “piglets” (LL II, 11-12), *zušleveš* “piglets” (LL IV, 7-8, 11-12), *zusle* “piglets” (CT IV, 3³; 3⁹), *ci zusle* “three piglets” (CT II, 1c), *huθ zusle* “four piglets” (CT, II, 1a¹), *zusleve* “piglets” (LL IX, 15-16), *haustiš* “drinkers” (LL X, f4), *hupniš* “among the dead” (LL VI, 16), *hursi* “among the great ones” (LL VIII, 9; XII, 7), *θapneš* “cups” (LL XI, 2-3), *lautneš* “family members” (Pe 5.1), *luθ<i>* “games” (LL VI, 15), *luri* “games” (LL V, 22), *lusaš* “with respect to the ones being absent” (LL VI, 9), *lustraš* “with respect to lustra” (LL VI, 10), *mestleš* “days (dedicated) to the god” (Vt 8.1, § 2), *priθaš* “the presidents” (LL VIII, 4), *šaθaš* “the men” (LL III, 16-17; VIII, [f1-2]), *hu<θ>χ hušialχu šanti* “four times forty *sants*” (CT III, 1¹), *šantiš*, *santi* “*sants*” (CT III, 1¹; 2¹; IV, 1; LL X, 20-21; f1; XI, 2), *šureis eisteis* “select victims” (MD B, 4), *sani* “relatives” (Cr 5.2), *slapinaš* “with respect to the first offerings” (LL XI, 9-10), *sparzēštiš šazleiš* “according to the municipal customs” (TC V, 18), *sutanaš* “grave gifts” (LL IV, 21; V, 15; IX, [24]), *Tarsminaš* “according to the Etruscan (custom)s” (TC VII, 4), *Tarχianēš* “the (provision)s for the Tarkhunt cult” (TC V, 22-3), *tesnšteiš Rašneš* “according to the Etruscan laws” (PC F, 4-5; 22), *turzais* “small donations” (CT IV, 3⁷), *turi* “donations” (LL VI, 3), *fulinušn[es]* “the ithyphallic statues” (CT V, 1¹).

(11) **N-A(n) pl.:** *aisna, eisna* “divine omina” (LL IV, 22; VI, 12; VII, 10-11; IX, f1; f2; X, 20; XI, 10-11; 12-13; 15; XII, 1-2; 7; 9), *araša* “things belonging to the altar” (Vt 8.1, § 3), *clevana* “temple-offerings” (LL VII, 10-11; 15-16), *etera* “in regard to the common people” (LL X, 22), *zušleva mac* “five piglets” (LL VIII, 7), *zusleva* “piglets” (CT II, 3b), *ci halχza* “three little *halχs*” (LL X, 20-21), *hecia* “slaughtered animals” (LL VII, 10-11), *ica(-c) herama-sva* “(and) these altars belonging to it” (PB L, 1), *hilχ-vetra* “old *halχs*” (LL VI, 2), *θapna(-c) θapnza-c* “with regard to the cups and little cups” (LL X, 22; f1), *θu cala* “two beautiful (offering)s” (LL X, f3-4), *θumsa cilva* “secondary (and) tertiary (facilitie)s” (LL X, f2-3), *θuna* “both (cults)” (LL XII, 5; 6; 8), *inθa* “the (thing)s inside” (PC

F, 14), *mlier-zinia* “things made by way of thank-offerings” (PC F, 18), *mula* “thank-offerings” (LL X, 20-21), *nua* “new (sacrificial animal)s” (LL VI, 6), *peisna* ““give away” ones” (LL X, 22-23), *petna* “pedestrians, servants on foot” (LL X, 14), *śacnicla* “concerning the days of the sacrifices” (LL V, 22-23; VI, 8), *rapa* “presents” (CT IV, 3⁴), *sacniśa*, *sacnisa* “sacrificial animals” (LL VIII, 10; Ta 5.5), *tameresca* “holy gifts” (PB L, 1), *ci tartiria ci turza* “three τριττύες (and) three little donations” (CT II, 3b¹), *tērsna* “the (things) pertaining to the τριττύες” (TC I, 4), *t<r>inθaśa* “consecrated animals” (LL VI, 6; VII, 6), *trutnaśa* “the things belonging to the druid” (LL XI, 3), *tura*, *tur<a>* “donations” (LL II, 10; 13; IV, [6-7]; 9; <13>; IX, <6>; X, 16; XI, <3-4>), *turza* “little donations [A]” (CT II, 2; IV, 3¹; 3²; 3⁵; 3¹¹).

(12) **D pl.:** *ceḡaneri* “over the members of the senate” (Ta 1.9), *meθlumeri* “for the members of the assembly” (LL IV, 6; 18-19), *meleri* “to, on behalf of the bringers of thank-offerings” (LL IV, 4; 17), *munistas θuvas* “on account of two obligations [dual]” (PB L, 1), *śacnicleri* “on the days of the sacrifices” (LL II, n4-5; 7-8; III, <23>; V, 6; 13; VII, 18-19; VIII, [f8]; IX, 5-6; 12-13; 21), *śveleri* “to, on behalf of the ones living” (LL II, 8-9), *śpureri* “for the town(’s official)s” (LL IV, 6; 18-19), *sacnicleri* “on the day of the sacrifices” (LL VIII, 11), *sveleri* “to, on behalf of the ones living” (LL IV, 4; 17), *snenaziulas* “to the (two?) Maenads [dual]” (CT II, 3c; 3c¹), *Tinas cliniaras* “to the sons of Tin [dual]” (Ta 3.2), *tiuras* “to the (two) sun-gods [dual]” (MD B, 4), *flereri* “for the statues” (LL VIII, 10).

(13) **D(-G) pl.:** *acnese* “with torches” (LL X, 5), *aisvale* “from things belonging to the divine cult” (LL VII, 20), *Caθne* “for the followers of Cauthas” (LL XII, 3-4; 8), *ceḡane* “to the members of the senate” (LL VII, 7), *cluce* “from the (group of) “third(-timers)”” (LL XII, 12), *esvitle* “on the days of the ceremonies” (LL VIII, 2), *zarve* “for smoke offerings” (LL IX, 1; 8), *zatlxne* “for the guards” (LL VIII, 13), *zile* “by the praetors” (CT III, 1²), *zlxne* “for the ones exercising the praetorship” (LL IV, [6]; 18-19; VIII, 13), *zuθe* “for, by means of grave gifts” (LL X, 20-21), *zuśleve*, *zusle*, *zusleve* “together with piglets” (CT IV, 3¹¹; LL IX, 1; 8; 13-14), *halḡze* “with little *halḡs*” (LL X, f1-2), *itani(-m) heramve* “(and) for these altars” (PB L, 3), *θune* “in honor of both (cults)” (LL XII, 3-4), *θunḡule*, *θunḡulθe* “for, in honor of the double cults” (LL XII, 3; PC F, 12), *iśveitule* “on the days of the ceremonies” (CT II, 1a; III, 1, V, 1), *Karθazie* “of the

Carthaginians” (Af 3.1), *male* “for, from the thank-offerings” (LL III, 17-18; VIII, f2), *mare* “among the magistrates” (LL X, 2-3), *mlace farθne* “for beautiful girls” (Ta 1.164), *murinaśie* “on behalf of the dead” (MD A, 1), *Pacusnaśie* “with the help of the Bakkhantes” (CT IV, 3²), *painie* “for the donators” (LL VI, 16), *śaθe* “with the men, male members” (Ta 5.6), *śatene* “from grave gifts” (PC F, 19), *śarle* “during offerings with incense” (LL VI, 14), *śerφue* “with smoke offerings” (LL X, 7), *Raśne* “from the Etruscan (one)s” (PC F, 21), *Rasnele* “for the Etruscans” (DB, 4), *ruze* “for the ancestors” (LL IV, 5; 18; VIII, 12-13), *saluzie* “among the first (day)s” (CT IV, 1), *sese* “with seals” (LL III, 20; VIII, [f4-5]), *spante* “for libations” (TC I, 3), *χurve* “with dances” (LL X, 6), *faśle*, *fasle* “from among the revenues” (LL II, [2-3]; V, 2).

(14) **G pl.:** *Caθnai* “of the (sacrificial animal)s of Cauthas” (LL X, 13), *-iei cle[vi]ai stizai* “of their small temple depositions” (CT IV, 3⁴), *Cuθurśum* “of the (feast) of the Cusu-brotherhood” (TC II, 7), *Dardanivm* “of the Dardanians” (Af 8.1-8), *(utus) ecunzai* “(water) of the sources” (CT II, 1b¹), *zuslevai* “of the piglets” (CT II, 1c¹), *Laθiumiai* “among the clergy at the temple of Lethams” (CT IV, 3⁹), *papθiai (ratu) ceχiniai* “(the chariot) of the senatorial fathers” (CT IV, 3¹⁰), *(iś-iχa)-iei tartiriiai* “(and one) among these τριττύες” (CT IV, 3¹⁰), *(ci)-iei turzai* “(three) of these little donations” (CT II, 2²), *fulinuśnai* “of the ithyphallic (statues)” (CT V, 2¹).

(15) **Abl.-Instr. pl.:** *eterti* “on behalf of the commons” (LL XII, 3-4; 8), *θruθur* “by the druids” (LL X, 11-12), *meθlmθ*, *meθlumθ* “by, on behalf of the members of the assembly” (LL XII, 4; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 2), *meθlumeri* “by the members of the assembly” (LL II, [n4-5]; 7-8; III, 23; V, 6; 13; IX, [s1]; 5-6; 12-13; 21), *mle* “by way of thank-offerings” (PC F, 18), *nunar* “in use for dedications” (CI 2.4; Cm 2.46), *sparzēte* “by the citizens” (TC V, 20-1), *śpureri* “by the town(’s official)s” (LL II, [n4-5]; 7-8; III, 23; V, 6; 13; IX, [s1]; 5-6; 12-13; 21).

(16) **Loc. pl.:** *luθt*, *luθti* “at the games” (LL VI, 15; XII, 1).

2. EXAMPLES OF PRONOMINAL DECLENSION

(1) **N(m/f) sg.:** *eca šuθi* “this (part of the) grave” (Ta 1.31), *mi* “I” (Cl 2.4; Cm 2.13; 2.46 [2x]; Vn 1.1), *-ś, -s, -se* “(s)he” (DB, 3; Facchetti 2001, § 4; PC F, 13), *ta šuθi* “this (part of the) grave” (AT 1.192), *χiś* “who(ever)” (LL II, [n3]; 6; III, 22; IV, 2; 15-16; 20; V, 4-5; 11-12; 14-15; VIII, 15; [f7]; IX, 4; 11; 19-20; 22-23).

(2) **A(m/f) sg.:** *can* “this” (LL X, f3), *cehen cel* “this precinct” (Pe 4.1), *cēn zic* “this inscription” (TC V, 18), *cn* “this” (LL VII, 12; X, 7; 11; XI, 14; 16; 18; PC F, 19; 24; TC VI, 23), *-cn* “this” (LL III, [12]; VII, 10; 17; VIII, 17; X, 10-11; XI, 7; XII, 11), *-cn ziχ neθśrac* “this liber haruspicinus” (Ta 1.17), *cn suθi* “this (part of the) grave” (Cr 5.2), *ecn* “this” (LL II, 2; IV, [2]; V, 2; IX, 1; 8-9; REE 55, 128; Ta 3.9), *itane* “this” (AV 6.1), *itun* “this” (Ta 3.2), *ituna* “this” (CT V, 2¹), *min* “me” (Cm 2.46), *mini* “me” (Cl 2.4; Cm 2.13; Cr 3.9; 3.11; Maggiani 1999: 52-54; REE 59, 22; Ve 3.9; 3.10; 3.11; 3.12; 3.14; Vn 1.1), *-n, -ne* “it” (DB, 0; LL II, 4-5; 9; MD A, 2; PC L, 17; Wallace 2008: 166),¹ *tan* “this” (PC F, 1), *-tn* “this” (LL VII, 6; XI, 5-6), *-χun* “what(ever)” (LL XI, 9-10).

(3) **N-A(n) sg.:** *eca* “this” (MD A, 3; Vt S.2), *eca sren* “this as a sren” (Vt S.2), *θi* “this” (LL X, f2; XI, 2-3; 6), *i* “this” (AO 3.9, § 1), *ica, ic<a>* “this” (CT II, 1c³; LL VIII, 2), *ipa* “this” (LL X, 5; 9), *ita tmia* “this holy place [A]” (PB L, 1), *mi flereś* “I (am) the statuette” (OB 3.2), *mi (...)* *muluvana* “I (am) the ... pertaining to the thank-offerings” (AT 3.2), *zacina-t<a> prinisera-c* “this table and the lock to the entrance” (TC I, 6), *pes Pētruś-ta Scevaś* “this thesauros of Petru Scevas” (TC I, 7-8), *ti* “this” (LL X, 19-20), *pulum-χva* “what(ever number of) stars” (PB L, 3; S, 3).

(4) **D sg.:** *cei* “in here” (PC F, 21), *-θei* “here” (LL III, 19-20), *θi* “from this” (LL XI, 4; 6), *-i* “to, for him/her” (LL IV, 13; IX, 17-18; Ta 1.170), *epn icei* “behind this” (CT II, 2¹), *ipei* “here” (LL X, 7), *tei* “here” (CT II, 1b; 1c; IV, 3⁴; 3⁸; 3¹⁰; LL II, 10-11; 13; VIII, 4-5; 12; IX, 17; X, 16; 19; f3-4; XI, f3 [2x]), *-tei* “here” (LL VIII, [f4]).

¹ Note that in English “it” is neuter, but that the Etruscan form in reality refers back to words which in Greek are masculine or feminine (ὁ or ἡ τρίπους “tripod” in the case of DB and ἡ ἑκατόμβη “hecatomb” in the case of MD).

(5) **D(-G) sg.:** *aþes* “in her honor” (CT II, 3a; 3b¹), *cal* “for him; during this (time)” (LL III, 14-15; X, 14-15), *-cal tmial* “for this holy place” (PB S, 3), *ces* “for this (person)” (Facchetti 2001, § 7), *-cval* “for what(ever belongs to)” (LL VII, 8-9), *cz* “during this (time)” (PC F, 15), *-cil* “for this (goddess)” (CT II, 1c²; 1c³; 3a¹), *-cl* “to, for him, this (case); from this; in this case; during this” (LL III, 15; 16-17; V, 16; 19-20; VI, 10-11; VII, 15; 17; VIII, 1-2; 9-10; 10; 16-17; X, 4; 11-12; 18; f2-3; XI, 2; 4; 9; XII, 9-10), *cś* “during this (time)” (LL II, [4-5]; 9; IV, 17-18; TC II, 7; Vt 8.1, § 2), *-cś* “during this (time)” (LL II, n1-2; [3-4]; IV, 4-5; VIII, 14; f5-6; IX, 2-3; 9-10; X, 19; PC L, 13; Vt 8.1, § 5), *-cs* “during this (time)” (LL V, 3), *ecs* “(during) this (same time)” (MD A, 1), *θil* “for this” (PC F, 10; L, 19), *ital* “for this” (CT II, 1b¹), *-l*, *-la*, *-le* “for him/her; from him” (Cl 8.5; CT III, 1²; IV, 3⁴; LL IV, 4-5; 17-18; X, 7; MD A, 1; B, 4; PC F, 7 (2x); 13; 15; 19; 24; TC VI, 23), *-ś* “during it; from it” (LL II, n2-3; n5; [4]; [8-9], 11-12; 13; III, 21; 21-22; IV, [1-2]; 6-7; 13; 15-16; 19; 20; 20-21; 21; V, [1-2]; 4; 7; 11-12; 14; 14-15; 15; 21; 23; VI, 7; VII, 13; 23; VIII, 14-15; f5-6; [f6-7]; IX, [s1]; 3; 6; 8-9; 10-11; 13-14; 14-15; 17-18; 19-20; 22; [23]; [23-24]; [24]; X, 16; XI, f4; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 3), *tś* “during this” (LL VI, 1), *-tś* “during this” (LL VIII, f2; XI, 2; 2-3), *avil-χval* “to (what(ever number of) years” (PB S, 3), *Thlus-χval* “for (the one) who (is) of Tlōs” (Stopponi 2011: 37-42, § 2).

(6) **Abl.-Instr. sg.:** *cver*, *cvera* “because of (the occasion)” (Facchetti 2001, § 5; OA 3.6; Wallace 2008: 175), *-cveti* “during which (ever time)” (LL VII, 14), *-χer* “because of what(ever reason)” (LL VI, 7), *-χr* “by which, by means of what” (LL VII, 8-9; PC F, 2).

(7) **Loc. sg.:** *cati* “at this (place)” (LL VI, 15), *-ci[l]θi* “and at her (temple)” (CT IV, 3⁸), *clθ*, *clθi* “in this, in the (...) of this (location)” (LL III, 18-19; VIII, 11-12; [f3-4]; TC I, 4), *eclθ súθiθ*, *calti súθiti* “in this (part of the) grave” (Ta 1.182; 5.5), *-i*, *-ia* “here” (CT II, 1c²; 1c³; LL VI, 1-2; 2; 4; XI, f5).

(8) **N(m/f) pl.:** *cus*, “who(ever)” (LL XII, 12), *θii* “these” (PC F, 10; 15), *-χeś*, *-χeiś*, *-χeis* “who(ever), who(soever)” (LL VI, 1-2 [2x]; XI, f5).

(9) **A(m/f) pl.:** *-cveś* “who(ever are participant)s” (LL III, 13-14), *cuiesχu* (...) *apires racvanies* “whoever (are) participants in the April

regalia” (CT II, 1a¹), $\theta<ii>$ “these” (PC L, 9), $ic<a>$ “these” (LL VII, 15-16), $-n$ “them [A(m/f) sg. used for pl.]” (Facchetti 2001, § 6), $-is$ “these” (LL IV, 21; V, 15; IX, [24]), $-is$ “these” (CT III, 1²).

(10) **N-A(n) pl.:** ca “these” (LL XII, 1), $-ca$ (LL XI, f2), $-cva$ “what(ever), what(ever number of)” (LL VI, 1; VII, 18-19; VIII, 1-2; X, 9; 17; XI, f2), eca “these” (PC F, 20), epa , “these” (LL X, 23), $ica(-c)$ *herama-sva* “(and) these altars belonging to it” (PB L, 1), ipa “these” (LL X, 14), $-\chi va$ “what(ever); concerning what(ever matter)s” (LL VI, 6; VII, 10-11; VIII, 3-4; VIII, f1-2; X, 17; XII, 4), $-t$, $-ta$ “them, these” (LL V, 18-19; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 4), *marunu- χva* “what(ever members of) the magistrature” (AT 1.96; 1.108).

(11) **D pl.:** $-cve$ “for what(ever number of)” (LL II, 12-13; III, 13; IV, 12; V, 8; X, 15-16), $-e$, $-ei$, $-e(i)$ “to, for them; from these” (LL II, 11-12; 13; III, 21; IV, 15-16; 20; 20-21; 21; V, [1-2]; 11-12; 14-15; 15; 21; VIII, f5-6; IX, 8-9; 14-15; 19-20; [23]; [23-24]; [24]), θe “for them” (LL X, 22-23), ipe “during these (acts)” (LL X, 9), sve “for oneself, for themselves” (LL II, 4; 8-9; IV, 4; 17; VII, 8-9; XII, 12), $-\chi ve$ “for what(ever number of), for what(ever reason)s, for what (ever has a bearing on)” (LL II, 10-11; III, 16; 17; IV, 8-9; 10; VIII, [f2]; IX, 15-16; XI, 16; OA 3.9, § 2), $-\chi ie$ “for who(ever)” (LL VI, 16).

(12) **D(-G) pl.:** *ecnia* “during these (eighty years)” (MD B, 4), *etna*, *etn<a>* “for these; with these; from these; in these (cases)” (LL III, 12 [2x]; V, <1>; 7-8; VI, 5; 7 [2x]; 12; VII, 9; 10; 13; 14; 15-16; 16-17; 17; 19-20; 20 [2x]; 22-23; 23-24; VIII, 2; 16-17; 17; X, 10; 10-11; XI, 1; 4-5; 6; 6-7; 7 [2x]; 12-13; 15; 17; f2; XII, 1-2; 9), *icni* “for these (gods)” (CT IV, 3¹; 3³; 3⁵), *itani(-m)* *heramve* “(and) for these altars” (PB L, 3), $-tna$ “for these; with these; from these; in these (cases)” (LL VI, 10-11; VII, 12; VIII, 1-2; X, f3-4 [2x]; XI, 13; 14; 18; XII, 9-10).

(13) **G pl.:** $-ci$ “of these (two gods) [dual]” (CT V, 1¹), $ci-iei$ *turzai* “three of these little donations” (CT II, 2²), $-iei$ *cle[vi]ai stizai* “of their small temple donations” (CT IV, 3⁴), $-iei$ *tartirii* “among these τριτῶες” (CT IV, 3¹⁰).

(14) **Abl.-Instr. pl.:** *itirśver* “by themselves” (CT VI, 2).

3. EXAMPLES OF VERBAL CONJUGATION

(1) **1st pers. sg. pres./fut. act.:** *hulave* “I will raise” (Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 5).

(2) **2nd pers. sg. pres./fut. act.:** *θesns* “you will lay down” (LL XI, 11-12), *pruxś* “you will pour” (LL IV, 22), *rinuś* “you will renew” (LL XI, f4).

(3) **3rd pers. sg. pres./fut. act.:** *avθ* “he will go” (CT II, 1c¹; V, 1¹), *aθre* “he will personally approve” (LL XII, 10-11), *ame* “he, one, there will be” (LL VII, 14; VIII, 6; 8; X, 2-3; 5; 14; PC F, 2; TC IV, 15), *caiti* “he will burn” (LL VII, 10), *cape* “he will take (away)” (PC F, 14), *capeśi* “one will take once and again” (LL V, 1), *capiθi* “one will take” (LL XII, 1), *carsi* “one will take care of continuously” (LL X, f3), *cereθi*, *ceren*, *cerene*, *cerine* “he will take care (of)” (LL VII, 9; 11-12; 15; 18-19; 21-22; 22-23; 23-24), *etrinθi* “one will consecrate” (LL XII, 5), *vērē* “it will support” (TC II, 7), *zineti* “one will make” (LL VIII, 8), *zixne* “he, one will write (about)” (CT II, 3a¹; LL II, 4-5; 9), *haθe*, *hare*, *hate*, *hatne*, *het-* “he, one will eat” (LL III, 22-23; IV, 3-4; 16; VIII, [f7-8]; IX, 4-5; 11-12; 20; XI, 4; XII, 6; 8; PC F, 24), *hanθ<θ>in*, *hinθθin* “he, one will keep inside” (LL X, 10-11; XI, 3; 6-7), *heśni* “he will settle” (MD A, 3), *hexz*, *hexśθ* “one will place outside” (LL III, 17; IV, 9; 14; VIII, [f2]; IX, 6; X, 8; 14-15; f5; XI, 4), *θezin*, *θezine* “one will lay down” (LL III, 13; IV, 5; 18; VIII, 12-13; 16), *θenθ*, *θent* “one will hold” (LL XII, 6; Vt 8.1, § 4), *θui* “he will place” (LL X, 18; XI, 9), *intehamaiθi* “he will found inside” (CT II, 1b; 1b¹), *male* “he will make a dedication” (TC VI, 23), *menaś* “one handles” (LL VIII, 4-5), *młaxe* “one will make beautiful” (LL V, 22), *mleśiēθi* “one will bring thank-offerings” (TC I, 5-6), *mut* “he will preserve” (LL X, 19-20), *mulveni* “he will bring as a thank-offering” (MD A, 3), *mur* “he will die” (LL XI, 8-9), *murś* “every time (a praetor) dies” (LL VII, 13), *napti* “he will observe” (LL X, f5), *nucasi* “he will renew time and again” (MD B, 4), *nuθ* “one will renew” (LL X, 15-16), *nuθe* “he will testify” (TC VI, 23), *nunθene* “one will dedicate” (LL III, 16-17; VIII, f1-2), *pen* “one will pay” (LL XI, 1; 2), *puts* “one will sacrifice time and again” (LL XII, 4), *ścanin* “one will pay homage to” (LL X, 8; 11-12), *śetirune* “one will dramatize” (LL II, n4-5; 9), *śpelaneθi*, *śpelθi* “he will sacrifice” (PC L, 4-5; 6), *racuśe* “one will venerate” (LL III, 20; VIII, [f4-5]), *ramue*, *ramueθ* “one will reconfirm, revigorate” (LL III,

20; VIII, 8; [f4-5]), *rane*, *reneθi* “he, one will renew” (LL VIII, 6; PC L, 7), *repine* “one will spend time” (LL III, 22-23; IV, 3-4; 16; VIII, [f7-8]; IX, 4-5; 11-12; 20), *reu* “he will tell; one will pray” (LL VII, 8-9; VIII, 7; 8), *rinuθ* “he will renew” (LL V, 18-19), *sanθi* “one will sacrifice” (LL X, f6), *scare* “one will sanctify” (LL VIII, 6), *scuvse* “he will walk in procession” (CT II, 1b¹), *slapi* “one will offer first” (LL XI, 9-10), *spanθi* “one will libate” (TC I, 5), *trin*, *trinθ* “he, one will consecrate” (LL III, 13; [17-18]; IV, 14; V, 17-18; VIII, 11; 17; [f3]; IX, [s2]; 7; X, 9; f6; XI, 15-16), *ture* “one will give” (LL VI, 15), *utuše* “one will drink” (PC F, 24), *face* “one will make” (LL VI, 3-4), *faθin* “he will keep apart” (LL X, 18-19), *falzaθi*, *fals̃ti* “he will make a fire offering” (MD A, 1; PC F, 15), *fanuše* “he will keep on adding new” (LL X, 22-23), *fanusei* “he will drive” (CT IV, 3¹⁰), *farsi* “he will offer” (LL XI, f1; f1-2), *fus̃le* “he will venerate” (PC F, 13).

(4) **3rd pers. pl. pres./fut. act.:** *haθnθi* “they will eat” (LL II, [n3-4]; 6-7; V, 5; 12), *θenunt* “they will hold” (CT V, 2¹), *θunt* “they will place” (LL XI, 16), *lant*, *lanti* “they will bring” (LL XI, f1; f3), *nunθen*, *nunθenθ* “they will dedicate” (LL II, <n5>; 10; 11-12; 13 [2x]; IV, 7-8; [9-10]; 11-12; 13; 14-15; V, [1]; 7; 8-9; 10; 11; 19-20; 20; IX, <s1>; [s2]; 7-8; 13-14; 15-16; 17; 18; 19; XI, 5-6), *repinθi* “they will spend time” (LL II, n3-4; 6-7; V, 5; 12), *tunt* “they will place” (LL XI, f1-2).

(5) **3rd pers. sg. pres./fut. (med.-)pass.:** *ramurθi* “one will be revigorating” (LL VIII, 7), *tēnθur* “it will be hold or kept, it will store” (TC A, I 2; 3; 6).

(6) **3rd pers. pl. pres./fut. (med.-)pass.:** *θans*, *θansur* “they will be set out” (LL II, n3-4; 6-7; III, 22-23; IV, 3-4; 16; V, 5; 12; VIII, [f7-8]; IX, 4-5; 11-12; 20), *nuθanaθur* “they will be witnesses” (TC III, 8), *falanθur* “they will make a fire offering for themselves” (CT IV, 2).

(7) **3rd pers. sg. past tense act.:** *acasce* “he has made, finished (*i.c.* written)” (OA 2.21+6.1; Ta 1.17), *alce*, *alice*, *aliçe* “(s)he has dedicated” (LL VIII, 17; Ve 3.1; Vs 3.6), *amce*, *amuçe* “he, it was, has taken place” (Facchetti 2001, §§ 4, 7; LL VII, 19-20; PB S, 3 [used for subjunctive]; AT 1.100), *arce* “he has erected” (Ta 1.35; 1.96; 1.105; 1.164), *ar[u]since* “to be civic magistrate” (Facchetti 2001, § 2), *canθce* “he was president” (Ta 1.170), *es̃xaθce* “he has carried outside” (CT II, 2; IV 3¹; 3²; 3⁵; 3⁷; 3¹¹), *vatiex̃e* “he has built”

(PB L, 1), *zilaχnce* “he exercised the praetorship” (AT 1.108; Ta 1.170), *zinace*, *zinece* “he has made” (AV 6.1; Fa 3.1+6.1; X.1; Maggiani 1999: 52-54), *zixuxē* “he has written, decreed” (Fa 3.1+6.1; TC V, 18; PC L, 21-2), *θamce*, *θamuce* “he has built” (PB S, 1; Ta 5.2), *θrasce* “it has been engraved” (Vt S.2), *ilaxe* “he has favored (MD B, 5), *leśce* “he has shouted” (MD B, 4), *lurce* “he organized games” (Facchetti 2001, § 6), *m<l>uśce* “one has offered thank-offerings” (XII, 1), *mulvanice*, *mulvanike*, *mulvenike*, *muluenike*, *muluv[an]e*, *muluvanice*, *muluvanike* “he has offered as a vow” (CI 2.3; Cr 3.11; 3.20; Ve 3.13; [3.14]; Vn 1.1; Vt 1.154; REE 59, 22), *murce* “he has died” (LL XI, 5-6; Ta 1.107), *puθsce* “he consecrated” (Facchetti 2001, § 5), *śelace* “he has offered as a sacrifice” (CT IV, 3³), *rivaχ<e>* “he has spoken” (MD B, 4), *śuθce* “he has buried” (LL V, 17), *reuśce* “one has prayed” (LL XII, 2), *selace* “he has offered as a sacrifice” (PB S, 1), *svalce* “he has lived (lit. fulfilled)” (Ta 1.107; 1.164), *tece* “one has placed” (Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 3), *tlece* “he served as a mercenary” (Ta 1.107), *t<u>rce*, *turce*, *turice*, *turuce* “he has given” (Co 3.4; OA 3.9, § 1; OA 3.6; OB 3.2; PB L, 1; REE 55, 128; Ta 3.2; 3.9; Ve 3.9; 3.10; 3.11; 3.30; Wallace 2008: 175), *utinice* “one has experienced” (LL II, [5]; 9), *fratuce* “one has approved” (TC V, 21).

(8) **3rd pers. pl. past tense act.:** *cerixunce* “they have built” (Cr 5.2), *hemsince* “they have (...?)ed” (LL II, [2-3]; V, 2), *zixunce* “they have written, decreed” (CT X, line 62), *θezince* “they have laid down” (LL IV, 3; IX, 1-2; 9), *mlaθce* “they have carried out properly” (MD A, 2), *mutince* “they have revigorated” (LL IV, 4-5; 17-18), *nunθeke* “they have dedicated” (DB, 1), *ścanince* “they have paid homage” (LL III, 15; 16), *turuce* “they have given” (Stopponi 2011, § 1).

(9) **3rd pers. sg. past tense (med.-)pass.:** *faliaθere* “it has been elevated, raised” (Stopponi 2011, § 2).

(10) **3rd pers. sg. subj. act.:** *ala* “may he dedicate” (OA 3.9, § 2), *ama* “may it be” (PC F, 5; L, 15), *am<a>* “let him be” (MD A, 3), *eniaca* “may (subject) yield” (PB L, 3), *esχαθca* “may he carry outside” (CT III, 1¹), *-zina* “please make” (LL VIII, 7), *θaca* “please set out” (LL VII, 13), *θesca* “please lay down” (Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 4), *θuca* “please place” (LL XII, 6), *marcalurca* “may he hold equestrian games” (MD B, 4), *mena* “may he organize” (PC F, 33),

menaθa “one may organize” (Vt 8.1, § 5), *mimenica* “may he organize” (MD B, 4), *mula* “please bring thank-offerings” (LL VIII, 5; 9), *penθa* “please pay” (Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 4), *puθsθa* “please sacrifice” (LL VIII, 11-12), *scara* “please sanctify” (LL VIII, 4), *tenθa*, *tēnθa* “please keep, preserve” (LL VII, 12; TC I, 6).

(11) **3rd pers. pl. subj. act.:** *ama* “please let them be present” (LL X, 9), *capa* “they may take” (LL X, 22-23), *nunθenθa* “please let them dedicate” (LL III, 18-19; VIII, [f3-4]), *teisnica* “they may lay down” (Ta 5.6).

(12) **2nd pers. sg. imp. act.:** *acas* “sacrifice!” (CT II, 3b¹), *capi*, “take (away)!”, (Cm 2.13; 2.46), *-cni* “burn!” (LL X, 19), *heci* “slaughter!” (LL VI, 6; X, f4), *θa* “set out!” (LL VI, 5-6), *θezi* “lay down!” (LL III, 14-15), *θui* “place!” (Cr 5.2; LL VI, 3; X, 6; 16-17; 23; f1; f2; f5; XI, f5; TC I, 4; V, 21; Vt 8.1, § 3; Wallace 2008: 166; 176-177, § 2), *kapi* “take (away)!”, (Cl 2.4), *lecin* “burn!” (LL II, [2]; IV, [2]; V, 1-2; IX, 1; 8-9), *muni* “you be obliged!” (PC F, 14; Ta 1.170), *mutin* “revigorate!” (LL III, 13-14), *pi* “give!” (Cl 2.4; Cm 2.13; 2.46), *pu* “sacrifice!” (LL X, f3-4), *pute* “drink!” (LL II, n3; 6; III, 22; IV, 3; 15-16; V, 4-5; 12; VIII, [f7]; IX, 4; [11]; 19-20), *śacni* “sacrifice!” (LL II, n1-2; [3-4]; V, 3; VII, 6; VIII, 14; f5-6; IX, 2-3; 9; XII, 11), *špel* “sacrifice!” (PC F, 22-23), *sacni* “sacrifice!” (Vs 4.13), *streta* “spread out!” (LL XI, f4), *tva* “place!” (AT 1.96; CT II, 2³; Pe 5.2; Vt S.2), *faci* “finish off!” (LL X, 13).

(13) **3rd pers. sg. imp. act.:** *emu* “he must be” (PC F, 7), *θucu* “one shall place” (LL X, 4; 14; XI, f4), *ilucu* “he shall favor, hold a feast” (CT II, 1a; 3a; III, 1; 2; IV, 1; V, 1; 2), *lescu* “he must utter, pray” (PC F, 7), *mucu* “one shall sacrifice” (LL X, f1-2; XI, f5), *nunθcu* “he shall dedicate” (CT II, 2¹), *scvetu* “one shall walk in procession” (LL X, 8), *tecu* “one shall set out” (LL XII, 5).

(14) **3rd pers. sg. imp. pass.:** *caprθu* “one shall be taken (apart)” (LL XII, 7).

(15) **inf. act.:** *ani* “to sacrifice” (Ta 1.170), *acilune* “to kill sacrificial animals” (PC L, 9), *acnina* “to light a fire” (PC F, 17), *alpnina* “to wear the white (dress)” (OA 3.9, § 2), *zeriuna* “to make smoke offerings” (PC L, 18), *hevn<a>* “to bring” (MD A, 1), *hetrn* “to lower, settle down” (LL V, 17-18; VIII, 15; X, 9), *hilare* “to favor”

(LL VII, 14), *thesane*, *thesn* “to lay down” (LL V, 16; 21), *thuruni* “to give” (PC L, 17), *lescan*<*a*> “to pray” (Vt 8.1, § 2), *lvχna* “to rule (as king)” (OA 3.9, § 2), *penθna* “to pay” (PC L, 14-15; Pe 4.1), *prucuna* “to pour over” (LL IX, f1), *ścuna*, *ścune*, *scuvune*, *scuna* “to hold a procession, walk in procession” (CT I, line 7; PC F, 10; 23; L, 10-1; Ta 1.182), *tesne* “to lay down” (PC F, 20), *turune* “to give” (PC L, 10), *uslane* “to celebrate the sun-god” (LL V, 21), *flenzna* “to worship the image(s)” (Ta 5.6).

(16) **inf. pass.:** *acazr*, *acasri* “to be sacrificed (lit. finished off)” (CT III, 1³; IV, 3⁶; 3⁸; 3⁹; Ta 5.5), *acunsiri* “to be watered” (CT II, 1c), *amperi* “to be carried around” (LL VIII, 2), *anθ[-]eri* “to be placed inside” (LL VI, 10-11), *caper*, *caperi*, *cepar* “to be taken (apart), distinguished” (LL VI, 6; VII, 10-11; 18-19; VIII, 9-10; XII, 12), *caresri* “to be caring, commemorate” (Pe 5.2), *ciar* “to be parted into three” (LL III, 19-20; VIII, [f4]), *zizri* “to be covered with cereals (?)” (CT III, 1²), *heczi* “to be placed outside” (LL V, 16-17), *hilar* “to be favored” (Cl 8.5; LL XI, f5; XII, 3; 5; 6; 8; 13), *huteri* “to be made four (parts)” (LL X, 13-14), *θαχσει* “to be assembled” (LL IX, f2), *θεzeri* “to be laid down” (LL VI, 9; 10-11; VIII, 3-4; XI, 14), *intemamer* “to be found inside” (PC F, 18-19), *leitr* “to be disposed of as a fire offering” (LL X, 20), *muluri* “to be brought as a thank-offering” (CT III, 1²), *nunθeri* “to be dedicated” (TC II, 1c¹; 1c²; III, 2¹; IV, 3⁵), *perpri* “to be consecrated, blessed” (CT II, 1a¹; 1c³; III, 2¹; IV, 1; V, 1), *pruθseri* “to be presiding” (LL X, 17), *ścunueri* “to be walked in procession” (LL VII, 21), *śucri* “to be taken care of by girls” (LL VIII, 3-4), *spetri* “to be libated” (LL VIII, 1-2), *χαśri* “to be distributed” (LL X, 7), *f[a]nir[i]* “to be driven” (CT II, 1b), *fuśleri* “to be venerated” (PC F, 4).

(17) **part. act.:** *ēliuntś* “having taken from (G sg.)” (TC I, 1), *zivas* “while living” (LL VIII, 12), *helutes* “being taken from (N(m/f) pl.)” (PC F, 21), *quθefas* “having taken revenge” (DB 7), *svalas*, *svalθas* “while living, having lived” (AT 1.108; Ta 1.9), *tenθas* “having exercised” (AT 1.96).

NOUN

	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	—, -s/-ś	-i, -e, -is/-iś, -eś, -aś
A(m/f)	—, -n, -m	-i, -e, -is/-iś, -es/-eś, -aś
N-A(n)	—, -s/-ś, -n	-a
D	-a, -e(i), -i, -u	-(e)ri, -as (dual)
D(-G)	-l, -s/-ś/-z	-e
G	-l, -s/-ś	-ai, -um
Abl.-Instr.	-θ(i)/-t(i), -te, -r(i)	-ti, -θ, -te, -(e)r(i)
Loc.	-θ(i)/-t(i), -ta	-t(i)

PRONOUN

	demonstrative/relative		3rd person	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	<i>eca, ta, χiś</i>	<i>cus, -χeis</i>	-s(e), -ś	<i>θii</i>
A(m/f)	<i>cn, tan, -χun</i>	<i>cuiesχu, -cveś</i>	-n(e)	<i>θ<ii>, -is/-iś</i>
N-A(n)	<i>ica, ita, ipa, -χva</i>	<i>ica, ipa, -cva</i>	<i>θi, ti</i>	-t(a)
D	<i>cei, tei, ipei</i>	<i>ipe, -cve</i>	<i>θi, -i(a)</i>	<i>θe, -e(i)</i>
D(-G)	<i>cs, tś, ital, aφes, -cval</i>	<i>ecnia, itani, etna, -tna</i>	<i>θil, itialχu, -l(a/e), -ś</i>	
G		-ci (dual)		-iei
Abl.-Instr.	<i>-cveti, cver, -χr</i>			<i>itirśver</i>
Loc.	<i>cati, clθ(i)</i>		-i(a)	

VERB

	present/future	past tense	subjunctive	imperative
1st sg. act.	-ve			
2nd sg. act.	-ś			—, -i
3rd sg.	-θ(i)/-t(i) -e(i), -i	-ce/-ke/-χe	-a, -θa, -ca	-tu, -cu, -u
3rd pl.	-nθ(i), -nt(i)	-(n)ce, -ke	-a, -nθa, -ca	
3rd sg. pass.	-rθi, -θur	-θere		-rθu
3rd pl. pass.	-n(a)θur, -nsur			
	active		passive	
infinitive	-(u)na, -(a/u)n(e), -ni, -re		-(e)r(i)	
participle	-nt-, -(θ)as			

NOMEN

	LUWIAN H.	LYCIAN	LYDIAN
sg. N(m/f)	—, - <i>sa</i>	—, - <i>s</i>	- <i>s</i> , - <i>ś</i>
A(m/f)	—, - <i>na</i>	—, - <i>ñ</i> , - <i>ñ</i>	- <i>n</i>
Voc.	—		
N-A(n)	- <i>ī</i> , - <i>sa</i>	—, - <i>ē</i> , - <i>ijē</i>	- <i>d</i> , - <i>i</i> ₁
D	- <i>a</i> , - <i>ā</i> , - <i>i</i>	- <i>a</i> , - <i>i</i>	- <i>l</i> , - <i>λ</i>
G	- <i>sa</i> , - <i>sana</i> , - <i>li</i>	- <i>h</i>	- <i>l</i> , - <i>λ</i>
Abl.	- <i>tī(a)</i> , - <i>ta</i> , + <i>r(i)(a)</i>	- <i>di</i> , - <i>de</i>	- <i>di</i> ₁ , - <i>d</i> , - <i>λ</i>
Loc.	- <i>tī(ā)</i> , + <i>r(i)</i>	- <i>i</i>	- <i>t₁i₁</i> , - <i>di</i> ₁
pl. N(m/f)	- <i>i(a)</i> , - ⁿ <i>zi</i>	- <i>i</i>	- <i>i</i> ₁
A(m/f)	- <i>i(a)</i> , - ⁿ <i>zi</i>	- <i>as</i> , - <i>is</i>	- <i>is</i> , - <i>oś</i>
Voc.			
N-A(n)	- <i>a</i> , - <i>ā</i>	- <i>a</i> /- <i>ā</i> , - <i>ē</i>	- <i>a</i>
D	- <i>ai</i> , - <i>āi</i> , - <i>āi</i>	- <i>a</i> , - <i>e</i> , - <i>ē</i>	- <i>ai</i> ₁ , - <i>āi</i> ₁
G	- <i>ai</i> , - <i>āi</i>	- <i>āi</i> , - <i>ē</i>	- <i>ai</i> ₁
Abl.	- <i>tī(a)</i> , + <i>r(i)(a)</i>		
Loc.			

PRONOMEN

	LUWIAN H.	LYCIAN	LYDIAN
sg. N(m/f)	<i>ī(a)sa</i>	<i>ebi</i>	<i>eś(ś)</i> <i>ēmīs</i>
A(m/f)	<i>ī(a)na</i>	<i>ebē(ññē)</i>	<i>esn</i> <i>ēmi</i> ₁
N-A(n)	<i>ī(a)</i>	<i>ebē</i>	<i>est, esi</i> ₁ <i>ēmi</i> ₁
D	<i>ī(ā)tī(a)</i> , <i>īar(ā)</i>	<i>ebei</i>	<i>esλ</i> <i>ēmλ</i>
G	<i>īsa</i>		
Abl.	<i>ī(a)tī(a)</i> , <i>īar(i)</i>		
Loc.	<i>ī(a)tī</i> , <i>ī(a)r(a)</i>		
pl. N(m/f)	<i>ī(a)i</i>		
A(m/f)	<i>ī(a)i</i>	<i>ebeis</i>	<i>ēminas</i>
N-A(n)	<i>ī(a)ā</i>	<i>ebeija</i>	<i>es(a?)</i>
D	<i>ī(a)tīāi</i>	<i>ebette</i>	<i>esi₁ai₁</i> <i>ēminai</i> ₁
G			
Abl.	* <i>īti</i>		

VERBUM

		LUWIAN H.	LYCIAN	LYDIAN
		active		
pres./fut.	1st pers. sg.	- <i>wa</i> , - <i>u</i>	- <i>u</i>	- <i>vi</i> ₁ , - <i>v</i> , - <i>u</i>
	2nd pers. sg.	- <i>sa</i> , - <i>tisa</i>		
	3rd pers. sg.	- <i>ti(a)</i> , + <i>r(i)</i>	- <i>ti/-di</i> , - <i>i</i> , - <i>e</i>	- <i>d/-t</i> , - <i>i</i> ₁
	3rd pers. pl.	- ⁿ <i>ti(a)</i>	- <i>ñti</i> , - <i>ti/-di</i>	- <i>nt</i> , - <i>d</i>
past tense	3rd pers. sg.	- <i>ta</i> , + <i>r(a)</i>	- <i>te/ẽ</i> , - <i>de/ẽ</i>	- <i>l</i>
	3rd pers. pl.	- ⁿ <i>ta</i> , + ⁿ <i>r(a)</i>	- <i>te/ẽ</i> , - <i>dẽ</i>	
subjunctive	3rd pers. sg.	- <i>a</i> , - <i>ā</i>		
	3rd pers. pl.	- <i>a</i> , - <i>ā</i>		
imperative	2nd pers. sg.	—		
	3rd pers. sg.	- <i>tu(a)</i>	- <i>tu</i> , - <i>u</i>	
	3rd pers. pl.	- ⁿ <i>tu</i>	- <i>tu</i>	
infinitive participle		-(<i>u</i>) <i>na</i> , - <i>wa</i>	- <i>na</i> , - <i>ne</i>	
		- ⁿ <i>t</i> -	- <i>ñt</i> -	- <i>nd</i> -
		passive		
pres./fut.	3rd pers. sg.	- <i>rti</i> , - <i>r(i)</i>		- <i>r</i>
past tense	3rd pers. sg.	- <i>rta</i>		
past tense	3rd pers. pl.	- ⁿ <i>r(a)</i>		
imperative	3rd pers. sg.	- <i>rtu</i> , - <i>ru</i>		
	3rd pers. pl.	- ⁿ <i>ru</i>		
participle		- <i>mi(na)</i> -	- <i>mi</i> -	- <i>mi</i> -

19. ON THE POSITION OF THE ETRUSCAN LANGUAGE

The following list of comparanda for the Etruscan language is based on Woudhuizen 2008: 398-414 and Woudhuizen 2013: 135-147. For the comparisons with Luwian, see also Steinbauer 1999. For those with Greek and Latin I have made use of Charsekin 1963, especially 24-28, amplified, as far as Greek is concerned, by Schachermeyr 1929: 248, Fiesel 1931: 43; 51-52, and van der Meer 1992: 68, and, for the divine names, Pfiffig 1975. For Hittite, see Friedrich 1991, Puhvel *HED*, and Tischler *HEG*; for cuneiform Luwian, see Melchert 1993a and Woudhuizen 2016-7; for Luwian hieroglyphic, see Woudhuizen 2011, and for Lycian, see Melchert 2004; for Lydian, see Gusmani *LW* and Woudhuizen *forthc*. The meaning of the Etruscan words, elements, and endings is in most instances secured by a comprehensive interpretation of the texts in which these appear.

ETRUSCAN	HITTITE	MEANING
	vocabulary	
1. <i>acni-</i>	<i>Akniš</i>	“fire-god [GN]” ¹
2. <i>acun-, ecun-</i>	<i>aku-, eku-</i>	“to drink”
3. <i>(a)m-, ame-, hamai-, mame-</i>	<i>šamnai-, šamniya-</i>	“to found”
4. <i>Aplu</i>	<i>Appaliunaš</i> ²	“Apollōn [GN]”
5. <i>ati</i>	<i>atta-</i>	“father (> senior)”
6. <i>c-/ca-/ci-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	“this”
7. <i>casθia-</i>	<i>ḫaštāi-</i>	“bones”
8. <i>cla-, cleva-</i>	<i>ḫila-</i>	“enclosure, precinct”
9. <i>Culsans-</i>	<i>Gulšeš</i>	divinities of fate
10. <i>Curtun-</i>	<i>gurta-</i>	“citadel”
11. <i>damnos</i>	<i>damnaššara</i>	“horse; mare”
12. <i>vatie-</i>	<i>weda-, wete-</i>	“to build”
13. <i>Velc-, Velχ-</i>	<i>walḫ-</i>	“to hit, strike, smite”
14. <i>zina-, zin(e)-</i>	<i>zinna-</i>	“to finish, complete”
15. <i>θaχś-</i>	<i>takš-</i>	“to assemble”
16. <i>θun</i> (cf. <i>θu</i>)	<i>dān</i>	“second”

¹ Van Gessel 1998: 8; cf. Haas 1994: 297.

² Listed among the Trojan oath-gods in the *Alaksanduš*-treaty.

	ETRUSCAN	HITTITE	MEANING
17.	<i>ia-</i>	<i>iya-</i>	“to make, do”
18.	<i>Lariya-</i>	<i>Laris</i>	“Lari(ya)s [MN]”
19.	<i>Leprna-</i>	<i>labarna-</i>	royal title
20.	<i>-m</i>	<i>-ma</i>	“but, and”
21.	<i>man</i>	<i>mān</i>	modal particle
22.	<i>men(a)-, meni-</i>	<i>maniyahḫ-</i>	“to handle”
23.	<i>nace-, neḫ-</i>	<i>neku-</i>	“to diminish, become less (of light)”
24.	<i>ni-, nu-</i>	<i>nāi-</i>	“to drive”
25.	<i>nuca-</i>	<i>newahḫ-</i>	“to renew”
26.	<i>nu-</i>	<i>nu-</i>	introductory particle
27.	<i>pai-n-, pei-s-n-</i>	<i>pāi-</i>	“to give”
28.	<i>parḫi-</i>	<i>parku-</i>	“high”
29.	<i>Pisna/Pesna</i>	<i>Piseni-</i>	“Pisenis [MN]”
31.	<i>śnuiuφ, snuiaφ</i>	<i>šannapi</i>	“sporadic”
31.	<i>raθ-, ratu-</i>	<i>radu-</i> (onom. el.) ³	“chariot”
32.	<i>ril</i>	<i>purulliya-</i>	“new year’s feast”
33.	<i>sia-n-</i>	<i>šiu-</i>	“god”
34.	<i>span(t)-, spet-</i>	<i>šipand-</i>	“to libate”
35.	<i>-um</i> (cf. <i>-m</i>)	<i>-ma</i>	“but; and”
36.	<i>utu-</i>	<i>watar</i> (G <i>wetenaš</i>)	“water”
		word formation	
37.	<i>-θr-</i>	<i>-tar-</i>	agent noun
38.	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-an(n)a-</i>	ordinal
	(pro)nominal declension & verbal conjugation		
39.	<i>-as</i> (dual)	<i>-aš</i>	D pl.

	ETRUSCAN	CUNEIFORM LUWIAN	MEANING
		vocabulary	
1.	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	encl. pron. of the 3rd pers.
2.	<i>av-, ev-, hev-</i>	<i>awī-</i>	“to go, come; to bring”
3.	<i>aiu-</i>	<i>āya-</i>	“to make, do”
4.	<i>an(a), anan</i>	<i>ānnan</i>	“under”
5.	<i>anθ-, hinθ-, inte</i>	<i>ānda, ānta</i>	“in(to)”

³ Cf. the Luwian MNs in Hittite sources *Tarḫundaradus* and *Piyamaradus*.

	ETRUSCAN	CUNEIFORM LUWIAN	MEANING
6.	<i>apa-</i> , <i>aφe-</i>	<i>āpa-</i>	“(s)he, it”
7.	<i>apa</i> , <i>epn</i>	<i>āppan</i>	“behind”
8.	<i>Asi-</i> , <i>Esia</i>	<i>Aššiya-</i>	“Beloved [GN]”
9.	<i>-c</i> , <i>-χ</i> , <i>-χα</i> , <i>-ke</i>	<i>-ḫa</i>	“and; also”
10.	<i>cnti</i>	<i>ḫant-</i>	“forehead; front”
11.	<i>camθi-</i> , <i>canθ-</i>	<i>ḫandawat(i)-</i>	“king”
12.	<i>ceχα-</i> , <i>ceχi-</i>	<i>ḫūḫa-</i>	“grandfather”
13.	<i>cuve-</i>	<i>wāwi-</i>	“ox”
14.	<i>cu(vu)-</i>	<i>ḫui(ya)-</i>	“to run, march”
15.	<i>-cvi-</i> , <i>-χvi-</i> , <i>χi-</i>	<i>kwi-</i>	“who, what”
16.	<i>cui-</i> <i>-χu</i>	<i>kwi-</i> <i>-ḫa</i>	“whoever, whichever”
17.	<i>va-</i> , <i>fa-</i>	<i>-wa</i>	introductory particle
18.	<i>Velaveśna-</i>	<i>walwa-</i>	“lion”
19.	<i>vina-</i>	<i>wini(ya)-</i>	“wine”
20.	<i>vuv-</i>	<i>wāwi-</i>	“ox”
21.	<i>haθ-</i> , <i>hat-</i> , <i>het-</i>	<i>ad-</i>	“to eat”
22.	<i>hur-s-</i> , <i>ur-</i>	<i>ura-</i>	“great”
23.	<i>θu(i)-</i> , <i>tu-</i> , <i>tva-</i>	<i>tūwa-</i>	“to place, put”
24.	<i>i-/e-</i>	<i>i(ya)-</i>	“this”
25.	<i>in</i>	<i>INA</i> (Akk.)	“in; during”
26.	<i>la-</i>	<i>tā-</i>	“to come”
27.	<i>maθ-</i> , <i>mata-</i> , <i>meθ-</i>	<i>mai-</i>	“great, many”
28.	<i>masan<a>-</i> , <i>masn-</i> , <i>masu-</i>	<i>māššani-</i>	“god(dess)”
29.	<i>mu(e)-</i>	<i>mūwa-</i>	“to make strong”
30.	<i>muva-</i>	<i>māwa-</i>	“4”
31.	<i>Nana-</i>	<i>nāni(ya)-</i>	“of a brother”
32.	<i>nvai-</i>	<i>nāwali-</i>	“new”
33.	<i>nes</i> , <i>neś</i> , <i>nis</i>	<i>niš</i>	“not” (prohibitive)
34.	<i>nuθ(a)-</i>	<i>nūt-</i>	“assent, approval”
35.	<i>p(i)-</i> , <i>pe-</i>	<i>pī(ya)-</i>	“to give”
36.	<i>-pa</i>	<i>-pā</i> , <i>-pa</i>	“but, and”
37.	<i>par</i> , <i>per-</i>	<i>parran</i> , <i>parī</i>	“before, in front, pre-”
38.	<i>pai-n-</i> , <i>pei-s-n-</i>	<i>pāi-</i>	“to give”
39.	<i>pet-n(a)-</i>	<i>pāta-</i>	“foot”
40.	<i>śacni-</i>	<i>šaknu(wa)-</i>	“to sacrifice”
41.	<i>quθef-</i>	<i>kattawatnalli-</i>	“vindictive, revengeful”
42.	<i>sela-</i> , <i>śela-</i>	<i>šarlātta-</i>	“to offer as a sacrifice”

	ETRUSCAN	CUNEIFORM LUWIAN	MEANING
43.	<i>Tarc-, Tarχna-</i>	<i>Tarḫunt-</i>	“Tarkhunt- [GN]”
44.	<i>tiur-, tiurunia-</i>	<i>Tiwat-</i>	“sun-god [GN]”
45.	<i>tupi</i>	<i>dūp(a)i-</i>	“to strike, hit”
46.	<i>Uni-</i>	<i>wanatt(i)-</i>	“woman”
47.	<i>Usil, usi-l-</i>	<i>ušša/i-</i>	“year”
48.	<i>utu-</i>	<i>wid-</i>	“water”
49.	<i>χi-, -χva-</i>	<i>kwi-, kwī-</i>	“who, what”
50.	<i>fal(a)-</i>	<i>walli(ya)-</i>	“to lift, elevate”
51.	<i>fašl-, fašl-</i>	<i>wāšu-</i>	“good”
		word formation	
52.	<i>-l(i)-</i>	<i>-alli-</i>	adjectival
53.	<i>-s(i)-, -ś(i)-</i>	<i>-ašši-</i>	adjectival
54.	<i>-vani-, -ni-</i>	<i>-wanni-</i>	ethnic
55.	<i>-c, -χ</i>	<i>-ḫi-</i>	“-ship”
56.	<i>-nv-, -nu-</i>	<i>-nu(wa)-</i>	factive
57.	<i>-s-, -ś-, -z-</i>	<i>-š(š)-</i>	iterative
	(pro)nominal declension & verbal conjugation		
58.	<i>-s, -ś⁴</i>	<i>-š</i>	N(m/f) sg.
59.	<i>-n⁵</i>	<i>-n, -m</i>	A(m/f) sg.
60.	<i>-s/-ś</i>	<i>-ša</i>	N-A(n) sg.
61.	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	D sg.
62.	<i>-θi, -te</i>	<i>-ti, -te</i>	Abl.-Instr. sg.
63.	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	N-A(n) pl.
64.	<i>-ve</i>	<i>-wi</i>	1st pers. sg. pres./fut.
65.	<i>-ś</i>	<i>-š</i>	2nd pers. sg. pres./fut.
66.	<i>-θ(i), -i</i>	<i>-ti, -i</i>	3rd pers. sg. pres./fut.
67.	<i>-nt</i>	<i>-nti</i>	3rd pers. pl. pres./fut.
68.	—	—	2nd pers. sg. imp.
69.	<i>-tu, -u</i>	<i>-du, -u</i>	3rd pers. sg. imp.
70.	<i>-nt-</i>	<i>-nt-</i>	part. act.
71.	<i>-na, -ne</i>	<i>-una</i>	inf. act.

⁴ Predominantly in gentilicia and the pronominal declension insofar as the relative pronoun and the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person are concerned.

⁵ Though incidentally occurring in the nominal declension, predominantly a feature of the declension of the pronoun.

ETRUSCAN	LUWIAN HIEROGL.	MEANING
vocabulary		
1. -a-	-a-	encl. pron. of the 3rd pers. “to subdue”
2. <i>aca-</i> , <i>aci-l-</i> , <i>hec(i)-</i>	<i>áka-</i> (c. <i>KATA</i>)	
3. <i>av-</i> , <i>ev-</i> , <i>hev-</i>	<i>áawa-</i>	“to go, come; to bring”
4. <i>aθr-</i>	<i>atara-</i>	“person, image”
5. <i>aiu-</i>	<i>ai(a)-</i>	“to make, do”
6. <i>al(i)-</i>	<i>àliā-</i>	“to desire”
7. <i>an(an)</i> , <i>en(a)-</i>	<i>ANANNana</i>	“under”
8. <i>anθ-</i> , <i>hinθ-</i> , <i>inte</i>	<i>àta</i>	“in”
9. <i>ap(a)-</i> , <i>ep-</i> , <i>epn</i>	<i>APAna</i>	“afterwards, behind”
10. <i>apa-</i> , <i>aφe-</i>	<i>apa-</i>	“(s)he, it”
11. <i>Arnθ</i>	<i>ARANu(wa)ta-</i>	“Arnuwandas [MN]”
12. <i>Asi-</i> , <i>Esia</i>	<i>ás(i)ī-</i>	“to love”
13. <i>ati</i>	<i>átīā-</i>	“senior, older” ⁶
14. <i>atrsr-</i>	<i>atara-</i>	“person, image”
15. -c-, -χ-, -χα-, -ke	-ha(wa)	“and; also”
16. <i>Caθ-</i> , <i>Cauθa-</i>	<i>kutúpili-</i>	“fire offering” ⁷
17. <i>camθi-</i> , <i>canθ-</i>	<i>ḪANTAWAT-</i>	“king”
18. <i>ceχα-</i> , <i>ceχī-</i>	<i>ḪUḪAḫa-</i>	“grandfather”
19. <i>cve-</i> , <i>cu(vu)-</i> , <i>cu-nu-</i>	<i>ḪWÁ-</i>	“to run, march”
20. -cva-, -χva- -cvi-, -χvi-, χi-	<i>ḪWA</i>	“who, what”
21. <i>cver(a)</i>	<i>ḪWAR</i>	“because (of the occasion)”
22. <i>cnti-cnθ-</i> (redupl.)	<i>ḪANTatia</i> <i>ḪANTAWAT-</i>	“in front of” “king”
23. <i>cuve-</i>	<i>UWA-</i> , <i>WAWA-</i>	“ox”
24. <i>cui-</i> -χu	<i>ḪWA-</i> -ha	“whoever, whichever”
25. <i>cuś-</i>	<i>ḪWÁsā-</i>	“to venerate”
26. <i>ez</i>	<i>sa-</i>	“1” ⁸

⁶ Tell Ahmar 6, §2; cf. Tell Ahmar 1-2, §2; cf. Hawkins in Bunnens 2006: 16-17.

⁷ Cf. also *Cautes* or *Cautopates*, who feature in myth as the companions of Mithras (= the sun-god).

⁸ It is interesting to note in this connection that the Luwian hieroglyphic sign L 380, consisting of a vertical stroke also used for the numeral “1”, in the Topada text renders the acrophonic value *sa*₉, from which it follows that the Luwian word for the

	ETRUSCAN	LUWIAN HIEROGL.	MEANING
27.	<i>eś(i)-</i>	<i>aiasa-</i>	“to honor”
28.	<i>etrin-, trin-</i>	<i>tarīnūwa-</i>	“to cause to (be) venerate(d)”
29.	<i>va-, fa-</i>	<i>wa-, -wa</i>	introductory particle
30.	<i>Velaveśna-</i>	<i>WALWA</i>	“lion”
31.	<i>ven(e)-</i>	<i>wana-</i>	“altar; stele”
32.	<i>vēr-</i>	<i>war(ā)-</i>	“to help, support”
33.	<i>vet(i)-</i>	<i>WANTI-</i>	“mountain”
34.	<i>vina-</i>	<i>WIANAWaāna-</i>	“vine”
35.	<i>vuv-, uf-</i>	<i>WAWA-, UWA-</i>	“ox”
36.	<i>zam(a)θ(i)-, zamt(i)-</i>	<i>zāmatia-</i>	“votive offering”
37.	<i>zic-, ziχn-, ziχu-</i>	<i>zikuna-</i>	“written account”
38.	<i>haθ-, hat-, het-</i>	<i>ata-</i>	“to eat”
39.	<i>heram(v)-</i>	<i>ārma-</i>	“altar”
40.	<i>heś-</i>	<i>asanu(wa)-</i>	“to sit, settle”
41.	<i>hila-, ila-, ilu-</i>	<i>īla-</i>	“to favor”
42.	<i>huvi-</i>	<i>uwí-</i>	“your [pl.]”
43.	<i>hur-s-, ur-</i>	<i>URA-</i>	“great”
44.	<i>θa-, te-</i>	<i>tanuwa-</i>	“to erect, set up”
45.	<i>θamu-</i>	<i>tama-</i>	“to build”
46.	<i>θar, tar-tiri(i)a-, tar-tre</i>		“3”
47.	<i>Θarnie-</i>	<i>Tarna-</i>	onomastic element
48.	<i>Θefarie-</i>	<i>tiwat/ra-</i>	onomastic element
49.	<i>θu(i)-, tva-, tu-</i>	<i>tu(wa)-</i>	“to place, put”
50.	<i>θu(va)-, tu</i>	<i>tuwa-</i>	“2”
51.	<i>i-/e-</i>	<i>ī-</i>	“this”
52.	<i>in, inin</i>	<i>ina (< Akk. INA)</i>	“in; during”
53.	<i>la-</i>	<i>ta₄-</i>	“to come (> bring)”
54.	<i>lecin-</i>	<i>lāhānuwa-</i>	“to burn, set to fire”
55.	<i>lei-t-</i>	<i>lāī-</i>	“fire offering”
56.	<i>lena</i>	<i>lana</i>	“towards”
57.	<i>Leprna-</i>	<i>laPÁRNA-</i>	royal title
58.	<i>lusa-</i>	<i>lusá- (c. arḥa)</i>	“to absent (oneself)”

numeral “1” starts with the syllable *sa*. Note that the Etruscan forms extended with the element *-l* are ordinal instead of cardinal as substantiated by the Lydian evidence presented below. For ordinal *-l-* in Luwian hieroglyphic, cf. *TUWA-la* “second” in Borowski 26, § 2 (Woudhuizen 2011: 110), see no. 125.

	ETRUSCAN	LUWIAN HIEROGL.	MEANING
59.	-m	-ma	“but, and”
60.	mac, maχ-, mec	ma ₇ (L 392) (< *mekki-)	“five”
61.	maθ-, mata-, meθ-	Mai-, miāti- (< *mekki-)	“great, many”
62.	mal-, muluva-	maluwa-	“thank-offering”
63.	man	mana	modal particle
64.	masan<a>-, masn-, masu-	MASANA-	“god(dess)”
65.	mi	mi-	“my”
66.	muc-	muḫa-	“to sacrifice”
67.	mu(e)-	muwa-	“to make strong”
68.	muva-	MAUWA-	“4”
69.	muθ-	muwa- (L 107)	“bull”
70.	muti(-n)-	muwata-	“strength”
71.	Muχsie-	Mukasa-	“Muksas [MN]”
72.	na, -n, ne	na	“not”
73.	-na-	na-	“son” ⁹
74.	Nana-	nani-	“brother”
75.	n(e)-	nawa-	“new”
76.	nvai-	nawa(ī)-	“son”
77.	nes, neś, nis	nasa	“not” (prohibitive)
78.	nu(-ś)-	nuwa- (toponyms)	“new”
79.	p(i)-, pi(-n)-, pe-	PIA-	“to give”
80.	-pa	-pa(wa)	“but, and”
81.	-p(a)- (cf. apa-)	pa-	“he, it; that (person or thing)”
82.	par, per-	PÁRA, PÁRana	“before, in front of, pre-”
83.	pet-n(a)-	pata-	“foot”
84.	pi(-n)-	paī-	“to pass, spend time”
85.	pu-	pu-	“to sacrifice”
86.	puθ-s-, put-s-	puti-	“to sacrifice”
87.	ścani(-n)-	saḫana-	“feudal service”
88.	śve-l-	suwa-	“to fill (> fulfill)”
89.	śin	^{KATA} s(i)(na)	“with”
90.	śuri-	SURA(R)sura/i-	“abundance”

⁹ On the analogy of Italic *Brutius* being literally “the son of Brutus”, the Etruscan gentilicia in -na- are derived from the Luwian hieroglyphic word for “son” as attested for the Cekke text, na-.

ETRUSCAN	LUVIAN HIEROGL.	MEANING
91. <i>qutum-, qutun-</i>	<i>KATANA-</i>	“bowl”
92. <i>ra-, re-, ri-</i>	<i>arḥa (> Lyc. eri)</i>	emphatic
93. <i>Ravnṑu</i>	<i>Ruwantas</i>	“Ruwantas [MN]”
94. <i>rua, ru-z-</i>	<i>ruwana, ru</i>	“formerly”
95. <i>samman-</i>	<i>sàma-</i>	“memorial”
	<i>samana-</i>	“to set up a memorial”
96. <i>sela-, śela-</i>	<i>SARLASarla-</i>	“to offer as a sacrifice”
97. <i>seri-, śar</i>	<i>sar-</i>	“smoke offering”
99. <i>ses(e)-</i>	<i>SASAsasa-</i>	“seal”
99. <i>sva-l-</i>	<i>suwa-</i>	“to fill”
100. <i>ta-</i>	<i>tà-</i>	“this”
101. <i>Tarc-, Tarḫna-</i>	<i>TARḤUNT-, TARḤUṯsa</i>	“Tarkhunt- [GN]”
102. <i>Tarḫmenaia-</i>	<i>TARḤUNT+UMINA-</i>	“Tarkhuntassa [TN]”
103. <i>teśa-, tesi-</i>	<i>tàśaī</i>	“stele; grave”
104. <i>tiur-, tiurunia-</i>	<i>tiwat/ra-</i>	“sun-god”
105. <i>tmia-</i>	<i>tamaīā</i>	“building”
106. <i>tupi</i>	<i>tupi-</i>	“to strike, hit”
107. <i>Uni-</i>	<i>WANATInati-</i>	“woman”
108. <i>urḫ-</i>	<i>uruḥa-</i>	“august”
109. <i>user</i>	<i>wasar(i)ti</i>	“with grace, out of gratitude”
110. <i>us(e)-, us(i)-, Usil, usi-l-</i>	<i>USAusa-</i>	“(sun[-god] >) year”
111. <i>utu-</i>	<i>WATA</i>	“water”
112. <i>ḫaś-</i>	<i>ḥasa-</i>	“to procreate, beget”
113. <i>fal-, fal(i)a-</i>	<i>wáliā-</i>	“to lift, elevate”
114. <i>faśl-, faśl-</i>	<i>wasūrli-</i>	“revenue”
115. <i>farsi-</i>	<i>wa₃āsa₃rī-</i>	“to offer (?)”
	word formation	
116. <i>-l(i)-</i>	<i>-ali-</i>	adjectival
117. <i>-s(i)-/-ś(i)-/-z-</i>	<i>-asa-</i>	adjectival
118. <i>-vani-, -n(i)-</i>	<i>-wana-</i>	ethnic
119. <i>-z(e)-</i>	<i>-zi₄-/zā-</i>	ethnic
120. <i>-θe-, -te-</i>	<i>-ti-, -r-</i>	ethnic
121. <i>-nv-, -n(u)-</i>	<i>-nu(wa)-</i>	factitive
122. <i>-s-/ś-/z-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	iterative
123. <i>-c-, -ḫ-</i>	<i>-ḥi-</i>	“-ship”
124. <i>-ta</i>	<i>-ta</i>	adverb

ETRUSCAN	LUWIAN HIEROGL.	MEANING
125. <i>-l-</i>	<i>-l-</i>	ordinal
126. <i>-s(u), -z</i>	<i>-su-</i>	“x-times”
(pro)nominal declension & verbal conjugation		
127. <i>-s/-ś¹⁰</i>	<i>-sa</i>	N(m/f) sg.
128. <i>-n¹¹</i>	<i>-na</i>	A(m/f) sg.
129. <i>-s, -i</i>	<i>-sa, -ī</i>	N-A(n) sg.
130. <i>-a, -i</i>	<i>-a/-ā, -i</i>	D sg.
131. <i>-s/-ś, -l</i>	<i>-sa, -lī</i>	G sg.
132. <i>-θ(i)/-t(i), -r(i)</i>	<i>-ti, -ri</i>	Abl.-Instr. sg.
133. <i>-θ(i)/-ti</i>	<i>-ti, -r(i)</i>	Loc. sg.
134. <i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	N(m/f) pl.
135. <i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	A(m/f) pl.
136. <i>-a</i>	<i>-a/-ā</i>	N-A(n) pl.
137. <i>-ai (> -e) (D-G)</i>	<i>-ai/-aī/-āī</i>	D pl.
138. <i>-ai</i>	<i>-ai/-aī</i>	G pl.
139. <i>-θ(i)/-ti, -(e)r(i)</i>	<i>-ti, -r(i)</i>	Abl.-Instr. pl.
140. <i>-ve</i>	<i>-wa, -u(a)</i>	1st pers. sg. pres./fut. act.
141. <i>-ś</i>	<i>-sa</i>	2nd pers. sg. pres./fut. act.
142. <i>-θ(i)/-t(i)</i>	<i>-ti</i>	3rd pers. sg. pres./fut. act.
143. <i>-nt</i>	<i>-ⁿti</i>	3rd pers. pl. pres./fut. act.
144. <i>-rθi</i>	<i>-rti</i>	3rd pers. sg. pres./fut. pass.
145. <i>-a</i>	<i>-a/-ā</i>	3rd pers. sg. subj.
146. <i>-a</i>	<i>-a/-ā</i>	3rd pers. pl. subj.
147. —	—	2nd pers. sg. imp.
148. <i>-tu</i>	<i>-tu</i>	3rd pers. sg. imp.
149. <i>-rtu</i>	<i>-rtu</i>	3rd pers. sg. imp. pass.
150. <i>-una, -n(a/e)</i>	<i>-(u)na</i>	inf. act.

¹⁰ Apart from nominal *aruś* and *ceuś* predominantly in *gentilicia* and the pronominal declension insofar as the relative pronoun and the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person are concerned.

¹¹ Though incidentally occurring in the nominal declension, predominantly a feature of the declension of the pronoun.

	ETRUSCAN	LYCIAN/SIDETIC	MEANING
		vocabulary	
1.	-a-	-a-	enclitic pron. of the 3rd pers.
2.	<i>aθr-</i>	<i>atla-/atra-</i>	“person, image”
3.	<i>aiu-</i>	<i>a(i)-</i>	“to make, do”
4.	<i>(a)m-, ame-, hamai-, mame-</i>	<i>hñme-, ñmai-, mñmei(je)-</i>	“to found”
5.	<i>an(an), ena-</i>	<i>ēnē</i>	“under; during”
6.	<i>anθ-, hinθ-, inte</i>	<i>ñte</i>	“in”
7.	<i>apa-, aφe-</i>	<i>ebe-</i>	“(s)he, it”
8.	<i>ap(a), ep-, epn</i>	<i>apñ, epñ</i>	“afterwards, behind”
9.	<i>ara-, aru-</i>	<i>aru-</i>	“free citizen”
10.	<i>atrsr-</i>	<i>atla-/atra-</i>	“person”
11.	<i>-c, -χ, -χα, -ke</i>	<i>-ke</i>	“and; also”
12.	<i>camθi-, canθ-, cnti-cnθi- (redupl.)</i>	<i>χñtawat(i)-</i>	“king”
13.	<i>ceχα-, ceχi-</i>	<i>χuga-</i>	“grandfather”
14.	<i>cla-, cleva-, -cva-, -χva-, -cvi-, -χvi-, χi-</i>	<i>qla- ti-</i>	“enclosure, precinct”
15.			“who, what”
16.	<i>cuve-</i>	<i>uwa-, wawa-</i>	“ox”
17.	<i>cu(vu)-</i>	<i>χuwa-</i>	“to run, march”
18.	<i>cui- -χu</i>	<i>ti- -ke</i>	“whoever, whichever”
19.	<i>eθr(i)-, etera-, hetr-</i>	<i>ētri-</i>	“lower, inferior”
20.	<i>va-, fa-</i>	<i>we-</i>	introductory particle
21.	<i>zat-l-χ-, śaθ-</i>	<i>-σατης (onomastics)</i>	“man”
22.	<i>heram(v)-</i>	<i>hrñmā</i>	“altar”
23.	<i>θa-, te-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	“to erect, set up”
24.	<i>θel(i)-, tlte-, tle-</i>	<i>tll(e)i-</i>	“to pay”
25.	<i>Θefarie-</i>	<i>Ruarie</i>	“Tiwat/ra- [MN]”
26.	<i>θu(i)-, tva-, tu-</i>	<i>tuwe-</i>	“to place, put”
27.	<i>θu-</i>	<i>tbi-, kbi-</i>	“2”
28.	<i>-θur-</i>	<i>θurtta-</i>	“brotherhood”
29.	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	“this”
30.	<i>ia-</i>	<i>ije-</i>	“to make, do”
31.	<i>Leθams-, leθ-, Leθα-, Laθi-</i>	<i>laθ-, leθ-</i>	“woman, wife”

ETRUSCAN	LYCIAN/SIDETIC	MEANING
32. <i>maθ-, mata-, meθ-</i>	<i>miñt(i)-</i>	“league, assembly”
33. <i>mal-, muluva-</i>	<i>malva-</i>	“thank-offering”
34. <i>masan<a>-, masn-, masu-</i>	<i>mahana-, maha-, muha-</i>	“god(dess)”
35. <i>me-</i>	<i>me-</i>	introductory particle
36. <i>mi-</i>	<i>m,i</i>	“me”
37. <i>mex-, meθ-</i>	<i>miñt(i)-</i>	“league, assembly”
38. <i>mur-</i>	<i>Murñna-</i>	≈ Greek <i>Hadēs</i>
39. <i>na, -n, ne</i>	<i>ne</i>	“not”
40. <i>Nana-</i>	<i>neni-</i>	“brother”
41. <i>n(i)</i>	<i>ni</i>	“not” (prohibitive)
42. <i>par, per-</i>	<i>per, pri</i>	“before, in front”
43. <i>p(i)-, pi(-n)-, pe-</i>	<i>pije-</i>	“to give”
44. <i>ś-, s-</i>	<i>ese</i>	“with”
45. <i>Šeuś</i>	<i>Zeus-</i>	“sky-god [GN]”
46. <i>śin, san-, sun</i>	<i>hu-</i>	“con-”
47. <i>ra-, re-, ri-</i>	<i>eri</i>	emphatic
48. <i>s, -s/-ś, sa</i>	<i>se</i>	“and”
49. <i>sa-u</i>	<i>se-we</i>	introductory particles
50. <i>span(t)-, spet-</i>	<i>hppñt-</i>	“to libate”
51. <i>Tarc-, Tarχna-</i>	<i>Trqqñt-, Trqqas, Trqqiz</i>	“Tarkhunt- [GN]”
52. <i>t-, tev<i></i>	<i>tibe(i)</i>	“or”
53. <i>ta-</i>	<i>θθ-</i>	“this”
54. <i>tupi</i>	<i>tub(e)i-</i>	“to strike, hit”
55. <i>tuti-n-</i>	<i>tuta-</i>	“people”
56. <i>Usil, usi-l-, us(e)-, us(i)-</i>	<i>uhe/i-</i>	“(sun[-god] >) year”
57. <i>χul-, χulθ-</i>	<i>χult-</i>	“to cultivate”
	word formation	
58. <i>-l(i)-</i>	<i>-li-</i>	adjectival
59. <i>-s(i)-, -ś(i)-</i>	<i>-hi-</i>	adjectival
60. <i>-vani-, -n(i)-</i>	<i>-(v)ñni-</i>	ethnic
61. <i>-ś-/s-/z-</i>	<i>-zi-</i>	ethnic
62. <i>-θe-, -te-</i>	<i>-de- (CM -te-)</i>	ethnic

ETRUSCAN	LYCIAN/SIDETIC	MEANING
(pro)nominal declension & verbal conjugation		
63. —, -s/-ś ¹²	—, -s	N(m/f) sg.
64. —, -n ¹³	—, -ñ, -ññ	A(m/f) sg.
65. -a, -i	-a, -i	D sg.
66. -s/-ś	-h	G sg.
67. -θ(i), -te, -r(i)	-di, -de	Abl.-Instr. sg.
68. -i	-i	N(m/f) pl.
69. -aś, -eś, -is/-iś	-as, -is	A(m/f) pl.
70. -a, -e	-a/-ā, -ē	N-A(n) pl.
71. -ai > -e (D-G)	-a, -e/-ē (< *-ai)	D pl.
72. -ai	-āi > -ē	G pl.
73. -(e)r(i)	-ri	Abl.-Instr. pl.
74. -ve	-u	1st pers. sg. pres./fut. act.
75. -θ(i)/-t(i), -i, -e	-ti/-di, -i, -e	3rd pers. sg. pres./fut. act.
76. -nθ(i), -nt(i)	-ñti	3rd pers. pl. pres./fut. act.
77. -tu, -u	-tu, -u	3rd pers. sg. imp.
78. -na, -ne	-na, -ne	inf. act.

ETRUSCAN	LYDIAN	MEANING
vocabulary		
1. -a-	-a-	enclitic pron. of the 3rd pers.
2. (a)m-, ame-, hamai-, mame-	amē-	“to found”
3. anan	ān	“among”
4. Aplu	Πλδᾶνς	“Apollōn [GN]”
5. ati	Ata-	“Attas [MN]”
6. ara-	aara-	“house”
7. Aritimi (D sg.)	Artimuś	“Artemis [GN]”
8. Asi-, Esia	Asi,i-	“Beloved [GN]”

¹² Predominantly in *gentilicia* and the pronominal declension insofar as the relative pronoun and the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person are concerned.

¹³ Though incidentally occurring in the nominal declension, predominantly a feature of the declension of the pronoun.

	ETRUSCAN	LYDIAN	MEANING
9.	-c, -χ, -χα, -ke	-k	“and; also”
10.	camθi-, canθ- cnti-cnθ (redupl.)	Kandaulēs	“Kandaules [MN]”
11.	ceχα-, ceχι-	Gygēs	“grandfather”
12.	-cva-, -χva-, -cvi-, -χvi-, χi-	pe-, pi-	“who, what”
13.	ez	is-	“1”
14.	esl-, zal, sal	isl-	“first”
15.	va-, fa-	fa-	introductory particle
16.	ven(e)-	vāna-	“grave”
17.	vatie-, vit(i)-	vit ₁ (i ₁)-	“to build”
18.	Velaveśna-	Valve-	“lion”
19.	zil-, zlχ-	silu-	“praetor”
20.	θa-, te-	t ₁ a-	“to erect, set up”
21.	θ(i)-, t(i)-	t ⁻¹⁴	stressed pronoun of the 3rd pers.
22.	Θefarie-	Tivdali-	“Tiwat/ra- (on. el.)”
23.	θu(i)-, tva-, tu-	t ₁ u(ve)-	“to place, put”
24.	iχ	ak(-)	introductory particle
25.	-m	-m	“but, and”
26.	mi	ēmi ₁ , -m	“I; me”
27.	mal-, muluva-	mλvē-	“thank-offering”
28.	mur-	mru-	“stele”
29.	nac	nak	introductory particle
30.	Nana-	Nanna-	“Nanas [MN]”
31.	n(i)	nī-	“not” (prohibitive)
32.	Pacu-, Paχie-	Baki-	“Bakkhos”
33.	(toga) palmata	palmu-	“king”
34.	pera-	pira-	“land”
35.	p(i)-, pi(-n)-, pe-	bi-	“to give”
36.	Šeuś	Levś, Lefś	“sky-god [GN]”
37.	śin-, -sin	si-	“with, con-”
38.	ril	borl-, forl-	“year”
39.	Tarc-, Tarχna-	Ταρρυηνός	“Tarkhunt- [GN]”
40.	teśa-, tesi-	taśe-	“stele; grave”

¹⁴ Lyd. no. 50, lines 2-5: *esn taat₁n Timleś Brdunlis fēnt₁al* “This stele, Timles, son of Brdun, has dedicated (it),” *Lefś tλ fatai₁ raval* “(because) Zeus has rendered a favor to him.”

	ETRUSCAN	LYDIAN	MEANING
41.	<i>tiur-</i> , <i>tiurunia-</i>	<i>t₁ivar-</i> ¹⁵	“sun-god”
42.	<i>tmia-</i>	<i>tam-</i>	“precinct”
43.	<i>tupi</i>	<i>ut₁ba-</i>	“to strike, hit”
44.	<i>Un(i)-</i>	<i>kāna-</i>	“woman, wife”
45.	<i>fa-</i>	<i>fā-</i>	“away”
46.	<i>fa-</i>	<i>fa-</i>	“next to”
word formation			
47.	<i>-l(i)-</i>	<i>-li-</i>	adjectival
48.	<i>-s(i)-/-ś(i)-/-z-</i>	<i>-si-</i>	adjectival
49.	<i>-k</i> , <i>-χ</i>	<i>-k</i>	ethnic
50.	<i>-c-</i> , <i>-χ-</i>	<i>-k-</i>	“-ship”
(pro)nominal declension & verbal conjugation			
51.	<i>-s/-ś</i> ¹⁶	<i>-s/-ś</i>	N(m/f) sg.
52.	<i>-n</i> ¹⁷	<i>-n</i>	A(m/f) sg.
53.	<i>-l</i> (D-G)	<i>-l</i> , <i>-λ</i>	D sg.
54.	<i>-l</i>	<i>-l</i> , <i>-λ</i>	G sg.
55.	<i>-θ(i)/-t(i)</i>	<i>-di₁</i> , <i>-d</i> , <i>-λ</i>	Abl.-Instr. sg.
56.	<i>-θ(i)/-ti</i>	<i>-t₁i₁</i> , <i>-di₁</i>	Loc. sg.
57.	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i₁</i>	N(m/f) pl.
58.	<i>-iś/-is</i> , <i>-eś</i> , <i>-aś</i>	<i>-is</i> , <i>-as</i> (pronoun)	A(m/f) pl.
59.	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	N-A(n) pl.
60.	<i>-ai</i> > <i>-e</i> (D-G)	<i>-ai₁</i> , <i>-āi₁</i>	D pl.
61.	<i>-ai</i>	<i>-ai₁</i>	G pl.
62.	<i>-ve</i>	<i>-vi₁</i> , <i>-v</i> , <i>-u</i>	1st pers. sg. pres./fut. act.
63.	<i>-θ(i)/-t(i)</i> , <i>-i</i>	<i>-d/-t</i> , <i>-i₁</i>	3rd pers. sg. pres./fut. act.
64.	<i>-nθ/-nt</i>	<i>-nt</i>	3rd pers. pl. pres./fut. act.
65.	<i>-nt-</i>	<i>-nd-</i>	part. act.

¹⁵ Note that also in Lydian the onomastic element *tiwat/ra-* as represented by *Tivdalis* shows a development independent from that of the word for “sun-god”, *t₁ivar-* < *Tiwat/ra-*, in like manner as the Etruscan *praenomen* *Θefarie-* does in comparison to the indication of the sun-god *tiur-* and the month name *tiurunia-*.

¹⁶ Predominantly in *gentilicia* and the pronominal declension insofar as the relative pronoun and the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person are concerned.

¹⁷ Though incidentally occurring in the nominal declension, predominantly a feature of the declension of the pronoun.

ETRUSCAN	LEMNIAN	MEANING
vocabulary		
1. <i>avil-</i>	<i>avi-</i>	“year”
2. <i>-c, -χ, -χα, -ke</i>	<i>-c</i>	“and; also”
3. <i>vanec</i>	<i>vanaca-</i>	“king”
4. <i>θu(i)-, tva-, tu-</i>	<i>θo-</i>	“to place, put”
5. <i>-m</i>	<i>-m</i>	“but, and”
6. <i>maχ-</i>	<i>mara-</i>	“5”
7. <i>neft-</i>	<i>naφoθ</i>	“grandson”
8. <i>śa-, śe-</i>	<i>sia-</i>	“6”
9. <i>teveraθ</i>	<i>tavar-, toveron-</i>	“referee, official”
word formation		
10. <i>-s(i)-, -ś(i)-</i>	<i>-si-, -śi-</i>	adjectival
11. <i>-lχl-</i>	<i>-lχvei</i>	multiples of ten
(pro)nominal declension & verbal conjugation		
12. <i>-s/-ś¹⁸</i>	<i>-ś (pronoun)</i>	N(m/f) sg.
13. <i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	D sg.
14. <i>-l</i>	<i>-l</i>	D-G sg.
15. <i>-s/-ś</i>	<i>-ś</i>	G sg.
16. <i>-θ(i), -ti</i>	<i>-θ</i>	Loc. sg.
17. <i>-ai > -e (D-G)</i>	<i>-ai</i>	D pl.
18. <i>-ai</i>	<i>-ai</i>	G pl.
19. <i>-ce, -ke, -χe</i>	<i>-ke</i>	3rd pers. sg. past tense act.

ETRUSCAN	GREEK	MEANING
vocabulary		
1. <i>a-</i>	<i>ǎ-</i>	“un-, without”
2. <i>avil-</i>	<i>ά(F)έλιος</i>	“sun (> year)”
3. <i>Aθena-, Etana-</i>	<i>Ἀθηνᾶ</i>	“Athena [GN]”
4. <i>als-</i>	<i>ᾗλς (G ᾗλός)</i>	“salt, sea”
5. <i>am-, amu-</i>	<i>ἔμμεναι (Aiolic)</i>	“to be (Aiolic)”
6. <i>Aplu</i>	<i>Ἀπόλλω</i>	“Apollōn [GN]”
7. <i>apirase, afr-</i>	<i>Ἄφριος</i>	month name

¹⁸ Predominantly in *gentilicia* and the pronominal declension insofar as the relative pronoun and the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person are concerned.

	ETRUSCAN	GREEK	MEANING
8.	<i>Aritimi</i> (D sg.)	Ἄρτεμις	“Artemis [GN]”
9.	<i>aska</i>	ἄσκός	“wineskin”
10.	<i>ati</i>	Ἄττις	“Attis [GN]”
11.	<i>cai-</i>	καίω, κάω	“to burn, set to fire”
12.	<i>cala-</i>	καλός	“beautiful”
13.	<i>clan, clenar-</i>	κλών	“twig, spray, slip”
14.	<i>claruxi-</i>	κληροῦχος	“colonist”
15.	<i>Criqui, Craica</i>	Γρῖκο	“Greek [ethnonym]”
16.	<i>culixna, xulixna</i>	κυλίχνη	“small cup”
17.	<i>eθ, et</i>	ἄντί	“in the presence of”
18.	<i>Eθrse</i>	Τυρσηνοί	“Etruscans”
19.	<i>eleiva</i>	ἐλαί(φ)α	“olive (oil)”
20.	<i>ēliuntś, helutes</i>	ἐλόντος, ἐλόντες	“having taken (from)”
21.	<i>epiur-, eprus</i>	ἐπίουρος	“overseer, guardian”
22.	<i>esxaθ-</i>	ἔσχατος	“extreme, farthest”
23.	<i>vanec</i>	(φ)ἄναξ	“king”
24.	<i>zús-l-</i>	σὺς	“pig”
25.	<i>Hamφe-</i>	Ἀμφίων	“Amphiōn [MN]”
26.	<i>hen</i>	ἓν	“1” (neuter)
27.	<i>heχś-/heχz-</i>	ἔσχατος	“extreme, farthest”
28.	<i>huθ, hut, husi-</i>	Ἰττηνία	“Tetrapolis”
29.	<i>hupn-, hupnina</i>	ὕπνος	“sleep”
30.	<i>θamu-</i>	δέμω	“to build”
31.	<i>θevru</i>	ταῦρος	“bull”
32.	<i>θemi-</i>	θέμις	“law, custom, right”
33.	<i>Θesan, Tezan</i>	θέσ- (cf. θεός)	“god”, ¹⁹
34.	<i>θina</i>	δεῖνος	“round vessel”
35.	<i>Hamφe-</i>	Ἀμφίων	Theban hero
36.	<i>Hipucrate-</i>	Ἱπποκράτης	“Hippokratēs [MN]”
37.	<i>Kainua-</i> [TN]	καινός	“new”, ²⁰
38.	<i>Kalatur-</i>	καλήτωρ	“herald”
39.	<i>Kraitiles</i>	Κρατύλος, <i>Kratilēs</i>	“Kratylos [MN]”
40.	<i>Kuleniie-</i>	Κυλλήνος	“Kyllēnos [GN]”
41.	<i>La(iv)eli-, Leiv-</i>	Λαῖος	“Laios [MN]”
42.	<i>lavt-</i>	ἐλεύθερος	“free(dman)”

¹⁹ Brandenstein PW: 1919.

²⁰ Van der Meer 2007: 17, esp. note 51.

ETRUSCAN	GREEK	MEANING
43. <i>lev</i>	λέ(Ϝ)ων	“lion”
44. <i>Leθams-, Leθ-, Laθ-, Leta</i>	Λητώ, Λήδα	“Leto, Leda [GN]”
45. <i>leśc-, lesc(a)-</i>	λάσκω	“to shout, utter”
46. <i>lextumuzā</i>	λήκυθος	“oil-flask”
47. <i>manim</i>	μνήμα	“memorial”
48. <i>mur-</i>	βροτός (< * <i>mrtos</i>)	“mortal”
49. <i>nace, neχ-</i>	νέκυς	“corps”
50. <i>neθ-, net-, niθu-</i>	νηδύς	“stomach, belly, womb”
51. <i>neft-</i>	νέπους, pl. νέποδες	“child”
52. <i>papa-</i>	πάππος	“grandfather, ancestor”
53. <i>parθumi, peθeren-</i>	Παρθένιος	month name
54. <i>Pacu-, Paχie-</i>	Βάκχος	“Bakkhos [GN]”
55. <i>pen-, penθ-</i>	πενθέω	“to mourn, suffer, pay the penalty”
56. <i>Persi-</i>	Περσεφόνη < Lin. B pe-re-swa	“Persephone”
57. <i>Plut-</i>	Πλούτων	“Pluto”
58. <i>priθ-, pruθ-, purθ-, puruθn-</i>	πρύτανις	“ruler, lord”
59. <i>pruc-, prux-</i>	προχέω	“to pour”
60. <i>pruxum</i>	πρόχους	“vessel for pouring out”
61. <i>puia</i>	ὀπυίω	“to take to wife”
62. <i>pulum-</i>	πόλος	“pole(-star)”
63. <i>put-</i>	πίνω	“to drink”
64. <i>Šeu-</i>	Ζεύς	“sky-god [GN]”
65. <i>ś/sin, san-, sun</i>	σύν	“with”
66. <i>qutum-, qutun-</i>	κώθων	“drinking vessel”
67. <i>Ras(-n)-</i>	Ῥασέννα	“Etruscan”
68. <i>reu(-ś)-, riva-</i>	ῥέω	“to flow (of words)”
69. <i>samman-</i>	σῆμα, σημαν-	“monument”
70. <i>Satr-</i>	Σάτυρος	“satyr”
71. <i>sve-, -sva-, -śve</i>	σφέ or Ϝhe, έέ, έ	reflexive pronoun of 3rd person
72. <i>Siml-</i>	Σεμέλη	“Semele [GN]”
73. <i>spanti</i>	σπονδεῖον	“cup for pouring a drink- offering”

	ETRUSCAN	GREEK	MEANING
74.	<i>sti-</i>	ἵστημι	“to place, erect”
75.	<i>tameresc-</i>	θέμερος	“holy”
76.	<i>Telicles</i>	-κλῆς	“-klēs (onom. el.)”
77.	<i>tes-</i>	τίθημι	“to place, put”
78.	<i>Tinś-</i>	Διόνυσος	“Dionysos [GN]”
79.	<i>Tlus-</i>	Τλῶς	“Tlōs [TN]”
80.	<i>trais-</i> , <i>-treś</i> , <i>-tres</i> , <i>tērs-</i>	τρίς	“three times”
81.	<i>Truḫun</i>	Τρύφων	“Tryphōn [MN]”
82.	<i>Turan</i>	τύραννος	“tyrant”
83.	<i>tur(u)-</i>	δωρέω	“to give”
84.	<i>tuχl-</i>	τύχη	“destiny”
85.	<i>ḫarsteriun</i>	χαριστήριον	“thank-offering”
86.	<i>ḫim(θ)</i> , <i>ḫimθm</i>	ἐκατόμβη	type of offering
87.	<i>ḫurv-</i> , <i>ḫur(u)-</i>	χορός	“quire”
88.	<i>Farthan</i>	Παρθένος	“the Maid [GN]”
89.	<i>farθna-</i>	παρθένος (Aeolic)	“girl, virgin”
90.	<i>firi-</i>	πῦρ	“fire”
91.	<i>fronta</i> ²¹	βροντή	“roar, thunder”
92.	<i>fulinuśn-</i>	φαλλός	“penis”
		word formation	
93.	<i>-χ</i>	-κίς	numeral adverb
		verbal conjugation	
94.	<i>-ce</i> , <i>-ke</i> , <i>-ḫe</i>	-κε	3rd pers. sg. aorist

	ETRUSCAN	LATIN/ITALIC ²²	MEANING
		vocabulary	
1.	<i>a</i>	<i>a(b)</i>	“from ... away, onwards”
2.	<i>ac</i>	<i>ac</i>	“and also”
3.	<i>acne-s-</i>	<i>ignis</i>	“fire”
4.	<i>Alḫa-z(e)-</i>	<i>Albānus</i>	“Alban”
5.	<i>amp-</i>	<i>amb-</i>	“around”

²¹ Note the preservation of the Greek [o] in the Etruscan form.

²² For its abundance, onomastic evidence has been omitted here, but see chapter 4 for an indepth treatment.

	ETRUSCAN	LATIN/ITALIC	MEANING
6.	<i>ar(a)-</i>	<i>ara</i>	“altar”
7.	<i>arvusta</i>	<i>arvus</i>	“arable field, cultivated land”
8.	<i>cap(e)-, cap(i)-</i>	<i>capio</i>	“to take, seize, grasp”
9.	<i>caru, car-s-, cere/i-n-</i>	<i>cārus, kara-</i>	“beloved, dear”
10.	<i>celθ-, celt-, cilθ-, cultus χul(θ)-</i>		“honoring, reverence, adoration, veneration”
11.	<i>cenu-, cina-</i>	<i>cena</i>	“meal”
12.	<i>cletram</i>	<i>kletram</i> (Umbr.)	“bier”
13.	<i>cemn(a)-</i>	<i>geminus</i>	“twin”
14.	<i>ceś/s(a)-, ceś(u)-</i>	<i>casa</i>	“cottage, little house”
15.	<i>Crap-ś-</i>	<i>Grabovius, Krapuvi</i> (Umbr.)	“sky-god [GN]”
16.	<i>cres-vera-</i>	<i>cārus + vērā</i>	“expression of true concern”
17.	<i>etul</i>	<i>idus</i>	middle of the month
18.	<i>var</i>	<i>varius, varia</i>	“varying”
19.	<i>vetr(a)-</i>	<i>vetus (vetera)</i>	“old”
20.	<i>vina-, vinum</i>	<i>vinum</i>	“wine”
21.	<i>zat-, śaθ-</i>	<i>satelles</i>	“bodyguard”
22.	<i>zuś-l-, zus-le-v-</i>	<i>sus</i>	“pig”
23.	<i>hausti-</i>	<i>haustus</i>	“drinking”
24.	<i>θen(u)-, θin-, ten(u)-</i>	<i>teneo</i>	“to hold (a magistracy)”
25.	<i>θeu-</i>	<i>deus</i>	“god”
26.	<i>θuta, tuθi-tuti-n-</i>	<i>touto-, tuta-</i> (Osc./Umbr.)	“people”
27.	<i>in</i>	<i>in</i>	“in”
28.	<i>lev</i>	<i>leo</i>	“lion”
29.	<i>luθ-, lur-</i>	<i>lūdus</i>	“play, game”
30.	<i>lursθ, lustr(e)-</i>	<i>lūstrum</i>	religious feast
31.	<i>macstrev-</i>	<i>magister</i>	“magistrate”
32.	<i>Mariś, Marti-</i>	<i>Mārs, Mārtis</i>	“war-god [GN]”
33.	<i>mar(u)-</i>	<i>maro-</i> (Umbr.)	magistracy
34.	<i>munθ-</i>	<i>mundus</i>	“βόθρος”
35.	<i>muni-, munist-</i>	<i>munus</i>	“offering, tribute, duty”
36.	<i>mur(-ś)-</i>	<i>mорий</i>	“to die”

	ETRUSCAN	LATIN/ITALIC	MEANING
37.	<i>naper</i>	<i>nuper</i>	“newly, recently, lately”
38.	<i>Neθunś/s-</i>	<i>Neptunus</i>	“sea-god [GN]”
39.	<i>ner-</i>	<i>ner</i> (Osc.)	“man”
40.	<i>neft-</i>	<i>nepos</i>	“grandson”
41.	<i>Kulsnutera-</i>	<i>nutrio</i>	“to feed, nurse, raise”
42.	<i>paθna-</i>	<i>patina</i>	“plate”
43.	<i>prini-</i>	<i>primi-</i>	“first”
44.	<i>prumt-</i>	<i>pro-nepos</i>	“great-grandson”
45.	<i>put-</i>	<i>pōto</i>	“to drink”
46.	<i>śetiru-</i>	<i>satira</i>	“poetry, drama”
47.	<i>śic</i>	<i>sic</i>	“similarly, so, thus”
48.	<i>śpur(a)-, spar-, urbs spur-</i>		“town, city”
49.	<i>rac-, raχ-</i>	<i>rēgia</i>	“palace”
50.	<i>riθ(a)-, rita-, riθ-na-</i>	<i>ritus</i>	“rite, ceremony”
51.	<i>sac-, sac-n-, scar-</i>	<i>sacer, sacra</i>	“holy, sacred”
52.	<i>Seθums-</i>	<i>Septimos</i>	≈ <i>Hermēs</i> [GN]
53.	<i>sera</i>	<i>sera</i>	“bolt, lock”
54.	<i>sve-, -sva-, -śve</i>	<i>suus</i>	reflexive pronoun of 3rd person
55.	<i>spanti</i>	<i>spondeum</i>	“cup for pouring a drink- offering”
56.	<i>stret(e)-</i>	<i>stratum</i>	“pavement, street”
57.	<i>sul-</i>	<i>sōl</i>	“sun”
58.	<i>suplu</i>	<i>subulu</i>	“fluteplayer”
59.	<i>unum</i>	<i>ūnum</i>	“1”
60.	<i>ut</i>	<i>ut</i>	“in this manner”
61.	<i>utu-</i>	<i>utur</i>	“water”
62.	<i>fac(i)-</i>	<i>facio</i> (Umbr. <i>façia</i>)	“to make, do; finish off”
63.	<i>fel-</i>	<i>fello</i>	“to suckle”
64.	<i>firi-</i>	<i>pir</i> (Umbr.)	“fire”
65.	<i>flana-χ-</i>	<i>flāmen</i>	“high priest”
66.	<i>fratu-</i>	<i>brat(u)-</i> (Osc.)	“gratefully”
		word formation	
67.	<i>-ie</i>	<i>-ius</i>	formans of masculine names
68.	<i>-l-</i>	<i>-l-</i>	diminutive

ETRUSCAN	LATIN/ITALIC	MEANING
(pro)nominal declension & verbal conjugation		
69. <i>-m</i>	<i>-m</i>	A(m/f) sg.
70. <i>-ae</i>	<i>-ae</i>	N(f) pl.
71. <i>-vm, -um</i>	<i>-om</i>	G pl. ²³
72. <i>-θur</i>	<i>-tur</i>	3rd pers. sg. passive
73. <i>-nsur, -n(a)θur</i>	<i>-ntur</i>	3rd pers. pl. passive
74. <i>-re</i>	<i>-re</i>	inf. act.
75. <i>-ri</i>	<i>-ri</i>	passive infinitive

ETRUSCAN	PHOENICIAN/SEMITIC	MEANING
1. <i>Avile, Avle</i>	<i>awīlu-</i>	“man, official”
2. <i>Aisera-, Eisera-</i>	<i>Asherah</i>	divine name
3. <i>Astre-, Estre-</i>	<i>Astarte</i>	divine name
4. <i>vina-, vinu-</i>	<i>*wainu-</i>	“wine”
5. <i>Hirume-</i>	<i>Hirōm</i>	“Hiram [MN]”
6. <i>husur</i>	<i>ḡzr</i> (cf. Hebrew ‘ <i>zr</i>)	“boy”
7. <i>Θanr-</i>	<i>Tanīt</i>	divine name
8. <i>θevru</i>	<i>tawr-</i>	“bull”
9. <i>lev</i>	<i>rw</i> (Eg. hier. E 23)	“lion”
10. <i>młax</i>	<i>mlḥ</i>	“good, beautiful”
11. <i>seleit-</i>	<i>slṯ-</i>	“power”
12. <i>χurvar, χurve, χuru</i>	<i>krr</i>	“month of the dances”
13. <i>Feluske-</i>	<i>Pelasgian, Philistine</i> (< LBA <i>Peleset</i>)	ethnonym

ETRUSCAN	CELTIC	MEANING
vocabulary		
1. <i>marca-</i>	<i>marco-</i>	“horse”

²³ *Dardanivm* “of the Dardanians” in Rix 1991: Africa 8.1-8.8 (boundary stones, early 1st century BC), line 3, and *Cusuθursum* “of the (feast)s of the Cusu-brotherhood” in *tabula Cortonensis* section II, line 7. For earlier evidence of Latin influence on Etruscan nominal declension, cf. *toveronarom* “of the officials” (G pl. in *-arom* of the indication of a magistracy *toveron(a)-*) in its Lemnian dialectal variant as attested for the Lemnos stele, dating c. 600 BC, see chapter 21.

	ETRUSCAN	CELTIC	MEANING
2.	<i>mar(u)-</i>	<i>māro-</i> (< * <i>mē-</i> , <i>mō-</i>)	“great, illustrious”
3.	<i>Nemetie-</i>	<i>nemeton</i>	“tree-sanctuary”
4.	<i>Numesie-</i>	<i>Numa-</i> , <i>Numat(os)</i>	cf. TN <i>Numantia</i>
5.	<i>θruθ-</i> , <i>truθ-</i> , <i>truta</i> , <i>trutnvt</i> , <i>trutnuθ</i> , <i>trutvecie</i>	<i>druid</i>	“druid (< * <i>dru-</i> + <i>vid-</i> “oak-seer”)
6.	<i>fratu-</i>	<i>bratu-</i> word formation	“gratefully”
7.	<i>-cina-</i> , <i>-kina-</i>	<i>-kina-</i> , <i>-ikno-</i>	“descendant”

The salient points from this list are the following:

(1) Correspondences of Etruscan with Hittite have, with the noted exception of the correspondence of the D dual to the Hittite D pl., a bearing on vocabulary alone: hence Etruscan is not to be identified with Hittite, as Vladimir Georgiev wants to have it.

(2) Considering the fact that the correspondences of Etruscan with Luwian hieroglyphic outmatch all other categories, Etruscan shows the closest affinity with Luwian hieroglyphic. Note especially that the shared use of the endings of the N(m/f) and A(m/f) pl. in *-i* and D pl. in *-ai* exclude a particularly close relationship with cuneiform Luwian, which is characterized by N(m/f) pl. *-nzi* and A(m/f) pl. as well as D pl. *-nza*. To this comes that the G pl. in *-ai*, although rarely traced for Luwian hieroglyphic texts, emphasizes its relations with the western Luwian dialects Lycian, Lydian, and Lemnian, which all share this feature. Yet another feature which stresses the relationship of Etruscan with Luwian hieroglyphic is the phenomenon of rhotacism of the voiced dental *[d], as attested for the onomastic element *tiwat/ra-* and the ending of the Abl.-Instr. sg. and pl. *-t/ri*.

(3) Nevertheless, Etruscan is not to be identified as a dialect of Luwian hieroglyphic, as it shares the loss of the N(m/f) sg. *-s* and A(m/f) sg. *-n* in the realm of the noun with Lycian, which also provides comparative evidence for the A(m/f) pl. in *-as* or *-es* or *-is* (in the latter case so does Lydian as well). To this comes that Etruscan shows some evidence of the typical Lycian phonetic development [s] > [h] in the case of the verb *hamai-/ame-* “to found” < Hittite *šamnai-*. Finally, Etruscan has in common with Lydian the use of the D-G sg. in *-l* and the dropping of the final vowel with respect to the endings of the Abl. sg. and the 3rd person sg. and pl. of

the present/future tense of the active. Obviously, this leads us to the conclusion that Etruscan is a Luwian dialect *sui generis*.

(4) About the time that Etruscan separated from the related Luwian dialects it is relevant to note that, considering the form of the relative being χi - or χva -, it has not participated in the labiovelar development which characterizes Lycian *ti*- and Lydian *pe*- or *pi*-. On the other hand, we have seen that Etruscan shows some evidence of the typical Lycian phonetic development $[s] > [h]$. Hence, the separation likely dates to after the end of the 8th century BC, when Luwian hieroglyphic dies out, and before the first evidence of Lycian and Lydian in the late 7th century BC.

(5) The large amount of correspondences with Greek, which cannot be explained in an Italian context, indicate an Aegean location of Etruscan when still in the Anatolian motherland. On the basis of the Aiolisms, this location may perhaps even be finetuned as in the neighborhood of Aiolia. Note that the influence of Greek on Etruscan, in view of the origin of the ending of the 3rd person sg. of the past tense in *-ce* or *-ke* or χe from the Greek *kappa*-perfect or -aorist, amounts to the level of code-mixing.²⁴

(6) The correspondences with Italic and Latin are easily explained by the Italian context of Etruscan from the 7th century BC onwards. Note that, in view of the 3rd person sg. of the present/future of the passive in *- θur* and its 3rd person pl. equivalent in *- $n(a)\theta ur$* (assibilated *- $nsur$*), the infinitive of the active in *- re* and that of the passive in *- ri* and, most recently, (possibly) the A(m/f) sg. in *- m* and (certainly) the G pl. in *- vm* or *- um* , the interaction with the Italic also amounts to the level of code-mixing.

(7) The correspondences with Phoenician indicate a direct contact of Etruscans with Phoenicians.

(8) The same verdict also applies to the correspondences with Celtic, which, in like manner as those with Phoenician, date from as early as the late 7th century BC.

²⁴ Adams, Janse & Swain 2002.

20. ETRUSCAN AND INDO-EUROPEAN*

1. INTRODUCTION

The possible Indo-European nature of the Etruscan language is a tricky subject with a long and painful history, most recently reviewed by Raimund Pfister in an informative contribution to the *Festschrift Neumann* (Pfister 1982). After having virtually been banned from scientific debate for several decades, however, it now appears to be on the verge of an astonishing comeback. At any rate, under the impulse of a discussion between Francisco Adrados (1989; 1994) and Erich Neu (1991), the topic has definitely regained some respectability among specialists in Indo-European linguistics. Further evidence for a growing interest into the position of Etruscan among Indo-Europeanists is provided by the contributions of Françoise Bader (1993) and Robert Beekes (1993) to the *Festschrift Rix*. In general, it can be stated that arguments against the Indo-European nature of Etruscan are either the result of a lack of knowledge of the Indo-European languages of Anatolia, like in case of the rarity of the N(m/f) sg. ending in *-s* and the A(m/f) sg. ending in *-n* in the realm of the noun as paralleled for Lycian and the use of the adjectival suffixes *-li-* and *-si-* or *-śi-* which are a typical feature of the Luwian dialects, or based on a wrong analysis, like in case of the numerals from one to six, the assumed absence of verbal endings in **-t* and **-nt*, the assumed plural morpheme *-r-*, and assumed kinship terms like *apa-* and *ati-* supposedly rendering the meaning “father” and “mother”, respectively. To facilitate this ongoing discussion, then, I here present a list of Etruscan words and elements which, at least to my eyes, are likely to be of Indo-European origin. The reconstructed Proto-Indo-European roots are drawn from current handbooks, like Pokorny 1994, Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1994, Beekes 1995, Sihler 1995, Fortson 2004, and Mallory & Adams 2007 or, with a bearing on the Indo-European languages of Anatolia in general, Kronasser 1966, Rozenkranz 1978, Puhvel *HED*, and Tischler *HEG*, and on the Luwian dialects in particular Melchert 1993a and Woudhuizen 2016-7 (cuneiform Luwian), Woudhuizen 2011, LBA and EIA indices and esp. pp. 399-418 (Luwian hieroglyphic), Melchert 2004 (Lycian), and Gusmani *LW* and Woudhuizen *forthc.* (Lydian); for relevant

* This section consists of an updated and reworked version of Woudhuizen 1998: 189-203.

special studies in the latter realm, see also Melchert 1987, and Tischler 1992. In addition, I examine the treatment of some distinctive consonants, using the IE Anatolian languages as a frame of reference.

2. LIST OF INDO-EUROPEAN WORDS & ELEMENTS

Nominal & verbal roots

	Etruscan	PIE root	meaning
1.	<i>acni-</i>	* <i>ǵ-gni-</i>	“fire”
2.	<i>acun-/ecun-</i>	* <i>eg^{wh}-</i>	“to drink”
3.	<i>av-/ev-/hev-</i>	* <i>h₁éi-</i>	“to go”
4.	<i>avil-</i>	* <i>seh₂wōl-</i>	“sun (> solar year)” ¹
5.	<i>aiu-</i>	* <i>eye-</i>	“to make, do”
6.	<i>Alp(a)n-, Alφa-</i>	* <i>alb^ho-</i>	“white”
7.	<i>als-</i>	* <i>seh₂l-</i>	“salt”
8.	<i>am-</i>	* <i>h₁es-</i>	“to be”
9.	<i>arvu-</i>	* <i>h₂erh₃-</i>	“to plow”
10.	<i>Astre-/Estre-</i>	* <i>h₂stér-</i>	“star”
11.	<i>ati</i>	* <i>atta-/atti-</i>	“father (> senior)”
12.	<i>camθi-/canθ(i)-</i>	* <i>h₂enti</i>	“opposite, in front of”
13.	<i>cap-</i>	* <i>kap-</i>	“to take (away)”
14.	<i>casθia-</i>	* <i>h₂ost-</i>	“bone”
15.	<i>Cauθa-/Caθ(a)-</i>	* <i>ḱeu-</i>	“to burn, set to fire”
16.	<i>ceχa-/ceχi-</i>	* <i>h₂euh₂-</i>	“grandfather”
17.	<i>Crapś-</i> (G sg.)	* <i>(s)grōb^ho-</i>	“hornbeam (> oak)”
18.	<i>cu(vu)-</i>	* <i>h₂wé(y)-</i>	“to walk, stride, run”
19.	<i>cuve-</i>	* <i>g^wow-</i>	“cow, ox” (cf. no. 24)
20.	<i>Culśanś-</i>	* <i>k^wel-s-</i>	“to draw boundaries”
21.	<i>Curtun-/Kurtina-</i>	* <i>g^hord^h-</i>	“city, town”
22.	<i>Vel-</i>	* <i>wel-</i>	“to see” ²

¹ Maresch 1957, who compares Etruscan *avil-* “year” to dialectal Greek ἄ(F)έλιος “sun” under consideration of the secondary use of related words for “sun” for rendering the meaning “year”—a shift of meaning understandable against the background of time reckoning in solar years.

² Olmsted 1994: 7; under consideration of the fact that Phrygian *Ouelas* (G sg.) “sun-god” is related to dialectal Greek βελᾶ “sun; eye”, it seems permissible to suggest that PIE **swel-* (< *seh₂wōl-*) “sun; eye” and **wel-* “to see” are mere reflections of one and the same root characterized by *s*-mobile.

	Etruscan	PIE root	meaning
23.	<i>Velχans-/Velc-</i>	*wélh ₂ -	“to strike, hit, smite” ³
24.	<i>vuv-, uf-</i>	*g ^w ow-	“cow, ox” (cf. no. 19)
25.	<i>zusle(v)-</i>	*sūs	“pig”
26.	<i>haθ-/hat-</i>	*h ₁ ed-	“to eat”
27.	<i>heś-</i>	*ē _s -	“to sit, settle”
28.	<i>θamu-</i>	*demh ₂ -	“to build”
29.	<i>θen(u)-/ten(u)-</i>	*ten(d)-	“to span, etc.”
30.	<i>Θesan</i>	*d ^h eh ₁ s-	“sacred”
31.	<i>θuta-/tuθi-</i>	*teutā-	“people”
32.	<i>-kina-/cina-</i>	*ġenh ₁ -	“to procreate”
33.	<i>lavitun-/lautn-</i>	*leud ^h -	“people; free”
34.	<i>marca-</i>	*marko-	“mare”
35.	<i>maru-</i>	*mē-, mō-	“great, illustrious”
36.	<i>mena-/meni-</i>	*mer, G menés	“hand”
37.	<i>meχ-/meθ-</i> ⁴	*méġh ₂ -	“great, many”
38.	<i>muni-, muni-st-</i>	*moino-	“exchange, reciprocation”
39.	<i>mur-</i>	*mer-	“to die”
40.	<i>nace-/neχse</i>	*nek ^w -	“to become twilight”
41.	<i>Nana-</i>	*n̥-ġenh ₁ -	“brother, relative” [cf. nos. 129 + 32] ⁵
42.	<i>Neθuns-</i>	*nept-	“grandson; nephew” [cf. no. 46]
43.	<i>Nemetie-</i>	*nem-	“to allot, apportion”
44.	<i>nvai-/na-, n(e)-</i>	*newo-	“new”
45.	<i>ner-</i>	*h ₂ nēr-	“man”
46.	<i>nefts-</i>	*népōt-	“grandson, descendant” [cf. no. 40]
47.	<i>nuca-</i>	*néwah ₂ -	“to renew”
48.	<i>pet-n(a)-</i>	*ped-, pod-	“foot”
49.	<i>pru-c/χ-, pru-χum</i>	*ġ ^h eu-	“pour”
50.	<i>pulum-/fulum-</i>	*k ^w el-	“to turn”
51.	<i>put-</i>	*poH-	“to drink”
52.	<i>Pyrg(o)i</i>	*b ^h ₁ ġ ^h (i)-	“high”

³ Forrer 1930-2: 144-145; 158-159.

⁴ Note that the variant *meθ-* may well be a reflex of cuneiform Luwian **mayanti-* > Lycian *miñti-*, both characterized by the for southern and eastern Luwian regular loss of the voiced velar [ġ].

⁵ Neumann 1991: 63-65.

Etruscan	PIE root	meaning
53. <i>śazle-</i>	* <i>sed-lo-</i>	“to settle”
54. <i>Śeu-</i>	* <i>Dyēws</i>	“sky-god (< sun-god)” [cf. nos. 70, 71, and 73]
55. <i>śuri-</i>	* <i>kr̥no-</i>	“horn (> abundance)” [cf. no. 57]
56. <i>quθe-f-</i>	* <i>katu-</i>	“fight”
57. <i>Ravnθ-/Ramθa-</i>	* <i>kr̥h₂-wo-</i>	“horn” [cf. no. 55]
58. <i>ratu-</i>	* <i>Hrot-h₂</i>	“wheel (> chariot)”
59. <i>rac-/raχ-</i>	* <i>h₃reĝ-</i>	“to direct, rule”
60. <i>riva-</i>	* <i>sreu-</i>	“to flow”
61. <i>rita-/riθ-na-</i>	* <i>(a)r(r)-/rēi-</i>	“ritual, ceremony”
62. <i>sac-</i>	* <i>sāk-</i>	“custom”
63. <i>Seθums-</i>	* <i>séptm̥</i>	“7” [cf. no. 119]
64. <i>spanti-</i>	* <i>spend-</i>	“to libate”
65. <i>sti-</i>	* <i>steh₂-</i>	“to place, stand”
66. <i>sul-</i>	* <i>seh₂wōl-</i>	“sun”
67. <i>Tarc-/Tarkon/ Tarχna-</i>	* <i>ter-h₂-</i>	“to overcome, surpass”
68. <i>tar-tiri(i)a-</i>	* <i>treyes</i>	“3” [cf. nos. 74 and 114]
69. <i>te-s-</i>	* <i>d^heh₁-</i>	“to place, put”
70. <i>Tinia-</i>	* <i>Dyēws</i>	“sky-god (< sun-god)” ⁶ [cf. nos. 54, 71, and 73]
71. <i>Tinnuś-/Tin(u)s-</i>	* <i>Dyēws</i> +	“son of the sky-god (>
72.	* <i>sunus</i>	Dionysos)” ⁷ [cf. nos. 54, 71, and 73]
73. <i>Tiur-, Θefarie-</i>	* <i>Dyēws</i>	“sun-god” [cf. nos. 54, 70, and 71]
74. <i>trais, treś, tērs-</i>	* <i>treyes</i>	“3” [cf. nos. 68 and 114]
75. <i>truθ-/trut-</i>	* <i>doru-</i> +	“druid (= oak-seer)”
76.	* <i>vid-</i>	

⁶ As **Dyēws* is related to **deiuos* “shining”, it seems to be inferred that in Greek and Roman religion the sky- or storm-god (F2) has seized this form of address from the sun-god (F1), who is bright and shiny, whereas the sky- or storm-god is rather associated with clouds and rain, but also thunder and lightning, of course. Note that the reflex of this root with [n] is paralleled for the first element of the Greek MN *Tindareos*.

⁷ It seems most likely that the enigmatic element *nusos* “son” originates from PIE **sunus* by metathesis (Szemerényi 1974); for another common word subject to metathesis, cf. Greek *χθών*, etc., < PIE **d^heĝ^hom-* “earth”.

	Etruscan	PIE root	meaning
77.	<i>tu-r(u)-</i>	* <i>dō-/deh₃-</i>	“to give”
78.	<i>Uni-</i>	* <i>g^wenā-</i>	“woman”
79.	<i>use-</i>	* <i>wesu-</i>	“good”
80.	<i>utu-</i>	* <i>uód-r, G uéd-n-</i>	“water”
81.	<i>fa-ni/u-</i>	* <i>nei-/nī-</i>	“to drive”
82.	<i>fronta-</i>	* <i>b^hrem-</i>	“to roar, thunder”

Nominal, adjectival & verbal suffixes

83.	<i>-l(i)-</i>	* <i>-lo-, -li-</i>	adjectival
84.	<i>-ś(i)-/-s(i)-</i>	* <i>-syo-</i>	adjectival
85.	<i>-zi-</i>	* <i>-tyo-</i>	locative
86.	<i>-ia- (f), -ie- (m)</i>	* <i>-yo-</i>	adjectival
87.	<i>-la- (f), -le- (m)</i>	* <i>-lo-</i>	diminutive
88.	<i>-nu-/n-</i>	* <i>-neu-/nu-</i>	factitive (verb)
89.	<i>-r-</i>	* <i>-r-</i>	passive (verb)
90.	<i>-z-/ś-/s-</i>	* <i>-sō-</i>	iterative (verb)

Nominal & pronominal inflection

91.	<i>-ś/-s</i>	* <i>-os</i>	N(m/f) sg.
92.	<i>-n</i>	* <i>-om</i>	A(m/f) sg.
93.	<i>-a/-i</i>	* <i>-ōi</i>	D sg.
94.	<i>-ś/-s</i>	* <i>-os</i>	G sg.
95.	<i>-θ(i)/-r(i)</i>	* <i>-ēd+i</i>	Instr. > Abl.
96.	<i>-θ(i)</i>	* <i>-d^hi</i>	Loc.
97.	<i>-i</i>	* <i>-i</i> (repl. * <i>-es</i>)	N(m/f) pl. (pronoun)
98.	<i>-es/-is/-is</i>	* <i>-ons</i>	A(m/f) pl.
99.	<i>-a</i>	* <i>-h₂</i>	N-A(n) pl.
100.	<i>-as</i> (dual)	* <i>-omus</i>	D pl.

Pronominal roots

101.	<i>-i-</i>	* <i>h₁e-/h₁ei-/h₁i-</i>	demonstrative
102.	<i>cva-/cui-/χva-/χi-</i>	* <i>k^we-/k^wi-, k^wo-</i>	relative
103.	<i>(h)i-c(a)-/e-c(a)-</i>	* <i>h₁e-/h₁ei-/h₁i-</i>	demonstrative
104.	<i>c-/ca-/ci-</i>	(+) * <i>kī-</i>	demonstrative
103.	<i>i-ta-/i-tu-</i>	* <i>h₁e-/h₁ei-/h₁i-</i>	demonstrative
105.	<i>ta-</i>	(+) * <i>to-</i>	demonstrative

Etruscan	PIE root	meaning
106. <i>huvi-</i>	* <i>iuH-</i>	possessive, 2nd pers. pl.
107. <i>mi-</i>	* <i>h₁mei</i>	possessive, 1st pers. sg.
108. <i>sve-</i> , <i>-sva-</i> , <i>-śve</i>	* <i>suo-</i>	possessive, 3rd pers. sg.
109. <i>-χu</i>	* <i>-k^we</i>	indefinite particle

Numerals

110. <i>ez/iś-</i>	* <i>sem-</i>	“1”
111. <i>hen</i>	* <i>sem-</i>	“1” [cf. no. 110]
112. <i>unum</i>	* <i>oinos</i>	“1”
113. <i>θu(va)-/tu</i>	* <i>d(u)woh₁</i>	“2”
114. <i>ci</i> (< * <i>cri-</i>)	* <i>treyes</i>	“3” [cf. nos. 68 and 74]
115. <i>huθ/hut</i>	* <i>k^wettwores</i>	“4”
116. <i>muva</i> - ⁸	* <i>mei-</i>	“less”
117. <i>maχ</i>	* <i>még^hh₂-</i>	“total” [cf. no. 37]
118. <i>śa</i>	* <i>s(w)éks</i>	“6”
119. <i>semφ-</i>	* <i>séptm</i>	“7” [cf. no. 63]
120. <i>cezp-</i>	* <i>h₃ekteh₃</i>	“8”
121. <i>nurφ-</i>	* <i>h₁néun</i>	“9”
122. <i>śnut-/snut-</i>	* <i>dék^hmt</i>	“10”
123. <i>tu-śnut-</i>	* <i>d(u)woh₁</i> + <i>dék^hmt</i>	“12” [= nos. 113 + 122]
124. <i>χimθm</i>	* <i>k^hmtóm</i>	“100”

Note that cardinals are usually formed by the morpheme *-l(i)-* [= no. 83]: *esl-* or *zal/sal* “first”, *cial-* “third”, *husili-* “fourth”, *macvilu-* “fifth”.

125. <i>-zi/-si</i>	* <i>-s</i> (?)	numeral adverbs
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Prepositions & preverbs

126. <i>a</i>	* <i>apo</i>	“from”
127. <i>camθi-/canθ(i)-</i>	* <i>h₂enti</i>	“opposite, in front of”
128. <i>apa/epn</i>	* <i>h₁épi, h₁opi</i>	“behind, after”
129. <i>etera-</i>	* <i>nd^heri-</i>	“under”
130. <i>in/an, en-</i>	* <i>h₁en</i>	“in”

⁸ Used only for multiples of ten.

Etruscan	PIE root	meaning
131. <i>inte-</i>	* <i>h₁en+dō</i>	“in” [cf. no. 130]
132. <i>per-</i>	* <i>pro</i>	“before, ahead”
133. <i>parχi-</i>	* <i>b^hr̥ǵ^h(i)-</i>	“high” [cf. no. 52]
134. <i>śin, sin, sun</i>	* <i>som-</i>	“(together) with”
135. <i>s-</i>	* <i>eg^hs-</i>	“out”

Conjunction

136. <i>-c/-χ/-ke</i>	* <i>-k^we</i>	“and” [cf. no. 109]
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Negation particles

137. <i>eī⁹</i>	* <i>ne ain</i>	“not”
138. <i>na, ne, n</i>	* <i>ne</i>	“not”
139. <i>nes/nis, ni</i>	* <i>ne</i>	“not”

Particles

140. <i>man</i>	* <i>sme/smá</i>	optative particle
141. <i>nu-</i>	* <i>nu</i>	sentence introductory

Verbal conjugation

142. <i>-θ(i)</i>	* <i>-ti</i>	pres. act., 3rd sg.
143. <i>-nθ(i)/-nt</i>	* <i>-enti</i>	pres. act., 3rd pl.
144. <i>-e(i)/-i</i>	* <i>-e</i>	pres. act., 3rd sg. (th.)
145. <i>-ce/-ke/-χe</i>	* <i>-t</i>	past tense, 3rd sg.
146. <i>-nce</i>	* <i>-ent</i>	past tense, 3rd pl.
147. <i>-a</i>	* <i>-ā-</i>	subjunctive
148. <i>-∅</i>	* <i>-∅</i>	imp., 2nd sg. (ath. I)
149. <i>-cu</i>	* <i>-tu</i>	imp., 3rd sg. (ath. I)
150. <i>-θur</i>	* <i>-te+re</i>	pres. pass., 3rd sg.
151. <i>-n(a)θur</i>	* <i>-nte+re</i>	pres. pass., 3rd pl.
152. <i>-nθ-/ -nt-</i>	* <i>-nt-</i>	participle act.
153. <i>-θα-</i>	* <i>-to-</i>	verbal adjective

⁹ With loss of *ne* like in Gr. οὐ < **ne h₂oiu*.

3. TREATMENT OF DISTINCTIVE CONSONANTS

Velars

1. treatment of palatal * $[\hat{k}]$

* $[\hat{k}] > [c]/[\chi]$: * $\hat{k}eu$ - “to burn, set to fire” > *Cauθa-/Caθ(a)-* (GN);
 * $\hat{k}i$ - (demonstrative) > *c-/ca-/ci-*; * $\hat{k}\dot{m}t\acute{o}m$ “100” > *χimθm*
 “hecatomb”; * $\hat{h}_3\hat{e}\hat{k}t\hat{e}h_3$ “8” > *cezp-*.

* $[\hat{k}] > [\acute{s}]/[s]$: * $\acute{d}\acute{e}\hat{k}\dot{m}t$ “10” > *śnut-/snut-*; * $\hat{k}rno$ - “horn” > *śuri*-
 “abundance”.

* $[\hat{k}] > \emptyset$: * $\hat{k}rh_2wo$ - “horn” > *Ravnθ-/Ramθa-* (gentilicium).

2. treatment of palatal * $[\hat{g}]$

* $[\hat{g}] > [c]/[k]/[\chi]$: * $\hat{h}_3re\hat{g}$ - “to direct, rule” > *rac-/raχ-* “palace”; * $\hat{g}enh_1$ -
 “to procreate” > *-kina-/cina-* “descendant”; * $\acute{m}\acute{e}\hat{g}h_2$ - “great, many” >
meχ- “league, assembly”, *maχ* “5”.

* $[\hat{g}] > \emptyset$: * $\acute{m}\acute{e}\hat{g}h_2$ - “great, many” > *meθ-* “league, assembly”; * η -
 $\hat{g}enh_1$ - “brother, relative” > *Nana-* (MN).

3. treatment of palatal * $[\hat{g}^h]$

* $[\hat{g}^h] > [\chi]$: * $\hat{b}^h\hat{g}^h(i)$ - “high” > *Pyrg(o)i* (TN), *parχi-* “high, noble”;
 * \hat{g}^heu - “to pour” > *pru-c/χ-*, *pru-χum*.

4. treatment of velar * $[k]$

* $[k] > [c]/[q]$: * $\hat{k}ap$ - “to take (away)” > *cap-*; * $\hat{k}atu$ - “fight” > *quθe-f*-
 “to vindicate, revenge”; * $\hat{m}arko$ - “mare” > *marca-*; * $\hat{s}\hat{a}k$ - “custom” >
sac- “to sanctify”.

* $[k] > \emptyset$: * $\hat{s}(w)\acute{e}ks$ “6” > *śa*.

5. treatment of velar * $[g]$

* $[g] > [c]$: * $\eta\hat{g}ni$ - “fire” > *acni-*; *(*s*) $\hat{g}r\acute{o}b^h$ - “hornbeam (> oak)” >
Crapś- “Grabovius (G sg.)”.

6. treatment of velar * $[\hat{g}^h]$

* $[\hat{g}^h] > [c]/[k]$: * \hat{g}^hord^h - “city, town” > *Curtun-* (TN), *Kurtina-*
 (gentilicium).

* $[\hat{g}^h] > \emptyset$: * $\hat{e}\hat{g}^hs$ - “out” > *s-*.

7. treatment of labiovelar * $[k^w]$

* $[k^w] > [c(u)]/[\chi(u)]/[k]$: * \hat{k}^we-/k^wi- , * \hat{k}^wo - (relative pronoun) > *cui-*,
cva-/χva-, *χi-*; * \hat{k}^we (indefinite particle) > *-χu*; * \hat{k}^we “and” > *-c/χ/*

-*χα/-ke*; **k^wel-s*- “to draw boundaries” > *Culśanś*- (GN); **nek^w*- “to become twilight” > *nace-/neχse*.

*[*k^w*] > [p]/[f]: **k^wel*- “to turn” > *pulum-/fulum*- “star”.

*[*k^w*] > [hu]: **k^wettwores* “4” > *huθ/hut*.

8. treatment of labiovelar *[*g^w*]

*[*g^w*] > [cu]: **g^wow*- “cow, ox” > *cuve*-.

*[*g^w*] > [u]: **g^wenā*- “woman” > *Uni*- (GN); **g^wow*- “cow, ox” > *vuv*-, *uf*-.

9. treatment of labiovelar *[*g^{wh}*]

*[*g^{wh}*] > [cu]: **eg^{wh}*- “to drink” > *acun*-, *ecun*-.

PIE	HIT.	CL	LH	LYC.	LYD.	ETR.
* <i>ḱ</i>	k/h, s	z, s	k/h, s	k, s		c/χ, ś/s
* <i>ḡ</i>	k	*k, ø	ø	ø		c/k/χ, ø
* <i>ḡ^h</i>	k/g	ø	k	ø	ø	χ
*k	k	k	k		k	c/q
*g		ø	ø	ø		c
* <i>g^h</i>	g		k			c/k, ø
* <i>k^w</i>	ku	ku	kw/hw, ku	t	k, p	cu/χ(u), p/f, hu
*[<i>-k^we</i>]	-ya	-ḡa	-ḡa(wa)	-ke	-k	-c/-χ, -ke]
* <i>g^w</i>	gu, w/u	w/u	w/u	w/u	k	cu, u
* <i>g^{wh}</i>	ku	u	u		k	cu
* <i>h₂</i>	ḡ, ø	ḡ	ḡ, ø	g/χ, ø	k, ø	c/χ, ø

Table LIII. Treatment of velars and laryngeal *[*h₂*] in IE Anatolian perspective.

Laryngeal *[*h₂*]

10. treatment of laryngeal *[*h₂*]

*[*h₂*] > [c], [χ]: **h₂enti* “opposite, in front of” > *camθi-/canθ(i)*- (honorific title); **h₂euḡ₂*- “grandfather” > *ceχa-/ceχi*- “senate”;

**h₂ost*- “bone” > *casθial*- “mausoleum”; **h₂wé(y)*- “to walk, stride,

run" > *cu(vu)-*; **wélh₂*- "to strike, hit, smite" > *Velxans* (GN), *Velc-* (TN); **néwah₂*- "to renew" > *nuca-*; **ter-h₂*- "to overcome, surpass" > *Tarc-* (GN), *Tarkōn* (MN), *Tarχna-* (TN).

*[h₂] > ∅: **seh₂wōl-* "sun" > *avil-* "year"; **seh₂l-* "salt" > *als-* "sea"; **h₂erh₃*- "to plow" > *arvu-*; **h₂stér-* "star" > *Astre-/Estre-* "Astarte"; **még_hh₂*- "great, many" > *mex-* "league, assembly", *maχ* "5"; **Hrot-h₂* "wheel" > *ratu-* "chariot"; **steh₂*- "to place, stand" > *sti-*; *-*h₂* (N-A(n) pl.) > -*a*.

Comments

The treatment of palatal [k̠] typifies Etruscan as a **centum** language with secondary **satem influences**. In this respect it shows special affinity to Luwian hieroglyphic and Lycian.

The evidence on the PIE **voiced velars** is undecisive in the sense that examples of their loss (**még_hh₂*- "great, many" > *meθ*- "league, assembly", **ṇ-ḡenh₁*- "brother" > *Nana-*, **eg^hs-* "out" > *s-*, and **g^wenā-* "woman" > *Uni-*, **g^wow-* "cow, ox" > *vuv-*, *uf-*) occur alongside ones of their retention as the velar stops [c] and [k] or the fricative [χ] (*h₃reḡ-* "to direct, rule" > *rac-/raχ-* "palace", **ḡenh₁*- "to procreate" > -*kina-/cina-* "descendant", **még_hh₂*- "great, many" > *mex-* "league, assembly", *maχ* "5", **b^hr̥ḡ^h(i)-* "high" > *Pyr̥g(o)i* (TN), *par̥xi-* "high, noble", **ṇ-gni-* "fire" > *acni-*, *(*s*)*grōb^h*- "hornbeam (> oak)" > *Crapś-* "Grabovius (G sg.)", **g^hord^h*- "city, town" > *Curtun-* (TN), *Kurtina-* (family name), **g^wow-* "cow, ox" > *cuve-*, **eg^wh-* "to drink" > *acun-*, *ecun-*). Even if we allow for the fact that there are some patent Italic loans among the examples for retention (*h₃reḡ-* "to direct, rule" > *rac-/raχ-* "palace", *(*s*)*grōb^h*- > *Crapś-* "Grabovius (G sg.)"), or even a Phrygian one (**g^hord^h*- "city, town" > *Curtun-* (TN)), it cannot be denied that remaining examples for retention belong to the inherited vocabulary. Accordingly, the situation in Etruscan in this respect appears to be closely comparable to the one in Lydian, where evidence for the retention of voiced velars as velar stops, as regular for Hittite, likewise occurs (**g^wenā-* "woman" > *kāna-*) alongside that for their loss (**d^heḡ^hōm-* "earth" > *Tiamou* (GN)), as regular for Luwian, Lycian, and Carian.

Apart from two exceptions (**k^wel-* "to turn" > *pulum-/fulum-* "star"; *k^wettwores* "4" > *huθ/hut*), again, PIE **voiceless velars** are, just like the voiced ones (insofar as these are retained), represented in Etruscan by the velar stops [c] and [k] or the fricative [χ]. This is compatible with the situation in the IE Anatolian languages in general. Of the two exceptions, the first one cannot be related to the

labialization of *[k^w] in Lydian and therefore probably constitutes a loan from Greek πόλος “polestar, heaven”; the second appears to be due to incidental lenition of initial [k] via *[kh] into [h].

Etruscan also bears witness of **pseudo-velars of laryngeal origin**. This is a typical feature of Lycian, Carian, and Lydian, where it results from a merger of velar [k] with the typical Anatolian [ḫ] = [kh] < laryngeal *h₂ as attested for earlier Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions and, incidentally, even Hittite and Luwian cuneiform texts. The reasons for such a merger are not entirely clear: it could result from either a weakening of velar [k] into [kh] or the change of laryngeal [ḫ] into a stop. Suffice it to say here that *pseudo-velars of laryngeal origin are only conceivable for a member of the IE Anatolian language group and therefore highly significant for the determination of Etruscan as such.*

Labials

10. treatment of labial *[p]

*[p] > [p]: *kap- “to take (away)” > cap-; *ped-, pod- “foot” > pet-n(a)-; *poH- “to drink” > put-; *spend- “to libate” > spanti- “libation bowl, plate”; *h₁épi, h₁opi “behind, after” > apa/epn; *pro “before, ahead” > per-.

*[p] > [f], [ϕ]: *népōt- “grandson, descendant” > nefts- “great-grandson”; *séptm̥ “7” > semϕ-.

*[p] > ∅: *nept- “grandson; nephew” > Neθuns- “Neptunus”; *séptm̥ “7” > Seθums- “Septimus”.

11. treatment of labial *[b^h]

*[b^h] > [p], [ϕ]: *alb^ho- “white” > Alp(a)n-, Alϕa- (divine apposition relating to the Alban hills); *b^hrġ^h(i)- “high” > Pyrg(o)i (TN), parḫi- “high, noble”, *(s)grōb^h- > Crapś- “Grabovius (G sg.)”.

*[b^h] > [f]: *b^hrem- “to roar, thunder” > fronta-.

Dentals

12. treatment of dental *[t]

*[t] > [t], [θ]: *atta-/atti- “father” > ati “older”; *h₂enti “opposite, in front of” > camθi-/canθ(i)- (honorific title); *h₂ost- “bone” > casθial- “mausoleum”; *nept- “grandson; nephew” > Neθuns- “Neptunus”; *népōt- “grandson, descendant” > nefts- “great-grandson”; *Hrot-h₂ “wheel” > ratu- “chariot”; *séptm̥ “7” > Seθums- “Septimus”; *steh₂-

“to place, stand” > *sti-*; **ten(d)-* “to span, etc.” > *θen(u)-/ten(u)-* “to hold”; **teutā-* “people” > *θuta-/tuθi-*; **ter-h₂-* “to overcome, surpass” > *Tarc-* (GN), *Tarkōn* (MN), *Tarχna-* (TN); **treyes* “3” > *tartiri(i)a-*, *tres*, *tērs-* “τρίττος”, *trais* “thrice”; **to-* (demonstrative) > *ta-*; **k^wettwores* “4” > *huθ/hut*; **dékmt* “10” > *śnut-/snut-*; **k̑ntóm* “100” > *χimθm*; **-ti* (pres. act., 3rd sg.) > *-θ(i)*; **-enti* (pres. act., 3rd pl.) > *-nθ(i)*, *-nt*; **-nte+re* (pres. med., 3rd pl.) > *-nθur*; **-nt-* (participle act.) > *-nθ-/nt-*; **-to-* (verbal adjective) > *-θa-*.

*[t] > [z], [ś], [s]: **-tyo-* (locative) > *-zi-*; **h₃ekteh₃* “8” > *cezp-*; **k^wettwores* “4” > *huśi-/husi-*.

*[t] > [c], [χ]: **treyes* “3” > **cri*, *ci*; **-t* (paste tense, 3rd sg.) > *-cel-ke/-χe-*; **-ent* (past tense, 3rd pl.) > *-nce*; **-tu* (imp., 3rd sg.) > *-cu*.

*[t] > ∅: **séptm* “7” > *semφ-*.

13. treatment of dental *[d]

*[d] > [t], [θ]: **h₁ed-* “to eat” > *haθ-/hat-*; **demH-* “to build” > *θamu-*; **d(u)woh₁* “2” > *θu(va)-/tu*; **dō-/deh₃-* “to give” > *tu-r(u)-*; **Dyēws* “sky-god” > *Tinia-*, *Tinnuś/Tin(u)s-*; **Dyēws* “sun-god” > *Tiur-*, *Θefarie-* (MN); **doru-* “oak; tree” + **vid-* “to see” > *truθ-/trut-* “druid”; **ped-*, *pod-* “foot” > *pet-n(a)-*; **uód-r*, G *uéd-n* “water” > *utu-*; **-ēd+i* (Abl.-Instr.) > *-θ(i)*; *h₂en+dō* “in” > *inte-*; **spend-* “to libate” > *spanti-* “libation bowl, plate”.

*[d] > [s], [z]: **Dyēws* “sky-god” > *Śeu-*; **sed-lo-* “to settle” > *śazle-*.

*[d] > [r]: **-ēd+i* (Abl.-Instr.) > *-r(i)*.

14. treatment of dental *[d^h]

*[d^h] > [t], [θ]: **g^hord^h-* “city, town” > *Curtun-* (TN), *Kurtina-* (gentilicium); **d^heh₁-* “to place, put” > *te-s-* “to lay down”; **d^heh₁s-* “sacred” > *Θesan* (GN); **leud^h-* “people; free” > *lavtun-/lautn-* “people; freedman”; **nd^heri-* “under” > *etera-* “lower, inferior”; *-d^hi* (Loc.) > *-θ(i)*.

PIE *[s]

15. treatment of PIE *[s]

*[s] > [z], [ś], [s]: **ēs-* “to sit, settle” > *heś-*; **h₂ost-* “bone” > *casθial-* “mausoleum”; **k^wel-s-* “to draw boundaries” > *Culśanś-* (GN); **sunus-* “son” > *-nuś-* (in *Tinnuś-* “Dionysos”); **sāk-* “custom” > *sac-* “to sanctify”; **sed-lo-* “to settle” > *śazle-*; **spend-* “to libate” > *spanti-* “libation bowl, plate”; **steh₂-* “to place, stand” > *sti-*; **seh₂wōl-* “sun” > *sul-*; **wesu-* “good” > *use-*; **sem-* “1” > *ez/iś-*; **s(w)éks* “6” > *śa*;

**séptm* “7” > *sem*ϕ-; **séptm* > *Seθums*- “Septimos”; **som*- “(together) with” > *śin*, *sin*, *sun*; **suo*- (possessive, 3rd pers. sg.) > *śve*-/ *sva*-; **siyo*- (adjectival) > -*ś(i)*-/ -*s(i)*-; **sō*- (iterative) > -*z*-/ -*ś*-/ -*s*-; **s?* (numeral adverbs) > -*zi*-/ -*si*; **eg^hs*- “out” > *s*-; **-os* (N(m/f) sg.) > -*s*; **-os* (G sg.) > -*s*.

*[*s*] > [*h*], ϕ: **seh₂wōl*- “sun” > *avil*- “year”; **seh₂l*- “salt” > *als*- “sea”; **h₁es*- “to be” > *am*-; **sem*- “1” > *hen*; **sme*/*smá* (optative particle) > *man*; **sreu*- “to flow” > *riva*-.

PIE	HIT.	CL	LH	LYC.	LYD.	ETR.
* <i>p</i>	p	p	p	p		p, f/ϕ, ϕ
* <i>b</i>						
* <i>b^h</i>	p	p	p			p
* <i>t</i>	t, z	t, z	t, r	t/d	t/d, r	t/θ, z/ś/s, c/χ
* <i>d</i>	t, s	t	t, r	t/d, k	t/d	t/θ, ś/z, r
* <i>d^h</i>	t		t	t, k		t/θ
* <i>s</i>	s	s	s	s, h	s/ś	z/s/ś, h, ϕ

Table LIV. Treatment of labials, dentals, and PIE *[*s*] in IE Anatolian perspective.

Comments

The distinction between PIE **voiced and voiceless labials** has been lost in Etruscan. The sound change [p] > [f], [ϕ] results from an inner Etruscan development of dialectal nature, north Etruscan preferring [f] where south Etruscan has [p]. This picture compares reasonably well to the situation in IE Anatolian. Here the loss of distinction between voiced and voiceless labials is compensated by an opposition *fortis-lenis*, rudimentarily preserved for Hittite and Luwian in cuneiform plena-writing. The latter opposition also appears to play a role in later differentiation between [p], [b], and [f] as attested for the alphabetic dialects Lycian and Lydian, the conditions of which, however, still need to be determined. Note that the loss of *[p] in *Neθuns*- “Neptunus” < **nept*- and *Seθums*- “Septimus (≈ Greek Hermēs)” < **séptm*- “7” concerns Italic loans.

The distinction between PIE **voiced and voiceless dentals** has also been lost in Etruscan, resulting in the fully free interchange

between [θ] and [t]. In this respect the situation in Etruscan runs quite parallel to the one in contemporary Lycian and Lydian, characterized by a—from an historical linguistic point of view—equally free interchange between [d] and [t].

Etruscan testifies to assibilation of PIE *[t] in certain environments. In IE Anatolian assibilation of PIE *[t] is attested for Hittite and Luwian *-nt- > -nz-. However, the given Etruscan examples do not adhere to this type, and even examples of assibilation which do so, like *Arunz-* < *Arnθ-* (< Hittite *Arnuwantas* or *Arnutas*) or divine names like *Culśanś-*, *Velχans-*, and possibly *Leθams-*, recalling Luwian *Tarḫunza-* < *Tarḫunt-* with the verbal adjective in -nt- as to be distinguished from Lydian *Πλδᾱνś* < **Apollōnos* (cf. Hittite *Appaliunaś* as among the Trojan oath-gods in the Alaksandus-treaty) and Etruscan *Neθuns-* < Latin *Neptunus* and *Seθums-* < Italic *Septimus*, need not be indicative of any relation as the sound change may reasonably be assumed to occur independently.

Apart from pseudo-velars of laryngeal origin (see previous section), Etruscan also shows evidence of **pseudo-velars of dental** origin. This feature, the conditions of which are as yet unclear, recalls the conditioned sound change [tw] > [tb] > [kb] in Lycian, but need not be related to it.

Incidentally, PIE dentals are subject to **rhotacism** in Etruscan. This phonetic development is a typical trait of Luwian hieroglyphic, but also occurs in Sidetic (*R₁uarie* < *Tiwat/ra-*) and Lydian (*T₁ivar-* “sun-god”). The relationship is particularly close here because it even affects one and the same root (viz. Etruscan *Θefarie-* < Luwian *Tiwat/ra-*). What is even more, both in Luwian and in Etruscan rhotacism can be shown to primarily affect the voiced dental *[d], just like it is the case in Umbrian.

Although far from unproblematic, Etruscan also exemplifies instances of the loss of initial and intervocalic *[s]. In this respect Etruscan is particularly related to Lycian, where, with some notable exceptions (*esi*, *esu*), initial and intervocalic [s] has developed regularly into [h]. Once again, the relationship receives extra emphasis from the fact that it even affects one and the same root (viz. Etruscan *hamai-*, (a)m-, *ame-* or *mame-* corresponding to Lycian *hṃme-*, *ṃmai-* or *ṃmei-* < Hittite *šamnai-* “to found”).

PART VI

EVIDENCE OF A TYRRHENIAN DIALECT IN THE AEGEAN

21. THE LEMNOS STELE

In this section some adjustments to the interpretation of the inscription on the Lemnos stele as given by the author in Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 139-151 and further elaborated in Woudhuizen 1992a: 109-112 are presented. This latter interpretation started from the observation that the inscriptions on the front and lateral side are highly similar and provide us with parallel versions of basically the same message. Furthermore, if the foregoing observation is correct, it subsequently follows that the text on the front side, of which the sequence is complicated (not to call it an epigraphical mess altogether), should be arranged in accordance with the much more transparent sequence as provided by that of the lateral side. On the lateral side, namely, we are confronted with a *vacat* at the end of the first line to the right, so that *Šivai aviš sialχviš maras<->m aviš aomai* clearly constitutes a separate entity, from which it follows that the corresponding section on the front side also forms a unit, to be read from *Šivai* near the drawing of the head via *sialχveiš aviš* in the second line on top of it to, now running *boustrophedon*, *maras-m av<iš aomai>* in the second line from the top. Next, another unit in the text on the lateral side is clearly delineated by the *vacat* at the end of the middle line, so that it runs *boustrophedon* or, more precisely, in “Schlangenschrift”, from the line on the left to this middle one, running as follows: *Holaieš Φokiasiale Šeronaiθ evisθo toveronarom haralio Šivai eptešio arai tiš θoke*. If we transpose this sequence to the text of the front side, it so happens that the next unit here runs from *Holaieši naφoθ Šlasi* on the right side and presumably (because, as I have argued already in my contribution of 1989, we are dealing here with the remainder of the dating-formula) continues with *vanacasial Šeronai Morinai<->c* on the left side, then picks up the trail again in the third line from the top with *evisθo Šeronaiθ* in order to finish with *aker tavaršio* in the second line from the left. Finally, it can be deduced from this line of approach that the sequence *Šivai eptešio arai tiš θoke* at the end of the line in the middle at the lateral side constitutes a separate entity which is not repeated on the front side (see Fig. 42). In sum, then, we arrive at the following transliteration of the text, to which the interpretation as argued in the aforesaid sections of Best & Woudhuizen 1989 and Woudhuizen 1992a, and further elaborated in the commentary below, has been added to its right.

Front side

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) <i>Šivai sialχveiš aviś maraś-m
av<iś aomai></i> | “For Sivas, who died (at the age) of 65 years.” |
| (2) <i>Holaieši naφoθ Šlasi
vanacasial
Šeronai Morinai<->c</i> | “During the kingship of Holaios, the grandson of Sla, over the Seronians and Myrinians, |
| (3) <i>evisθo Šeronaiθ aker tavarśio</i> | he was appointed as head of the officials at Serona.” |

Lateral side

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) <i>Šivai aviś sialχviś maraś<->m
aviś aomai</i> | “For Sivas, who died (at the age) of 65 years.” |
| (2) <i>Holaieś Φokiasiale</i> | “(During the reign) of the Phokaian Holaios, |
| (3) <i>Šeronaiθ evisθo toveronarom
haralio</i> | he was appointed as (head) of the civic officials at Serona.” |
| (4) <i>Šivai epteśio arai tiś θoke</i> | “For Sivas from their own resources someone of the citizens has erected (the stele).” |

The personal name in the age-formula (= phrase 1), *Šivai*, is characterized by *iota* as final vowel. Formerly, this vowel has been taken for an integral part of the root of the MN. General considerations make it more likely, however, that we are dealing here with a D sg. ending *-i*, because the monument is erected *in honor of* the deceased person and not *by himself* (cf. our commentary to the interpretation of § 4 below); accordingly the nominative of the personal name may be reconstructed as *Sivas*. Note that this personal name is based on the onomastic element *Siwa-* < Hittite *šiuš* “god” (see Laroche 1966: 163, nos. 1161-3) and hence of similar type as Etruscan *Thifarie-* or *Thefarie-* < Luwian *Tiwat/ra-* “sun-god”. If we are right in identifying *Šivai* as being in the dative, the participle *aomai* at the end of the phrase, which is likewise characterized by final *-i*, obviously corresponds with the personal name.

The name of the eponymous magistrate from the dating-formula (= § 2), *Holaie-*, is matched by *Holaias* in Greek literary sources. As the latter belongs to the Pelasgian cultural element recorded for the Peloponnesian province of Arcadia in its earliest history, it may safely be deduced that our present *Holaie-* represents the Pelasgian population resident in the north-Aegean region at the time of the

inscription, who, by the way, are specified as their Tyr-rhenian branch by Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War* IV, 109 (cf. Fick 1905: 104). According to the combined information of the two variants of the dating-formula, the authority of king *Holaios* included the townships *Phokaia*, *Myrina*, and *Serona*. Of these townships, *Phokaia* is certainly situated in Aiolia on the coast of northwest Anatolia. The case for *Myrina* is more complicated as there is—apart from the one in the same Aiolic coastal zone—yet another place of this name on the island of Lemnos itself.¹ The third place name appears to be downright obscure; its root might have a reflection in *Zērūnthon*, the name of a locality in Samothrace (Heurgon 1989: 102). But the same element seems to be present just as well in the names of places like *Halisarnē* and *Sarnaca*, located in the Aiolic hinterland. Being grouped together in the realm of one ruler, then, it seems preferable to opt for the simple solution that all three place names bear reference to a coherent geographic entity, in which case Aiolia and its immediate hinterland come into consideration first. Apart from Greeks, this region is inhabited by Pelasgians, to whose language a place name like *Myrina* belongs (cf. Woudhuizen 2006a: 98-100).

The third phrase contains a locative of the place name *Serona*, *Seronaiθ*, and variants of an honorific title, viz. *tavaršio* and *toveronarom* most likely based on a root *tavar-* as further exemplified by Etruscan *tevaraθ* or *teurat* “referee”, which, in view of Lydian evidence for interchange between [v] and [b] or [p] (cf. the divine name *Levś* “Zeus” alongside its D-G *Labl*, the verbal root *tarv-* “to belong to” also appearing in form of *tarb-*, etc., cf. Gusmani 1964: 31-32, § 7), may reasonably be argued to originate from IE Anatolian *tapar-* “to rule”.² (Note that both variants of the root *tavar-* appear to

¹ Note that, on the analogy of *Tyrsenoi* > *Tyrrhenoi*, the place-name *Myrina* may be linked up with the root of the Hittite royal name *Muršiliš* and the pre-Greek Elean toponym *Myrsinos*. The former possibility is underlined by the fact that one of the Amazones is called *Myrine* (Homer, *Iliad* II, 814), that is to say if we realize that the fairy tale ethnic of the Amazones may seriously come into consideration as a distorted Homeric reference to the Hittites. The second suggestion perhaps receives emphasis from the fact that Pelops’ chariot driver in his mythical race against the Elean king Oinomaos is called *Myrtilos*, i.e. the Greek equivalent of the aforesaid Hittite royal name *Mursilis*.

² As the related titular expressions *tabarša* and *tabarna*, considering the princely name *Labarša* of the magistrate at Hattus according to the Kültepe/Kanesh texts and the early Old Hittite royal name *Labarnaš*, were subject to the typical Anatolian *d/l*-change from as early as the Middle Bronze Age onwards, it should not surprise us that offshoots of these latter variant forms bear testimony of an independent

be characterized by either a suffix (-*śi*-) or an ending (-*a-rom*) expressing a genitival relationship, of which the first is no doubt linked up with Luwian -*ašši*- > Etruscan -*s(i)*- or -*ś(i)*- [which, from an Indo-European point of view, is related to Faliscan -(*o*)*si*-(*o*)-] and the second can not be dissociated from the Latin genitive plural of the *a*-stems in -*arum* [= archaic -*arom*]. As a corollary to the latter observation, the Tyrrhenian scribe responsible for the text on the lateral side of the stele must be assumed to have resided with his kinsmen in Italy for some time!) As it seems, then, the third phrase appears to be dealing with the magistracy held by the deceased person during his lifetime. Having established this, it seems no longer an act of irresponsible speculation to assume that *haralio* is an adjectival derivative in -*li*- (< Luwian -*ali*- in like manner as Lydian -*li*- and Etruscan -*l(i)*-) of the root (*h*)*ara*- “citizen”, which is lined with the preceding titular expression *toveronarom*, and that *evisθo* is a verbal form perhaps identifiable as a simplification or corruption of Greek ἐφίστατο, the 3rd person singular of the medial indicative imperfect of ἐφίστημι “to appoint”. Finally, the residual element of the indication of the magistracy on the front side, *aker*, which appears to be in the nominative, may, on account of its apparent etymologic relationship to Greek ἄκρα “high” or ὄκρις “top” and on the analogy of the application of a form related to the last mentioned comparison, viz. *ogris*, in Celtiberian as an indication of a magistracy, be analyzed accordingly as the titular indication “head” (for the given Celtiberian form, see Wolfgang Meid’s discussion of the inscription from Peñalba de Villastar in Meid 1994: 30, Figs. 5-6; 31-37, esp. 36).

The proposal to identify *epteśio* in the fourth section of the text as a patronymic may perhaps be enhanced by evidence from Thracian. In the latter language, namely, the MN *Epta*- or *Ipta*- of ultimately Anatolian origin (< the Hurritic female divine name *Hebat*-, attested for inscriptions from Lydia and Maeonia in the Lydian-Phrygian borderland in form of *Mater Hipta*, see Nilsson 1927: 497) is attested, which closely resembles the root *epte*- of the adjectival formation in -*śio* (Gindin 1981: 230). As such, then, this name might bear testimony of close interaction between Pelasgian colonists from northwest Asia Minor on the one hand and the indigenous Thracian population of the north-Aegean islands plus adjacent coastal zone on the European continent on the other hand. Alternatively, however,

development in the Early Iron Age Luwian dialects, as in case of Lydian *labrys* “double axe” (Gusmani 1964: 275) and the Etruscan divine name *Leprna*- “Labarnas” (TLE 131; 730 = Rix 1991: Ta 1.17; AS 7.1).

epteśio might, in line with a suggestion by Paul Kretschmer (1940a: 111; 1940b: 243), on the basis of its formal resemblance to Lycian *eb/pttehi* or *eb/pttehe* come into consideration as the genitive or dative plural of the possessive pronoun of the 3rd person *ehbi*- “his, her” < Luwian *apašši*- (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961: 67-68; Meriggi 1980: 321, § 142). As it seems clear that *Šivai* renders the dative singular of the personal name Sivas in like manner as in the age-formula of § 1 and *θoke* renders the 3rd person singular or plural of the verb *θo*- “to erect”, corresponding to cuneiform Luwian *d/tuwa*-, Luwian hieroglyphic *tu(wa)*-, Lycian *tuwe*-, Lydian *t₁u(ve)*-, and Etruscan *tva*- of the same meaning, *epteśio* in that case can only have a bearing on the persons responsible for setting up of the memorial. A reference to these latter, then, is likely to be traced in the form *arai* as this comes into consideration as either the nominative plural or the dative singular in *-i*, or the genitive or dative plural in *-ai*, of *ar(a)*- “citizen”, corresponding to Lycian *ara*- or *aru*- (Laroche 1979: trilingual, § 4), of which in the present line of reasoning the singular option might be eliminated. Now, if we realize that the residual element *tis* is more likely to be interpreted in line with Greek *τίς* as the subject of the phrase than as the object (only comparisons from the Luwian hieroglyphic *nominal* declension would allow for the admission of a N-A(n) ending *-s*), it follows that *tis* “someone” *arai* “of the citizens” *θoke* “has erected” *epteśio* “from their own (resources)”, i.e. of the aforesaid citizens, *Šivai* “for Sivas”, according to which interpretation a reference to the object itself is implied only. Considering the fact that specification of the source of the revenues which allowed for the setting up of a memorial is very common in ancient funerary inscriptions (cf. Luwian hieroglyphic *apasati kasatanati* “from their (own) resources” [Cekke § 6, see Woudhuizen 2005: 12; 17]; Latin *de suo dedit* “he gave from his own (resources)”; etc.), I am inclined to prefer this second option for the interpretation of *epteśio*, the more so because we might have expected the otherwise also common use of a patronymic particularly in connection with the mention of the deceased Sivas in the age-formula of § 1, which, in contrast to our § 4, is repeated in both versions of the text!

As I have already remarked in my contribution on the topic of 1989, the historically salient information provided by the inscription on the Lemnos stele, if our interpretation in this respect applies, can be found in the variants of the dating-formula which inform us that the deceased Sivas had exercised his function as head of the civic officials at Serona *during the reign of the Phokaian king Holaios over the Seronians and Myrinians*. At any rate, it lies at hand to situate

such a Phokaian dominance in the north-Aegean region in the historically well-documented period of the Phokaian long distance trade with *Tartessos* or present-day Huelva at the mouth of the Rio Tinto in southwest Iberia or Spain (Herodotos, *Histories* I, 163), which no doubt entailed some form of thalassocracy. This Phokaian prominence in maritime trade, then, can be dated from the last decades of the 7th century BC, say *c.* 630 BC (cf. Cabrera & Olmos 1985: 64 [Huelva, phase 2]), up to the battle of Alalia of 537 BC, which serves as a *terminus ante quem* or *post quem non* (Cabrera & Olmos 1985: 73-74 [Huelva, phase 5: absence of Greek material from *c.* 530 onwards]). Such a period coincides reasonably well with the fact that the inscription of the Lemnos stele is written *boustrophedon*, which mode of writing was especially “en vogue” in Aegean epigraphy in the years around *c.* 600 BC. Whatever the merits of the latter observation, in this period the Phokaians founded several colonies along the route, like Massalia or present-day Marseille (*c.* 600 BC onwards), Emporion (= Greek “trading station”) or present-day Ampurias (island before the coast from *c.* 590 BC onwards, and through the intermediary of Massalia, Palaiopolis from *c.* 520 onwards and Neapolis from *c.* 500 onwards, cf. Shefton 1994), Rhode, Hemeroskopeion (= Greek “day-watch”), and Mainake (Dochter 1992-3). Their colonization of Alalia on Corsica after the middle of the 6th century BC in fact was considered as a *casus belli* by their competitors, the Carthaginians and the Etruscans, and therefore resulted in the aforesaid battle of Alalia of 537 BC, after which a remnant of the Phokaian settlers took refuge in *Velia* (= Greek Ἰέλη < PIE **wēllu-* “meadow, pasture”) along the coast of southwest Italy.

Now, there can be no doubt that the trade on Tartessos was initiated by the Phoenicians in the 10th century BC, a reflex of which can be found in the Biblical references to the *Taršiš*-ships from the time of the Tyrian king Hiram I and his ally, the Hebrew king Solomon (cf. Aubet 2001: 43-46; Cabrera & Olmos 1985: 62-63 [Huelva, phase 1]). Accordingly, the Phokaians only followed into the tracks of their illustrious forerunners, perhaps after an interlude in which regular trade on Tartessos had ceased up to the point that it became irregular (Cabrera & Olmos 1985: 64 [Huelva, *c.* 675/650-630 BC: significant dip in the amount of Greek imports]). Anyhow, Herodotos (*Histories* III, 152) informs us that Samians headed by a captain Kolaïos reached Tartessos which at that time was a virgin port. As I argued in my contribution of 1989, it is highly attractive to combine the competing traditions in Herodotos’ *Histories* about Pho-

kaian (Herodotos, *Histories* I, 163: “earliest of the Greeks”) and Samian (Herodotos, *Histories* IV, 152: “at that time (...) virgin port”) trade on Tartessos into one overarching reconstruction according to which Greek *Kōlaios* of the literary tradition is likely to be identified with the Phokaian king *Holaios* of the inscription on the Lemnos stele—a suggestion which might be further enhanced if both names could be traced back to Anatolian *Hulaia-*, which is actually recorded as a river name (Rosenkranz 1966: 131; 139), the Anatolian [h] (= [kh] or χ) being variously represented as either [k] (by devoicing) or [h] (by lenition). In archaeological terms, the problem seems surmountable, as, admittedly, the presence of both Samian and Phokaian merchants at Huelva is indicated by the diagnostic ceramics during the period of c. 630-580 BC (Cabrera & Olmos 1985: 68-71 [Huelva, phase 3]), but the balance is definitely tipped in favor of Phokaian dominance, at least to the eyes of the specialists, by the presence of north-Ionian bird-bowls and Aiolian bucchero among this particular class of material (Cabrera & Olmos 1985: Huelva, phases 2-4).

Whatever one’s position in the latter discussion may be, what primarily concerns us here is that the participation of non-Greeks of Anatolian background in the trade on Tartessos, as hinted at by the Pelasgian or perhaps even Anatolian nature of the Phokaian royal name *Holaios*, is indicated:

(1) by the fact that the place-name itself for its formation in *-ss-* is of definite Luwian type (Woudhuizen 1989: 193-194; 202-204; note that formations in *-ss-* continued to be productive well into the Early Iron Age as exemplified by Pontic colonial names like *Hermonassa* on the Russian Crimea and other western Mediterranean ones like *Herbessos* in Sicily);

(2) by secondary Anatolian influences (alongside Aegean ones, like the “Greek” *san* [also in archaic Lydian, see Gusmani 1975: C, I, 1; 3-5, c. 650-550 BC] and *sampi* [also in Old Phrygian, see Brixhe & Lejeune 1984: G-275; P-106]) traceable in the Southwest Iberian script of ultimately Phoenician origin (de Hoz 1991), like the Lydian variant of the Phoenician *yod* for [i] and the archaic variant of the typically Lydian “figure-of-eight” [f] (Best & Woudhuizen 1989: 150 with note 30; Woudhuizen 1998-9: 163, note 9; Woudhuizen 2016a: 10-11) as well as the use of Phoenician *hē’* for the secondary vowel [i] recalling the Lycian use of this particular sign for its primary vowel [i] (Woudhuizen 2006d: 177; 179).

Apart from Luwian participation in the maritime trade on Tartessos as represented by Lydians, Lycians, and Tyrrhenians, however, we may, on account of the fact that the Phrygian king Midas is reported to have married the daughter of king Agamemnon of Aiolian Kyme, whose name is reported to have been either Hermodike or Demodike (cf. Wittke 2004: 222), also expect some Phrygian participation in this trade, which supposition receives emphasis indeed from literary sources in the form of the recorded involvement of a certain *Midacritus* (= a compound of Phrygian *Midas* with Greek *Kritos*) in the tin-trade with the islands of the Cassiterides south of Cornwall (Pliny, *Natural History* 7, 197; cf. Schulten 1922: 14).

LEMNIAN	ETRUSCAN	MEANING
<i>avis</i>	<i>avils</i>	“year”
-c	-c	“and”
<i>vanacasial</i>	<i>(trais)vanec</i>	“(thrice) king”
-m	-m	“and”
<i>maras</i>	<i>maxs</i>	“five”
<i>naφoθ</i>	<i>nefts</i>	“grandson”
<i>sialχveiś</i>	<i>śealχls</i>	“sixty”
<i>tavarśio/toveronarom</i>	<i>teveraθ, teurat</i>	“referee, judge”
-ke	-ce/-ke/-χe	3rd pers. sg./past tense
LEMNIAN	GREEK/PHRYGIAN	
<i>aker</i>	ὄκρις, ὄκρα, cf. <i>Akrisias</i> (GN)	“top, high”
<i>evisθo</i>	ἐφίστατο	“he was appointed”
<i>vanacasial</i>	(F)ἄναξ, <i>wanaktei</i> (D sg.)	“king”
<i>naφoθ</i>	νέποδες	“descendants”
<i>tiś</i>	τίς	“someone”
-ke	-κε	3rd pers. sg./aorist
LEMNIAN	LYCIAN	
<i>(h)ara-</i>	<i>ara/u-</i>	“citizen”
<i>epteśio</i>	<i>eb/pttehi-</i>	“their (own)”
<i>θoke</i>	<i>tuwe-</i>	“to erect”

LEMNIAN	MN/TN	ETHNIC BACKGROUND
<i>Holaieši</i>	<i>Holaias</i>	Pelasgian
<i>Šivai</i>	<i>Siwa-, Sivam-</i>	Hittite, Lydian
<i>Šlasi</i>	<i>Sla-</i>	Lycian
<i>Morinai</i>	<i>Myrina</i>	Pelasgian
<i>Šeronai</i>	<i>Sarna-</i>	Old European
<i>Φokiasiale</i>	<i>Phokaia</i>	Greek

Table LV. Correlations of Lemnian with other languages.

(PRO)NOMINAL DECLENSION AND VERBAL CONJUGATION

EXAMPLES OF NOMINAL DECLENSION

- (1) **N(m/f) sg.:** *aker* “head”.
- (2) **D sg.:** *Šivai* (3x) “for Sivas”, *aomai* “having died”.
- (3) **D-G sg.:** *vanacasial* “during the kingship”.
- (4) **G sg.:** *Holaieš* “(during the reign) of Holaios”, *sialχveiš aviš maraš(-m)*, *aviš sialχviš maraš(-m)* “of 65 years”.
- (5) **Loc. sg.:** *Šeronaiθ* (2x) “at Serona”.
- (6) **D pl.:** *Šeronai Morinai(-c)* “over the Seronians (and) Myrinians”.
- (7) **G pl.:** *arai* “of the citizens”, *toveronarom* “of the officials”.

EXAMPLES OF ADJECTIVAL SUFFIXES

- (1) **G sg.:** *Holaieši* “of Holaios”, *Šlaši* “of Sla”, *Φokiasiale* “(during the reign) of the Phokaian”.
- (2) **G pl.:** (*toveronarom*) *haralio* “of the civic (officials)”, *tavaršio* “of the officials”, *eptešio* “from their own (resources)”.

EXAMPLE OF PRONOMINAL DECLENSION

- (1) **N(m/f) sg.:** *tiš* “someone”.

EXAMPLES OF VERBAL CONJUGATION

- (1) **3rd pers. sg. active of the past tense:** *θoke* “he has erected”.

(2) **3rd pers. sg. middle of the past tense:** *evisθo* “he was appointed”.

NOUN		
	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	—	
D	-i	-ai
D-G	-l	
G	-ś	-ai, -arom (Lat.)
Loc.	-θ	
PRONOUN		
	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	tiś	
VERB		
	pres./fut.	past tense
3rd sg. act.		-ke
3rd sg. mid.		-θo

Table LVI. Overview of the Lemnian evidence of (pro)nominal inflection and verbal conjugation.

APPENDIX:

THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED INSCRIPTION FROM HEPHAISTIA

In Hephaistia on Lemnos a new inscription bearing testimony of the indigenous Lemnian language has recently been discovered (de Simone 2009 and 2011; Agostiniani 2012). The text, dating to the 6th century BC, runs *boustrophedon* on the basis of a stone monument with the remains of a pair of feet and what appears the lower side of a chair at its top side and reads as follows in sum: 1. *hktaonośi:heloke*, 2. *śoroms:aślas*.

We owe it to the merit of Heiner Eichner (2012) that we can identify in this legend: (1) the MN *Hekataon*, corresponding to Ionic Ἑκατέων and Attic Ἑκατών, (2) the verbal form *heloke*, which recalls Etruscan *helucu* as attested for an inscription from Caere (Rix 1991: Cr 4.10), (3) the GN *Šoroms*, related to the Etruscan GN *Šuri-*, and (4) the numeral *aśl-*, which cannot be dissociated from Etruscan *esl-* “2”. As such, then, the relation of Lemnian with Etruscan receives significant extra emphasis.

However, in the preceding, we have seen that *šuri-* is not a GN, but a vocabulary word corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *surali-* “abundance”, and that *esl-*, although a numeral, is in fact the ordinal of *ez* “1”, thus rendering the meaning “first”. Notwithstanding so, the GN *Šoroms* may reasonably be assumed to be a derivation from the vocabulary word *sura/i-* “abundance”, the god thus being “the abundant one” (cf. the epithet of Sabine Apollo at Soracte, *Soranus*). At any rate, the ending in *-ms* is well known from other Etruscan divine names, like *Lethams* “Leto”. Furthermore, the verbal root *helu-* is also traceable in the participle *helutes* (PC F, 21), corresponding with Greek ἐλόντες “having taken”. Obviously, we are dealing here with the 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense of the active in *-ke* of the same verbal root *helu-* “to take”, no doubt related to Greek αἰρέω “to take” (cf. esp. the perfect ἤλωκε of ἀλίσκομαι). Finally, it deserves our attention that the MN *Hekataon* is characterized by adjectival *-śi*, used in Etruscan as a means to express the dative case and that *aślas* is marked by the D(-G) in *-s*, known from Etruscan, for the expression of a temporal aspect.

In this manner, then, we arrive at the following transliteration and translation of the inscription from Hephaistia:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Hktaonośi:heloke</i> | “For Hekataon Soranos has taken |
| 2. <i>Šoroms:aślas</i> | (the enemy) at the first (attempt).” |

Note that in staging the god as the subject this dedicatory inscription is reminiscent of the Etruscan version of the bilingual texts from Delphi.



Fig. 42. Drawing of the Lemnos stele with different sections of the text in different shading.

PART VII

INDEX & BIBLIOGRAPHY

21. INDEX

- A. [PR^m] abbreviation Vt 8.1, § 1.
a- “to sacrifice” Ta 1.170.
a- “without” LL V, 22.
a- “from ... onwards” LL XI, 7; f2; PC L, 12.
-a- enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. DB 3; Facchetti 2001, § 4; PC F, 13 (N(m/f) sg. *-ś*, *-s(e)*); DB 0; Facchetti 2001, § 6 [used for A(m/f) pl.]; LL II, 4-5; 9; MD A, 2; PC L, 17; Wallace 2008: 166 (A(m/f) sg. *-n(e)*); LL IV, 13; IX, 17-18; Ta 1.170 (D sg. *-i*); Cl 8.5; CT III, 1²; IV, 3⁴; LL IV, 4-5; 17-18; X, 7; MD A, 1; B, 4; PC F, 7 (2x); 13; 15; 19; 24; TC VI, 23 (D(-G) sg. *-l(a/e)*); LL II, n2-3; n5; [4]; [8-9]; 11-12; 13; III, 21; 21-22; IV, [1-2]; 6-7; 13; 15-16; 19; 20; 20-21; 21; V, [1-2]; 4; 7; 11-12; 14; 14-15; 15; 21; 23; VI, 7; VII, 13; 23; VIII, 14-15; f5-6; [f6-7]; IX, [s1]; 3; 6; 8-9; 10-11; 13-14; 14-15; 17-18; 19-20; 22; [23]; [23-24]; [24]; X, 16; XI, f4; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 3 (D(-G) sg. *-ś*, *-s*); CT II, 1c²; 1c³; LL VI, 1-2; 2; 4; XI, f5 (Loc. sg. *-i(a)*); CT III, 1²; LL IV, 21; V, 15; IX, [24] (A(m/f) pl. *-iś*, *-is*); LL V, 18-19; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 4 (N-A(n) pl. *-t(a)*); LL II, 11-12; 13; III, 21; IV, 15-16; 20; 20-21; 21; V, [1-2]; 11-12; 14-15; 15; 21; VIII, f5-6; IX, 8-9; 14-15; 19-20; [23]; [23-24]; [24] (D pl. *-e(i)*); CT II, 2²; IV, 3⁴; [3⁶]; 3¹⁰ (G pl. *-iei*).
ac “and also” copulative particle Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 4.
acaz-, *acas-* “to sacrifice, finish (off); to make” CT II, 3b¹; III, 1³; IV, 3⁶; 3⁸; 3⁹; OA 2.21+6.1; Ta 1.17; 5.5.
acal(a)-, *acl-* “June” LL V, 18; VI, 14; VIII, 16; X, 9-10; XI, 1.
acaly- “June” CT IV, 1.
acil- “to kill sacrificial animals” PC L, 9.
acil- “sacrificially killed animal” LL VI, 15; 16; VII, 14 [2x]; 15; 15-16; VIII, 6; 8; X, 6; 7; XII, 10-11.
acnana- “fire place” AT 1.96; 1.105 (2x); Ta 1.164.
Acnasver- “Xerxēs (= Biblical Aḥasveros) [MN]” PB L, 2.
acnes- “torch” LL X, 5.
acni- “to light a fire” PC F, 17.
acunsi- “to drink” CT II, 1c.
av- “to go, come; to bring” CT II, 1c¹; V, 1¹.
Avele- “Avle [PR^m]” OA 2.21+6.1.
Avena- “Avenas [GE]” Ta 1.35.
Avhircina- “African [ethnonym]” AT 3.2.

- avil*- “year; age” Facchetti 2001, §§ 7; 8; LL II, [n3]; 6; III, 22; IV, 2; V, 4-5; VIII, 15; [f7]; IX, 4; 11; MD A, 1 (2x); 3; B, 4; PB L, 2; 3; S, 3; Ta 1.9; 1.107; Vc 1.94.
- a<vil>* “yearly” PC F, 19; L, 11.
- Avile*- “Avle [PR^m]” Ve 3.11; Vt 1.154.
- Avle* “Avle [PR^m]” AT 1.108; Cr 5.2; REE 55, 128; Vc 7.31; Vn 1.1.
- Aθena*- “Athēna [GN]” CT II, 1c³.
- aθr*- “to authorize, approve” LL XII, 10-11.
- aiś*-, *ais*- “god” LL IV, 20-21; V, 18; VIII, 16; IX, [23-24].
- Aiser(a)*- “Asherah [GN]” LL II, 11-12; IV, 20; V, 7-8; IX, [23]; XII, 2; MD A, 2.
- aisval*- “belonging to the divine cult” LL VII, 20.
- aisn(a)*- “divine omen” LL VII, 10-11; IX, f1; X, 20; XI, 12-13; 15; XII, 1-2; 9.
- aisuna*- “divine cult” LL VI, 7.
- aiu*- “produce, harvest” CT III, 2¹.
- al(i)*- “to dedicate” LL VIII, 17; OA 3.9, § 2; Ve 3.1; Vs 3.6.
- Aleθna*- “Alethnas [GE]” AT 1.96; 1.100; 1.105; 1.108.
- Alθrna*- “Althrnas [GE]” Cm 2.13.
- aliqu* vase name Cr 3.4-8.
- Alpan* “Alban” Co 3.4; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 3.
- alpni*- “to wear the white (dress)” OA 3.9, § 2.
- Alpnu* “Alban” Ta 3.9.
- als*- “sea, salt” PB L, 2.
- Alφaz(e)*- “Alban” LL IV, 11-12; V, 8-9; IX, 15-16; 17.
- am*- “to be” AT 1.100; Facchetti 2001, §§ 4; 7; LL VII, 14; 19-20; VIII, 6; 8; X, 2-3; 5; 9; 14; MD A, 3; PC F, 2; 5; L, 15; TC IV, 15.
- ampe*- “to carry around” LL VIII, 2.
- amu*- “to be” PB S, 3.
- an(-)* “in; during” Facchetti 2001, § 2; LL II, 4-5; 9; III, 15; IV, [4-5]; 17-18; VI, 1-2; 2; 4; 5-6; 17; VII, 7; X, 11-12; XI, f5; XII, 11; Ta 1.17; 1.182.
- ana(n)* “below, under” CT V, 2; Fa 3.1+6.1; Wallace 2008: 166.
- anan* “together with; among” LL III, 13-14; X, 11.
- anθ[-]e*- “to place (?) inside” LL VI, 10-11.
- Anini* “Anini [GE]” Cr 1.13.
- anpili(a)*- “May” CT III, 1.
- apa*- “younger” Cr 5.2.
- apan*- “his” REE 55, 128.
- apas*- “his” AT 1.108.

- apertul*- “Aphroditē’s day” CT II, 3a; IV, 1.
apir- “of April” CT II, 1a¹; 1c¹.
apiras- “April” CT II, 1a; 2.
Aplu- “Apollō [GN]” DB 3.
apn- “additional offering” LL VI, 3-4; 4.
Apna- “Apna [CO]” TC VI, 26-7; VII, 7.
Aprθna- “Aprthna [PR^f]” Ta 5.5.
Aprθnai “Aprthnai [GE]” Ta 7.46; 7.51.
Apula- “Apula [PR^m]” Cm 2.2.
ar- “to erect” AT 1.35; 1.96; 1.105; Ta 1.164.
ar(a)- “altar” CT II, 2¹; LL III, 16-17; VII, 7; <9>; 17; <19-20>, 21; 23; VIII, 10; f1-2; X, 4; 19-20; MD A, 3; Wallace 2008: 166.
ara- “house” PC F, 6.
ara- “free citizen” LL 18; XI, 9; f5.
Araz “Arnth [PR^m]” La 2.3.
Araθia- “Arathia [PR^f]” Cl 2.3; Facchetti 2002: 18 (Dallas fibula); Poetto & Facchetti 2009.
Aranθ “Arnth [PR^m]” Cr 3.20.
Aranθia- “Aranthia [PR^f]” Stopponi 2001, § 1.
araś- “something belonging to the altar” Vt 8.1., § 3.
arvust- “of the arable land, agricultural” CT III, 2¹.
Arzn- “Arnz [PR^m]” PC F, 9.
Aritim(i)- “Artemis [GN]” Facchetti 2001, § 2; OB 3.2.
Arnza- “Arnza [PR^m]” TC III, 12.
Arnθ- “Arnth [PR^m]” AS 1.409; AT 1.96 (2x); 1.100; 1.108; Facchetti 2001, § 4; TC VI, 25.
Arnt- “Arnth [PR^m]” TC III, 9; 14; VI, 25.
Arntia- “Arnti [PR^f]” Co 3.4.
Arntlei- “Arntlei [PR^f]” TC IV, 17.
aru- “free citizen” LL X, 5.
arusin- “to be civic magistrate” Facchetti 2001, § 2.
Asi- “Asia [GN]” Vs 4.3.
aska “askos” Fa 2.3.
Astre- “Astarte [GN]” PB I, 1.
Atelina- “Atelinas [GE]” Ta 3.2.
ati “older” Cr 5.2.
Atianaia- “Atianaia [PR^f]” Ve 3.1.
Atrane- “Artanès [MN]” PB L, 2.
atrsr- “to authorize” Ta 1.182.
atu[-]n- “to ..?..” CT II, 3b.
Aule- “Aule [PR]” PC F, 9; TC III, 11 (2x); VI, 28; B, 1; VII, 3; 5-6.

Aḫapri “Akhapri [GE]” La 6.1; Ve 3.1.

aḫe- “(s)he” CT II, 3a; 3b¹.

afr- “April” MD A, 3; B, 5.

Afunā- “Afunā [GE]” PC F, 3; 11; 17; 23; L, 13-4; 16.

a[-----]- “[]” LL XI, 15.

-c “and; also” AT 1.108; Cr 5.2 (2x); CT II, 3c; IV, 3¹; 3³; 3⁴; V, 1; LL II, [n1-2]; [n3-4]; [n4-5]; [2-3 [2x]]; 4 [2x]; 4-5; 6-7; 7-8; 8-9 [2x]; 9; III, 15; 22-23 [2x]; 23; IV, 3 [2x]; 3-4 [2x]; 4; [4]; 6 [2x]; 15-16; 16 [2x]; 17 [2x]; 18-19 [2x]; 20; <20>; 20-21; V, 2 [2x]; 3; 5; 6; 10; 11-12; 12; 14; 14-15; <14-15>; 17; 18; 20-21; 21; 22 [2x]; 22-23; VI, 5-6; 6; 10-11 [2x]; 17; VII, 9; 11-12; 13; 15-16; 22-23; VIII, 3-4; 7; 9-10; f5-6; [f7-8 [2x]]; IX, [s1]; 1-2; 4-5; 5-6; 8-9; 9; 11-12 [2x]; 12-13; 14-15; 19-20; 20 [2x]; 21; [22-23]; [<23>]; [23-24]; X, 9-10; 11; 11-12; 17; 20-21 [3x]; 22; 22-23; f1 [3x]; f4; XI, 4; 12-13; f2; f3; f4; XII, 3-4; 6; 7 [2x]; 8; 12; MD B, 4 (3x); PB L, 1; PC F, 7; 11 (2x); L, 8; Ta 1.35; 1.96; 1.182; 5.2; 5.5; 5.6; TC I, 2 (2x); 3; 4; 5; 6 (3x); 7; IV, 15; 16; V, 22; VI, 23; 25 (2x); 27; 28; 29; 30; 32; VII, 3; 7 (2x); Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 2.

c(a)- “this” Cr 5.2; LL II, [4-5]; 9; III, 14-15; IV, 17-18; VI, 15; VII, 12; X, 7; 14-15; f3; XI, f2; 14; 16; 18; f2; XII, 1; PC F, 15; 19; 21; 24; L, 20; Ta 1.182; TC I, 4; II, 7; VI, 23; Vt 8.1, § 2.

-*c(a)*- “this” LL II, n1-2; [3-4]; III, [12]; 15; 16-17; IV, 4-5; V, 3; 16; 19-20; VI, 10-11; VII, 10; 15; 17 [2x]; 21; VIII, 1-2; 9-10; 10; 14; 16-17; 17; f5-6; IX, 2-3; 9-10; X, 4; 10-11; 11-12; 18; 19; f2-3; XI, 2; 4; 7; 9; XII, 9-10; 11; PB S, 3; PC L, 13; Ta 1.17; Vt 8.1, § 5.

Cae, Caesi- “Caesie [PR^m]” OA 3.9, §§ 1, 2.

Caveθ-, *Caθ*- “Cauthas [GN]” LL VI, 15; VIII, 7.

Caθn(i)- “of Cauthas; follower of Cauthas” CT II, 1b; LL X, 8; 13; 16; XII, 3-4; 8.

cai- “to burn” LL VII, 10.

Caile “Cailes [PR^m]” Vc 7.24.

cal(a)- “beautiful” LL X, f3-4.

Cale- “Cales [GE]” Vt 8.1, § 1.

Caliaθe- “Caliathes [GE]” Ta 5.2.

Calu- “Calu [GN]” CT II, 3b; MD B, 4.

camθi “dic(t)ator, president” Ta 1.96.

Camitlna- “Camitlnas [GE]” Vc 7.32.

Camnas “Camnas [GE]” Ta 1.182.

- cana*- “evil” LL XI, 12-13; 17-18.
canθ- “to preside” Ta 1.170.
canza- “term of office as president” Ta 3.9.
cap(e)-, *cap(i)*- “to take (away)” Cm 2.13; 2.46; LL VI, 6; VII, 10-11; VIII, 9-10; X, 22-23; XII, 1; 7; 12; PC F, 14.
capen- “priest” LL X, 2-3.
capeś- “to take once and again” LL V, 1.
Capua- “Capua [TN]” Ta 1.107.
cars- “to take care of continuously” LL X, f3.
caru- “beloved, dear” PC F, 3.
cares- “to take care of, caress; to commemorate” Pe 5.2, § 2.
casθial- “bone-house, mausoleum” MD A, 1; 2.
Cat-, *Catn(e)*- “of Cauthas” LL X, f4; XI, 9; f6.
Cauθa- “Cautha [GN]” MD A, 1.
Caules “Caules [GE]” Vc 7.30.
ce-, *cē*- “this” Facchetti 2001, § 7; TC V, 18.
cehe- “this” Pe 4.1.
Ceisini- “Ceisinis [GE]” Ta 1.170.
cel- Precinct” Pe 4.1.
Cēlatina- “Celatina [GE]” TC III, 11; VI, 24; 26; VII, 7; 7-8.
celeniar- “son [oblique stem]” Maggiani 1999: 52-54.
celθ- “cult(-festival)” LL VI, 15.
cel(i)- “September” LL IV, 14; 21-22; V, 10; 16; 17; VIII, 3; IX, 18; [24]; XI, 1 [2x]; 2; 3-4.
celtinēit- “regulations of the cult” TC VII, 3.
celu “third” LL III, [12]; VII, 10; 17; VIII, 17; X, 10-11; XI, 7.
celutul- “third day” CT II, 2.
cemn(a)- “twin” LL IV, 20-21; V, 18; VIII, 16; IX, [23-24]; X, 9-10.
cenu- “meal” PC F, 10; TC I, 2.
cepa- “to take” LL VII, 18-19.
cepen- “priest” AT 1.108; LL VII, 8-9; 9; 15; 18-19 [2x]; 21-22; [23-24]; X, [1-2]; 3; 17; 18-19; XI, 5-6; [f0]; [f1-2]; MD A, 3.
ceś(a)-, *ceś(u)*-, “chamber, room” LL VI, 1-2; X, 19-20; XI, f3; TC V, 20; VII, 4.
cere(n)-, *cerin*- “to take care (of)” LL VII, 9; 11-12; 15; 18-19; 21-22; 22-23; 23-24.
cerixu- “to build” Cr 5.2; Ta 1.182.
ces(a)-, *cesu* “chamber, room” Cr 5.2; LL X, f2-3.
ceu- “fire” LL VII, 8-9.
ceχa “senate” LL XI, 13; XII, 7; 11; OA 3.9, § 1; OB 3.2; PC L, 21.
ceχan(e)- “member of the senate” LL VII, 7; Ta 1.9.

- ceḡini*- “senatorial” CT IV, 3¹⁰.
- cva*- “who, what” LL II, 12-13; III, 13; 13-14; IV, 12; V, 8; VI, 1; VII, 8-9; 14; 18-19; VIII, 1-2; X, 9; 15-16; 17; XI, f2.
- cve*- “when, because” CT II, 1; III, 1; V, 1; PB L, 2 (2x).
- cver(a)*- “because of” Facchetti 2001, § 5; OA 3.6; Wallace 2008: 175.
- Cvinti*- “Quīntus [GE]” Co 3.4.
- Cvlsans*- “Culsans [GN]” Vs 3.6.
- ci(-)*- “3” AT 1.105; 0.14-15; CT II, 1c (2x); 2²; 3b¹ (2x); LL X, 20-21; PB L, 2; PC F, 24.
- ci*- “this” CT II, 1c²; 1c³; 3a¹; IV, 3⁸; V, 1¹.
- cia*- “to part into three” LL III, 19-20; VIII, [f4].
- cial*- “third” MD A, 3.
- ciem cealḡu*- “27” LL IX, f2; X, 2.
- Cilnei*- “Cilnei [GE]” Facchetti 2001, § 1.
- Cilnie*- “Cilnies [GE]” Facchetti 2001, § 1.
- cina*- “meal” Vt 8.1, § 1.
- cipen*- “priest” CT II, 1a¹; V, 1.
- ci- śari*- “13” LL VIII, 1.
- Cisie*- “Cisie [GE]” Cr 2.7.
- ciz*- “three times, thrice” LL III, 16; VII, 6; Vc 1.94.
- cilv*- “tertiary” LL X, f2-3.
- cilθ*- “cult(-festival)” LL II, [n1-2 [2x]]; n4-5; 3-4; [7-8]; III, <23>; V, 3; 6; 13; 22-23; VII, 7; 8-9; 14; 18-19 [2x]; VIII, 14; [f5-6]; [f8]; IX, 2-3; 5-6; 9-10; 12-13; 21; XI, 8-9; XII, 11.
- cisu*- “three times” LL II, [n3]; 6; III, 22; IV, 3; 15-16; V, 4-5; 11-12; 21; VIII, [f7]; IX, 4; 11; 19-20.
- citz*- “in three times” LL V, 17; 18-19.
- cl*- “of this” LL III, 18-19; VIII, 11-12; [f3-4].
- cl*- “day” Pe 5.2, § 2.
- cla*- “precinct” LL V, 23; XI, 10-11; PC L 18-19.
- Clavtieθur*- “brotherhood of the Claudii” Cr 5.2.
- clan, clen(i)ar*- “son” AT 1.96 (2x); 1.105; 1.108; Cr 5.2; Ta 1.9; 1.17; 1.96; 1.170; 5.5; TC IV, 15; 16; VI, 25 (2x); 27; 30-31; Vc 1.94; Vt S.2.
- claruḡi*- “colonist” Cl 8.5.
- cle*- “precinct” PC F, 14; 17; Ta 1.170.
- cleva*- “enclosure, precinct” PB S, 1.
- clevan(a)*- “temple-offering” LL VII, 10-11; 15-16.
- clevia*- “of the enclosure, precinct” CT IV, 3⁴.
- clen*- “son(s of)” PC F, 9-10; 12.
- clen*- “representative” OA 3.9, § 1; OB 3.2.

- cletra-*, *cl<e>tra-* “bier” LL II, 10-11; 12-13; III, 13; 16; IV, 8-9; [10]; 12; 13; V, 8; VIII, 4-5; IX, 15; XI, [f6].
- cliniar-* “son [oblique stem]” Ta 3.2.
- cluc-*, *clucθr-* “third-timer” LL VIII, 9-10; XII, 12; 13.
- cluvenia-* name of a feast PB L, 1.
- Cneve* “Gnaeus [PR^m]” Vc 7.33.
- cni-* “to burn” LL X, 19.
- cnticnθ-* “overall leading” LL VII, 18-19; XI, 5-6.
- Crapś-* “of Grabovius” LL III, 18-19; IV, 7-8; 14-15; 19; VI, 12.
- creal-* “third” Ta 1.17.
- Creice-* “Greek [ethnonym]” Ta 1.17.
- cresver-* “expression of true concern” LL V, 16-17.
- Criqu* “Greek [ethnonym]” Ta 3.1.
- Crθlu-* “Cruthlus [GE]” Facchetti 2001, § 3.
- cu-* “who, what” LL XII, 12.
- Cuclnia-* “Cuclnias [GE^f]” Ta 1.9.
- Cuclnie-* “Cuclnies [GE^m]” Ta 1.96.
- Cucrina-* “Cuclria [GE]” TC VI, 23.
- cuve-* “ox” CT II, 1b.
- cui-* “who, what” CT II, 1a¹.
- Culś-* “Culsans [GN]” LL VIII, 1-2.
- Culśanś-* “Culsans [GN]” Co 3.4.
- Cupe-* “Cupe [PR^m]” Cm 2.13.
- Curuna-* “Curunas [GE]” Ta 1.35.
- Cusu-* “Cusu [GE]” TC IV, 15; 16; VI, 28; 32; B, 1; VII, 2; 5.
- Cusuθur(a)-* “Cusu-brotherhood” TC I, 2-3; II, 7; V, 21.
- Dardan-* “Dardanian” Af 8.1-8.
- e* “not” Pe 5.2, § 2.
- ec(a)-* “this” LL II, [2]; IV, 2; V, 1-2; IX, 1; 8-9; MD A, 2; 3; B, 4; PC F, 20; REE 55, 128; Ta 3.9; 5.5; Vt S.2.
- ecunz(a)-* “source” CT II, 1b¹.
- evi* “to” MD B, 4.
- ez* “one” MD A, 1.
- eθ* “in the presence of” CT II, 1c¹; 1c³; IV, 3⁸; 3¹¹; V, 2¹; MD A, 3; B, 4; Ta 5.6.
- eθr(i)-* “commons” LL XI, 13.
- Eθrs-* “Etruscan [ethnonym]” noun, LL II, n2-3; 5-6; III, 21-22; IV, 1-2; V, 4; VIII, 14-15; [f6-7]; IX, 3; [10-11].

- ei* “not” AT 1.96; Cm 2.13; 2.46; CT II, 2¹; 2³; Facchetti 2001, § 6; LL IV, 12; 13-14; V, 9-10; IX, 16; 17-18; XI, 16; PC L, 17; Wallace 2008: 166; 176-177, § 4.
- Einana-* “Einanas [GE]” Ta 1.96.
- eis-* “god” LL X, 9-10.
- Eiser(a)-* “Asherah [GN]” LL V, 10; 14; 14-15; 19-20.
- eisn(a)-* “divine omen” LL IV, 22; VI, 12; IX, f2; XI, 10-11; XII, 7.
- eiste-* type of offering MD B, 4.
- eleivana-* “oily, for oil” Fa 2.3; Poetto & Facchetti 2009.
- ēliunt-* “having taken (from)” TC I, 1.
- elfa-* “alpha(bet)” CT II, 3a¹.
- em-* “to be” PC F, 7.
- eme* “I” Vn 0.1.
- en* “not” Cl 2.4.
- en, ena* “during” LL II, [n2-3], n5; [4]; 8-9; III, 21-22; IV, [1-2]; 6-7; 19; V, 4; 7; 14; 23; VII, 11-12; 23; VIII, 14-15; [f6-7]; IX, [s1]; 3; 6; 10-11; 13-14; 22; f4; XI, f2; f4; XII, 4; 7; OA 3.9, § 2.
- enesc-* “under discussion, in question” PC F, 7-8; L, 3; 12.
- enia-* “to yield” PB L, 3.
- ep-* “afterwards” LL V, 17.
- ep(a)-* “this” LL X, 23.
- epl-* “behind, around” PC F, 10-11; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 3.
- epl-tularu-* “neighboring inhabitants” PC F, 8.
- epn* “behind” CT II, 2¹.
- eprθieva* “the (office of) the precidency” AT 1.108.
- eprθnevc* “the (office of) the precidency” AT 1.108.
- ēpru-* “guardian” TC IV, 14-15.
- ešvi-* “ceremony” LL IX, [22-23].
- eš(i)-* “honor” LL III, 20; VIII, f4-5; X, 11; 20-21 [2x]; f4; XI, f3.
- eštl-* “day one, the first day” PC F, 2-3; L, 7-8.
- ēs-* “god” TC II, 7.
- esvi-* “ceremony” LL IV, 15-16; 20; V, 11-12; 14-15; IX, 19-20.
- esvita* “ceremonially” adverb LL VIII, 1.
- esvitl-* “day of the ceremonies” LL VIII, 2.
- eslem cealχu-, eslem cialχu-* “29th” LL XI, 12; 17-18.
- eslem zaθrum(i)-* “19th” LL VI, 14; XI, 8.
- eslz* “once” AT 1.108 (2x).
- eslśi* “for the first time” AT 1.105.
- Estr(e)-* “Astarte [GN]” LL IV, 11-12; V, 8-9; IX, 15-16; 17.
- esχaθ-* “to take outside” CT II, 2; III, 1¹; IV, 3¹; 3²; 3³; 3⁷; 3¹¹.
- et* “in the presence of; owing to” TC I, 1.

- et(a)*- “this” LL III, 12 [2x]; V, 1; 7-8; VI, 5; 7 [2x]; 12; VII, 9; 10; 13; 14; 15-16; 16-17; 17; 19-20; 20 [2x]; 22-23; 23-24; VIII, 2; 16-17; 17; X, 10; 10-11; XI, 1; 4-5; 6; 6-7; 7 [2x]; 12-13; 15; [17]; f2; XII, 1-2; 9.
- Etana*- “Athēna [GN]” PB S, 1.
- eter(a)*- “common people; commons” LL X, 22; XII, 3-4; 8.
- eterav* “of the commons” AT 1.105.
- eterau* “of the commons” Ta 1.96.
- etrin*- “to consecrate” LL XII, 5.
- etul*- “idus” CT V, 2.
- V. “V(e)l [PR^m]” AT 1.105 (2x); Co 3.4; Wallace 2008: 175.
- v*-, *va*-, *-va* introductory particle CT II, 1c²; 1c³; 3a¹; V, 1¹; LL III, 15; 16-17; V, 16; 19-20; VI, 10-11; VII, 7; 8-9; 15; 17; 21; VIII, 1-2; 9-10; 10; 16-17; X, 4; 11-12; 18; 20-21; f2-3; f3; XI, 2; 4; 9; XII, 9-10; PB S, 3; PC F, 2; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § [5].
- var*- “other” LL IV, 12; 13-14; V, 9-10; IX, 16; 17-18; XI, 16.
- vatie*- “to build” PB I, 1.
- ve*- introductory particle CT IV, 3⁸.
- Veive*- “Veiovis [GN]” LL XI, 14.
- Vel*-, *Vēl*- “Vel [PR^m]” OA 3.6; TC III, 11; 12; Ta 3.1; 5.5.
- Vēlave*- “Velaves [GE]” TC III, 14.
- Velaveśna*- “Velavesnas [GE]” Cl. 2.3.
- Vēlara*- “Velara [GE]” TC III, 10 (2x).
- Velas* “Velas [PR^f]” Vc 1.94.
- Velcl*- “of Vulci, Vulcian” Vc 4.1-2.
- Velznaχ* “from Volsinii” Vc 7.27.
- Velθ(a)*- “Veltha [GN]” LL X, 8; 10; 15-16.
- Velθan(a)*- “Velthanas [GE]” DB 2.
- Velθina*-, *Vēlθina*-, *Velθine*- “Velthina [GE]” LL VI, 7; XI, 8-9; PC F, 2; 9; 13; 15-6; 17-8; 19; L, 1; 8; 15-6; TC III, 12.
- Velθinaθura*- “the Velthina-brotherhood” PC F, 6; 20.
- Velθite*- “at Volsinii” LL VII, 20.
- Velθur*-, *Vēlθur*- “Velthur [PR^m]” TC VI, 31; 31-2; VII, 6 (2x); Ta 1.9; 5.5; Maggiani 1999: 52-4.
- Velθurt[e]*- “Voluturnian [GN]” CT IV, 3.
- Velθuru*- “Velthurus [CO]” Ta 1.17.
- Veliana*- “Velianas [GE]” PB I, 1.
- Veliiuna*- “Velianas [GE]” PB II, 1.
- Velkasna*- “Velkasnas [GE]” Ve 3.10.
- Veltur*- “Veltur [PR^m]” Ve 3.14.

- Vel(u)*- “Vel [PR^m]” Ta 1.35; 1.170; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 1.
Vēluslna- “Veluslna [GE]” TC III, 13.
Velχa- “Velkhas [GE]” Pellegrino & Colonna 2002; Ta 5.5.
Velχaina- “Velkhainas [GE]” Cr 3.10; 3.13; La 3.1.
Velχana- “Velkhanas [GE]” Cr 3.11.
Vēlχe- “Velkhe [PR^m]” TC IV, 15; VI, 27; 28; VII, 5.
-ven(e)- “altar” LL VII, 15-16.
Venel(i)- “Venel [PR^m]” Pellegrino & Colonna 2002; Ta 3.2; Ve 3.1.
Venθi “Venthi [PR^m]” Vc 7.30.
vēr- “to help, support” TC II, 7.
Vestiricina- “Vestiricinas [GE]” Cr 3.20.
vet(i)- “mountain” LL X, f6.
Vētna- “Vetna [GE]” TC III, 9-10.
-vetr(a)- “old” LL VI, 2.
Vetusia “Vetusia [PR^f]” La 2.1.
vina- “wine” TC I, 1-2.
vinal- “(libation) of wine” CT II, 3b¹.
vin-, *vinu*-, *vinum*, *vin<u>m* “wine” LL III, 17-18; 19-20; IV, 9-10; 14;
 <19>; <20>; <20-21>; 22; V, 1; <14>; <14-15>; VIII, 5; 8; f4;
 IX, 7; 22; [<23>]; [<23-24>]; f1; X, f1; XI, 2; 4; 10.
Vipi- “Vipi [GE]” TC III, 9.
Vipienna- “Vibenna [GE]” Ve 3.11.
Vipina- “Vibenna [GE]” Vc 7.24; 7.31.
Vnata “Unata [GE]” Af 8.1-8.
vuv- “ox” LL X, 19.

z- “this” PC F, 16.
za- “one; first” LL VIII, 13; X, 2-3.
zacina- “inscribed table” TC I, 6.
zavena “cup” Cm 2.2.
zaθrum- “20” Vc 1.94.
zaθrumsn- “20th day” LL VI, 9.
zal- “first; original” CT IV, 3⁴ (2x); LL X, 20-21 [2x]; TC I, 7; AT
 1.96; 0.14-15.
zamaθi-, *zamθ(i)*-, *zamt(i)*- “votive offering” Cl 2.3; LL VIII, 9-10;
 XII, 12.
zan- “first one” LL X, 18-19.
zarv- “smoke offering” LL IX, 1; 8.
zarfne- “smoke offering ceremony” LL II, 11-12; IV, 6-7; [11-12].
Zaru- “Zaru [GE]” Vs 3.6.
zatlχn- “one functioning as guard, guard” LL VIII, 13.

- ze-* “one; once” LL II, [2-3]; IV, 3; V, 2; 22; IX, 1-2; 9; PC L, 11.
zelvθ- “praetor” LL VII, 13.
zer- “smoke offering” LL II, [2]; IV, [2]; V, 1-2; 22; IX, 1; 8-9.
zeri- “to bring as a smoke offering” PC L, 18.
zi- “once” PC F, 19.
zic- “inscription” TC V, 18; 21.
ziv- “living” LL VIII, 12; Ta 1.182 (2x).
ziz- “to cover with cereals (?)” CT III, 1².
zil(a)- “praetor” CT III, 1².
zil(a)c- “praetorship” AT 1.96; PB L, 2; Ta 5.5; TC VII, 2; Vc 1.94;
 Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 5.
zilaθ “praetor” TC VI, 24; AT 1.100; 1.105 (2x).
zilaχn(u)- “to exercise the praetorship” AT 1.105; 1.108; Ta 1.170;
 Vc 1.94.
zilχ “praetorship” Ta 1.9.
zina-, *-zin(e)-* “to make” AV 6.1; Fa 3.1+6.1; X.1; LL VIII, 7; 8.
zinaku “product” Fs 6.1.
zine- “to make” Maggiani 1999: 52-54.
ziχ “book” Ta 1.17.
ziχn- “to write” LL II, [4-5]; 9.
ziχ(u)- “to write” CT II, 3a¹; Fa 3.1+6.1; PC L, 21-22; TC V, 18.
zlχn- “one exercising the praetorship” LL IV, [6]; 18-19; VIII, 13.
-zua- reflexive pronoun of the 3rd pers. LL VII, 8-9.
zuc(i)- “wife” PC F, 7; L, 3-4; 11-12.
zuθ- “grave gift” LL X, 20-21.
zuśl- “piglet” LL II, 11-12.
zuślev- “piglet” LL IV, 7-8; 11-12; VIII, 7; IX, 1; 8.
zuslev- “piglet” CT II, a¹; 1c; 1c¹; 3b; IV, 3³; 3⁸; 3⁹; 3¹¹; LL IX, 13-14;
 15-16.
Zutas “Zutas [CO]” Af 8.1-8.
- Havrna-* “Havrnas [GE]” REE 55, 128.
haθ- “to eat” LL II, [n3-4]; 6-7; V, 5; 12; IX, 4-5; 11-12; 20.
halχ- type of offering CT II, 2³.
halχz- “little *halχ*” LL X, 20-21; f1-2.
Hamφe- “Amphiōn [GN]” LL VI, 3; 4-5; X, 6; XI, f4-5; f6.
Hamφisc(a)- “of Amphiōn” LL VI, 9.
hanθ<θ>in- “to keep inside” LL XI, 3; 6-7.
Hanipaluscl- “the day of Hannibal’s (victory)” Ta 1.107.
Hanφina- “Hanphinas [GE]” AT 3.2.
har- “to eat” PC F, 24.

- hat(n)*- “to eat” LL III, 22-23; IV, 3-4; 16; VIII, [f7-8].
haust- “drinking; drinker” LL X, 22-23; f4.
hec(i)- “to slaughter” LL VI, 6; X, f4.
hecz- “to place outside” LL V, 16-17.
heci(a)- “slaughtered animal” LL VII, 10-11.
hevn- “to bring” MD A, 1.
helut- “being taken (from)” PC F, 21.
hemsī- “to (..?..)” LL II, [2-3]; V, 2.
hen “first” PC F, 5; 24.
heśn- “to settle” MD A, 3.
heram(v)- “altar” PB L, 1; 3.
Hercle- “Heraklēs [GN]” OA 3.9, § 1; Vt S.2; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 3.
Hermu- “Hermu [PR^m]” Vs 3.6.
het- “to eat” LL XI, 4; XII, 6; 8.
hetr- “to lower, settle down” LL V, 17-18; VIII, 15; X, 9.
hexz- “to place outside” LL III, 17; VIII, [f2]; X, 8; 14-15; f5; XI, 4.
hexś- “to place outside” LL IV, 9; 14; IX, 6.
Hvlave- “Flāvus [PR^m]” REE 57, 45.
Hvulve-, *Hvuluve*- “Fulvus [GE]” Ve 3.9; 3.30; REE 59, 22.
hica “this” Jeffery 1998 “western Greece” no. 2.
hivu- “liver” CT II, 3c; 3c¹.
hila- “to favor; to be favored” Cl 8.5; LL VII, 14; XI, f5; XII, 3; 5; 6; 8; 13.
hilχ- = *halχ*- LL VI, 2.
hinθ- “(something) inside” PC F, 14.
hinθθin- “to keep inside” LL X, 10-11.
hinθ(u)- “inside, entrails” LL IX, f1; X, 14-15; XI, 10-11; XII, 7.
Hipucrate- “Hippokratēs [PR^m]” Ta 6.1.
Hirume- “Hirume [PR^m]” Cr 3.12.
Hirumina- “Hiruminas [GE]” Vn 1.1.
huvi “you [pl.]” MD B, 5.
huθ(-) “4” AT 0.14-15; CT II, 1a¹; Vt 8.1, § 2.
huθi- *zaθrumi*- “24” LL VIII, 3; XI, 15-16.
hu<θ>χ “four times (?)” CT III, 1¹.
hula- “to raise, elevate” Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 5.
Hulχnie- “Hulχnie [GE]” Ta 5.2; 5.5.
hupn- “dead” LL VI, 16.
huśialχu “40” CT III, 1¹.
huśur- “boy” Ta 1.164.
hurs- “great one” LL VIII, 9; XII, 7.

- husilitul*- “fourth day” CT IV, 3.
husln- “fourth day” LL III, 19-20; VIII, 5; f2; f4.
hut “4” PC F, 16.
hut(e)- “to be made four (parts)” LL X, 13-14.
- θa*- “to set out” LL II, n3-4; [6-7]; III, 22-23; IV, [3-4]; 16; V, 5; 12; VI, 5-6; VII, 13; VIII, [f7-8]; IX, 4-5; 11-12; 20.
θam(u)- “to build” PB S, 1; Ta 5.2.
θamuqu- “building” Maggiani 1999: 52-54.
Θanaχvil- “Thanakhvil [PR^f]” Facchetti 2002: 18 (Dallas fibula).
Θanirsiie “Thanirsiie [PR^m]” Ve 3.30.
Θanr- “Thanr (= Tanit) [GN]” MD B, 4; Pe 4.1.
Θanura- “Thanr [GN]” CT IV, 3².
Θanχvil- “Thanaquil [PR^f]” AT 1.108.
θapn(a)- “cup” LL X, 22; f1; XI, 2-3; Po 2.21.
θapnz- “little cup” LL X, 22; f1.
θar- “three” LL III, 19-20; VIII, 12; [f4].
Θarnie- “Tharnies [GE]” Vt 1.85.
θaura-, *θauru*- “storeroom” PC F, 21; Pe 4.1; 5.2, § 2.
θaurχ- “of the storeroom” LL VII, 15; 21-22; [23-24].
θaχś(e)- “to assemble” LL IX, f2.
θez(e)-, *θezi(n)*- “to lay down” LL III, 13; 14-15; IV, 3; 5; 18; VI, 9; 10-11; VIII, 3-4; 12-13; 16; IX, 1-2; 9; XI, 14.
θel(i)- “payment” LL V, 22.
Θelu- “Thelu [PR^m]” AT 1.105 (2x).
θemiasa- “legislator” PB L, 1.
θen(u)- “to hold” CT V, 2¹; LL XII, 6; Vt 8.1, § 4.
θes(an)- “to lay down” LL V, 16; 21; XI, 10-11; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 4.
Θesan- “Thesan [GN]” LL V, 19-20 [2x]; 23; VII, 12; XI, 14; 18.
θesvit(i)- “room of the depositions” LL V, 20-21.
θe<s>nśt “lawfully” adverb Vt 8.1 § 5.
θeu- “god” LL VI, 5-6.
Θefarie- “Thefarie [PR^m]” PB L, 1; S, 1.
-θei “here” LL III, 19-20.
θ(i)- stressed pronoun of the 3rd pers. LL X, 22-23; f2; XI, 2-3; 4; 5-6; 6; PC F, 10 (2x); 15; L, 19.
θina “deinos” Cr 2.9.
Θihvarie- “Thefarie [PR^m]” Cr 2.7.
θlup- type of offering LL XI, f2.

θras- “to engrave” Vt S.2.

θruθ(u)- “druid” LL X, 11-12.

θu- “to place” Cr 5.2; LL VI, 3; X, 4; 6; 14; 16-17; 18; 23; f1; f2; f5; XI, 9; 16; f4; f5; XII, 6; Ta 5.5; TC I, 4; V, 21; Vt 8.1, § 3; Wallace 2008: 166; 176-177, § 2.

θu- “2” AT 0.14-15; LL X, 20-21; f3-4.

θuct- “August” LL VIII, 1; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 2.

θuva- “two” PB L, 1.

Θuker “Thuker [PR^m]” AV 6.1.

θum- “second” LL XI, 7; f2.

θum(i)- “second day” PC L, 12-3.

θumicl- “second day” LL X, 13.

θumitl- “second day” LL X, 13-14.

θums- “secondary; secondarily” LL X, f2-3; XII, 12-13.

θun(-) “second; second time, twice; both; double” LL IV, 4-5; 17-18; VI, 7; 13; VII, 17; 23; X, 7; XII, 3-4; 5; 6; 8; MD B, 5; PC F, 12; L, 19.

θunem cialχu- “28th” LL XI, 17; XII, 9-10.

θunśn- “second day” LL VI, 13.

θunχul- “double cult” LL XII, 3.

θuru- “to give” PC L, 17.

Θuska “Etruscan [ethnonym]” Ta 3.1.

θuta- “people” LL X, 7; PB L, 1; PC F, 23.

θux “two times” MD A, 3.

θuxt- “August” TC V, 19; 20; VII, 4.

i- “this” OA 3.9, § 1.

ic(a)- “this” CT II, 1c³; 2¹; IV, 3¹; 3³; 3⁴; 3⁵; LL VII, 15-16; VIII, 2; PB I, 1.

ila- “to favor” MD B, 5; PB L, 2 (2x).

ilu- “to favor, organize a feast” CT II, 1a (2x); 3a; III, 1 (2x); 2; IV, 1; V, 1 (2x); 2.

im-, in-, -in “in; during” CT II, 3b¹; III, 1³; LL II, [2-3]; III, 18-19; IV, 3; 7-8; 14-15; 19; V, 2; 16; VI, 14; VII, 18-19; IX, 1-2; 9; X, 15-16; XI, 8-9; MD A, 2; Ta 5.6; TC I, 5; V, 18; VII, 4; OA 3.9, § 2; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 3.

inin “in; during” LL XI, f3.

intehamai- “to found inside” CT II, 1b; 1b¹.

intemame- “to found inside” PC F, 18-9.

ip(a)- “this” LL X, 5; 9 [2x]; 14; PC F, 5; L, 3-4.

ipei “here” LL X, 7.

- iś-* “one” CT II, 1c¹; 2¹; IV, 3¹⁰.
iśveitul- “day of the ceremonies” CT II, 1a; III, 1; V, 1.
it(a)- “this” CT II, 1b¹; PB L, 1; 3; AV 6.1.
iti- “they” CT II, 1b¹; IV, 2.
it(u)- “this” CT V, 2¹; Ta 3.2.
iules- type of offering CT IV, 3³.
iχ(-), -iχ introductory particle, also functioning as demonstrative LL III, 16; VI, 8; 12; VII, 22-23; X, 10; XI, 4-5; 15-16; 17-18; XII, 2; 9; PC L, 20; Vn 0.1; Vt S.2.
-iχα introductory particle CT IV, 3¹⁰.
-iχu introductory particle MD A, 3.
- Kaviie-* “Kavios [PR^m]” AT 3.1.
Kaiseriθe- “from Caere” Maggiani 1999: 52-54.
Kalaturu- “Kalatur [PR^m]” Cr X.3.
Kamarte- “from Camars (= Chiusi) [TN]” Maggiani 1999: 52-54.
Kanuta- “Kanuta [PR^m]” Stopponi 2011, § 1.
kapi- “to take (away)” Cl 2.4.
Karθazi- “Carthaginian” Af 3.1.
-ke “and” Ad 6.1.
Kraitiles “Kratilēs [PR^m]” Ta 3.1.
Kuleniie- “Kyllēnios [GE]” Fs 6.1.
Kulśnutera- “Kulśnutera [GN]” Ad 6.1.
Kurtina- “Kurtinas [GE]” Cl 2.4.
- L.* “L(ūcius) [PR^m]” AS 1.409.
La. “Larth [PR^m]” PC F, 1; Ta 1.107.
La. “L. (?)” Fa 2.3.
la- “to bring” LL XI, f1; f3.
lac- “royal” MD A, 1; 2.
Lae- “Laios [GN]” LL VI, 5; X, 6; Vt 8.1, § 4.
lav- “freedman” abbreviation of *lavtni-* Wallace 2008: 175.
lavtni “family” Ta 1.182.
lavtun- “people” CT IV, 3¹; 3³; 3⁵.
Laθiumia- functionary of the temple of Lethams CT IV, 3⁹.
Laive- “follower of Laios” LL VIII, 6.
Laive- “Laivus [PR^m]” AV 2.1.
Laivisc(a)- “of Laios” LL VI, 10.
Laiscl- “Laios’ day” LL X, f5.
Larce- “Larce [PR^m]” Po 2.21; Ta 1.17.
Larece- “Larece [PR^m]” Maggiani 1999: 52-54.

- Larecena*- “Larecenas [GE]” Stopponi 2011, § 1.
Larza- “Larza [PR]” TC VI, 25-26.
Larza- “Larza [CO]” TC III, 13-14.
Larθ-, *La<r>θ-* “Larth [PR^m]” TC III, 10; VII, 2; 7; PC F, 11; Fs 6.1; Ta 1.17; 1.96; 1.164 (2x); 1.182 (2x); 2.5; 5.2; 5.5; Vc 1.94; Maggiani 1999: 52-54; Ta 1.170; Poetto & Facchetti 2009; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 5.
Larθaia-, *Larθia-* “Larthia [PR^f]” OA 2.2; Ta 1.96; Vt 1.85.
Larθi “Larthi [PR^f]” Facchetti 2001, § 1; Ta 3.9.
Larice- “Larice [PR^m]” Cr 2.2; Ve 3.9.
Lariza- “Lariza [PR]” TC IV, 16.
Laris- “Laris [PR^m]” AT 1.100; Cr 3.10; 5.2 (2x); La 3.1; Ta 1.17 (2x); TC III, 9; IV, 15 (2x); 16 (2x); VI, 24; 29; 32; VII, 3; 7; Vc 7.27; Ve 3.10.
Larisali- “Larisian [PR^m]” Ta 1.9.
Larisalis- “grandson(s) of Laris” TC IV, 16.
Larisalisv- “Larisian” TC I, 3; V, 21-2.
Larna- “Larnas [GE]” Cr 2.40.
Lart- “Larth [PR^m]” TC III, 8; 9; 10 (2x); 14; VI, 23; 26 (2x); 30.
Lartiu “Lartiu [PR^m]” Ta 1.96.
Laru- “Laru [PR^m]” TC III, 13.
Larun- “Larun [GN]” CT III, 1.
Latine- “Latinus [ethnonym]” Ve 2.4.
Laucie- “Lūcius [PR^m]” Heurgon 1992.
Laucie- “Lauces [GE]” Maggiani 1999: 52-54.
Lausa-, *Lausi-* “Lausi [PR]” TC VI, 23; 24-25.
lauteniθa “freedman” Stopponi 2011, § 1.
lautn “family” PC F, 2; Pe 5.2, § 2; Ta 5.6.
lauχumne- “October” LL IX, f2.
laχ(u)- “palace, regia” CT IV, 3⁵; 3⁶.
lecin- “to burn” LL II, [2]; IV, [2]; V, 1-2; IX, 1; 8-9.
leθ- “wife” PC F, 3.
Leθaie “Lethaie [PR^m]” REE 59, no. 22.
Leθaium- “temple of Lethams” CT II, 1c¹.
Leθams- “Lethams (= Letō) [GN]” CT II, 1a; 1c²; III, 2; IV, 1.
Leθanei “Lethanei [GE]” Ta 3.9.
Leθe- “Lethe [PR^m]” Ta 1.107.
Lei “Lei [PR^m]” Ta 5.2.
Leive- “Laíos [GN]” LL VI, 3; XI, f6.
leit- “to dispose of as a fire offering” LL X, 20.
Lemausna- “Lemausnas [GE]” Fa X.1.

- lena* “in regard to” LL X, 22; f4.
leś(c)- “to utter, shout” MD B, 4.
lesc(a)- “to utter, pray” PC F, 7; Vt 8.1, § 2.
Lete- “Letō [GN]” Vt 8.1, § 2.
lextumuza “lēkythos” OA 2.2.
lvχ- “to rule” OA 3.9, § 2.
Licine- “Licine [PR^m]” Cr. 3.13.
lucair- “to exercise the priest-kingship” Ta 1.17.
luvχms- “priest-kingship” Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 1.
Luvχumes- “Laukhumes [PR^m]” Facchetti 2001, § 1.
luθ- “game” LL VI, 15 [2x]; XII, 1; OA 3.9, § 2.
Luisna- “Luisna [GE]” TC III, 12.
lupu- “to die” Facchetti 2001, §§ 3; 8; Vc 1.94.
lur- “to organize games” Facchetti 2001, § 6 [2x].
lur- “game” LL V, 22; OA 3.9, § 2.
lurmicl-, *lurmitl*- “day of the game(s)” OA 3.6; Wallace 2008: 175.
lursθ- “lustrum” MD B, 5 (2x).
lus(a)- “someone being absent” LL VI, 9.
Lusce- “Luscus [PR^m]” TC III, 13; Cm 2.16.
Lusce- “Lusce [CO]” TC III, 9.
Lusci- “Lusci [GE]” TC VI, 25.
Luscinaie- “Luscinaie [GE]” Cr 2.69.
lustr(a)- “lustrum” LL VI, 10.
- M*. “M(ārcus) [PR^m]” Af 8.1-8; Cr 1.13.
-m “but; and; also, as well” Facchetti 2001, §§ 3; 8; LL II, [n2-3]; n3; 5-6; [6]; III, 12 [2x]; 21-22; 22; IV, 1-2; 3; 12; 15-16; V, 4; 4-5; 7-8; 9-10; 11-12; 21; VI, 5; 7 [2x]; 10-11; 12; 15; 16; VII, 8-9; 9; 10 [2x]; 12; 13; 14; 15-16; 16-17; 17; 19-20; 20 [2x]; 22-23 [2x]; 23-24; VIII, 1-2; 2; 6 [2x]; 14-15; 16-17; 17; [f6-7]; [f7]; IX, 3; 4; 10-11; 11; 16; 17-18; 19-20; X, 2-3; 5; 10; 10-11; 19; f1-2; f3-4 [2x]; XI, 1; 4-5 [2x]; 6; 6-7; 7 [2x]; 12-13; 13; 14; 15; 17; 18; f2; f3; f5; XII, 1-2; 3; 5; 7; 9; [2x]; 9-10; 12; 12-13; MD B, 4; PB I, 3; PC F, 7; Vt 8.1, § 2.
-ma “and” CT II, 1c.
mac “five” LL VIII, 7.
ma<c>vilutul- “fifth day” CT IV, 2.
Macstrna “Macstrna [GE]” Vc 7.25.
maθ- “assembly” LL X, 9; 15-16; 17.
mal- “to dedicate” TC VI, 23.
mal- “thank-offering” LL III, 17-18; VIII, [f2].

- Mamerce*- “Mamerce [PR^m]” Cr 2.40; 3.11; Ve 3.12.
man modal particle MD A, 1; B, 4.
mani(i)m “memorial” AT 1.105; Ta 1.164.
Manurce “Mamerce [PR^m]” Cl 2.3.
mar- “magistrate” LL X, 2-3.
marcalur- “to hold equestrian games” MD B, 4.
Marce- “Mārcus [PR^m]” Vc 7.32; Ta 5.2.
marveθul- “day of the Great (Gods)” Stopponi 2011, § 2.
marza- “little horse, foal” CT II, 1b¹.
Mariś- “Maris [GN]” MD A, 3.
marn(i)- “magistrate” MD A, 2.
Marti- “Mars [GN]” LL VI, 17.
marunu- “magistrature” AT 1.96; 1.108.
masan<a>- “god(dess)” PB S, 1; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 3.
mas(n)- “god” LL VII, 12; X, 11-12; XII, 10-11; Vt 8.1, § 4.
masu- “god(dess)” PC F, 14; 17.
mata- “assembly” LL VII, 22-23; XI, 4-5; XII, 9; 12-13.
Matlna- “Matlnas [GE]” OA 3.6.
maχ(-) “5” AT 0.14-15; Ta 1.164; Vc 1.94.
me- introductory particle DB 0; LL II, [4-5]; 9; IV, 4-5; 17-18; MD A, 2; Ta 1.170.
Mean- “Mean [GN]” Facchetti 2001, § 2.
-mec “five” LL X, 13.
Mezentie- “Mezenties [GE]” Heurgon 1992.
meθlum(e)-, *meθlm(e)*- “member of the assembly” LL II, [n4-5]; 7-8; III, 23; IV, 6; 18-19; V, 6; 13; 22-23; IX, [s1]; 5-6; 12-13; 21; XII, 4; Ta 1.170; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 2.
mele- “bringer of thank-offerings” LL IV, 4; 17.
men(a)- “to handle, organize” PC F, 23; Vt 8.1, § 5.
menaś- “to handle time and again” LL VIII, 4-5.
menitl- “day of the ceremonies” MD A, 3.
meśe- “god” Jeffery 1998 “western Greece” no. 2.
mestl- “day (dedicated) to the gd” Vt 8.1, § 2.
Mesnamer- “Mesnamer [PR^m]” Vn 0.1.
meχ- “senate; league, assembly” PB L, 1; TC VI, 24.
mi “I” Af 3.1; AT 3.1; 3.2; AV 2.1; Cl 2.3; 2.4 (2x); Cm 2.2; 2.13; 2.16; 2.46 (2x); Cr 2.2; 2.7; 2.9; 2.27; 2.40; 2.67; 2.69; 3.4-8; 3.10; 3.12; 3.13; Fa 2.3; X.1; Facchetti 2002: 18 (Dallas fibula); Fs 6.1; Heurgon 1992; La 3.1; Li 1.2; OA 2.2; 2.21+6.1; X.3; OB 3.2; Pellegrino & Colonna 2002; Poetto & Facchetti 2009; REE 57, 45; Ta 2.5; 3.1; Ve 2.4; 3.1; Vn 1.1; Vt 1.85; Vt 1.154.

- mimeni*- “to handle, organize (reduplicated)” MD B, 4.
mine “me” Ve 3.11; REE 59, 22.
mini, *min*, *mi(ni)* “me” CI 2.4; Cm 2.13; 2.46; Cr 3.9; 3.11; 3.20; Maggiani 1999: 52-54; Ve 3.9; 3.10; 3.12; 3.14; 3.30; Vn 1.1.
m λ θ- “to make beautiful, carry out properly” MD A, 2.
m λ a Cr 2.9.
m λ ac- “beautiful” LL X, f6; Ta 1.164.
m λ aka- “beautiful” Cr 2.9; 2.27; Fa 2.3; Poetto & Facchetti 2009.
m λ ax “beautiful” Cr 2.9; 2.27; LL III, 18-19; IV, 14-15; V, [1]; 11; 20; VIII, 11-12; f3-4; IX, [s2]; 7-8; 19; MD B, 4 (2x); Poetto & Facchetti 2009.
m λ ax- “to make beautiful” LL V, 22.
m λ axta, *m λ axuta* “nicely” adverb Fa 3.1+6.1.
m λ erzini- “thing made by way of thank-offering” PC F, 18.
m λ esiē- “to bring a thank-offering” TC I, 4-5.
m<math>l>uś- “to offer as a thank-offering” LL XII, 1.
mu- “to preserve” LL X, 19-20.
muc- “to sacrifice” LL X, f1-2; XI, f5.
m λ θ- “bull” LL XII, 3; 5 [2x].
mul- “to bring as a thank-offering, to bring thank-offerings” LL VIII, 5; 9; MD B, 4.
mul- “thank-offering” LL X, 20-21; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 2.
mulvani- “to offer as a vow” Cr 3.11.
mulven- “to bring as a thank-offering” MD A, 3.
mulveni- “to offer as a vow” CI 2.3.
mul(u)- “thank-offering” AT 3.1; Cr 3.10; 3.12; 3.13; Facchetti 2002: 18 (Dallas fibula); La 3.1; Pellegrino & Colonna 2002; Vn 0.1;.
mulu- “to bring as a thank-offering” CT III, 1².
muluvan(a)- “(something) pertaining to the thank-offerings” AT 3.2.
muluvane- “to offer as a vow” Ve 3.11.
muluvani- “to offer as a vow” Cr 3.9; 3.20; REE 59, 22; Ve 3.9; 3.12; 3.14; Vn 1.1.
mulueni- “to offer as a vow” Vt 1.154.
m λ θ “place of interment” Ta 1.182.
mun(i)- “to have a duty, be obliged” PC F, 14; Ta 1.170.
mun(i)- “obligation” OA 3.9, § 1; Ta 5.2.
munist(a)- “obligation” PB L, 1.
mur- “to die” LL XI, 5-6; 8-9; Ta 1.107.
Murina “Murina [GE]” AS 1.409.
murinaśi- “deceased (person), dead” MD A, 1.
murś- “to die time and again” LL VII, 13.

murs- “urn” Ta 1.182.

muti(n)- “to revigorate” LL III, 13-14; IV, 4-5; 17-18.

Muxsie “Mukhsie [GE]” Vt 1.154.

-n, na-, -na “not” LL III, 17; V, 18; VI, [1]; 6; VIII, 16; f1-2; [f2]; X, 9-10; PC F, 1; TC I, 4.

nac(-), -nac introductory particle LL III, 14-15; VII, 19-20; IX, f1; X, 3; 14-15; XII, 2; 6; PB L, 2 (2x); S, 1; Ta 5.2; Vt S.2.

nace- “diminishing (moon), latter half (of the month)” MD B, 5.

nap- “to observe” LL X, f5.

naper “last, foregoing” PC F, 5; 15; 16; 24; Vt 8.1, § 2.

naχ- introductory particle Facchetti 2001, § 4.

ne “not” PC F, 21.

neθśrac “*haruspicus* (lit.: rule(s) of the entrails)” Ta 1.17.

Neθunś-, Neθuns- “*Neptunus* [GN]” LL VIII, 3-4; 11; [f3]; IX, [s2]; 7; 14-15; 18; 22; XI, 15-16.

Nemetie- “*Nemetie* [PR^m]” Li 1.2.

neś “not” prohibitive MD A, 1.

ner- “(ordinary) man” LL X, 22-23; 23; f2-3; f5.

nes “not” prohibitive Cl 8.5; MD B, 4.

neχs- “latter part” LL VII, 13.

neft- “grandson” Ta 1.17.

nvai- “son” Ta 5.2.

-ni “not” TC I, 5.

niθu- “entrails” CT II, 3c.

nis “not” prohibitive CT IV, 3¹; 3³.

nu- introductory particle CT III, 1²; LL IV, [6]; 18-19; VIII, 13.

nu- “renew” LL X, 15-16.

nu(a)- “new” LL VI, 6.

nucas- “renew, supplement” MD B, 4.

nuθ(a)- “to testify” TC III, 8; Vi, 23.

Nulaθe- “from Nola” Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 5.

Numasiana- “*Numasiana* [GE]” Poetto & Facchetti 2009.

Numesie- “*Numasios* [GE]” Ta 3.1.

nuna- “dedication” Cl 2.4; Cm 2.46.

nunθ(en)- “to dedicate” CT II, 1c; 1c¹; 1c²; 2¹; III, 2¹; IV, 3⁵; DB 1; LL II, <n5>; 10; 11-12; 13 [2x]; III, 16-17; 18-19; IV, 7-8; 9-10; 11-12; 13; 14-15; V, [1]; 7; 8-9; 10; 11; 19-20; 20; VIII, f1-2; f3-4; IX, [<s1>]; [s2]; 7-8; 13-14; 15-16; 17; 18; 19; XI, 5-6.

nurφzi “nine times” Ta 1.170.

Nufresa- “*Nufresa* [CO]” TC III, 13.

- pa* introductory particle CT II, 3b¹; III, 1³; OA 3.9, § 2.
Pacusnaši- “Bakkhant” CT IV, 3².
Pacusnašieθur- “brotherhood of the Bakkhantes” CT IV, 3⁹.
pava- terminus technicus from the discipline of the haruspex TC I, 5-6.
paini- “donator” LL VI, 16.
panala- “?” Vn 1.1.
papals, *papalser*-, *papalser*- “grandson” AT 1.105; TC VI, 27-8.
Papac- “Papac [GE]” Ta 1.17.
Papaθna- “Papaθnas [GE]” Vc 7.27.
papθia- “of the grandfather, head of the family” CT IV, 3¹⁰.
par “along the front side” LL VII, 21.
parθum(i)- “July” CT V, 1.
Partunu- “Partunus [GE]” Ta 1.9.
parχ- “lord, noble man” AT 1.105.
Paxie- “the Bakkhian” Vc 4.1-2.
pe- “donation, grant; thesauros” TC I, 3; 5; II, 7-8.
peva- terminus technicus from the discipline of the haruspex LL IV, 22.
peθeren- “July” LL VI, 4-5; X, 2; 4; XI, 8.
Peθunu- “Pethunus [GE]” Wallace 2008: 175.
peisn(a)- “give away” LL X, 22-23.
pen(θ)- “to pay” LL XI, 1; 2; PC F, 16; L, 14-15; Pe 4.1; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 4.
pera- “land” PC F, 6-7.
perp- “to bless, consecrate” CT II, a¹; 1c³; III, 2¹; IV, 1; V, 1.
Persin- “of Persephone” LL III, 15.
Pētce “Petce [GE]” TC VI, 30.
petn(a)- “servant on foot, pedestrian” LL X, 14.
Pētru(i)- “Petru [GE]” TC I, 1; II, 8; III, 14; IV, 16-7; 17; V, 22.
Pētruni- “Petruni [GE]” TC III, 8-9.
pi- “to give (away)” Cl 2.4; Cm 2.13; 2.46.
Pini- “Pini [GE]” TC III, 9.
Pinie- “Pinies [GE]” Stopponi 2011, § 1.
Pitlna- “Pitlna [CO]” TC VII, 8.
Plavte- “Plautus [PR^m]” Cr 2.67.
Plut- “Pluto [GN]” LL X, 19.
Prasinaia “Prasinaia [GE]” Facchetti 2002: 18 (Dallas fibula).
priθ- “president” LL VIII, 4.
prinisera- “bolt or lock to the entrance” TC I, 6-7.
Prisnie- “Prisnies [GE]” OA 3.9, § 1.

- pruc-* “to pour” LL IX, f1.
Pruciu- “Pruciu [CO]” TC III, 11.
pruθs(e)- “to preside” LL X, 17.
prumt- “great-grandson” Ta 1.17.
pruχ- “to pour” LL IV, 22.
pruχum “prokhous” Cr 2.27.
pu- “to sacrifice” LL X, f3-4.
puθs- “to sacrifice time and again, consecrate” Facchetti 2001, § 5; LL VIII, 11-12.
puia- “wife” Facchetti 2001, §§ 4; 7; Stopponi 2011, § 1; TC IV, 17.
puine- “lady” Af 3.1.
Pulena- “Pulenas [GE]” Ta 1.17 (2x).
pulum- “star” PB L, 3; S, 3.
Pumplia- “Pumplias [GE]” Vc 1.94.
Pumpu- “Pumpus [GE]” Ta 5.6; TC III, 11.
purtśvavc- “preidency” Vc 1.94.
puruθn- “president” LL VIII, 9.
put(e)- “to drink” LL II, n3; [6]; III, 22; IV, 3; 15-16; V, 4-5; 11-12; VIII, [f7]; IX, 4; 11; 19-20.
puts- “to sacrifice time and again” LL XII, 4.
- ś “and” TC VII 4 (2x).
śa “6” AT 0.14-15.
śacni- “to sacrifice” LL II, n1-2; [3-4]; V, 3; VII, 6; VIII, 14; f5-6; IX, 2-3; [9-10]; XII, 11.
śacnicl- “day of the sacrifices” LL II, [n4-5]; [7-8]; III, <23>; V, 6; 13; 22-23; VI, 8; VII, 18-19; VIII, [f8]; IX, 5-6; 12-13; 21.
śazle- “custom, law” TC V, 18.
śaθ- “man; male” LL III, 16-17; VIII, [f1-2]; Ta 5.6.
śant- type of offering CT III, 1¹; 2¹; IV, 1; LL XI, 2.
śar- “incense” TC I, 2; 4.
śarvena- “smoke offering ceremony” AT 1.96.
śarl- “offering with incense” LL VI, 14.
śarśnau- “incense storeroom” LL X, 15-16.
śaten- “funerary offering” PC F, 19; L, 1-2.
Śatna- “Satna [PR^f]” Ta 1.182.
ścani(n)- “to pay homage” LL III, 15; 16; X, 8; 11-12.
ścu- “to hold a procession, walk in procession” PC F, 10; 23; L, 10-1.
ścunue- “to walk in procession” LL VII, 21.
Śeθre- “Sethre [PR^m]” Vc 1.94.
śela- “to offer as a sacrifice” CT IV, 3³.

- serφu-* “smoke offering” LL X, 7.
setirun- “to dramatize” LL II, [n4-5]; 9.
Setre- “Setre [PR^m]” Ta 1.35.
Seu- “Zeus [GN]” II, 11-12; IV, <20>; V, 7-8; 10; 14; <14-15>; 19-20; IX, [<23>]; XII, 2.
śve- reflexive pronoun of the 3rd pers. CT IV, 2.
śvel- “living” LL II, [4]; 8-9.
śic “similarly” LL IV, <20>; V, 10; 14; <14-15>; [<23>].
śin “with” LL IV, 19; 20; 20-21; V, 14; 14-15; VI, 5-6; IX, 22; [23]; [23-24].
-śl “first” Ta 1.182.
Šminθiak- “the Sminthian [GN]” Ad 6.1.
šnuiuφ- “smaller” LL VI, 1; 1-2; 4-5.
špel- “to sacrifice” PC F, 22-23; L, 6.
špelane- “to sacrifice” PC L, 4-5.
špur(a)-, špur(e)- “town” LL II, [n1-2]; [n4-5]; [3-4]; 7-8; III, 21; 23; IV, 6; 18-19; V, 3; 6; 13; 22-23; VIII, 14; [f5-6]; IX, [s1]; 2-3; 5-6; 9-10; 12-13; 21.
šran-, šren- type of offering LL II, 10-11; 12-13; III, 13; 16; IV, [8-9]; 10; 12; V, 8; IX, 15; PC F, 15; TC I, 4.
šuc- “a girl to handle, take care of” LL VIII, 3-4.
šuc(i)- “girl” LL VII, 7; 9; 15-16; 19-20; 22-23.
šuθ- “to bury” LL V, 17.
šuθi- “(part of the) grave” Ta 1.35; 1.182 (3x); 5.5; 5.6.
šur- “select” MD B, 4.

quθef(a)- “to take revenge” DB 7.
Qumeθe- “from Cumae” DB 5.
Qupe- “Qupe [PR^m]” Cm 2.46.
Qurtiniie- “Qurtinies [GE]” Ve 3.14.
Qutaniie- “Qutanies [GE] (= the Cortonian)” Ve 3.12.
qutun “kōthōn” Fa X.1.

rac- “regia” LL V, 8-9.
racvani- “participant to (the festival of) the regalia” CT II, 1a¹.
racuś- “to venerate” LL III, 20; VIII, [f4-5].
Ravnθu “Ravnthu [PR^f]” Ta 7.46; 7.51.
raθ- “chariot” Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 1.
Ramθa- “Ramtha [PR^f]” Cr 1.13; Ta 1.9; 1.35.
ramu(e)- “to reconfirm; to revigorate” LL III, 20; VIII, 7; 8; [f4-5].
Ramuθa- “Ramtha [PR^f]” Cr 3.20.

- ran(e)*- “to renew” LL VIII, 6.
rapa- “present” CT IV, 3⁴.
Raśna- “Etruscan” adjective PC F, 5; 21; 22; TC I, 5; VI, 24.
Ras-, *Rasn(a)*- “Etruscan” adjective LL X, 11-12; XI, f5.
Rasnel- “Etruscan” noun DB 4.
Rasuni- “Etruscan” adjective Pellegrino & Colonna 2002.
rat(u)- “chariot” CT IV, 3¹⁰; LL X, 4; 19-20; TC V, 20; VII, 5.
Raufe- “Raufe [CO]” TC III, 14.
raχ- “regia” LL II, n5; 10; [12-13]; IV, [6-7]; 9; 10; 13; 21; V, 7; 15; 16; 18-19; VI, 15; VIII, 4; IX, [s1]; 6; 13-14; 14-15; 15-16; [24]; XII, 1.
Rezu- “Rezus [GE]” PC F, 1.
Renazu “Renazu [PR^m]” Fa X.1.
rene- “to renew” PC L, 7.
repi(n)- “to spend time” LL II, [n3-4]; 6-7; III, 22-23; IV, 3-4; 16; V, 5; 12; VIII, [f7-8]; IX, 4-5; 11-12; 20.
restm- some sort of business TC I, 2.
reu- “to tell; to pray” LL VII, 8-9; VIII, 7; 8.
reuš- “to pray time and again” LL XII, 2.
riva- “to speak” MD B, 4.
riθnaita “according to the rules of the rituals, ritually” adverb CT II, 2²; 3c.
riθnaitul- “day of the rituals” CT II, 1b; 1c; 3b; 3c; 3c¹.
ril “year” AT 1.96; 1.105 (2x).
rinu- “to renew” LL V, 18-19; XI, f4.
-rua “formerly” LL XI, f6.
Ruvfia- “Ruvfia [GE]” AT 1.108.
ruz- “ancestor” LL IV, 5; 18; VIII, 12-13.
Rumaχ “from Rome” Vc 7.33.
Rutile “Rutilus [PR^m]” Ta 6.1.
Rufri- “Rufri [GE] or Rufer [PR^m]” OB 3.2.

s, *-s*, *sa* “and” Vs 4.13; TC I, 4; V, 22.
sac- “sanctify” CT II, 1b¹.
sacni- “sacrifice” Vs. 4.13.
sacniel- “day of the sacrifices” LL VIII, 11.
sacniś-, *sacnis(a)*- “sacrificial animal” LL VIII, 10; Ta 5.5.
saθ- “man” LL III, 15.
sal “first” Facchetti 2001, § 6; LL VI, 1; VII, 7; XII, 11; MD B, 5; PB L, 1; TC V, 21.
sal- “to ..?..” CT IV, 3³.

- Salina*- “Salina [CO]” TC VI, 26.
Salini- “Salini [GE]” TC III, 9; VI, B, 1; VII, 3.
saluzi- “of the first (coming)” CT IV, 1.
samman- “memorial” Ta 1.35.
san- “relative” Cr 5.2.
san(θ)- “to sacrifice” LL X, f6.
sant- type of offering LL X, 20-21; f1.
Sataiie- “Sataies [GE]” OA 2.21+6.1.
Satr- “Satyr [GN]” LL XI, f4.
sa-u- introductory particles LL III, 15.
Saxu- “Sakhus [CO]” Cr 2.40.
scar- “to sanctify” LL VIII, 4; 6.
Scēva-, *Scēvē*- “Scevas [GE]” TC I, 1; II, 8; IV, 17; V, 22.
scve-, *scu*-, *scuv*- “to walk in procession” CT I, line 7; II, 1b¹; LL VI, 16; X, 8; Ta 1.182.
scun- “participant in a procession” Ta 5.6.
Se. “S. (?)” Fa 2.3.
Seθuma-, *Seθums*- “Septimus [GN]” CT V, 1; LL X, 5.
sela- “to offer as a sacrifice” PB S, 1.
seleit- “sultanate” PB L, 2.
Selvans- “Selvans [GN]” REE 55, 128; Ta 3.9.
Sepune- “Sabinus [ethnonym]” Cm 2.2.
seril “for smoke offering” CT IV, 3¹; 3⁵.
ses(e)- “seal” LL III, 20; VIII, [f4-5].
Sētumna- “Setumna [GE]” TC III, 11-12.
sex “daughter” Cr 1.13; Facchetti 2001, § 1.
-sva-, *sve*- reflexive pronoun of the 3rd pers. Cr 5.2; LL II, 4; 8-9; IV, 4; 17; VII, 8-9; XII, 12; PB L, 1; TC VII, 5.
sval- “to live” AT 1.108; Cr 5.2; Ta 1.9; 1.107; 1.164.
svel- “living” LL IV, 4; 17.
sian- “religious” TC V, 20.
Silqetana- “Silqetenas [GE]” La 2.3.
Siml- “Semele [GN]” LL X, 5.
-sin “with” LL X, 19-20; f2-3.
Slanzu- “Slanzu [GE]” TC III, 13.
slapi- “to offer first” LL XI, 9-10.
slapin(a)- “first offering” LL XI, 9-10.
sle-, *-sle* “first” LL X, f5; MD B, 4; PC F, 3; Ta 5.2; Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 2.
snenaziul- “Maenad, female follower of Bakkhos” CT II, 3c; 3c¹.
snuza- “little cart” CT II, 1b.
snuiaφ “sporadic” PB II, 3.

- span(t)*- “to libate” TC I, 4.
spant- “libation” TC I, 3.
spanti “plate” Cr 2.2; REE 57, 45.
sparza- “of the town, civic” TC VII, 4.
sparze- “citizen” TC V, 20-21.
sparzēst- “municipal” TC V, 18.
spet- “to libate” LL VIII, 1-2.
Spitu- “Spitus [GE]” Ta 1.164.
spular- (= writing error for *spural*-) “municipal” OB 3.2.
spur(e)- “town” AT 1.108; LL X, f5; XI, 10.
spureni “municipal” Ta 1.17.
Spuriana- “Spurianas [CO]” La 2.3.
Spurie- “Spurius [PR^m]” Cr 3.4-8; 3.9.
Spurina- “Spurinas [GE]” AS 1.409; Facchetti 2001, § 4.
sren- type of offering Vt S.2.
stiz(a)- “deposition” CT IV, 3⁴; 3⁷.
streta- “to spread out” LL XI, f4.
strete- “spread out” LL VI, 3.
suc(i)- “girl” MD A, 3.
suθ- “grave gift” LL II, n5; IV, 10; 14; 21-22; V, 7; 8-9; 10; 16; IX, [<s1>]; 13-14; 18; [24]; XI, 1.
suθi- “(part of the) grave” Cr 5.2; Facchetti 2001, § 5.
suθivena- “burial feast” TC V, 19-20.
suθiu(-) “funereal, funerary” TC VII, 5 (2x).
suθiuametal “day of the burial of the god(dess)” TC V, 19.
Sukisna- “Sukisnas [GE]” AV 2.1.
sul- “sun” LL VI, 17; X, 1-2; 8; 17; f5.
sulus- “solar disc” LL X, 6.
sun “with” XI, 13.
sutan(a)- “grave gift” LL IV, 21; V, 15; IX, [24].
s[----] “(..?..)” LL VI, 1.

t- “or” MD B, 4.
t(a)- “this” LL VI, 1; PC F, 1; Po 2.21.
-t(a)- “this” LL VI, 10-11; VII, 6; 12; VIII, 1-2; f2; X, f3-4 [2x]; XI, 2; 2-3; 5-6; 7; 13; 14; 18; XII, 9-10; TC I, 6; II, 8; V, 21.
tamera “sepulchre” AT 1.96.
tameresc(a)- “holy gifts” PB L, 1.
Tansina- “Tansinas [GE]” Vn 0.1.
Tarc- “Tarkhunt [GN]” LL III, 13-14; 14-15.
Tarsmina- “Etruscan (custom, law)” TC VII, 4.

- tartir(i)ia*- “τριττύς” CT II, 3b¹; IV, 3⁴; 3¹⁰; V, 1.
Tarχian- “things related to the Tarkhunt cult” TC V, 22-23.
Tarχna- “Tarquinia [TN]” AT 1.100; Ta 1.17.
Tarχunie- “Tarquinius [GE]” Vc 7.33.
te- “to place” Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 3.
te- “to set out” LL XII, 5.
Tēcsina- “Tecsina [CO]” TC VI, 31.
tev<i> “or” MD B, 5.
tevr- “month” MD A, 3.
Tezan “Thesan [PR^f]” PC F, 4; Pe 4.1.
tei, *-tei* “here” CT II, 1b; 1c; IV, 3⁴; 3⁸; 3¹⁰; II, 10-11; 13; VIII, 4-5; 12; [f4]; IX, 17; X, 16; 19; f3-4; XI, f3 [2x].
Teiθurna- “Teithurnas [GE]” Cr 3.4-8.
teisni- “to lay down” Ta 5.6.
Telicle- “Teliklēs [GE]” AO 2.2.
tēn-, *ten(u)*- “to hold, keep, preserve” AT 1.96; 1.108; LL VII, 12; Ta 1.9; TC I, 2; 3; 6 (2x).
tērsn- “(things) pertaining to the τριττύες” TC I, 4.
tes- “to lay down” PC F, 20.
tesām-, *tesim*- “burial” LL III, 12; VII, 10; 16-17; VIII, 16-17; X, 10; XI, 5-6.
tesams- “of the foundation of a burial” Ta 1.182.
tesiametail- “day of the burial” PB L, 2.
tesnšte- “law” PC F, 4; 22.
[t]eurat “arbiter, judge” PC F, 1.
tva- “to place” AT 1.96; CT II, 2³; Pe 5.2, § 2; Vt S.2.
*tv*l “boundary” Af 8.1-8.
t(i)- stressed pronoun of the 3rd pers. LL X, 19-20.
Tin- “Tin(ia) [GN]” Ta 3.2.
Tinia “Tin(ia) [GN]” Vs. 4.13.
tiniantul- “Tin(ia)’s day” CT III, 2.
Tinś-, *Tins*- “Dionysos [GN]” Af 8.1-8; LL II, n2-3; [5-6]; III, 21-22; IV, 1-2; V, 4; 19-20; VI, 14; VIII, 14-15; f6-7; IX, 3; 10-11; MD B, 5.
Tinscvil “begetter of Dionysos” Vs. 4.13.
Tinnuś- “Dionysos [GN]” Jeffery 1998 “western Greece” no. 2.
Tinunus- “Dionysos [GN]” CT V, 1.
Tinusna- “of Dionysos, Dionysian” CT V, 2.
Tite- “Titus [PR^m]” Ve 2.4; Vt 1.154; 8.1, § 1.
Titela- “Titela [PR^f]” Cr 2.9.
Titena- “Titenas [GE]” AV 6.1.

- Titina*- “Titina [GE]” TC VII, 2.
Titlñi “Titlñi [GE]” TC VI, 31; VII, 6.
Tiur- “sun-god [GN]” LL II, [n2-3]; 5-6; III, 21-22; IV, 1-2; V, 4; VIII, 14-15; [f6-7]; IX, 3; 10-11; TC I, 6.
tiur(a)- “sun-god” MD B, 4.
tiurunia- “month of offering to the sun-god” PB II, 1.
-tl- “day” MD A, 3; Vt 8.1, § 3.
tle- “to be paid, serve as a mercenary” Ta 1.107.
tltelte- “things paid for, revenue” TC V, 20.
Tlus- “of Tlōs” Stopponi 2011, § 2.
tmia- “holy place” PB L, 1; S, 3.
trav(a)- animal for inspection CT III, 3c; 3c¹.
traisvanec- “thrice king” CT II, 3b.
trau- specification of a type of wine LL IV, 22; IX, f1.
traul- “remains of animals for inspection” TC I, 6.
tre- “three (days)” Vt 8.1, § 5.
-tres, -tres “τρίττος” LL II, [1-2]; 3-4; [3-4]; [4]; III 21; V, 3 [2x]; VIII, 14 [2x]; f5-6; [f5-6]; IX, 2-3 [2x]; 9-10 [2x].
trin- “to consecrate” LL III, 13; 17-18; IV, 14; V, 17-18; VIII, 11; 17; [f3]; IX, [s2]; 7; X, 9; f6; XI, [15-16].
trinθas(a)-, trin<θ>as(a)- “consecrated animal” LL VI, 6; VII, 6.
truθ-, trut(a)- “druid; arbiter” LL V, 17; 18-19; XI, 2-3; 6; OA 3.9, § 2.
trutanas(a)- “something belonging to the druid” LL XI, 3.
Truφun- “Tryphōn [PR^m]” Wallace 2008: 175.
tu- “to place” LL XI, f1-2.
tu- “2” CT IV, 3⁶; MD A, 2.
tuθ(i)- “people” MD A, 2; 3; B, 4.
tuθin- “of the people, people’s” REE 55, 128.
tuθiu- “public” MD A, 1.
tul- “boundary” Cl 8.5; LL II, n3-4; 6-7; III, 22-23; IV, [3-4]; 12; 13-14; 16; V, 5; 9-10; 12; VIII, [f7-8]; IX, 4-5; 11-12; 16; 17-18; 20; XI, 16.
tularia- “of the boundarie(s)” REE 55, 128.
tuler- “land” PB L, 2.
t(u)r- “to give” Co 3.4; LL VI, 15; OA 3.6; 3.9, § 1; OB 3.2; REE 55, 128; Wallace 2008: 175.
tur- “donation” LL II, 10; 13; IV, [6-7]; 9; 13; VI, 3; IX, 6; X, 16; XI, 3-4.
turza- “small donation” CT II, 2; 2²; 3b¹; IV, 3¹; 3²; 3⁵; 3⁷; 3¹¹.
turi- “to give” Ve 3.10; 3.30.

- Turmna*- “Turmna [GE]” TC VI, 26.
Turms- “Turms [GN]” Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 1.
Tursikina- “Tursikinas [GE]” CI 2.3.
turu- “to give” PB L, 1; PC L, 10; Stopponi 2011, § 1; Ta 3.2; 3.9.
Tuśnutnie- “Tusnutnie [GE]” Vn 1.1.
Tute- “Tutes [GE]” Vc 1.94.
tutin- “public” LL VII, 8-9; X, 11-12.
tuχl- “destiny” LL XI, 12-13.
- um(a)* “and; also; but” introductory particle CT II, 1c¹; 2¹; Facchetti 2001, § 4; LL III, 13-14; V, 17-18; IX, f1; X, 3; 9; 16-17; 18-19; 20; f6; XI, 2-3; XII, 6; 8.
uzr- “son” Facchetti 2001, § 5.
Un(i)- “Uni [GN]” CT V, 2¹; LL XII, 4; 6; Vt S.2.
uni- “lady” PB L, 1.
Unial- “sanctuary, temple of Uni” CT II, 2; 2¹; LL XII, 10-11.
un(u)- “one” LL III, 18-19; IV, 14-15; V, 11; 20; VIII, 11-12; f3-4; IX, [s2]; 7-8; 19; X, 13-14; f6; XI, 4.
ur- “great” LL VI, 1-2; X, 11-12.
Ursmna- “Ursmna [GN]” LL XII, 10-11.
urχ- “august” LL VI, 2; 4.
us(e)- “year” LL X, 18; XI, 9; XII, 1.
user “out of gratitude” CT II, 3c; 3c¹.
us(i)- “year” LL III, 17-18; VII, 11-12; VIII, 9-10.
usl- “to celebrate the sun-god” LL V, 21.
usl- “of the year” LL VII, 13.
Uslna- “Uslna [CO]” TC VI, 30; 32.
ut- “in this manner” Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 4.
Uta- “Utas [GE]” Cr 3.9.
utin- “to experience” LL II, [4-5]; 9.
utu- “water” CT II, 1b¹.
utuś- “to drink” PC F, 24.
ufl- “cow-shed” LL XI, 10.
- Šarsina*- “Sarsina [ethnonym]” Ta 2.5.
- Φapena*- “Fabius [GE]” Cr X.3.
Φersnaχs “Perugian” Vn 1.1.
-φu “behind, after” Facchetti 2001, § 6.

- χ*-, *-χα* “and; but; also” Facchetti 2001, §§ 2; 6; LL IV, 22; V, 1; 18; VI, 2; 4; 5-6; VII, 8-9; VIII, 5; 7; 8; 16 [2x]; X, 2-3; 5; 9-10; XII, 4; MD A, 3.
- χ*-, *-χε*-, *-χι*- “who, what” LL VI, 1-2 [2x]; 7; 16; VII, 8-9; XI, f5.
- Xalχed*- “Khalkidian” DB 6.
- χarsteriu*- “thank-offering” DB 8-9.
- χaś*- “to multiply; to distribute” LL X, 7.
- χv(a)*- “who, what” AT 1.96; 1.108; LL II, 10-11; III, 16; 17; IV, [8-9]; 10; VI, 6; VII, 10-11; VIII, 3-4; f1-2; [f2]; IX, 15; X, 17; XI, 15-16; XII, 4; 6; PB L, 3; S, 3 (2x); OA 3.9, § 2; PC L, 5-6; Stopponi 2011, § 2.
- χ(i)*- “who, what” LL II, [n3]; 6; III, 22; IV, 2; 15-16; 20; V, 4-5; 11-12; 14-15; VIII, 15; [f7]; IX, 4; 11; 19-20; 22-23; PC F, 2.
- χiem* “minimal 3” PC F, 13.
- χim(θ)*-, *χimθm*- “hecatomb” MD A, 1; 2; 3; LL III, 13; VI, 16; VII, 10-11; X, 10-11; XI, f3; XII, 3-4; PC F, 22.
- χu* marker of indefinite pronoun CT II, 1a¹; 1b¹.
- χu*- “who, what” LL XI, 9-10.
- χulθ*- “cult” PC F, 12; L, 19-20.
- χulixna* “kylix” Cm 2.13.
- χurv*-, “dance” LL X, 6.
- χurvar*- “month of the dances” PB I, 2.
- χur(u)*- “dance” LL X, 4; 16-17.
- fa*- introductory particle DB 3; LL II, 11-12; 13; III, 21; IV, 13; 15-16; 20; 20-21; 21; V, 1-2; 11-12; 14-15; 15; 21; VIII, f5-6; IX, 8-9; 14-15; 17-18; 19-20; [23]; [23-24]; [24]; PC F, 13.
- fa*- “next to; also with” preposition LL XI, 10.
- fac(i)*- “to make, do; to finish off” LL VI, 3-4; X, 13.
- favit(i)*- “niche” LL V, 20-21.
- faθin*- “to keep apart” LL X, 18-19.
- fal(ia)*- “to elevate, raise; to bring as a fire offering” CT IV, 2; Stopponi 2011, § 2.
- falza*- “to elevate, bring as a fire offering” MD A, 1.
- faś*- “to elevate, make a fire offering” PC F, 15.
- fałuθra*- “for smoke offerings” Ta 1.164.
- fani*- “to drive” CT II, 1b.
- fanu*- “to drive” CT IV, 3¹⁰.
- fanu*- “female” Ta 5.6.
- fanuś*- “to keep on adding new” LL X, 22-23.
- faśl*- “revenue” LL II, [2-3].

- Farθan*- “the Maid [GN]” LL II, 11-12; IV, [7-8]; V, 7-8; IX, 14-15.
farθn- “girl” Ta 1.164.
farsi- “to offer” LL XI, f1; f1-2.
fasl- “revenue” LL V, 2.
Fasti “Fasti [PR^f]” OB 3.2.
fel- “relative” PC F, 11.
Felznealc- “in the region of Felsina” Facchetti 2001, § 3.
Fēlsni- “Felsni [GE]” CT III, 12.
Felsaχ- “from Falerii” Vc 7.30.
Felsna- “Felsnas [GE]” Ta 1.107.
Feluske- “Pelasgian [ethnonym]” Vn 1.1.
firi- “fire” LL VII, 7; 9; 15-16; 19-20; 22-23.
flanac-, *flanaχ*- “high” LL X, 3; XI, f1; f1-2.
flenz- “to worship image(s)” Ta 5.6.
fler(e)- “statue(tte)” LL III, [12]; 13-14; 18-19; IV, 3; [7-8]; 14-15; 19; VI, 9; 10; 12; 13; VIII, 3-4; 10; 11; 12-13; 16; [f3]; IX, [s2]; 1-2; 7; 9; 14-15; 18; 22; XI, 14; 15-16; 17-18; OB 3.2.
fratu- “to approve” TC V, 21.
fulinuśn- “ithyphallic (statue)” CT V, 1¹; 2¹.
Fulni- “Fulni [GE]” TC VI, 29.
fulum- “star” PC L, 5.
Fuluśl- “(the son) of Fulus” Cm 2.46.
fuśl(e)- “to venerate” PC F, 4; 13.
Fufluns- “Fufluns [GN]” Vc 4.1-2.
- IV “4” MD B, 4.
 VI “6” AT 1.105.
 XII “12” PC F, 6.
 XIII “14” Facchetti 2001, § 7.
 XX “20” Ta 1.182.
 XXVIII “29” AT 1.105.
 XXX “30” Wallace 2008: 175.
 XXXIII “43” AT 1.96.
 LXIII “63” Ta 1.164.
 LXVI “66” AT 1.105.
 LXXX “80” MD A, 1.
 LXXXII “82” Ta 1.9.
 LXXXIII “83” Facchetti 2001, § 7.
 IIIIC “96” TC I, 5.
 IIC “98” Wallace 2008: 176-177, § 3.
 CVI “106” Ta 1.107.
 Φ “1000” Af 8.1-8.

[-] CT IV, 3⁶.

[- -] *an* unclear element CT III, 1³.

[] LL II, 2; 13; V, 23; X, 1; f1; f6; XI, 17-18; f0.

[- ? -] Vs 3.6.

[- - -] *sn*- “(..?..) day” LL XI, 1.

[] *anina*- TC VI, 28-29.

[] *inaθur* TC VI, 30-31.

[] *kina*- “[]kina [PR]” Cl 2.4.

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