

THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED GREEK-ETRUSCAN BILINGUE FROM DELPHI*

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1. Introduction

The "cippus of the Tyrrhenians" is a well-known historical document, which has come to light some ninety years ago as a result of the French expedition at Delphi at the time.¹ In fact, the object in question is not a "cippus", but a tripod-base, as can be shown by pointing to the three rectangular holes still visible around the central circular impression on top of the stone. This basis of a tripod 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 this period, just like the supporting stone on the right with an inscription on its upper surface (see figure 1). 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 B.C. on account of the following criteria: 1. second type of *rho*, used from c. 530 B.C. onwards, 2. second type of *theta*, antedating c. 430 B.C.?, 3. second type of *labda*, introduced during the first decades of the 5th century B.C., 4. the *omicron with central dot*, which is a result of the introduction of the cutting-compass possibly at the end of the 6th, but certainly at the beginning of the 5th century B.C., and 5. the earliest type of punctuation mark in the form of three vertical

* The present contribution is dedicated to all scholars whose results are suppressed by the official academic world in order to withhold from them their rightful laureate.

1. R. Flacelière, *Fouilles de Delphes* III, 4 (1954) 199-200.

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 B.C.² 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 a *nu*, it is clear that the first readable line must have been preceded by yet another line, which is lost because the top of the stone is damaged. Apparently therefore, the inscription is incompletely handed down to us. For the restoration of this vacancy at the beginning of the inscription, 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.³ Whatever the extent of this opinion, in the present state of conservation of the inscription it at least seems 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 recently been offered by the French expert epigraphist, Claude Vatin, who at the beginning of the eighties undertook a careful reexamination of the "cippus of the Tyrrhenians". To this aim he armed himself with a more advanced technique of making an "Abklatsch" than the ones applied thus far, which he had developed during the course of his epigraphical field work at the sanctuary of Delphi. Thanks to this technique he was able to determine that the still visible inscription is in fact a restoration of an earlier one 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 one 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, *labda* 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

2. L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 99ff.

3. Flacelière (*supra* note 1) *ibid.*

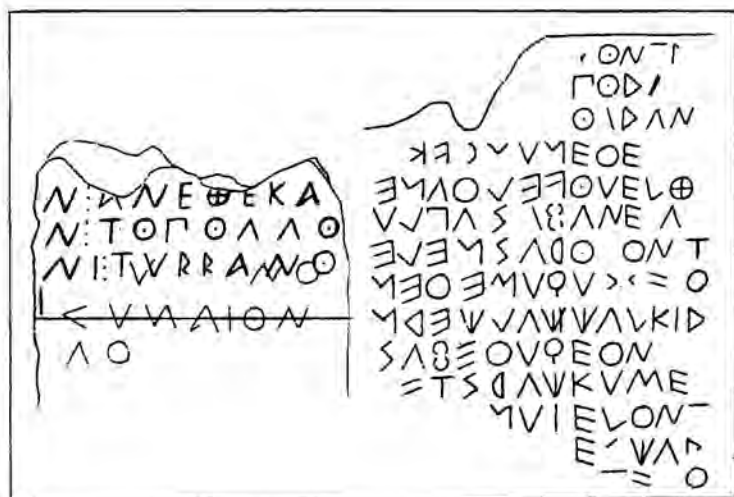
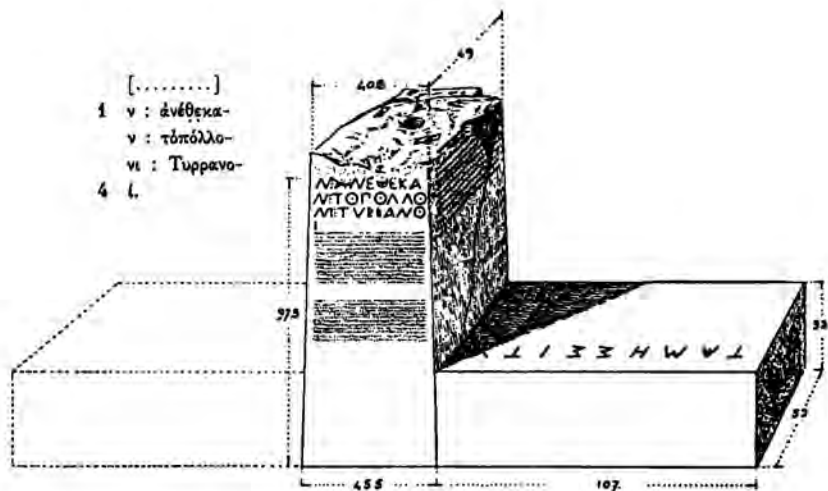


figure 2, design on the left).⁴ If these results are correct, it is clear that the name of the defeated enemy originally followed the still visible part of the restored inscription — only this time not in the form of a genitive plural of the place name, but as an accusative singular of the ethnicon *Kumaios*, “the Cumaeans”, dependent of the participle (*h*)*elontes* —, and that therefore only the possibility of an indication of the object or votive-offering remains for the missing first line, proposed by Vatin to be *charisterion* “thank-offering” for reasons which will become clear below.

Encouraged by these results, Vatin subsequently undertook a reexamination of the other sides of the tripod-base. This reexamination 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 figure 2, design on the right). 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 basis 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 still visible inscription on the shorter side of the tripod-base and the bilingue on the larger side to the left of it.⁵ Now, before going into the details of the Greek-Etruscan bilingue, which primarily concerns us here, it is necessary to pay some attention to the doubts which, soon after the results were made public, have been raised about the authenticity of the inscriptions and the reliability of the intricate procedure which it takes to recover them. As always in matters of Etruscology, this criticism is most authoritatively formulated by the leading scholar in the field, Massimo Pallottino, who in a recent contribution to the *Studi Etruschi* 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

4. J.A.K.E. de Waele, “Claude Vatin en het voordeel van de twijfel”, *NRC-Handelsblad* (Dutch Newspaper) January 7th (1988) 8.

5. M. Pallottino, “Proposte, Miraggi, Perplexità nella Ricostruzione della Storia Etrusca”, *Studi Etruschi* 53 (1987) 10-11.

syncope, whereas for the simple reason that we are dealing with an *archaic* inscription the forms *Apulu* and **Rasena-* (the latter one being only hypothetically based upon Greek *Rasenna-* as recorded by Dionysios of Halicarnassos), which are not characterized by syncope, would rather have been expected, 3. the historicity of an Etruscan victory over Chalcidian 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.⁶

The first of these three arguments is clearly deficient insofar as it tries to measure an advanced technical method, developed in order to compensate for the shortcomings of the human eye, with the restricted capabilities of the human eye. Furthermore, it can be maintained that the minimal results attained by collocation of the photographs in this manner, confirming the readings of Vatin so far possible, should be considered as a stimulus for a cross-examination of the stone on the same technological level before passing any negative judgement on them. The second argument then, which in the present state of our knowledge of Etruscan can only have a bearing on the GN *Aplu*, presupposes the absence of the phenomenon of syncope in Etruscan texts dated to the period in question. This supposition however, is entirely unfounded, because it cannot stand the test of a confrontation with the relevant data. So the bronze tablet, for example, which is archaeologically associated with the earlier temple at Pyrgi (temple B), dated to the late 6th century B.C., and therefore is generally considered to be of earlier date than the gold tablets which are likely to be associated with the later temple (temple A), dated to the first quarter of the 5th century B.C. (c. 480-470 B.C. to be more precise), is characterized by the gentilicium *Thfarienas* and, possibly, by the personal name *Thfarie* (both written with the *wau* for the value /f/, as is typical for the Caeretan inscriptions of the period in question).⁷ As the root of this gentilicium, characterized by syncope, from a linguistic point of view is difficult to separate from the personal name of the dedicator on the gold tablets of *later* date, which reads *Thefarie(i)* in its various writing variants and is not characterized by syncope, it appears that we are rather dealing with *a transitional period in which both*

6. Pallottino (*supra* note 5) 10-14.

7. L. Banti, *Etruscan Cities and their Culture* (London 1973) 51, 196; cf. *Studi Etruschi* 34 (1966) 207 and J. Heurgon, "The Inscriptions of Pyrgi", *Journal of Roman Studies* 56 (1966) 5.

forms with and without syncope appear side by side in the documents!⁸ 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 complicated so much by the partial and "nationalistic" 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 B.C. is virtually denied by Livius and can be reconstructed only on the basis of indirect information, which, notwithstanding the fact that it apparently is inconsistent with the general outline of the main story, for traditional reasons is still preserved in the narrative.⁹ 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 on the help of Hieron of Syracuse in defending itself against the Etruscan attack of 474 B.C., whereas formerly it had been able to rely upon its own strength (524 B.C.) or even to take the initiative itself (504 B.C.), 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 Halicarnassos is assumed to be ultimately based) for patriotic reasons.¹⁰

As it seems therefore, there is no reason to disqualify the readings of Vatin on the basis of the arguments so far put forward. Consequently, it might be considered legitimate, as they cannot be verified by the present author on the same technological level as the one responsible for their recovery, to take them at face value for the moment and to try to verify their authenticity by means of subsidiary epigraphical, linguistical and historical data in order to determine their *a priori* probability.

2. The Greek-Etruscan Bilingue

It has already been indicated previously that the Greek text of the bilingue is written on the extreme right of the larger side to the left of the tripod-base and that the Etruscan one, running in the opposite direction, is placed on the left of it (see figure 2, design on the right). To start with the Greek text, this is much

8. M. Pallottino, *Testimonia Linguae Etruscae* (Firenze 1968) (= T.L.E.) nos. 873-5.

9. A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Leiden 1963) 72-84; 234.

10. Alföldi (*supra* note 9) 56-72.

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 from the walls of the Etruscan *thesauros*, easily be reconstructed. So we can emend: 1. *anethe[kan]* in lines 3-4 and 2. *A[p]o[l]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 t[r]i[ɰ]poda [t]onde(')* in lines 1-3, 6. *Chalkideon [ten] Kume[n]* in lines 9-11, 7. *(h)elonṭeš* in lines 12-13, and 8. *char[is]tē[ri]o[n]* in lines 13-15, are more or less determined by the vacancies in the design (which in this way appears to be very exact, except for the omission of line 15 for the remaining *nu* and the remnants indicated for the first *tau* in line 1 and the second *rho* in line 8) and the rules of Greek grammar and syntax.¹¹ 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 being 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 line 9, where 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 one remaining sign.

The Etruscan version of the bilingue 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-eight" sign for the expression of the value /f/ (1) and the preservation of the *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

11. My thanks are due to Jan Best and Reinier Telling for their numerous useful suggestions during the various discussions of the text and the monument, and their kindly reading of the manuscript.

those from Veii.¹² Next to this, it is characterized by different forms of the *theta* (3), the *mu* (4), the *nu* (5), and the *rho* (6). Furthermore, it regularly lacks the use of the *omicron* (7); and the *wau*, which lacks in the Greek version, is rendered there 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 the *delta* in the word *Chalchedn* 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 particular correspondence in the writing between the two versions of the bilingue, it is also interesting to note that both share the same form of *alpha* (without horizontal bar) and *labda*, because these two features form a marked distinction between the Greek version of the bilingue and its counterpart on the other 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 bilingue, just like the text in archaic lettering on the other side of the tripod-base, is once restored in antiquity, but this time in a more evolved type of lettering;
2. the Etruscan version of the bilingue is probably written first on the stone and very 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 is added in the space remaining on 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 bilingue, it is, with the epigraphical 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 utmost 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. *Velthane* in line 2 of the Etruscan text just opposite to the first half of *Ouelthane[s]* in lines 5-6 of the

12. See *Studi Etruschi* 13 (1939) 455ff. discussion of the inscriptions found close to the altar of the Portonaccio temple of Apollo and dated to c. 550 B.C., esp. p. 458: *mini mulvanice Mamarce Quthanie[s]* and p. 463-4: *mini muluva[nice] Velthur Qurtinie* (second name based upon the PN *Curtun* "Cortona").

Greek version, 2. *Aplu* in line 3 just opposite to the beginning of *A[p]o[l]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. *Chalchedn* in line 6 on the same level with the largest part of *Chalkideon* in lines 9-10. Moreover, Etruscan *charste[r]iun* in lines 8-9, which is nothing but the Greek form *char[is]t[ē]ri[ō]n* in Etruscan disguise and is therefore to be considered a Graecism comparable with the intrusion of the use of the *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[n]*, could not possibly be placed opposite to it because the line in question is already occupied by another word and apparently there is a divergence here in the way of expressing 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 heavily damaged word in the first line of the Etruscan text is in fact the equivalent of Greek *anethe[kan]*, which is placed on the same level with it, and is therefore likely to be identified as one of the writing variants of the central verb in Etruscan votive-inscriptions, *muluvanice*, etc., "he has/they have offered as a vow" (7). In accordance with this observation, the line can — with the proviso that the design of Vatin is inexact with respect to the most damaged signs just below the deepest impression of the stone — be read as *mul'nvk[e]*, a form characterized by metathesis of *v* and *n* and strikingly recalling an erroneous variant of the verb like *muluemknie* in a 7th century B.C. inscription from Caere (T.L.E. 60).¹³ And finally, it now turns out that the enigmatic entry *quthefas* in line 7 by means of deduction is the only possible candidate for the corresponding form of Greek *(h)elontes* (8).

Now, the Etruscan novelty *quthefas* is analysed by Pallottino in his discussion of the Etruscan version of the bilingue as consisting of two distinct elements, of which the second one, *fas*, already occurs in line 3.¹⁴ This assumption however, must be considered superficial on the basis of the fact that it does not take into account that the space, which is left in the design between the *sigma* at the end of the first entry *fas* and the *alpha* at the beginning of the second one, *Aplu*, in line 3, definitely lacks between

13. Pallottino (*supra* note 8); cf. G. Colonna, "Una Nuova Iscrizione Etrusca de VII Secolo e Appunti sull' Epigrafia Ceretana dell' Epoca", *Melanges d'Ecole Française* 82 (1970) 637-672.

14. Pallottino (*supra* note 5) 10, 13.

the two alleged components in line 7. Having realized this, we eventually are in the position to identify the word *quthefas* as a participle, too, on the analogy of Etruscan forms like *svalas*, *tenthās*, *zilachnthas*, 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 one of the writing variants of the typical Etruscan oblique case *-(a)l*, *-(a)la*, *-(a)le*, evidently used here for the expression of the dative (plural ?).¹⁵ Consequently, we are forced to take the preceding GN *Aplu*, as 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 question of the classification of the Etruscan language extensively. 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 bilingue, 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 *quthefas* (hapax legomenon), which are both rather crucial for our understanding of it. Therefore, it may perhaps suffice to say here on that subject, that the oblique case in *-(a)l*, *-(a)la*, *-(a)le*, etc., mentioned above, is generally acknowledged to be related with a similar ending *-(a)l*, in Lydian, used for the same function, and the adjectival suffix *-(e)li-* in the same language, used for the expression of a genitive relation and ultimately derived from its Luwian predecessor, *-ali-*.¹⁶ In the

15. M. Pallottino, *The Etruscans* (London 1974) 214; for *-(a)le*, cf. *mi zinaku Larthuzale Kuleniiesi*, a 7th century B.C. inscription on a bucchero "incense-burner" from Artimino, discussed by M. Cristofani, "Recent Advances in Etruscan Epigraphy and Language", *Italy before the Romans* (ed. D. and F. Ridgway, 1979) 407.

16. From E. Littmann, *Sardis VI*, 1 (Leyden 1916) 80, onwards; cf. M. Durante, "Considerazioni intorno al problema della classificazione dell' Etrusco", *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 7 (1967) 39-44 and M. Cristofani, *Introduzione allo Studio dell' Etrusco* (Firenze 1981²) 99f.

same way, the root of the central verb in Etruscan votive-inscriptions, *mulvanice*, etc., "he has/they have offered as a vow", which we have also encountered already in the present inscription, is considered by the specialists to be linked up with the root of the Lydian participial formation *ml₁vendai*, (dat. pl. of a word meaning "thank-offering")¹⁷ and that of the word *malvam_a* of similar formation, which in a bilingual inscription from Pamphylian Side corresponds to Greek *charistèria* "thank-offerings" and is ultimately derived from Luwian Hieroglyphic *ma-lu-wa-* of the same meaning.¹⁸

In the light of these relationships with the west-Luwian dialects from south-west Anatolia then, the entry *fas* can be analyzed as an introductory particle, corresponding to the Lydian introductory particle *fa-* (<Luwian *wa-* of the same function) with an enclitic pronoun *-s* attached to it, corresponding to the nominative of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd person singular *-s* in Lydian (and the Anatolian languages more in general), which, just like it is often the case with its Lydian equivalent, is used proleptically here in order to stress the relationship between the subject and the verbal form *quthe₁fas* following after a number of other words.¹⁹ Needless to stress, that with this identification of *fa-s* as an introductory particle with enclitic pronoun, the interpretation of lines 3-7 of the Etruscan text as a separate entity is substantially enhanced. Similarly, the root *quthe₁f-* of the participle *quthe₁fas* bears (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 Pyrgi bilingue, reading *Velianas* in the longer, but *Veliunus* in the shorter version of the Etruscan text)²⁰ a striking resemblance to the Anatolian root *kattaw-*, which occurs, for example, in Luwian *kattawatnalli-* "vindictive, revengeful" (with adjectival suffix *-alli-* attached to the "Obliquisstamm" *kattawatn-*)²¹ and Hittite *kattawatar* "revenge,

17. R. Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch, Ergänzungsband 1* (Heidelberg 1980) s.v.; cf. F.C. Woudhuizen, "The Sardis Bilingue Reconsidered", *Acta Indoeuropaea* 1 (1988).

18. H. Eichner, "Malwa, eine hieroglyphischluvisch-sideticische Wortgleichung", *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 45, 2 (1985) 5-21, esp. 14; F.C. Woudhuizen, "Origins of the Sidetic Script", *Talanta* 16/17 (1984-1985) 121f. The same root also occurs as *me-e-lu-we* in a Cypro-Minoan inscription on a weight from Enkomi, reading *me-e-lu-we sa-ru* "thank-offering (of) the king" in full, see Jan Best & Fred Woudhuizen, *Ancient Scripts from Crete and Cyprus* (Leiden-New York-København-Köln 1988) 118.

19. R. Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1964) s.v. *fa₁*.

20. T.L.E. 874-5.

21. E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la langue Louvite* (Paris 1959) s.v.

retribution, satisfaction",²² and is therefore likely to be interpreted accordingly.

Next, the expression *Qumethen* in line 5 is plausibly interpreted by Pallottino as a combination of the place name "Cumae" and a suffix *-then*, compared by him to the Greek suffix *-then* "from, in", which as a rule is attached to geographic names, for the apparent lack of comparable evidence coming from the Etruscan documents. This opinion however, does not take into account the suffix *-the-* or *-te-* with an identical meaning and application, which during a later period is typical for the Etruscan inscriptions from eastern Etruria, in particular those from Clusium, Perugia and, to a lesser extent, Volsinii,²³ and which, just like the adjectival suffix already discussed in the foregoing, is liable to further declension²⁴ — the latter observation preparing the way for the supposition that it is characterized by the accusative singular ending *-n*, here! If finally, the form *Chalchedn* in line 6 may be considered as the Greek ethnicon *Chalkide-* (3rd declension) in Etruscan disguise (syncope of the vowel *e*, accusative singular ending *-n*) on the analogy of *charstē[r]iun*, treated previously, it eventually becomes clear that the entire combination *Qumethen Chalchedn* "the Chalcidian from Cumae" has formed the model for the Greek expression *Kumaion* (acc. sing. of the ethnicon) "the Cumaean" in the text in archaic lettering on the adjacent side of the tripod-base and, with *Chalkideon* [*ten*] *Kume[n]* "the Cumae of the Chalcidians", is no longer adequately rendered in the Greek version of the bilingue.

In sum, all these results lead up to the following transliteration and interpretation of the Etruscan version of the bilingue on the "cippus of the Tyrrhenians": 1–2. *ṃuḷṇvk[e]* *Velthane* "The Velthanes (or: the family Velthana) have (or: has) offered as a vow"; 3–7. *fa-s Aplu Rasnele Qumethen Chalchedn quthēfas* "because Apollo has taken revenge for the Etruscans on the Chalcidian from Cumae.", 8–9. *charstē[r]iun* "Thank-offering.", in which only the interpretation of the name *Velthane* as a gentilicium must yet be accounted for by the fact that it is strikingly reminiscent of the family name *Velthi(e)na-* attested in in-

22. J. Tischler, *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar* (Innsbruck 1983) s.v.

23. Pallottino (*supra* note 5) 13; H. Rix, *Das Etruskische Cognomen* (Wiesbaden 1963) 232–6.

24. Rix (*supra* note 23) *ibid.*: *Veithial* (< **Veiathe*), attached to the PN *Veii*, in an inscription from Perugia and *Felcinathial* (< **Felcinate*), attached to the PN *Fulginiae* (Umbria), also in an inscription from Perugia.

scriptions from Orvieto (T.L.E. 242, ant.) and Perugia (T.L.E. 570, rec.), thus providing us with the most plausible explanation for the eastern Etruscan elements observed in both the script (preservation of the *qoppa* before the *upsilon*) and the language (suffix *-the-* "from, in" attached to place names) of the Etruscan version of the bilingue from Delphi (see tables I-II)!

Table I: Inscription on the Shorter Side of the Tripod-base

1. [charisterio]	"Thank-offering;
2. n:anetheka	the Etruscans
3. n:topollo	have dedicated
4. ni:Turrano	to Apollo, because
5. i[i:]Kumaion[i:]	they have seized
6. [(h)e]lo[ntes]	the Cumaeans."

Table II: Bilingual Inscription on the Larger Side of the Tripod-base

Etruscan		Greek	
		1. <i>ton tr[i]</i>	"This tri-
		2. <i>podq [t]</i>	pod, the
		3. <i>ond an</i>	Velthanes
1. <i>mulnkv[e]</i>	"The Velthanes	4. <i>ethe[kan]</i>	have de-
2. <i>Velthane</i>	have dedicated,	5. <i>Ouelth</i>	icated (it)
3. <i>fa-s Aplu</i>	because Apollo	6. <i>ane[s] A[p]</i>	to Apollo,
4. <i>Rasnele</i>	has taken revenge	7. <i>o[l]on[i] T</i>	because the
5. <i>Qumethen</i>	for the Etruscans	8. <i>ur[r]e[n]o</i>	Etruscans
6. <i>Chalchedn</i>	on the Chalcidian	9. <i>i Chalkid</i>	have cap-
7. <i>quthefas</i>	from Cumae;	10. <i>eon [ten]</i>	tured Cu-
8. <i>charste[r]</i>	thank-offer-	11. <i>Kume[n]</i>	mae of the
9. <i>iun</i>	ing."	12. <i>(h)elon[</i>	Chalci-
		13. <i>es char[i]</i>	dians;
		14. <i>[s]te[r]i[o</i>	thank-
		15. <i>[n]</i>	offering."

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 the *delta*, foreign to Etruscan writing proper, is reflected in matters of linguistics by the forms *charste[r]iun* and *Chalchedn*, which are nothing but Greek words in Etruscan disguise;

2. the eastern Etruscan influence of which the preservation of the *goppa* before the *upsilon* bears witness in matters of epigraphy, is matched on the linguistic level by the suffix *-the-* attached to the place name Cumae and the family name *Velthane*;

3. the priority of the Etruscan text, as deduced from the 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 for the Greek public;

4. the same conclusion (i.e.: the priority of the Etruscan text) is further substantiated by the fact that the Etruscan expression *Qumethen Chalchedn* "the Chalcidian from Cumae" is still faithfully rendered by *Kumaion* (acc.sing.) "the Cumaeon" in the Greek text in archaic lettering on the adjacent side of the tripod-base, but apparently no longer fully grasped at the time of the restoration of the bilingue in post-archaic times as seems to be deduced from the much more freely (*Chalkideon [ten] Kume[n]* "the Cumae of the Chalcidians") handling of the subject in its Greek version.

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 *quthefas* by means of their respective counterparts from the west-Luwian dialects in south-west Anatolia (a category of evidence of which the epigraphist Vatin is entirely ignorant) as a kind of *deus ex machina*, all this cannot seriously be regarded as "products of a lively imagination".

3. Historical Remarks

As a result of its partial and "nationalistic" nature, the information from the literary sources unfortunately forms a less conclusive category of evidence for the verification of the readings of Vatin than the straightforward facts of epigraphy and linguistics. Still, it might be considered a positive indication if a synthesis between the historical relevant data afforded by the inscriptions on the Etruscan tripod-base and treasury at Delphi and the course of events as recorded by Greek and Roman authors is within the 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 B.C.* as 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 *Velthane*, which is registered as being responsible for the dedication of the tripod and the treasury and appears to be of *eastern Etruscan (the region of Orvieto and Perugia) provenance*, 3. the expression *Qumethen Chalchedn* "the Chalcidian from Cumae" in the Etruscan version of the bilingue and its faithfully rendered counterpart *Kumaion* "the Cumaean" in the Greek text in archaic lettering on the adjacent side of the tripod-base, which, from a historical point of view, clearly refer to *one specific person in Cumae*, who, in the light of the original Etruscan text, must be regarded as *an avowed enemy of the *Velthana-family*, 4. the reason of the dedication of tripod and treasury, which, in combining the different versions of the votive-inscriptions, from a historical point of view might adequately be defined as *the happy outcome of a personal feud between members of the *Velthana-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 B.C. 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 *Hippomedon* as

leader of the cavalry and *Aristodemos* 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 B.C. 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; this attack however, was frustrated by a highly efficient intervention of *Aristodemos* 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, viz.: Arruns, the son of Porsenna;²⁵

3. in the year 474 B.C. the Cumaeans were forced to call on the help of Hieron from 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.²⁶

What strikes us most about this course of events, which not without any justice could also be called the story of "the rise and fall of Aristodemos", who, owing to his victory at Aricia, succeeded in obtaining tyranny for himself at Cumae, is the fact that this name is no longer mentioned in connection with the third and final event of 474 B.C. Apparently therefore, his downfall, discussed at length by Dionysios of Halicarnassos, but unfortunately without any indication with respect to its date, must have taken place sometime during the period from the fourteenth year of his tyranny (= 490 B.C.), 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)²⁷ and consequently must be considered to have been still in full power, to the event of the Etruscan seaborne attack in 474 B.C.

If our next step then, is to try to relate these episodes from the Cumaean chronicle to the given historical relevant data drawn from the inscriptions on the tripod-base and treasury dedicated by the **Velthana*- family at Delphi, it turns out, as is already hinted at in the introduction, that any *direct* connection between

25. Dion. Hal. VII, 3-5.

26. Diod. Sicul. XI, 51.

27. Dion. Hal. VII, 9-11; 12.

the two categories is excluded on the basis of the fact that the one first mentioned only relates Greek victories and the one last mentioned is set up in honour of an Etruscan victory (4). But in case we are prepared to lower our expectations and to 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 B.C., 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 B.C., 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 Cumae-Etruscan antagonism and rivalry.

What remains therefore, by means of deduction, is the second historical event relating the whereabouts of the battle at Aricia in 504/3 B.C. Now, this particular event is all the more interesting in view of the fact that it testifies to the personal involvement of *Aristodemos 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 the personal interests (killing a son) of his enemy, and *Lars Porsenna* on the other hand, who originates from the at that time most powerful region in eastern Etruria, viz. the *ager Clusinus*,²⁸ and, as we have seen, suffers mostly from the activities of Aristodemos during his attempts on behalf of the Etruscan League to restore control over Latium.²⁹ In short, we are closest here to the possible origins of

28. According to Banti (*supra* note 7) 167-176, the finds from Chiusi are particularly rich for the period covering the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century B.C., whereas those from Arezzo and Perugia are considered indicative of the dependence of these places on Chiusi as the dominant cultural and political centre during the period in question; even the religious centre Murlo, built c. 575-525 B.C., is conjectured to have "probably belonged to the territory of Clusium".

29. Alföldi (*supra* note 9) 75-6; note in this respect that the defeat at Aricia does not mean the end of Porsenna's hold on Rome, because, as A.J. Pfiffig, *Einführung in die Etruskologie* (Darmstadt 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 (viz.: Lat. *Larcus* < Etr. *Larcna*, Lat. *Herminius* < Etr. *Herm(e)na*, Perugia (viz.: Lat. *Verginius* < Etr. *Vercna*, Lat. *Volumnius* < Etr. *Velimna*), and possibly Chiusi (viz.: Lat. *Cicurinus* related to Etr. *Cicu* and *Cicuna*). Yet another indication for this influence may be provided by the fact that according to Livius II, 35 the plebs is kept alive during the year 492 B.C. according to the Roman chronology (= Dion. Hal. 490 B.C.) with grain arriving from regions upstream the Tiber. Therefore, Alföldi's assumption that the battle at *lacus Regillus* of 496 B.C. between Rome and the Latin League is fought with Etruscan backing (p. 53), seems fully justified!

a feud between a "Chalcidian 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, which is likely to be identified with the **Velthana*- family in our present inscription (2) on account of the fact that: 1. the "name" *Porsenna* is generally acknowledged by Etruscologists to be the Etruscan magistracy *purthne*, *purtsna*, *pursna* taken for a proper name and not the real name of the king of Clusium,³⁰ 2. the memory of the real name hidden behind the given titular expression is likely to be preserved by Porsenna's mythological association with the name *Volta* (< Etruscan **Veltha*-!),³¹ which, when it was no longer understood as a patronymic connected with the praenomen *Larth* and the title *purthne*, had to be explained away by ancient authors as "a monster endangering the neighborhood of Volsinii, which is killed by Porsenna by means of his lightning" in order to make some sense.³²

Some confirmation of the present propositions may be provided by the fact that in the course of events concerning the downfall of Aristodemos there is made implicit reference to Etruscan involvement or even participation. So it is recorded 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*.³³ Now, it is generally acknowledged by ancient and modern authorities that Capua has remained under Etruscan control until the invasion of the Samnites, variously dated to either 445 B.C. or 424 B.C.,³⁴ and clearly therefore, the successful capture of the city by the Cumaean exiles, which resulted in the death

30. Pallottino (*supra* note 15) 128-9.

31. For Lat. *o* < Etr. *e* between *v* and *l*, see Pfiffig (*supra* note 29) 52. Cf. in this connection esp. the MN *Larth Ulthes*, who is depicted as one of the victors in the historical scene of the François Tomb at Vulci, generally dated to the end of the 4th century B.C., and whose name is connected by F. Messerschmidt, *Nekropolen von Vulci* (Berlin 1930) 151 with the gentilicium *Ulthes* on late Etruscan urns from the *ager Clusinus* (C.I.E. 749-50 from Chiusi; C.I.E. 4506, 4508 from Perugia) and its Latin derivations *Ulteius* or *Volteius*. As the event in question for various reasons has to be dated to the first half of the 6th century B.C. (see discussion in the appendix), the identity of this MN with the real name of Porsenna would lead us to the assumption that either Porsenna is already an old man during his expedition against Rome or he must have had an ancestor with exactly the same name.

32. Plin. n.h. II, 140: *vetus fama Etruriae est inpetratum, Volsinios urbem depopulatis agris subeunte monstro quod vocavere Oltam, evocatum a Porsina suo rege.*

33. Dion. Hal. VII, 10.

34. Diod. Sicul. XII, 31; Livius IV, 37.

of Aristodemus and the extinction of his entire family, could not have been accomplished without Etruscan support, be it openly professed or given in secret.^{34a}

As we have already noted above, this event must have taken place sometime during the period between the years 490 B.C. and 474 B.C., but this is about 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 Pyrgi bilingue, which commemorates the fact that *Thefarie Velianas*, "king of Caere" according to the Phoenician version of the text, has been victorious in a combined land- and sea-battle (*ila-cve tulerase* "because she has favoured (him) on land", *ila-cve alsase* "because she has favoured (him) at sea", with *ila-cve* < **ilace-cve* by haplology consisting of the enclitic relative pronoun *-cve*, corresponding to Luwian Hieroglyphic *HWA(-a)*- "because", and the verbal root *ila-*, corresponding to Luwian Hieroglyphic *ī + la-* "to favour", and two forms characterized by the oblique case in *-ase*, related to the Luwian Hieroglyphic adjectival suffix *-asa-* in the same way as the Lydian-Etruscan oblique case in *-(a)l*, etc., to the Luwian (Hieroglyphic) adjectival suffix *-ali-*, which are identifiable as Etruscan *tular-* "territory, land" and Etruscan *als-* (cf. the PN *Alsium*!), related to Greek *hals* (gen. *halos*) "sea").³⁵ These battles then, are, by means of an additional dating-formula absent in Phoenician, solemnly declared to have taken place *nac Atranes zilacal seleitala Acnasvers* "during the praetorship of Artanes (and) the sultanate of Achasveros" (with *nac*, corresponding to the Lydian introductory particle *nak*, two forms characterized by the oblique case in *-al(a)*, which are identifiable as the Etruscan magistracy *zil(a)c-* and a Semitic cognate, based upon the root *slṭ-* "power", in Etruscan disguise, and two personal names, characterized by the genitive singular *-s*, identifiable as the Persian royal names *Artanes* by metathesis of *-rt-* and *Xerxes* by means of its Biblical form *Aḥasveros*), i.e.: during the coregency of the Persian king Xerxes and his uncle Artanes in the

34a. Note in this connection that the route over land 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, registered by Livius II, 19 for the year 499 B.C. according to the Roman chronology.

35. See the extensive discussion of the Pyrgi bilingue by the present author in: Jan Best & Fred Woudhuizen, *Lost Languages from the Mediterranean* (Leiden-New York-Köbenhavn-Köln 1988, in press) Chapter IV, §2, *passim*.

first year of his reign, datable in terms of absolute chronology to 484 B.C.!³⁶

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 their policy to safeguard their future campaign against the Greek mainland, according to which in that case each ally (viz. Carthago and Caere) had to eliminate its own Greek enemy (viz. Syracuse and Cumae, respectively).³⁷ But, whatever one may be apt to think of this suggestion, within the framework of Italian politics as sketched previously, which is so heavily preoccupied with Cumae-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, so that it may safely be assumed that with the commemorated land-battle reference is made to Etruscan involvement with the expedition of the Cumae 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 sea-borne attack of the Caeretan fleet, which seriously exhausted the enemy's defences and thus facilitated the attempts of the exiles to enter the city.³⁸

To conclude, it must be admitted that much of the preceding attempt to 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 bilingue, 2. the king of Clusium, addressed by his title *Porsenna*, is not straightforwardly identified as **Larth Velthes*, or connected with the family name **Velthana*- derived from this patronymic, in the literary sources, and 3. the tyrant of Cumae, Aristodemos the Ef-feminate, is not explicitly mentioned by name in the Delphi bi-

36. See the appendix by Jan Best to the given chapter of Best & Woudhuizen (*supra* note 35).

37. Cf. J.B. Bury, *A History of Greece* (London 1929) 298, 301 on the battle at Himera in 480 B.C.

38. Note that Dion. Hal. 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.

lingue. 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 B.C. Porsenna's military aspirations to restore control over Latium on behalf of the Etruscan League are frustrated by the intervention of Aristodemus the Effeminate from Cumae, who defeats the Etruscan army in the battle at Aricia and personally kills their commander Arruns, the son of Porsenna;

2. on his return from Rome after the battle at Aricia, Porsenna, just like *Aulus Vibenna* had done about half a century earlier,³⁹ makes a vow at the Portonaccio temple of Apollo in Veii on behalf of himself and his descendants, and promises to place a tripod and treasury in honour of the God at his sanctuary in Delphi if the God grants him (or his descendants) the favour of divine retribution for the killing of his son by Aristodemus the Effeminate from Cumae;

3. in the year 484 B.C. the increasing threat formed by the Cumaean exiles at Etruscan Capua, headed by the sons of Hippomedon as leaders of the aristocratic party, against the tyranny of Aristodemus offers an excellent opportunity for the Caeretan leader, Thefarie Velianas, to attack his most important rival at sea in a concerted action by troops on land and naval forces at sea, which resulted in the capture of the city by the exiles and the death of Aristodemus;

4. the death of Aristodemus and the extinction of his family as a result of Caeretan support to the cause of the Cumaean exiles is interpreted by the descendants of Porsenna, called *Velthanes* after the patronymic *Velthes* of the former king, as divine retribution for the killing of Arruns and therefore is reason for them to fulfill their obligations to the God by dedicating a tripod and a treasury to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.⁴⁰

39. T.L.E. 35: *mini muluv[an]eje Avile Vipiennas*, belonging to the same group of inscriptions from the Portonaccio temple at Veii as the ones referred to in note 12, above.

40. Nice parallels for contacts with Delphi and the hereditary character of obligations resulting from a vow during the period in question are provided by Roman literary tradition, recording the consultation of the oracle at Delphi by the sons of Tarquinius Superbus and Lucius Junius Brutus before the expulsion of the Tarquins in 509 B.C. according to the Roman chronology (Livius I, 56) and the inauguration of the temple of Castor by a son of Postumius, who had promised it some 12 years earlier before the battle at Lake Regillus, but had already died in the mean time (Livius II, 41, concerning the year 484 B.C. according to the Roman chronology).

APPENDIX

Two Rivaling Etruscan Coalitions in the Paintings of the François Tomb from 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 *Tanchvil* during the final decades of the 4th century B.C., there are depicted five pairs of men in a fighting scene.⁴¹ 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 the other. 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 out of four instances ends in *-ch* and is generally assumed by the specialists to constitute the name of the *place* from which the person in question originates. This view is substantially emphasized by the fact that the final element *-ch* is identified by Hrozný as an Etruscan suffix, related to the suffix *-hi* "from" attached to place names in the Anatolian languages, cf. *Samuḫaḫi* "from the place Samuḫa".⁴² As noted by Buckler, this suffix lingers on in Lydian as *-k* in the word *Šfardak* "from Sardis".⁴³ 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 form *A-ma-ti-ke-e* in text no. 195 from Amathus.⁴⁴ Its appearance in Egyptian in connection with the Cyprian place name Salamis (*Šrmšk*), probably in order to distinguish it from the other Cyprian place names of minor importance enumerated in the same text, is explained by Wainwright as being modeled on the Akkadian cuneiform determinative for "land", *KI*, which explanation, if correct, may also hold good for the preceding ex-

41. For the relevant literature, see S. Steingraber, *Etruskische Wandmalerei* (Japan 1985) 385f.

42. F. Hrozný, "Etruskisch und die "hethitischen" Sprachen", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 38 (1929) 173.

43. W.H. Buckler, *Sardis VI*, 2 (Leyden 1924) 65, 80.

44. O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques* (Paris 1983) no. 195; Best & Woudhuizen (*supra* note 18) 100.

amples.⁴⁵

Whatever the details about its ultimate origin, these linguistic affinities of the Etruscan suffix *-ch* enable us to translate *Laris Papathnas Velznach* as "Lars (praenomen) Papathna (patronymic or gentilicium) from Volsinii", *Pesna Arcmsnas Sveamach* as "Pesna Arcmsna from Sovana (place north-west of Lake Bolsena)" and *Cneve Tarchu[nies] Rumach* as "Gnaeus Tarchunie from Rome". Troubles begin however, with the identification of the word added to the name of the fourth victim of 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 *-s*. In sum the name is generally read *Venthi Cau[le]s [.]plsachs*, but it is acknowledged by Körte that the reading *t* for the second sign of the third word is equally possible.⁴⁶ 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 in retrograde direction) are still visible, which, *inter alia*, also leaves room for the possibility of reading *q*. In the light of the possibility of the latter reading, the connection of this entry with the place name *Falerii*, as proposed by Heurgon, becomes hard to resist, with the proviso that, being distinguished by the additional genitive singular *-s* from the other place names, rather the ethnonym *Falisci* than the capital city in the habitation area of this people is indicated here.⁴⁷ Some further confirmation for the connection of the present name with the Faliscans may be provided by the fact that the praenomen *Venthi* strikingly recalls the gentilicium *Vendias* which occurs in the earliest *Faliscan* inscription, found in Caere and dated to the 7th century B.C.⁴⁸ The

45. G.A. Wainwright, "Some Sea-Peoples", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 47 (1961) 76.

46. G. Körte, "Ein Wandgemälde von Vulci als Document zur römischen Königsgeschichte", *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 12 (1897) 58-80.

47. J. Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne chez les Étrusques* (Paris 1961) 66; note that an interesting parallel for the present formation is formed by the word *Pherśnachs* on the stele of *Avle Feluske* from Vetulonia (T.L.E. 363, late 7th century B.C.), translated by Vetter as "Perusinus", see *Studi Etruschi* 24 (1955-1956) 306, which in view of the fact that during the time in question Perugia is not yet an urbanized centre must equally be considered to refer either to the region or the people living in it.

48. *Studi Etruschi* 21 (1950-1951) 389; *Studi Etruschi* 22 (1952-1953) 425. Consultation of the photograph points out that the text reads as follows: *eco urna Tita Vendias Mamar-[ce] m[ed] vhe[vhaked]* "I (am) the urn of Tita Vendia, Mamarce has made me". On the basis of the typical stage in the development of the Caeretan digraph for the value /f/, this inscription is datable to the latter half of the 7th century B.C. Note also the exact correspondence of the "makers-formula" to the one on the Praeneste fibula.

reading *Venthi Cau[le]s [F]elschs* then, and its translation as “Venthi Caule, of the Faliscans”, apparently leads us to the conclusion, that all 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 figure 3)!



Fig. 3 Map of Central Italy.

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 Vipina*, *Macstrna*, *Larth Ulthes*, *Marce Camitlnas* and *Rasce*. Now, according to the literary evidence, the Vibenna brothers are stated to originate from *Vulci*⁴⁹ and a certain *Mastarna* (i.e. the Latinized form of Etruscan *Macstrna*!), who is staged as the successor of Tarquinius Priscus to the Roman throne — named *Servius Tullius* according to his *Latin* name — but, before this, as a homeless soldier of fortune, appears to be their loyal lieutenant who after some reverse either brings the army into safety himself or follows Caeles and Aulus Vibenna for the same purpose, in both instances from Etruria to Rome.⁵⁰

Led by these tiny pieces of evidence, Alföldi drew the conclusion that all these men are local Vulcian heroes, who do not need any further specification with respect to their place of origin in a Vulcian tomb.⁵¹ Though fully justified so far, this conclusion still has to be considered premature on the strength of some subsidiary arguments. So 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 imprisoned friends by means of supplying them with weapons, viz. *Larth Ulthes*,⁵² is shown by Messerschmidt to be at home in the *ager Clusinus*, where the same gentilicium appears on late Etruscan urns from, for example, Chiusi and Perugia, and persists in its Latin form *Ulteius* or *Volteius*.⁵³ In addition, the name of the man who frees Caeles Vibenna from his fetters, *Macstrna*, is very cleverly

49. Festus, s.v. *Tuscus vicus*, reading, with the supplements of 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[r]int. Cf. the pseudo-etymology of Capitolium = caput Oli Vulcentani, referring to the burial of the head of Aulus Vibenna on the Capitol Hill, in Arnobius VI, 7.

50. Orat. Claud. (CIL 1668) 1, 17ff.: *Huic* (viz. Tarquinio Prisco) *quoque et filio nepotique eius* (nam et hoc inter auctores discrepat) *insertus Servius Tullius, si nostros sequimur, captiva natus Ocreia, si Tuscos, Caeli quondam Vivennae sodalis fidelissimus omnisque eius casus comes, postquam varia fortuna exactus cum omnibus reliquis Caeliani exercitus Etruria excessit, montem Caelium occupavit et a duce suo Caelio ita appellat[us] est, mutatoque nomine* (nam Tusce Mastarna ei nomen erat) *ita appellatus est, ut dixi, et regnum summa cum rei p. utilitate optinuit.* Cf. Dion. Hal. III, 65, 6: *xenon de kai apolin*.

51. Alföldi (*supra* note 9) 221.

52. Alföldi (*supra* note 9) 223-4.

53. See note 31 above.

elucidated already by Cortsen and Herbig as a family name (the element *-na*) based upon the *Latin* honorary title *magister* in Etruscan disguise, which also occurs as *macstrevc* in an inscription from Toscana.⁵⁴ This identification seems not only fully in accordance with the Roman tradition that *Mastarna* (= the Latinized form of Etr. *Macstrna*) is the Etruscan form of address of Servius Tullius, who according to Livius is a descendant of a ruling family of the Latin town *Corniculum*,⁵⁵ but, on the analogy of *Porsenna* being the Latin form of address of the king of Clusium based upon the *Etruscan* magistracy *purthne*, etc., also seems to lead us to the conclusion that we are dealing here with an *official functionary of the Latin League*, viz. the *magister equitum*!⁵⁶

As it seems 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/Servius Tullius). This inference from the evidence of the names is strongly emphasized by the fact that the memory to the Vulcian heroes is kept alive not only in Vulci and 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 (viz.: their "meeting" with the prophet *Cacu*), testify to this fact.⁵⁷ The overall picture then, which emerges from this reconstruction, is that of a clash between a central Etruscan

54. Heurgon (*supra* note 47) 67 and cf. Alföldi (*supra* note 9) 214, note 2; T.L.E. 195.

55. Livius I, 39, 5.

56. Alföldi (*supra* note 9) 42, 53. The name of *Marce Camitlnas*, who is depicted as victorious over *Cneve Tarchu[nies]*, is characterized by a *Latin* praenomen in Etruscan disguise, viz. *Marcus*, and a gentilicium (the element *-na*), which according to R.T. Ridley, "The enigma of Servius Tullius", *Klio* 57 (1975) 166 strikingly recalls *Camillus*, of ultimate Etruscan origin (< "Pelasgian" *Kasmilos* or *Kadmilos*, see *Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie*, s.v.). In view of its origin however, the t/l-change resulting from this identification concerning the gentilicium seems difficult to account for. Another possibility may be provided by the striking resemblance between the root of this name, viz. *Camit-*, and the Etruscan federal magistracy *camthi* (T.L.E. 145, 897), which also occurs as *canthi* in its verbal derivation *canthce* (T.L.E. 237) and appears to be linked up with Anatolian *hanti-* "first" as present in titulary expressions like Hittite *hantili-* "general" (also used as personal name) and Lycian *chñtawat-* "king", see E. Laroche, "La stèle trilingue de Létôon: version lycienne", *Fouilles de Xanthos* 6 (1979) 104f. If this is correct, *Marce Camitlnas* may be identified as another official functionary of the Latin League, the *dictator* or *dicator*, but this time in *Etruscan* translation! The final name, *Rasce*, remains enigmatic for the apparent lack of comparable evidence.

57. E. Gerhard, A. Klügmann, G. Körte, *Etruskische Spiegel* V, commentary to no. 127 from Bolsena.

force, aided by its indigenous Italian allies from the Faliscans and Rome, and a coalition of its surrounding regions, headed by the Vulcian "condottieri" Caeles and Aulus Vibenna, aided by their indigenous Italian ally, the *magister equitum* of the Latin League, and liberated after their initial defeat and imprisonment by the intervention of Chiusi (see figure 3).

What remains to be discussed is the question when this historical clash between these two Etruscan coalitions with their respective indigenous Italian allies has taken place. Two indications for a possible date are already hinted at in the preceding interpretation of the relevant data, namely the name of the Roman leader, *Cneve Tarchu[nies]*, clearly pointing to the period of the reign of the Tarquins over Rome, and 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 between 578 and 534 B.C.⁵⁸ 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 subsequent liberation by the intervention of Chiusi as depicted in or implied by the paintings of the François Tomb) at the end of the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, as indeed is recorded as a possibility by Tacitus in his annals.⁵⁹ As a consequence, the Tarquin depicted in the paintings, who in view of his Latin praenomen *Gnaeus* appears to be a Latinized Etruscan, must be identified either with Tarquinius Priscus himself (which unfortunately conflicts with his praenomen *Lucius* as recorded by Livius, but does *not* conflict with the fact that he is stated by the same author to be murdered by anonymous "shepherds", reflecting the story of the killing of the Latin king *Amulius*!)⁶⁰ or with an unrecorded member of his family, taking his place as leader of the host for the sake of having grown too old to fight himself.

The historical setting of these events in the first half of the 6th century B.C. has received some striking confirmation from an entirely different direction, viz. epigraphy. During the excavation of the Portonaccio temple at Veii, which is generally attributed

58. Livius I, 40; 48.

59. Tac. ann. IV, 65, 1-2.

60. Ridley (*supra* note 56) 167, note 77; cf. 166 for his attractive suggestion to explain the praenomen *Lucius* of Tarquinius Priscus as the Etruscan honorary title *lucumo* "king" in Latin disguise.

to Apollo, a votive-inscription was found in the neighborhood of the altar, reading: *mini muluv[an]ece Avile Vippiennas* "Aulus Vibenna has dedicated me". According to the excavator the inscription dates around the middle of the 6th century B.C. (c. 550 B.C.) "at the very period attributed by tradition to the reign of Servius Tullius"!⁶¹ This seems too much to be coincidental, but there is even more. According to the literary tradition, Caeles and Aulus Vibenna could not return to their home 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 first mentioned and the head of the latter one is claimed to be buried on the Capitol Hill.⁶² 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.⁶³ 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!⁶⁴ As a consequence, Aulus, as a homeless warlord, may be assumed to have settled himself as ruler in Veii, which at least offers us an explanation for the gap in time between the battle, discussed above and dated to about 578 B.C., and his dedication at the Portonaccio temple of Apollo in Veii about a quarter of a century afterwards; during this period he is registered to have maintained good contacts with Latium, as can be deduced from his visit to king *Amulius* of Alba Longa.⁶⁵ In the same way, the faithful Latin ally of the Vibenna brothers, Servius Tullius, who is also homeless, perhaps as a result of the campaigns of Tar-

61. Pallottino (*supra* note 15) 96.

62. See notes 49 and 50 above.

63. Alföldi (*supra* note 9) 216, note 2: "*caput Oli regis*" (Chron. Vindob. 1, 144); 217f.

64. Alföldi (*supra* note 9) 230, note 1; 233-4.

65. See note 64, above; note in this connection that according to Alföldi (*supra* note 9) 51-4 the centre of the Latin League is transferred by Aristodemus from Alba Longa or Lavinium to Aricia, from which it can be deduced that the two places first mentioned probably had a too friendly attitude towards Etruscan interests than befitted Cumaeen politics at the time. For Etruscan domination of Latium before the period of Cumaeen dominance (i.e. before 504/3 B.C.), cf. also the myth of the Caeretan king *Mezentius*, to whom the Latins are acknowledged to be tributaries, see Alföldi, *op.cit.*, p. 209f. Note also in this connection that the claims of Lavinium as the former centre of the Latin League are confirmed by archaeological evidence in the form of 13 altars of Etruscan type (sic!), dating from c. 570-550 B.C. onwards, see Alföldi, *op.cit.*, p. 266 and Pl. XVI.

quinius Priscus east and south-east of Rome which resulted in the conquest of, *inter alia*, his mother-city Corniculum,⁶⁶ may be assumed to be rewarded by his grateful patron with the rulership over Rome. In the end, Aulus Vibenna may have violently been driven from Veii and forced to take recourse to his vassal Servius Tullius at Rome, thus accounting for his burial on the Capitol Hill.⁶⁷

All the same, what presently interests us most of all about the given 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 Halicarnassos' account about 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 (= probably the ones east and south-east of Rome, referred to above).⁶⁸ It proves the involvement of the region centered around Chiusi in politics and military interests concerning regions downstream the Tiber already more than half a century before the intervention of Lars Porsenna on behalf of the expelled Tarquins at the end of the 6th century B.C.⁶⁹ But, above all, it testifies to the preeminence in this particular region from the first half of 6th century onwards of a dynastic family, which is named after its founding father by the patronymic *Ulthes* (< **Velthes*) or the gentilicium **Velthana* or *Velthi(e)na* (to which class, on the analogy of Etr. *Larcna* > Lat. *Larcus*, the Latin form *Volteius* or *Ulteius* also belongs) and whose splendor still shines from the cippus of Perugia at the end of the Etruscan period.⁷⁰ For in this manner it becomes all the more likely that it is really this patronymic or family name which is concealed by the original magistracy Porsenna, taken wrongly for the proper name of the king of Clusium by the Latins!

66. Livius I, 38, 4; note in this connection that, in line with a suggestion by Ridley (*supra* note 56), the Caelian Hill is probably named in memory of the *previous* leader and that Caeles therefore may be assumed to have died either before or soon after his arrival at Rome owing to his wounds received in battle.

67. Cf. the war of Servius Tullius against Veii, reported by Livius I, 42, 2, who in view of this evidence may be assumed to have come to the aid of his patron.

68. Dion. Hal. III, 51.

69. Livius II, 9; Dion. Hal. V, 21.

70. T.L.E. 570.