

THE
HISTORY OF ETRURIA.

PART III.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS,
ARTS AND LITERATURE, OF THE
ETRUSCANS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL OTFRIED MÜLLER.

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HISTORY OF ETRURIA.

CHAPTER XVI.

AN. R. 405 ; B. C. 348.

Alexander of Epirus—Alexander the Great—League with Samnites—Mons Ciminus—Battle of Lake Vadimon—Arretium—Gauls—Gellius Egnatius—Pyrrhus—Punic and Gallic Wars—Sulla and Marius—Final Extinction of Etruria.

IN the year of Rome 405, that growing Republic and the States of Etruria were at peace. Capena, Sutrium, and Nepete, had become Municipia. Veii, Faliscia, and Cære, had the Jus Latinum; and the Veientes and Faliscians were incorporated in the Plebeian tribes and admitted to all the privileges of the Roman Plebeians. Capua, which once was Tuscan, was granted the Jus Latinum in 416; and the whole of Campania was admitted to the Roman citizenship without the suffrage in A. R. 424. In the meanwhile Alexander of Epirus had landed at the Greek city of Tarentum, and had concluded

an alliance with Rome, which brought him to the knowledge of the Etruscans. His illustrious brother-in-law, Alexander the Great of Macedon, had sent back some captive pirates from Antium, who were only known to him as foreigners from the country with which Alexander of Epirus had just concluded an alliance, which he expected to be highly advantageous to the Greeks. The Etruscans, who had already suffered from Antiatic piracy, sent an embassy to Alexander the Great at Babylon, thanking him for his kind intentions towards them, and soliciting his protection for their commerce. At the same time they enlightened him as to the real state of the case, and deprecated the suffrance of pirates anywhere along the west coast of Italy. Etruscan sailors had served with the Athenians already in the Peloponnesian War.

About A. R. 442,* the successes of the Romans against the Samnites stirred up the jealousy of the Etruscan States, lest, should Samnium be conquered, they should become the next victims. They, therefore, formed a league to create a diversion on the western side of the Peninsula before it should be too late; but from this league Cære, Faliscia, and Arretium, chose to stand aloof. There seem frequently to have been ties of peculiar amity between the grandees of Arretium and those of Rome. The Umbrians also receded, between whom and the Tuscans some coolness seems to have arisen.

* B. C. 311.

In the Consulate of Junius Brutus and Q. Emilius Barbula a formidable Etruscan force appeared before Sutrium, and placed it in siege. They attacked Barbula, who with inferior numbers attempted to succour the place, and drove him from the field, but both armies suffered too much to renew the fight. The following year Quintus Fabius took the command and relieved Sutrium, but without dislodging the main body of the Etruscans. His military genius taught him to post his troops upon a hill whence they could command their foe; and they did such execution with their spears and arrows, that a large body of the Tuscans fled with the loss of their camp, their booty, and thirty-eight standards, and did not think themselves safe until they were hidden by the impenetrable shades and tangles of the Ciminian forest upon the Mons Ciminus near Viterbo.

This black forest had a reputation for danger and mystery, which made the Romans dread to follow; and Fabius, whose bold spirit did not sympathise with the superstitions of his men, and whose victory was balked by the large force he had failed to drive off from Sutrium, called a council of war to explain the bold plans by which he intended to triumph over his enemies. All the commanders, excepting the Consul, refused to venture through the forest. They said it would prove a second Caudine Forks. The Tuscans alone knew the roads, the Romans would be taken in a trap, and their enemies, warned by the recent breach of faith

with the Samnites, would not grant them a chance of release.

Amongst the officers, fortunately for Quintus, was Kæso Fabius, his brother, who, like most noble Romans, had been educated in Etruria, and who, unlike most of them, spoke the language perfectly. He had a slave, who was also probably an Etruscan, or he would have been of little use; and he offered with this slave to venture his life in order to explore the forest, to discover the position of the enemy, and to penetrate to the neutral republic of Camerte, with the Senators of which he might possibly conclude an alliance, and so place the Tuscans between two fires. The Camertines, usually most faithful allies, had at this period some special cause of anger against the Tuscan League. Kæso and his slave disguised themselves as shepherds, and with hatchets and javelins in their hands traversed the ill-omened forest undiscovered, and presented themselves as envoys from the Roman Consul in the Senate of Camerte, where they offered to avenge the wrongs of that people, and invited them to a treaty of mutual assistance. The Camertines were overjoyed. They promised to join the Romans with auxiliaries so soon as they should have cleared the forest, and to supply their troops with thirty days' provisions. Kæso returned to his brother with the glad intelligence, and then became his guide through the dark woods, past the Tuscan camp,* and by Ameria† and

* Livy, ix. 35, 36.

† Niebuhr.

Tuder to Camerte. Apparently no watch was kept there, for they deemed themselves impregnable. They also seem to have had no commander amongst them of common forethought and ability, for they wasted their time in idleness, not seeking to repair their losses or to prevent the further advance of the enemy.

Meanwhile, the Roman Senate, hearing that Quintus had ordered his army to march forwards, were so dismayed at his audacity that they sent five Tribunes to forbid him to attempt the foolhardy adventure. Had they forgotten that their troops had crossed the Mons Ciminus eighty years before to attack Volsinia? Many merchants must also have traversed it to attend at the fairs of Voltumna. The Tribunes found the ground on which the camp had stood near Sutrium now deserted, and the deed already done. On their return to Rome this exploit and the strategy involved in it were considered so heroic that the Senate decreed the Consul a triumph to commemorate it, and waited with confidence for the next intelligence from his adventurous army.

Great was the consternation of the Tuscans when they found their impregnable barrier broken through and their sacred forest violated. They had a Roman army joined to the angry Camertines between them and the rest of their people. They now made every exertion, and gained a promise of assistance from each of their own free states from all parts of Umbria. Even Arretium agreed to give aid, and

they collected in a very short space of time an army of 60,000 men.

Quintus Fabius, who in the first moments of surprise had poured down upon the undefended and richly cultivated plains of Perugia, and had excited a panic of terror, and which enabled him to carry off an immense booty, now showed every symptom of fear short of retreat. He intrenched himself strongly, shut his forces up in their camp, and refused every provocation to fight. The Tuscans, glorying in their superior numbers, and believing that they had him completely in their power, began to deride and insult him, and as usual neglected the proper precautions for their own security. They would not so have acted in King Porsenna's days; and it is indeed difficult to believe how any commander could so frequently fall into the same fault. Fabius, whose scheme they were completely fulfilling, attacked them whilst they were heavy with profound sleep in the earliest dawn of a summer's morning. He took their camp and all their immense treasure, killed or captured 60,000 of their stupefied warriors, dispersed the remainder, and completely annihilated what the day before had been one of the proudest hosts Etruria had ever marshalled for the field.* Arretium, Perugia, and Cortona, each concluded a separate armistice for thirty years, and soon after Volsinia and Tarquinia followed their example. Etruria was humbled and

* B. C. 309.

weakened, Sutrium was delivered, and Fabius returned to celebrate his triumph in Rome.

The Umbri, amongst whom the routed warriors took refuge, seem now to have continued the war, and to have collected together all the Tuscan auxiliaries they could muster in the neighbourhood of Lake Vadimon—a large mere, then abounding in floating islands, to which many legends were attached. It is supposed to be the Lake Sabatinus or Bassano, now nearly dried up, near Salpina or Viterbo.

Some of the Perugians or their subordinate towns had violated the truce; so had also some of the Volsinians, and the hosts which were collected together boasted that they would march upon Rome.* The Consul Decius Mus was despatched in all haste to oppose them. A Roman garrison was sent to the city of Perugia, and was received to prove its loyalty; and a year's provision for the army was exacted from Tarquinia, and yielded for the same reason. Many detached forts of the Volsinians were attacked and destroyed, and at length the Consul found himself face to face with the mighty host upon Lake Vadimon, and he prepared himself for a desperate and decisive battle. The Umbri and Etruscans were fully aware that their freedom depended upon their success, therefore they took the sacred vow which bound all who swore it to conquer or to fall together.

* Micali, vol. v.

The Lucumoes in the hostile camp had ordered all their young men into the field under pain of confiscation of their goods and condemnation of their persons to the infernal gods.* Each man chose his mate, and so went into battle. On their irresistible assault the first line of the Romans was cut to pieces, the second line was driven back, and the third was brought up almost in despair; but the cavalry, which was fresh, joined them and succeeded in breaking the phalanx of the Tuscans. The Triarii, with renewed hope and courage, pursued them, drove them from the field, and took their camp. The Etruscans so far never recovered this defeat, that besides cutting up their noble families, it destroyed the prestige which had hitherto environed their Ciminian forest, their dark lake Vadimon, and their Sacred Vow.

We are surprised not to find more important consequences to Rome attending such a glorious success; but, apparently, the Romans had suffered too much to follow up their advantages; and the aid of the Consul Fabius, with his legions, now released from Samnium, seems to have been absolutely necessary to prevent another attack being made upon him by a second army of the indomitable Umbrians, who were assembled near Menavia on the Clitumnus.† The appearance of Fabius, whom they imagined at a distance, took them by surprise, but they endeavoured to prevent him from fortifying his camp, and

* Ant. History, vol. xvi.

† Micali.

to overwhelm him with their numbers. He, ever prudent and watchful, opposed them with a persevering and skilful resistance, which finally threw them into disorder and disconcerted all their plans. They agreed to a long truce and gave hostages yielding at the same time Otricoli to Rome, and thus giving the Romans a further position in their greatly divided country. It must, however, be granted that, as a general rule, the Roman treatment of their allies, new allies especially, and when they were in danger from other enemies, as now from the Samnites, was eminently calculated to soothe all feelings of humiliation or dependence. Provided they made no war against the consent of Rome, and were true in furnishing the stipulated contingents of foot and horse, no other interference was attempted with their government, and they shared in all the Roman conquests.

It is about this date that the maritime cities aided Agathocles in his war against the Carthaginians. He had both Etruscans and Samnites in his pay.*

Eighteen Tuscan vessels helped him against the Carthaginians on his second voyage into Africa, and gained a victory over them. This is the last naval battle recorded of the Etruscans.†

The Consul Decius marched onward into Tarquinia, and concluded with the Lucumoes an

* Müller. Ant. Hist.

† Micali, vol. vi. p. 10.

armistice for forty years, annexing the condition that they should provision his troops and give each man two suits of clothes. He thus effectually separated them for a long period from the Etruscan warlike league, though he would not grant them the *Jus Latinum* and the equal franchise which they demanded, and which upon the next Roman extremity they obtained.

This detachment of the Tarquinians at this critical juncture was of vital consequence, for many of their states joined the Samnites in their third and last desperate struggle with the Romans; and, had the whole league joined them, there can be no doubt that the Eternal City would have fallen into their hands.*

The strong fortress of Nequinum, in Umbria, which the Tuscans had partly garrisoned by Samnites, was in B.C. 303, betrayed to the Romans and destroyed. Two of the citizens who had houses near the wall caused a mine to be worked from their residences to beyond the fortifications, and thence issuing into the Roman camp offered the Consul to introduce a body of men into the city. The Consul sent 300 men, who opened the gates to one of his army in the night, and the place was quickly taken.† The territory was immediately colonized, and the name of the town was changed to Narnia.

Immediately after this, the Romans were alarmed

* For the wars in this chapter see Livy, x.

† Livy, x. 10.

with the idea of a fresh Etruscan war, because the wealthy and powerful family of the Cilnii—probably the Lucumoes of Arretium,—being expelled by a rebellion of the Plebs and the ambition of their rivals, took refuge in Rome, and claimed the assistance of their allies to regain their position.

Marcus Valerius was appointed Dictator and ordered to reinstate the Cilnii. His master of the horse was surprised by an ambuscade, in which he lost several standards; which was considered so disgraceful that the Senators closed the tribunals and put the city in a state of defence. The Etruscans, however, did not follow up their advantage, and the master of the cavalry, recovering from his surprise, had thoroughly reorganized his forces, and before Valerius took the command he marched without opposition into the state of Rusella (which proves that the Tarquinians allowed him a free passage through their territory), to a city which had been partially burnt. Here the Arretians concealed an ambush within the ruined walls, and thence drove some cattle towards the Roman camp. The commander, suspecting stratagem a second time, would not allow his men, though furious to avenge their late disgrace, to leave their lines. Upon this one of the seeming herdsmen called out to the others in a taunting voice, that they might safely drive their cattle through the camp of the timid enemy. The General, having these words interpreted to him, inquired whether the language was that of the common people or of their superiors; and being told it was

that of a patrician, "Go, then," he said, "and tell them to uncover their ambush, for that this time I shall neither be conquered by fraud nor force."* He dared not, however, attack, but sent to Valerius to hasten his approach. A battle ensued, which was for some hours uncertain; but when the Etruscans were tired, fresh bodies of Roman cavalry galloped through the lines and decided the day. The Arretians acknowledged themselves vanquished, and sought for peace, the Cilnii were reinstated, and the Dictator returned to Rome to enjoy a triumph.

Part of the Roman policy in every state was always to side with the oligarchy.

Livy tells us, that some states of Etruria prepared to violate the truce and again make war on Rome, but an irruption of Gauls upon their northern frontier suspended the design. There is no doubt that during the third Samnite war, from B. C. 299 to B. C. 293, the Samnites under their great general, Gellius Egnatius, made unremitting efforts to secure and maintain the alliance of the Etruscans and Gauls against the Romans, and that, had they succeeded, the event would have proved fatal to their proud rival: but all their combinations came too late, and the Etruscans, with their many separate treaties and interests, were now rather a religious federation of small states than one great and warlike nation. Cære never more took the field against

* Livy, x. 4. "Nec magis jam dolo capi, quam armis vinci posse."

Rome; Tarquinia, Faliscia, Arretium, or Cortona, very seldom, and never for long. At this period the Etruscans, who were very wealthy from their extensive commerce, bought off the Gauls, and then demanded their co-operation against Rome in consideration of the money they had paid.

The Gauls replied that they had taken the money as the price of their abstinence from ravaging the Etruscan lands as they passed through; but they were perfectly willing to engage in a war with them against Rome, on condition that sufficient land was granted to them for a settlement amongst the nations of Italy. The States dare not accede to such terms, and the negotiation consequently came to nothing.*

Polybius, however, asserts, that the Gauls marched through Etruria into the territories of Rome, and carried off an immense booty, with which they safely returned across the Apennines, having spread terror wherever they appeared.†

To keep the League in awe, and prevent their alliance with the Gauls, a Roman force was sent against them under the Consul, Titus Manlius, who fell from his horse on first entering their territory, and was so much hurt that he died. This was considered at Rome such a fearful omen, that the people wished to appoint a Dictator; but they acquiesced in their armies being committed to the tried valour of the Consul, Marcus Valerius, who forced the Etruscans to keep within their trenches; and, after

* Niebuhr.

† Livy, x. 11.

ravaging the country, led off his troops into Samnium, where they were imperatively required. Livy mentions petty wars with Etruria for many years, but his language is so loose that it is difficult to know what he means by the word "Etruria." Not the twelve states certainly, for Veii had ceased to exist, Cære and Faliscia were in bonds of strictest amity, and Tarquinia, Arretium, Cortona, and Perugia, were bound by a long truce.

There remain, therefore, Volscinia, Clusium, and the Northern States, upon which the Gauls bordered, such as Volterra, Populonia, Pisa, and Luna. Under the Consul, Lu. Scipio, there was a hardly-contested battle in Volterra, which lasted the whole day, and which the Consul claimed as a victory, because the Tuscans abandoned the field at night. However, instead of pursuing them, he retreated to the strong and friendly city of Faleria. Had it been a real victory it would have been recorded upon his well-known sarcophagus.

The Lucumoes, however, held a meeting at Voltumna to decide upon their future proceedings, and their debates were so stormy, that the Romans fully believed they would complete an alliance with the Gauls and Samnites, which would place Latium in the utmost danger; and under this impression they broke their own laws by electing to the Consulship for the fourth time Quintus Fabius Maximus and Decius Mus.

When the Lucumoes heard that these renowned generals were in command, they decided that it was

best to keep the peace, and consequently they refrained from at present helping the Samnites, and from throwing their weight into this all-important war.

The Roman Senators were reassured by envoys from Sutrium, Nepete and Faliscia, who guaranteed to them Etruscan neutrality, and they gladly contented themselves with an advantage which enabled them to turn their whole strength against Samnium.

In consequence they were successful through two campaigns; and one of the Samnite chiefs, Gellius Egnatius, changed the plan of the war, and marched with a considerable army into Etruria, where he demanded another assembly of the Lucumoes at Voltumna, to consider his claims for their future aid.*

“You,” he said, “who are the most powerful nation in Italy for men, arms, and money, ought to support us in maintaining the cause of liberty. You only are capable of doing so along with your neighbours the Gauls: a people born in the midst of arms. If you have the spirit which animated your ancestors in the days of Porsenna, there is nothing to prevent you from expelling the Romans from all the lands on the north of the Tiber, and compelling them to fight for their very existence, instead of, as latterly, for an intolerable and supreme dominion.”

The Lucumoes were persuaded by this eloquent and heroic man to act contrary to their convictions;

* Livy, x. 16.

and almost all the states, *i. e.*, Clusium, Volterra, Perugia, and others, with Volsinia at their head, joined in forming a league with the Gauls, and in summoning the Umbrians to give them their wonted assistance in a national war.*

Arretium seems not to have joined, as it obtained assistance from the Romans against the Gauls, B.C. 284, whilst the other states carried on war by the help of Gallic mercenaries.† The Cilnii probably maintained the alliance.

Appius Claudius was sent with 36,000 men into Etruria to try and break this formidable confederacy, and he prevented some of the more timid states from fulfilling their engagements; but he had very dubious success in the battles he fought, and was at one time so much pressed, that he wrote to the Consul Volumnius to leave Samnium and hasten to his rescue. By the time Volumnius arrived he was in a better position, and ashamed of having sent. The men, however, were clamorous that Volumnius should remain with them, and that the two consuls should together lead them out to the combat. A battle was fought in the absence of the great commander, Gellius Egnatius, and the Romans gained a victory, which revenged their former disasters, and in which 7000 of the enemy were slain. Volumnius then returned into Samnium, but he does not seem to have left any terror of the Roman arms behind him; for Gellius Egnatius immediately raised a

* A. R. 457.

† Niebuhr.

fresh army, to which an immense body of Gauls was joined. Rome was in such alarm that a second time the tribunals were closed, and the *Liberti* were enlisted into the army. Appius Claudius wrote supplicating letters for reinforcement, and said that he had four warlike nations to contend against, who were already near him, covering the earth with their separate camps. Fortunately Volumnius, who so lately had experienced the strength of the enemy, presided over the elections, and through his influence Quintus Fabius and Decius Mus were again appointed generals. The Consul Fabius was given Etruria because it had been the scene of his former glory; and we find that, after joining Appius Claudius, now Prætor, at Aharna, he led his forces to Clusium. His first march was so rapid that he came upon the Prætor's men by surprise as they were foraging for wood to make an additional stockade. "You have stockades enough already," he said; "go and level the rampart:" implying that their courage ought to be sufficient defence against the enemy. The men shouted with joy when they knew that he was to be their commander; and Appius, who was jealous of him, returned in displeasure to Rome, and exaggerated both the dangers of the war and the reckless spirit in which Fabius was inclined to prosecute it.*

It would appear that up to this time the main army of the Gauls had not crossed the Apennines

* Niebuhr.

because they were impassable from snow. To check them, and to avail himself of the aid of the friendly Camertians, Fabius stationed a legion at Cameurium, though the rest of the army was near Nucena. A reserve, to overawe the Umbrians, was posted in the State of Faliscia, near Otricoli.

However, Fabius had to leave his post and appear in the Roman Forum, in order to quiet the dread of his countrymen; and here he asked for the assistance of the second Consular army under Decius Mus, and said that with him he had always strength enough and never too many enemies. The two Consuls, commanding upwards of 90,000 men, now marched forwards with the confidence of victory, and first came up with a body of Senonian Gauls near Camerte, who had defeated and cut to pieces the forces of L. Scipio, and were returning to their camp with the heads of their enemies and the spoil. These men, being tired, encumbered, and surprised, were easily defeated and cut to pieces; and the Consuls then proceeded to Sentinum, near which they pitched their camp. Their estimation of the danger which they had to meet may be judged of by the enormous forces under their command, *i.e.* two Consular armies, with a prodigious body of cavalry, and double that number of allies and of Latin confederates. Besides these, Cn. Fulvius lay with an army of reserve at Assisi, whence he was desired to ravage the lands of Clusium and Perugia.

Opposed to them were the Samnites and Gauls in one camp, who were to begin the fight, and the

Etruscans and Umbrians in the other, who were to attack the Roman camp during the heat of the engagement. This plan, however, was betrayed by Clusian deserters, and the Consuls summoned two other armies posted on the borders to join them.*

The Consuls drew out their troops in order of battle every day, and endeavoured to provoke the enemy to an engagement. On the third day a hind fled between the armies, pursued by a wolf. The hind fled towards the Gauls, and was killed by them. The Romans allowed the wolf to escape, and one of them called out, "This is an omen to us from the gods." On that side where the animal, sacred to Diana, lies are flight and slaughter. On this, where the wolf of Mars has escaped, a Victor, unscathed and untouched; it reminds us that we and our founders are the people of Mars.

Fabius attacked the Gauls, and Decius the Samnites with their allies, but they were so equally matched, that had the full force either of the Etruscans or the Umbrians joined them, instead of having been called off to defend Clusium and Perugia, the Romans must have been defeated. Decius, not being so prudent as his colleague, made an impetuous assault with his cavalry, and soon became utterly disordered, because the Gauls rushed upon him with their war-chariots, and the very noise frightened the Roman horses, and drove them panic-stricken from the field. Decius, in despair, remembered his

* Livy, x. 27.

father's self-immolation, by which victory had formerly been won against the Latins. He called upon the Pontiff who rode near him to devote him as the general on the one side, and all the forces of his enemies on the other, to the infernal gods.

In the picturesque words of the oath he said, "Before me lie terror and flight,* slaughter and death, the wrath of the celestial and infernal gods: dire contact of my funeral with the standards, the arms, and the weapons of the foe. On the same spot with me may ruin seize the Gauls and Samnites." He then rushed into the battle and fell among the thickest of his foes.

The Romans after this fought with a degree of fanaticism totally insensible to danger. The Gauls and Samnites were wearied and surprised, and Fabius, who had been successful on the other wing, was able to bring up a body of reserve, which decided the fortune of the day. The loss of Decius was fully compensated by the death of the Samnite hero, Gellius Egnatius, at the foot of his own ramparts, as the enemy were endeavouring to enter his camp. The slain on the Roman side were numerous, but Livy reckons that the Gauls and Samnites lost 25,000 slain and 8000 taken prisoners out of an army of 40,000 horse, 1100 chariots, and more than 200,000 foot. The arms of the enemy were burnt upon the field as an offering to Jupiter Victor.

* "Contacturum funebribus diris signa, tela, arma hostium: locumque eundem suæ pestis et Gallorum ac Samnitium fore."—LIVY, x. 28.

Cn. Fulvius at the same time gained a victory with his legion, in which 3000 Clusians and Perugians were slain, and their standards were taken.

The Perugians are indeed singled out as being the most obstinate in the quarrel, next to the Volsinians, and after his great victory at Sentinum Fabius had to turn his arms against them, and is said in a pitched battle to have slain upwards of 4000, and to have ransomed upwards of 1700 more, which supposes that these great successes which broke up the Etruscan federacy were once more followed by a truce. During this Fabius celebrated in Rome his grandest triumph over the Etruscans and Umbrians, the Samnites and the Gauls, four nations, three of which had made the Eternal City tremble for its very existence more than once.

The effects of their humiliating defeat may be seen upon the Etruscans in their neither advancing into the Roman territories, nor yet being able to send auxiliaries into Samnium. The war, which still continued, seems to have been purely defensive, and Arretium, Volsinia, and Rusella were the principals in it. The Consul Postumius, who succeeded Fabius, ravaged the state of Volsinia, and captured the city of Rusella; but all danger to Rome was soon averted by "three very powerful cities of Etruria," "*validissimæ urbes Etruriæ capita*," to use Livy's expression,* Volsinia, Perugia, and Arretium, suing for peace. They promised to supply the Roman

* Livy, x. 37.



army with corn and clothing, they each paid a fine 500,000 asses, and they concluded a peace for forty years.

Perhaps Livy has mistaken some other name for Volsinia, otherwise it could only be a short truce with that State, as the war continued for nine years longer.* Postumius, on his return to Rome, triumphed for his successes by the will of the Plebs, contrary to the judgment of the Senate, who could not compare this tame peace to the great victories of Q. Fabius. The Clusians, with the Umbrians, and some other States, still remained in arms, faithful to their alliance with the Samnites; and some of the Roman Confederates, complained of their ravages, and demanded aid to repel them. Amongst the States accused, of which Volsinia was assuredly one, we are surprised to meet with Faliscia; but the Senate considered the rising of the Faliscians as so imminently dangerous that Carvilius was despatched in all haste with a Consular army against them. His first exploit was to besiege Trossulum, *i.e.* in Volsinia, which he took by storm, allowing, however, 470 of the richest inhabitants to ransom themselves, thus gaining for himself a certain and easy spoil. He then captured several forts in Faliscia; and the Faliscians, seeing themselves unequal to the contest, sued for peace. They were only granted a truce for a year upon the payment of 100,000 asses; and when that truce had expired, or,

* Niebuhr, n. 686.

† B. C. 290.

as others say, when they were tempted to break it, they were conquered by the Consul, D. Brutus; but of the terms which were granted them, or the events of the campaign, no record remains. About this period the famous Bronze Wolf of the Roman Capitol, and the colossal statue of Jupiter, which Spurius Carvilius dedicated to Alban Jove, in the Roman Forum, were cast by Etruscan artists from the metal taken as spoil in these wars.*

Amongst the great encroachments of Rome consequent upon the battles near Volsinia, may be reckoned the reduction of Saturnia into a Prefecture, thus binding it not to make peace or war without the permission of the Romans.

The war with the Volsinians, and probably other maritime towns in conjunction with the Gauls, always continued, although it was carried on languidly; but the Greek city of Tarentum, on the opposite side of Italy, becoming jealous of the great increase of Roman power in that direction by the recent conquest of Lucania, endeavoured to keep up the courage of the Etruscans and Gauls as a counterpoise to themselves. Dion tells us that they sent ambassadors to the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls; and some authors say that they made an alliance with them. Certain it is that the Etruscans, along with an army of Senonian mercenaries, enraged at the refusal of the Arretians to join the League, besieged Arezzo; which thereupon invoked the aid of the Romans, and the Prætor, L. Metellus, was sent

* Micali, vi. p. 44.

to succour it with 20,000 men.* The result spread consternation in Rome, for the general, with seven Tribunes, and 13,000 men, were left dead upon the field of battle. Indeed the whole army was destroyed, and the day of Sentinum seemed to be avenged; but the victors knew not how to take advantage of their successes, and instead of marching forwards, they lingered idly about Arretium. The next Prætor, Curius, was sent as ambassador to the Gauls, to treat for the ransom of the prisoners; and Britomaris, the Gallic king, equally ignorant and contemptuous of Italian usages and burning with anger for the loss of his father, who had fallen in the battle, would not give audience to the embassy, but seized the Feciales and sacrificed them to the manes of his deceased parent and chief. This forced the Romans to send another army, animated by the most furious resentment, under the Consul P. Dolabella, who marched straight through the friendly States of Etruria into Cisalpine Gaul, where he slew the peasants, ravaged the land, and carried off the people as slaves. The Senones flew to the rescue of their countrymen, and a pitched battle ensued between the armies. The contest was long and bloody, but it ended in the defeat and capture of Britomaris, who was exhibited in the triumph of Dolabella at Rome, and afterwards beheaded.

The Senones were reduced from a nation to a tribe, and the colony of Sena was founded in their territory. "This dreadful catastrophe, happening

* Niebuhr, n. 731.

to a people which, a hundred years before, had destroyed Rome, and penetrated as far as Apulia, filled their kindred, the Boii, who dwelt between the Apennines and the Po, with such rage and apprehension, that their whole military population took arms and marched into Etruria in the direction of Fiesole."*

The fugitive Senones joined their ranks, and once more began their march to Rome. The Romans, however, whose vigilance never slept, and whose command of valiant allies was increasingly great, came up with them near Lake Vadimon, of evil omen to the Etruscan people, and here forced them to make a stand.

According to Polybius, ii. 20, the Boii armed all their youth, and returned into Etruria, B.C. 282. 10,000 of them were placed in ambush in the neighbourhood of Populonia, and would have brought the Roman army into great danger had not the vigilance of the Consul detected and frustrated them.

The battle was desperate, for each army was animated by revenge against the other. It was maintained by prodigies of valour on both sides; but Roman discipline prevailed at last, and the Gallic and Etruscan host sustained a signal defeat.† This second contest, on the shores of the sacred Lake Vadimon, is the last great battle between the Etruscans and the Romans, and in it the strength of the nation was completely broken. They made

* Niebuhr.

† B. C. 283.

some feeble efforts at resistance the following year, but at the same time sued for peace, which was granted them on very hard terms. The Gauls are believed to have been treated more leniently, as for fifty years they kept the peace. It seems that the Consul, M. Philippus, was the general who finally terminated hostilities, as Dolabella triumphed one year and he the next for victories over the Tuscans, and these are the last recorded in the *Fasti* as national triumphs. It seems also that the hard terms imposed by the Romans were not observed by many detached states of their high-spirited enemies; for two years later Coruncanus Nepos celebrated another triumph over the again vanquished Volsinians and Vulcientes; and this time a Latin colony was established in Cosa, one of the cities of Vulci. This was a severe mortification, and tantamount to keeping a garrison in the country. Saturnia, a city of Volsinia, was forced to become a prefecture, *i. e.*, to receive Roman citizenship without the franchise, and was necessitated to contribute men and money to the Roman armies when they had to take the field.

During this desultory war, so far as all the States, excepting Volsinia and Vulci, were concerned, a new enemy to the Romans appeared in Italy. The Tarentians, after grossly insulting the Roman ambassador, called in the aid of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, the most able and warlike prince of Greece. Pyrrhus gained a great victory over the Romans near Heraclea, partly by the aid of their enemies the Lucanians and Samnites in the south; and

could he have allied himself with the Etruscans also he would infallibly have conquered Rome. He sent envoys to try and work upon the different states; but those who were already enjoying the peace hesitated to break it, and the sagacious Romans, aware of their danger, took timely measures to make it the interest of their allies that it should not be broken.* As a national prejudice the Etruscans hated the Greeks, and many of the States considered Rome a barrier and defence to them equally against the Gauls to the north, and the Greeks to the south.† Niebuhr asserts that it was peace with the Tuscan States, and the disappointment consequent upon it, that forced Pyrrhus to retreat. To secure this object, he says, it was well worth granting them the most favourable terms, and Etruria could scarcely ask more after recent events, than an honourable and free connexion with Rome. But whatever it was that Etruria demanded in the first instance, the Senate deemed it so unreasonable that they were resolved not to accede. Pyrrhus, through his ambassador Cineas, offered to restore the Roman

* A. R. 474.

† Note 743.

‡ "Here an obstinate resistance would delay Pyrrhus whilst he was hastening onwards in order to bring over the Etruscans." Again:—"Here his progress was stopped. Peace was concluded with the Etruscans, and the army of Coruncanius had re-entered Rome." . . . "The hopes that had been entertained of compelling Rome to accept the prescribed terms under her own walls had vanished with the peace of the Etruscans, who had probably even promised auxiliaries."—NIEBUHR, n. 862.

prisoners without ransom and to quit Italy, if they would make peace with Tarentum, and restore the property taken from the Samnites and the Lucanians, and if they would receive him into the city of Rome. The Senators were strongly disposed to accept these terms, when Appius Claudius, one of their most powerful aristocrats, and, as regards useful public works, one of their greatest benefactors, now old and blind, and long retired from political assemblies, caused himself, in a state of the greatest excitement, to be arrayed in his robes of ceremony, and to be carried in a litter to the steps of the Senate-house. Here his sons and sons-in-law came out to meet him, and bore him with the deepest filial veneration back to his long-vacated seat.

There he stood in the majesty of his age and dignity, with all the fires of his former eloquence he thundered reproofs upon those who hesitated as to the answer they should return to the Grecian prince. "Shall we see him," he said, "returning thanks for his victories in our temples, and offering us his protection against our enemies? No; far rather let us grant the terms demanded by the Etruscans, with whom we are connected by religion and ancient ties."* The Senators yielded, and the demands of

* Niebuhr, *circa* n. 859, thus paraphrases the speech:—
"To the Etruscans we ought indeed to grant voluntarily that which may give them the appearance of an equal alliance, and secure peace for ever between them and us. They are foreign to the Italians and hostile to the Greeks, but related to us by their religion and by ancient ties."

the States, whatever they might be, were entirely accepted and faithfully observed. Niebuhr suggests that Cortona and Saturnia were admitted to the Cærite franchise, and that in Volsinia even the Plebs were admitted to marriage and citizenship. Volsinia had certainly gained a great pre-eminence by her steady maintenance of the long war with Rome; at the same time it forced the cession of unusual privileges to her lower classes in order to tempt them to enlist and to adhere faithfully to their colours. "There is no doubt," says Niebuhr, "that a general contract was concluded with the whole nation, and upon the most favourable terms. How light the burdens were which they undertook as allies is clear from the voluntary contributions which they afterwards made to Scipio upon his expedition into Africa. These were so great that they only *could* be made by a people whose resources war had not exhausted. They were considered to be the repayment of an obligation contracted by an unfair concession of privileges on the other side, excusable only because they were inevitable to the general welfare. Their cities were *Civitates fœderatæ*, and the long tranquillity that followed demonstrates that their relation to Rome could neither have been oppressive nor humiliating. The Etruscan war, more or less, had been carried on to its thirtieth year, some towns showing but a faint resistance, and others a tenacious and obstinate one. In the early campaigns their infantry seems to have been anything but contemptible, yet nowhere is there a hero,

and nowhere a brilliant undertaking. Their Oligarchy did not allow anything great to be done;* their rich country was doubtless much reduced by hostilities so long protracted, but it quickly recovered, and the two centuries of almost uninterrupted peace, so far as the nation was concerned, fostered a period of great prosperity in arts and manufactures, which now attained their highest perfection."

Perugia† is mentioned as having furnished a cohort, who were perhaps volunteers, against Pyrrhus. Peace was at length concluded with that prince, and he was killed B.C. 273.

In the year B.C. 268‡ a civil war summoned the Romans as allies of the Patricians into Volsinia. The Plebs and Liberti had gradually usurped and absorbed the rights of the nobles to levy taxes, to make wills, to inherit property which conferred rank, and to occupy the great offices of state. They now presumed to claim the disposal of rich widows and the noble virgins in marriage without their consent, and usurped seats in the Senate from claims of equality, and began to assert those of supreme rule. Volsinia had once been pre-eminent amongst the States for the excellence of its laws and the superiority of its manners and customs, but now everything was in confusion, and the government was threatened with anarchy; some of the nobles

* No *national* war with Rome after this. Their war with Gaul in B.C. 257 was carried on in concert with the Romans, and would probably have failed without them.

† Niebuhr, n. 743.

‡ A. R. 485.

armed themselves, whilst others fled and invoked the assistance of their allies, assuredly first from the colony of Cosa and the prefecture of Saturnia, whilst others secretly proceeded to Rome. The required aid was gladly given, and the servile revolt was promptly quelled. But now a quarrel, of which we have no details, arose between the nobles and their defenders.* Resort was again had to arms. The Romans burnt the city, razed its walls, and carried off 2000 bronze statues, with which they adorned their own Forum. Volsinia was abandoned, it disappeared from the number of the Etruscan towns, and a new city was built called Bolsena, the remains of which may still be seen upon the lake of that name.

P. Decius was granted a triumph in Rome over the Volsinians. He is believed to have been Prætor when Q. Fabius Gurges perished. The nobles first sought the aid of Rome secretly, and were betrayed. Then Q. Fabius Gurges was sent with an army to their relief. Fabius was slain in an unsuccessful attempt to storm the city. Decius blockaded it, and after a while famine compelled the inhabitants to surrender. It was also assaulted by young Appius Claudius from the lake. The prisoners were executed or made slaves.† As no Etruscan State even claimed against this spoliation and destruction, we must conclude that the fault of the rupture lay wholly with the Volsinians. This is indeed further proved by

* Val. Max. ix.

† Niebuhr, n. 994.

their protection of the Roman commerce during the Punic wars, and in the ships they sent laden with provisions for the army, both to Carthage and into the Adriatic. Indeed for a long while these wars were chiefly carried on by the naval allies.

There is an assertion in the Roman annals that about B. C. 266 Fabius Pictor and Junius Pisa triumphed over the Sarsinati in Umbria, and reduced Sarsinatum to a *municipium*. It enjoyed the Jus Italicum, *i.e.* its lands were freed from taxes, and continued to be governed by its own people and its own laws; but it could not make war without the permission of Rome, and its citizens were not suffered to arm themselves.

Until this date Rome had established very few *municipia*, or colonies in Etruria, but between the years 486 and 512 A. R.* she founded those of Cosa, Alsium, Fregene, Castrum Novum, and Pyrgi, all on the sea.

Whether the destruction of Volsinia had roused the jealousy of the Faliscians, or they had been by any means mixed up in that quarrel, we are not informed, but it seems strange that they should immediately after have risen against the Romans and declared war. They appear to have been very ill prepared and totally unsupported, for the Consuls, A. Manlius Torquatus and Q. Lutatius, took the strong and beautiful city of Faleria on the hill (Citta Castellana), dismantled it, and forced its in-

* B. C. 273 and 240.

habitants to build a new city on the plain—Æquum Faliscum—now a poor village, entitled Sta. Maria dei Falleri. They seem to have imposed no new burdens on the inhabitants, and the prosperous and peaceful natives of the other Etruscan States took no umbrage at their fate.*

The Consuls, A. M. Torquatus and Q. Lutatius, triumphed for their successes in Faliscia. All the maritime States were indeed rejoicing over the conquest of Corsica and Sardinia by the Romans from the Carthaginians, whose conquests of those islands from themselves 150 years previously they had never forgiven, and the injury which had in consequence accrued to their commerce was one reason of the determined hostility of the Tuscans to Hannibal.

This conquest probably facilitated their erection of the city of Nicea, where they settled factories, and made the natives tributary in wax, honey, and ragia, or résine.

In the year B.C. 237 the Ligurian Gauls made war upon the Romans, and continued it for six years. The Gauls now could only become dangerous to Rome by conquering and wasting Etruria, and in consequence they invaded and ravaged the rich State of Lucca.† The Etruscans made a manful resistance, still at first so unsuccessfully that the Romans solemnly consulted the Sibylline Books.

* Livy, xix.

† See Livy, xli. 13. "De Ligure captus is ager erat; Etruscorum ante quam Ligurum fuerat."

These "Libri Fatales," as we have already said, were essentially Etruscan; and in them it was found written that in cases of national peril they should bury alive in the Forum two Gauls and two Greeks, one of each sex, which was accordingly done. The Gauls and the Greeks, north and south, were the standing enemies of Etruscan quiet and trade.

The Etruscans* and Umbrians were looked upon by the Latins as naturally foreign, and had different rights, so that it is only by an improper extension of the name that they are included amongst the *Socii*, or Italian allies. These allies, however, enjoyed very different rights and privileges. None of them paid land-tax, but most of them were bound to a small fixed tribute, and to send contingents in case of war. Those who were quite independent and in equal alliance had no right to share in the Roman domain lands, and probably that desolation in Etruria, which one hundred years later† struck Tiberius Gracchus so forcibly, arose from the Etruscans not possessing this right, because they stood upon the footing of independence and equal alliance.

The Prefects of the allied squadrons were chosen from amongst themselves. Each free Italian people, moreover, had a Patron in the Roman Senate, who watched over its interests as *Prozenus* and representative, and whose relation was sacred. He was bound to take the part of the oppressed, even against his own relatives; and that this was the case in

* Niebuhr.

† Note 954.

Umbria is proved by fifteen cities thanking their Patron, C. Miolucius, for upholding their rights in Rome. The decree was engraved upon a brass tablet lately dug up in the market-place of Foligno.*

The Senates of the towns were generally in the Roman interests, because the Roman Senate supported the aristocracy. The Latins and Etruscans in the Tribes, such as those of Veii and Falerii, might be made full citizens by the Censors. They then had a right to share the domain lands and to found colonies. This is just what the rest of Etruria claimed in the Social War.*

In the year 224, the Gauls from Venetia and Cenomania joined together to drive back the Ligurians, and having disposed of them proceeded to make conquests for themselves amongst the Etruscan States. They came in formidable numbers. Livy states them at 50,000 foot and 20,000 horse, with many chariots. The Etruscans called upon the Romans for help, and one Consul immediately came to their assistance with 20,000 men, and reinforced their army of 32,000 Tuscans and Sabines, besides 20,000 Umbri, and under a native Prætor, Sarsunati, fighting, as they believe, for their own freedom.

Polybius and Pliny give the united numbers from Fabius Pictor at 700,000 foot and 60,000 horse from Etruria, Rome, and Naples, with no common head but Rome. The more likely number is about 250,000.

* Micali, vi.

† Niebuhr.

The Gauls crossed the Apennines and marched by Lucca, Bologna (*i. e.* Felsina), and Chiusi, spoiling as they went, and bent upon a second time mastering the Eternal City. Finding that they were vigorously resisted, they pretended to retreat from Chiusi upon Fiesole, and laid in ambush for their opponents in the Val di Chiana. The Consul, in his impatience to follow, was drawn into it and shamefully defeated. Emilius came to the rescue, but too late to redeem the honour of his countrymen. The Gauls, laden with booty, resolved to place it in safety by returning home before they attempted more distant conquests, and they pursued their way following the course of the rivers. The Consul Attilius, who had been engaged in Sardinia, and knew nothing of what had happened in Italy, disembarked at this juncture at Pisa, and took the Via Aurelia on his peaceful march to Rome. He was amazed to encounter a large army of Gauls, all in battle array, at Telamon, whither they had been cautiously followed by Emilius. He unhesitatingly gave them battle, and they had the disadvantage of fighting between two armies, one in front and one in rear, yet such was their courage that it was only the superior discipline of the Romans which in the end enabled them to conquer. The Gauls fled. Attilius was killed in the fight, but Emilius kept his ground. The following year he completely subdued the Boii, and the spirit of the Gallie tribes seemed so humbled

° Niebuhr.

that the Romans anticipated their thorough subjugation. They met, however, with more difficulties than they had reckoned upon, and it was yet two years before they were able to cross the Po and attack Mediolanum of the Insubri (Milan). The fall of this important city broke the spirit of the Gauls, and they consented to a disadvantageous peace. Had the Etruscans entered into alliance with the Gauls, and turned against the Romans, the fate of Italy would certainly have been changed. Cremona and Piacenza were colonized by the Romans and their allies, and Venice voluntarily placed herself under Roman protection.

We have now arrived at the date of the Second Punic War,* and the successes of Hannibal in Spain. Suddenly he appeared upon the plains of Liguria, and invited the Gallic tribes† to join him, promising them freedom and spoil, victory and revenge. They all obeyed the summons and joined him, smarting from their recent reverses, excepting the Cenomani and the Veneti; and even these recovered their courage before the battle of Cannæ, and were found fighting for him there. The Liguri, who had suffered the most recently from Roman haughtiness and violence, insisted upon his marching through Tuscany. He offered the Tuscans their entire independence, and to restore their ancient polity; but they could not be induced to break their alliance,

* A. R. 536.

† Senones, Cenomani, Liguri, Boii, Insubri, and Ilvatici.

for they were more contented with their allies than with each other. They were busily engaged in an active and flourishing commerce, and there was much jealousy and envy between many of the cities: beside which, the Carthaginians had been for many ages their rivals and enemies in commerce and naval warfare.

The Etrurian contingents joined the Consul Flaminius at Arretium, and gave him all the help in their power, the Consul Servilius being quartered in their city of Rimini (Ariminum); so that Hannibal was very unwillingly obliged to treat them as enemies, and to ravage their lands from Arretium and Fiesole to Cortona and Thrasymene, in order to provoke Flaminius to fight before another consular army with the Latin allies could come to their assistance.* The result of this was the disastrous battle of Thrasymene (B. C. 217), which seemed for a time to place all Italy at Hannibal's mercy. Strange to say, however, he did not improve his victory by marching straight upon Rome. He had passed through the marshes of Cortona; he led his troops forwards through Umbria and Adriana into Lucania, and the greatest of captains visited Etruria no more.

In the thirteen years' war which followed the battle of Thrasymene the Etruscans are seldom distinguished from the other Italian allies. They were in one common cause, "Socii and Fœderatæ."

* P. Scipio marched from *Pisa*, and was defeated in the first encounter.

A.R. 538 (B.C. 215), "Libri Fatales consulted, and the nation observed a sacred spring. Hannibal at Capua releases the Etruscan prisoners without ransom, and says he will help them to recover ancient cities and lands. They remember Pyrrhus." *

In A.R. 540 (B.C. 213), Cn. Fulvius being defeated by Hannibal at Herdonia, exiled himself to Tarquinia. Two years later, A.R. 543, Livy tells us that the people of Cosa and Pontia were thanked, along with those of Pæstum, for the active assistance their ships had rendered against Hannibal at Tarentum.

The same policy which was effectual to secure the adherence of the Tuscans had its influence in Capua: and the great Carthaginian had nearly been deprived of that city because its nobles enjoyed the Roman *Civitas*, though without suffrage, and intermarried with the Roman Patrician women.

A.R. 544, when Tarentum was betrayed to the Romans they were supported by twenty-four legions of allies, amongst whom the Tuscans, under their native Prætor, Marcus Acelus, furnished the guard of the Consul Marcellus. They were round him in the battle of Venusia, and were reproached with cowardice because he was slain and they fled; but they were surprised by an ambushed enemy in superior force, and their Prætor was killed by Marcellus's side.

The Etruscan nation in general was esteemed true to the very precarious Roman cause; but it is

* Niebuhr.

probable that the blame cast upon the troops on this occasion fanned into a flame a rising disaffection at Arretium. Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, had nearly accomplished that separation of interests which the great hero failed to effect. Marcellus before his last battle had been hurriedly summoned to Arretium to investigate the truth of a rumoured conspiracy; but, as his presence overawed all the discontented, and he was a humane and politic man, he returned into Apulia without showing any want of confidence. After his death, however, and when Hasdrubal had made good his entrance into Italy, several of the Tuscan leaders, and foremost amongst them the Arretians, showed a disposition to treat separately for themselves, and though they would not join his standard, they were willing to promise perfect neutrality, B.C. 207.* This was considered at Rome as an affair of such vital consequence, that the Senate voted it as tantamount to declared hostility, and required Arretium, the boldest of the offending States, to send immediate hostages for her fidelity.†

A large army was despatched to keep the country in check, and Caius Terentius, without further warning, marched into the city, demanded the hostages, threatening, if they were withheld, or even delayed, to carry off all the children of the Senators. This harsh and peremptory proceeding created so much alarm that many of the Senators took to flight with

* Livy, xxvii. 38.

† Ibid. xxvii. 21-24.

their families. The next day, when their names were called over in the Senate-house, these men were missing; upon which Terentius declared their guilt to be self-evident, and ordered their property to be sold. He forced the Senators to deliver up 120 hostages, whom he sent to Rome. He posted guards at all the gates and obliged them to admit a Roman garrison into the citadel. The Consul, Hostilius, then marched his troops through every town of the malcontent State. No wonder, when his measures were so irritating, that he should feel convinced of the ill-will of the people, and believe that their allegiance could only be secured by the impossibility of resistance.

Haruspices* were now sent for from Etruria, to explain divers portents in the Latin State, to which the native Augurs were unequal. They probably came from Cære; but as it was to consult upon the best spiritual arms against the Gauls in the north, and the Greeks, or Carthaginians, in the south, they were sure of a sympathetic response from every State of the Federation. The rites they ordered were scrupulously observed.

The Roman Senate was much alarmed by a letter from their Prætor in Gaul, informing them that the purpose of Hasdrubal was to pass into Liguria, where an army of 8000 Gauls were prepared to join him, unless they could instantly despatch an equal force into Liguria to attack and to prevent them. Caius

* Livy, xxvii. 37.

Terentius was immediately sent through Etruria to join a body of Spaniards and 8000 Gauls of a tribe hostile to the Ligurians, and allied with Publius Scipio. It was well for the peace of Italy, that the Gallic tribes were so generally at enmity amongst themselves. All fears from that nation in the present emergency were greatly dispelled by the victory of the two Consuls, Claudius Nero and M. Livius Salinator, over Hasdrubal, and the death of that great commander on the banks of the Metaurus.*

The following year the Consul, Livius Salinator, was specially appointed to guard Tuscany and Umbria; and this function of *guarding* them during the whole continuance of the Hannibalian and the Gallic war, was commonly expressed by one of the Consuls having Etruria assigned "*as his Province.*"†

At length the great Carthaginian hero was recalled home by his own government, then under the sway of factious and short-sighted men, who hated him more than they loved their country. Then the gallant and successful Scipio, full of enthusiastic hopes, resolved to follow him across the sea, and called upon all the Allies, but chiefly upon the maritime states, to join him.‡ None responded to him with the promptness and liberality of the Etruscans, and none received from the Senate warmer expressions of cordiality and gratitude. Perugia, Clusium,

* Livy, xxvii. 48.

† A. R. 547.

‡ A. R. 547. Livy, xxviii. 45.

and Rusella, cut down and despatched a sufficient quantity of fir-trees to provide all the vessels with masts, besides an enormous supply of corn.

Cære victualled the fleet in all other provisions; Populonia contributed iron from her foundries; Volterra, tackling and corn; Tarquinia, sails from her manufactories; and the lately unquiet and suspected Arretium, though by no means the richest, seems to have given more than all the rest.* She contributed, besides grain, 30,000 helmets, 30,000 spears, axes, swords, javelins, pikes, and halberds, in proportion, along with water vessels and machines for forty ships of war. We must infer that upon this, if not done previously, as indeed seems most probable, her 120 hostages were returned. The free Republic of Camerte sent 600 armed men; and the rest of Umbria, which never was a commercial or wealthy country, furnished additional volunteers.

As a passing remark we may notice that this was the period at which Plautus, the celebrated Umbrian dramatist, flourished; and that he, though a Patrician or Lucumo, ruined himself by his commercial speculations. This was probably owing to his not having been brought up to commerce, and the occupation being offensive to his family.

The idea that it was beneath a Senator to be a merchant was daily gaining ground in Rome itself.†

After the battle of Zama, and the conclusion of

* A. R. 551.

† Livy, xxi. 63.

the Second Punic War, the Romans, in order to liquidate their vast expenses, ventured to tax the Allies, or at least to demand from them such pecuniary aids as were felt to be an encroachment and a burden. The States that murmured above measure, or that, maintaining their independent rights, refused altogether, were instantly deprived of the "Jus Italicum;" but it does not appear that any of the Etruscan Lucumonies were included; their recent generosity probably freeing them from any extra claims, or the amount solicited may have been left to their own discretion.

That territory round Capua, which had once been South Etruria, was divided between the victorious soldiers of Scipio. Such of the central Etruscans as were incorporated with the Plebeian tribes, doubtless, came in for their share. The incorporated districts, however, from this time forwards became gradually neglected, the land being exhausted and worked by slaves; so that when Tiberius Gracchus passed through it, he was shocked at its desolation, and when the geographer Strabo visited it in the days of Augustus, he could scarcely credit its former fertility.

We must now look back about five years to B.C. 266, in order to give a comprehensive and continuous account of the Gallic war, which during this period, and for long after,* was waged with persevering

* The Gallic war continued, with intervals of truce, until B. C. 177.

enmity by many powerful Gallic tribes or nations against the Etruscans and the Romans. It was entirely confined to that country which either was, or had been, Etruscan; and as the Romans owed their safety and their victories to the co-operation of the Tuscans, who probably looked upon themselves as the principals, and their Consular Allies merely as faithful and useful friends, we are justified in giving the Gallic war a prominent place in Etruscan history. Its theatre was Genoa, Luna, Pisa, Bononia, Comum, Placentia, Cremona, Arretium, and Felsina.

To commence with Genoa. In the year B.C. 206, Mago the Carthaginian sailed from the Balearic Isles, and arrived before this city with 12,000 foot and 2000 horse in thirty ships of war.*

He allied himself with a tribe of Ligurians, and soon forced the city to surrender. Eighty transports were despatched, laden with its spoils, to Carthage, the old enemy of Tuscans; but they were fortunately arrested on their voyage, and their booty was recaptured. 12,000 slaves had been liberated in order to swell the force which could be raised to oppose these Gauls (*i. e.* Liguri) and the Carthaginians.

Mago held a council of war, in which he announced to the whole Gallic nation that he was come to restore them to their former power and independence; but that he could do nothing unless they gave him vigorous aid.

The Gauls answered that they were all willing;

* Livy, xxviii. 46.

but that, owing to the might and proximity of their enemies, several of the tribes could only give aid secretly, and some of the Liguri demanded four months before they would render any help at all. Meanwhile, whilst Scipio, with his powerful Etruscan reinforcements, passed into Africa, Marcus Livius marched with the volunteer slaves into Gaul itself, and the Consul Cornelius overawed those parts of Etruria in which disaffection was apprehended.†

Several of the nobles had sent deputies to Mago, offering to join him if he would change the constitution of their states, or, in other words, raise them to the supremacy in their respective senates; but as there were two parties in these Northern States the rival Magnates wrangled to avail themselves of the Roman power against them. Some were tried and found guilty, and others went into voluntary exile.

News, however, soon reached Rome† that Cremona and Venetia were attacked and plundered by 40,000 Gauls under the command of Hamilcar, a lieutenant of Hasdrubal's. The Prætor, Lucius Furius, was powerless against them, as he had only 5000 troops. The Consul Aurelius summoned every disposable Roman to Ariminum, and wrote to the Carthaginian Senate, complaining that Hamilcar made war upon them while they were at peace with his government, and demanding that he should be

* Livy, xxix. 36.

† Ibid. xxxi. 10. A. B. 552, B. C. 201.

delivered up. They answered* that Hamilcar had completely withdrawn himself from their authority, and that all they could do was to confiscate his property and doom him to exile. Hamilcar accordingly continued at the head of the Gallic legions, and in B.C. 196 he fought a pitched battle with the Etruscans and Romans, in which he was totally defeated. The third part of the Ligurian lands was confiscated, and Bologna and Felsina were colonized by the victors. They thus, in part, returned under their ancient lords.

The legions under the Prætor, Lucius Furius, next relieved Cremona, and fought a battle more decisive than any of the preceding, which raised their leader to the pinnacle of military fame.† The cavalry of the allies defeated the left wing of the Gauls. Hamilcar was slain with 35,000 Insubri, and the loss of 130 standards. Insubria surrendered, and the power of that great nation was for a time completely broken. The Insubri had allied themselves with the Boii and the Cenomani, and this dreadful defeat was entirely owing to the treachery of the Cenomani, whose elders did not approve of the war.

The Roman Senate granted a well-merited triumph to their Prætor, and ordered a thanksgiving of three days. The war with the Boii, which had shaken‡ Rome and Etruria with fear, was terminated in one

* Livy, xxxi. 19.

† Ibid. xxxii. 30.

‡ Ibid. xxxi. 47-49.

battle; and the Consul Aurelius, who had delayed too long to be present, never forgave his successful subordinate.

Emulous of equal glory two years afterwards, another Prætor, Cn. Bætius, entered Insubria, and attacked the Gauls in their own homes. He was soon made to repent of his temerity, for he was ignominiously defeated and driven back with the loss of 6600 men. He was recalled and superseded, but the cities of Cremona and Placentia were once more attacked, and the colonists in them were driven away. The unlucky Prætor, some few years afterwards, was overtaken and assaulted by the Liguri on his road to Spain. His retinue was slain, and he escaped much wounded to Marseilles, where he died. This was considered a sort of atonement for the death of Hamilcar.*

Livy records another great victory over the Insubri and Boii, which, though it is attributed to the year 556, seems to be merely another version of the one already mentioned; for there could scarcely be two great victories so close together, with triumphs and thanksgivings at Rome each time, because the Insubrian nation was destroyed, and by the same man.

Livy says† that the Consul Marcellus, having been defeated by the Boii under their chief Corolan, with the loss of 3000 men, first tired out their patience by his caution, and then, when they had dis-

* Livy, xxxvii. 57.

† Ibid. xxxiii. 36.

persed in disgust, suddenly crossed the Po and surprised their allies, the Insubri, near Comum. He defeated them, with the loss of 40,000 men and 507 standards, 432 chariots, and many bushels of heavy gold chains; one of which, of extraordinary massiveness, was deposited in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Comum and twenty-eight forts surrendered.

Lucius Furius now joined his colleague, and they devastated the country together and reduced Felsina. On their homeward march the legions were attacked by the careless, ill-disciplined, and light-hearted Boii. The battle was dreadful, but victory declared for Rome and her allies, and the Boian force was all but exterminated. Marcellus was granted a triumph over the Insubri and Cornii, and L. Furius over the Boii. Amongst other booty exhibited was much Gallic *coin*, both in bronze and silver. The former were asses, the latter denarii stamped with a chariot.

In the year 558 (B.C. 195),* the Proconsul Flaccus defeated the Boii near Mediolanum, and slew 10,000 of them, with their chief Dorulacus. The Consul Sempronius penetrated into their country, but was more stoutly opposed than he expected by their fierce and brave leader Boiorix. Finding aid needful, he summoned the other Consul to join him, and with their united forces he intended to attack the Boii; but Boiorix was beforehand with him, and

* Livy, xxxiv. 46.

attacked the Italians first. The stubborn contest ended in a drawn battle, neither side being able to boast of victory. Boiorix retreated into the heart of his own country, and the Consuls fell back upon Placentia. A lull followed, which was supposed to be the harbinger of peace, for neither party wished to be the first aggressor, when news was received by the Consul in Liguria* that he must instantly march into the Etruscan district of Pisa, for that 20,000 Liguri had landed at Luna and were devastating that country. The Consul ordered the rendezvous of his troops to be at Arretium, and demanded from the Allies the assistance of 15,000 foot and 500 horse.

These are the terms in which the Roman historians tell the story of the Etruscan and Gallic war. Had we the lost annals of Etruria, we should probably find the Tuscans narrating how *they* had succoured Cremona and Placentia; how *they* had conquered at Comum and Mediolanum; how perseveringly and skilfully *they* had pursued the Boii into their own country, and how *they* had flown to the assistance of their countrymen at Luna and Pisa; being in all these wars and expeditions loyally supported by their faithful *Roman Allies*.

Whilst reading the Roman histories, it is very difficult to remember that the Etruscans were at this date, and for more than a hundred years longer, a free and independent nation, and by no means a part of the Roman dominions.

* Livy.

Simultaneously with the landing of this host of Gauls at Luna, 15,000 Liguri once more attacked Placentia; and the Boii manifested signs of an intention to come to their assistance.

Altogether, the combination of the Gauls seemed so formidable,* that whilst Minucius was fighting them in the Pisan district, the famous Scipio Nasica, whose sarcophagus is to be seen in miniature in every part of Europe, was chosen to head the Legions against the indomitable Boii. He prevented their advance by a well-timed invasion of their country, and he brought them to an engagement, in which they lost 28,000 slain and 3400 prisoners. Their camp was taken, half their lands were forfeited to the conquerors, and hostages were given to Rome and her *Allies*. Scipio was decreed a glorious triumph, and 6000 families were sent to colonize the newly acquired territory. The old Etruscan city of Bononia was part of this conquest, and it was settled with 3000 families of military men; seventy *jugera* being allotted to each horseman, and fifty to each foot-soldier. This decisive victory was followed by a peace which lasted for four years.†

Simultaneously with the last-mentioned battles the Ligurians ravaged Pisa and Felsina.‡ They descended from their mountains divided into tribes of Finians, Brinians, and Apuans, and they made such frequent raids into the exposed States that the

* Livy, xxxvi. 36-40. † Ibid. xxxvii. 46, 47.

‡ Ibid. xxxix. 2.

inhabitants were prevented from cultivating their lands.

The two former tribes were defeated and disarmed by the help of the Legions, and the hardy mountaineers were hunted out of their fastnesses and forced to settle in the plains, where fewer troops were required to keep them in check, and where the Consuls wisely opened up the country by military roads from Placentia to Ariminum, and from Bononia to Arretium. It appears, indeed, as if the people of Arretium took the principal part in these transactions.

The Apuans,* more inaccessible in their position, were not so easily subdued or dislodged. Quintus Marcius, with two Legions and the usual complement of auxiliaries, was seduced by them into a defile, where he was surrounded, and whence he escaped with the utmost difficulty, leaving 4000 men, three Standards of the Second Legion, and eleven standards of the Allies, in the hands of the enemy. He never would give a true account of the affair, but his flight was disgraceful, and the defile was afterwards, in derision, called by his name—"the Marcian Pass."

To revenge this mischance Sempronius marched from Pisa through the Apuan country to Luna and the Rio Macra, a very small distance to be recorded as a very great feat; but the Ligurian Gauls of that age seem to have been to the Italians what the

* Livy, xxxix. 20.

Circassians were to the Russians of our own; that is, enemies so gallant, so determined, and so dangerous, that the smallest advantage over them was a matter of importance.

The next year brought peace for a time, or, as it was styled, "the submission of the Ligurians."

It is at this period that the Dionysian or Bacchanalian mysteries were introduced from Etruria into Rome,* where they occasioned such disorders as to be forbidden in the sovereign State and in all its colonies under pain of death. Up to this time women only of elevated rank, as priestesses, had been employed in similar avocations; the mysteries, which were intended to represent the Furies or evil Genii raging against their enemies, had only been celebrated by day, and the conduct of the celebrants had been irreproachably pure. But now their gloomy character was changed into feasting, the solemnities were held by night. Men joined in them, drinking large libations to their gods, singing licentious songs, and then rushing frantically from their assemblies with flaming torches held aloft, which they ran to extinguish in the river. The rites were originally Grecian, introduced from Capua into Etruria by Greeks of mean condition; but after they had obtained a firm footing and a most infectious influence in the Lucumonies, they were brought by persons of rank, apparently Opitumius, of Faliscia, and Paula Namea, a Capuan lady, into Rome.† Here

* Livy, xxxix. 8. Paus. vii. 10. † Livy, xxxix. 13.

a frantic infatuation seems to have seized upon the devotees, and at night, in the midst of wine and feasting, music and noise, murder and every species of violence and wickedness were committed. In the colonies many hundreds suffered death, unable apparently to control or resist the mad excitement. The painted vases from Campania chiefly represent bacchanalian scenes, and from this time forward they appear in the vases of Central Etruria united to legends and poetic traditions introduced by the captive Greeks, who after the war with Persius, B.C. 165, were dispersed in large numbers as hostages, artisans, or slaves, through every State of the Confederation. Greek influence may now be largely traced in all their arts; and they affected in their luxurious homes Grecian pomp and voluptuousness.*

After the Achæan War the markets were filled with Greek slaves, who were employed by the colonists instead of natives to cultivate the public lands. Ten thousand of them came from Delos, and were worked upon those wasted and abused lands, in the heart of Etruria, through which Tiberius Gracchus passed, B.C. 162, on his route from Rome to the coast to embark for Numantia.

In the year B.C. 184, a colony of Gauls, who had begun to build a city on the waste lands near Aquileia, were forced to abandon their designs and to recross the Alps. The Romans then settled a

* Polybius was a captive in Rome from A. R. 585 to A. R. 603.

Latin colony at Aquileia and Roman colonies at Mutina and Parma. These provinces, Livy observes, formerly belonged to the Tuscans, but they were taken from them by the Boii, and, as the Romans helped to drive away the Boii, they were entitled to settle colonists in their conquests.

It was about this time that they conferred a favour upon the whole Etruscan nation by sending troops under Manius Acilius into one of the Lucumonies to put down a rebellion of the slaves. His ostensible office was to judge as an umpire between natives and foreigners, but he took the part of the masters without inquiry, and indiscriminately forced all the insurgents to return to servitude. The refractory were made captives and scourged or slain. It would appear from this that the Etruscans now commonly referred to the Romans in their quarrels, instead of seeking aid or justice from each other.

The name of the appellant state is not given, but it seems from concomitant circumstances to have been Volsinia, for on no other supposition can we explain the settlement in this same year of two colonies in her lands, one at Saturnia and the other at Caletra. The colonists were conducted thither by Tib. Gracchus, who assigned to each man (in number 2000) a portion of ten acres. The assignment of 20,000 acres of Etruscan land to such near and very dangerous allies must surely have been the price or reward of assistance in some im-

* Livy, xxxiii. 34.

minent peril, for every one of these colonists was a Roman soldier, prepared to fight for the *supremacy* of Rome; whilst, at this juncture, the whole of Etruria only acknowledged a friendly equality. But Rome was becoming every day more united in one grand interest under one central head; whilst Etruria was becoming more and more divided under many heads and many petty commercial interests. The one was degenerating into Individualism, whilst the other was rising into Nationality.*

The Etruscans seem scarcely to have enjoyed two years of peace when they were again attacked by the Ligurians. The famous Emilius Paulus was forced to lead a large army against the Inguanians, a powerful tribe of that people, who first solicited from him a truce of ten days to settle all their differences, and then, when he was thrown off his guard, marched down upon him and besieged him in his camp. Paulus sent to Pisa for succour,† and described these audacious Ligurians as having achieved what neither the Spaniards, Gauls, Macedonians, nor Carthaginians, had ever as yet dared to attempt; namely, that they had had the temerity to march up to the trenches of a Roman camp, and assault it. The Senate sent him 15,000 foot and 800 horse of the Allies, besides an auxiliary force which was raised in Pisa, and a huge squadron of ships, which was ordered to co-operate off the Ligurian coast.

* B. C. 182. † Livy, xl. 25. † Ibid. 27.

Emilius had six cohorts of auxiliaries in his camp under Valerius,* besides a wing of the *Allies* under Q. F. Flaccus, who did him good service, and are mentioned with honour. The first, by an appearance of timidity, threw the Inguanians off their guard,† and then fought a battle, in which above 15,000 were slain and 2500 were taken prisoners. This seems to have annihilated their military resources; for three days after the little state gave hostages and surrendered. Thirty-one Ligurian pirate vessels were also taken and destroyed. Emilius returned to Rome, where a three days' thanksgiving was decreed. The Allies were excused from further levies, and the temporary soldiers, who had been enlisted on account of *the sudden alarm*, were discharged. The result of these successes to Etruria seems to have been, that for the further protection of their country the colony of Gravisia was settled, and five acres were given to each man. It was, however, upon territory strictly Roman, for it had been conquered from the Tarquinians in their last war with Rome.

In the year 181 L. Porc. Cato dedicated a temple to Venus Erycina which he had vowed during the Ligurian war, and Emilius Paulus triumphed over the Inguanians, carrying in procession twenty-five golden crowns and many Ligurian chiefs. We are not told what the Inguanians did with *their* captives, but they seem to have treated them well, for ambassadors from the Liguri appeared, saying that they

* Livy, xl. 27.

† Lib. ix.

never again intended to make war upon the Romans, and though not believed beyond the present exigency, they were civilly received, and a peace was concluded with them.

A. R. 573, Liguria still continued a Consular province,* as the Consuls, Publius Cornelius and Marc Bæbius, were ordered to prosecute the war with the Apuan Ligurians with the full complement of two Roman légions and 15,000 allies. They were to succeed veterans who had been encamped there during the last twelve months, and who were now withdrawn; so that the Apuans, dreading no evil, believed their country free from an enemy and took no precautions. Suddenly they were amazed by an irresistible Consular force entrenching itself in the place so recently vacated by the Roman veterans. Peremptory orders being conveyed to the Apuan mountaineers from the united Consuls (after their army of 12,000 men had been surprised and captured),† that they should descend from their mountains with women, children, and property, and settle in the plains upon new lands which the Romans would assign them.

They had no alternative; and, to the great joy of the Tuscans, this troublesome and warlike tribe of Highlanders was transplanted far away from them into the waste lands of the Taurasians amongst the Samnites. The Consuls triumphed over a foe with whom they had never fought, and against whom they seem to have employed most disgraceful treachery.‡ Livy says that hostages alone could be

* Livy, c. 35.

† c. 38.

‡ c. 41.

led in the procession, for there were no captives to show and no spoils to divide.*

The following year two more legionary armies were despatched against the Apuans—one from the eastern, and the other from the western side of Etruria. Their vineyards were burnt and their corn carried away to make them deliver up their arms, and a body of 7000 of them being dislodged from the Rio Macra were sent to join their comrade exiles in Samnium.

The Gauls had first appeared in Central Italy at Clusium just after the fall of Veii, A. R. 360, demanding a settlement amongst the Italians; but now when lands were granted them, even more in the heart of the country than Clusium or Rome, they do not seem much to have relished the gift.

Consequent upon this removal of a dangerous and incessant enemy appears to have been the gratitude of the Pisans towards the Senate, whose good service they acknowledged by a liberal offer of lands in their government for the establishment of a Latin colony. This offer was thankfully accepted by the wise and far-seeing Romans.

From this period and onwards the Latin language is frequently used for epitaphs in the Etruscan sepulchres. We find from a passage in Livy that the use of it in any public manner was a *privilege* conceded to favoured allies. Livy records that in A. R. 573 the Oscans asked and obtained permission to

* B. C. 180.

use the Latin language in their public deeds and muniments !*

Next year we again find both Consuls in Liguria, endeavouring to dislodge more mountain tribes and force them to settle in the plains.†

The Proconsul stationed at Pisa gave information to the Senate that several powerful Ligurian tribes were again preparing for war,‡ and that he had not troops enough to cope with them. He was authorized accordingly to summon to his aid his kinsman, the Consul Caius Claudius, who had just triumphantly concluded a campaign in Istria.

Caius surprised the Gauls encamped upon the Scultenna, and forced them to a pitched battle, and gained a glorious victory, slaying 15,000 men and taking fifty-one standards. The Ligurians left their camp in the hands of the enemy, abandoned their settlement in the rich plains, and escaped back to the mountains.

Luna was colonized by 2000 persons possessed of the Roman citizenship (they might be of any nation), and to each were assigned fifty-one acres of land. Livy§ says that this land formerly belonged to the Etruscans, but was conquered from them by the Ligurians, and as the Ligurians in turn succumbed to Roman power the Romans colonized their new acquisition.

* Livy, xl. 43.

† A. R. 574.

‡ Ibid. xl. 53 ; xli. 12.

§ See page 33.

At his triumph C. Cladius apportioned to the allied troops one-half less booty than to the Romans. A novel proceeding, and one which caused so much discontent, that they followed his chariot in solemn silence.

Strange to say, whilst the triumph for their subjugation was celebrating in Rome, the Ligurians, recovering heart, descended from their rocky fastnesses and captured the city of Mutina. C. Claudius was continued Consul to finish the war, and was ordered back into Etruria to recover the vanquished city, which he seems to have effected. But Pisa (or the Pisanese) and Liguria* were allotted to the Consuls separately, and two Legions were raised for each, to each of which the *Allies* were required to contribute 10,000 foot and 600 horse.

It was therefore no small affair which they had taken in hand, even after all the bloody victories which they boasted of having gained.

For the next twenty years Livy, in mentioning the stations of the different armies, constantly speaks of Pisa as if it were a portion of the Roman dominions, so that in A.R. 602, B.C. 151, we are astonished at its re-appearance as an allied and perfectly independent State. There was, as we have noted, a large colony all possessed of the Roman citizenship settled within its territory, which became the headquarters of the Roman Legions, and hence Livy terms

* Livy, xli. 14. "Pisas et Ligures provincias consularibus decrevit. Cui Pisæ provincia obvenisset."

it "the Province of Pisa"—"Pisas eamque Provincias," and places it in the same category of fixed camps with the similar settlements of Aquileia and Ariminum.

In the year B.C. 176 all the country watered by the Serchio was delivered from the Gauls, and the grateful Roman Senate ceded to the Pisans the third part of the lands recently won from the Ligurians in recompense for the effective aid which they as allies had afforded them.*

It was at this period that the war of Italy with Persius, king of Macedon, being brought to a close, Etruria was inundated with Greeks, prisoners, slaves, and hostages, men of every degree, who were distributed amongst their cities or sold to work their lands. According to Polybius, the historian, who was a captive at Rome for fifteen years, 1000 of the noblest Greeks were sent into Etruria, and when after many years the survivors were permitted to return home at his solicitation, their number was reduced to 300. The influence of Grecian refinement was, however, dominant in Etruria from this time forward. Two of the Greek exiles, Actolaus and Dioeus, were afterwards Prætors in Achaia.†

Pausanias speaking of this time, 592, tells us that all *Greek artists*, as well as philosophers and historians, were ordered to quit Rome for other

* Livy, xli. 13.

† Polybius was proceptor to Scipio Emilianus, the youngest son of Emilius Paulus.

cities, but it appears that most of them joined their Achaian countrymen in Etruria.

Gætus, the last King of Illyria, with his queen, sons, and brother, were captives at Iguvium in Umbria, and ended their days there.

In the year B.C. 173, the Consul, Marcus Popilius, at the head of the Legions and the Allies, stimulated by a restless desire to distinguish himself, attacked the peaceful city of Carystas, in the district of Statiella, belonging to a tribe of the Liguri. This city was strongly garrisoned, and had never warred with Rome. Suddenly the Consul besieged it, and after a bloody battle, in which 10,000 of the Liguri were slain and eighty-one standards taken, forced it to surrender at discretion. As the citizens of Carystas had offered no resistance, they ought in any case to have been spared, but Popilius in blind fury rased the town, confiscated the lands, and sold 10,700 innocent men into slavery. He then wrote to the Senate boasting of his exploit and demanding a triumph. The Senators heard the news with consternation and dismay. They voted the attack upon Carystas to have been unprovoked and unjustifiable, and they ordered the aggressive Consul to redeem the prisoners and to restore their effects. Popilius refused obedience, sent his troops into winter quarters at Pisa, and proceeded to Rome to argue his own cause. There he rebuked the Conscript Fathers in full Senate, and made strenuous efforts, though

• Livy, xlii. 7-9.

happily in vain, to obtain a reversal of their decree. This honourable conduct we cannot doubt would have its effect upon all the Etruscan States, and quiet any rising doubts as to the expediency of allowing them to establish so many colonies near their great towns.

The Liguri were now quiet for several years, or at least gave their neighbours no serious uneasiness. Risings of some of the tribes are recorded in 587 and 591; but no large force was needed to quiet them until A. R. 599, when a tribe of Liguri attacked two cities belonging to the Massilians, and they were defeated with great loss by the Consul Q. Opinius.*

In the year B. C. 151, Rome commenced her third and last war with Carthage, and the States of Etruria again came forward with their liberal and voluntary aid.† Amongst them Pisa was distinguished, and she was thanked, not as a dependent province, but as an independent and allied State. When Carthage fell all the Allies shared in the spoil.

The Gauls gradually abandoned a hopeless struggle. One Ligurian tribe tried its fortune against M. Fulvius Flaccus, and another (the Stonians) against Quintus Marcus; after which they seem to have sunk into quietude. Such insignificant actions are scarcely worth mention, only that the name "Flaccus," being Etruscan, it seems probable that this commander was of that nation and possessed of the Roman citizenship.

* Livy, xlvii.

† Ibid. xlix.

From A.R. 650 to 663 all the Gallic colonies were faithful to C. Marius, and received the Roman and Tuscans as friends and protectors against the Cimbri and the Teutones.

From the year B.C. 118 we count about sixteen years of perfect peace and commercial prosperity, until B.C. 92, when the Social War raged in Italy; and for a few months the Etruscans and Umbrians joined the Marsian League against the Romans. They had been friends and confederates, fighting together against the Greeks, the Carthaginians, and the Gauls, for upwards of two centuries, and the matter in dispute was settled by Rome with all her pride yielding to the claims of the Socii.

A short time previously Marius the Volscian, who had raised himself by his military successes to the Consulate, had conferred full Roman citizenship, with power to vote in all elections and to be eligible to all magistracies, upon 1000 of the inhabitants in Umbria as a reward to them for their gallantry under his command against the Cimbri.* The Conscript Fathers were outraged by such a usurpation of power upon his part without reference to their sanction; but it was promised to a regiment on the field of battle, and Marius maintained his point, merely alleging in his justification that "Law could not be heard amidst the din of arms." Marius in his heart entirely approved of the claims of the Socii, because he was a new man; whilst Sulla, of

* Roman History Univ. p. 116.

the Gens Cornelius, a stern, aristocratic patrician, persistently and implacably opposed them.*

“Where,” he asked, “was the supremacy of Rome if all the Socii were to be admitted to full citizenship, and, above all, if they were to be dispersed through all the thirty-five voting tribes? They were more numerous than the Romans and would swamp them in their own elections, held in their own metropolis.” Marius, on the other hand, anxious to deprive Sulla of power, required for that purpose to command the votes of the Plebs, and as he knew that all the new citizens would adhere to him he was resolved to disperse them through all the Tribes. The Etruscans and the Umbrians were the first to be conciliated, upon which they rejoined their ancient Allies, and helped them to recover Alba from the Italians. Marius desired to confer the full franchise upon three members of every colony in Gaul, but the Senate indignantly refused. So long as this contest lasted they admitted the Etruscans and Umbrians, the Latins and the Hernici, into all the Tribes; but afterwards eight new Tribes were created to include the whole body of the Socii, who were thus compelled to vote after the thirty-five; and when Sulla was established in despotic power, these eight were again reduced to two, thus completely annihilating every hope of influence. Sulla “kept the promise to the ear, but broke it to the

* Scipio Emilianus, Caius Gracchus, and Julius Cæsar, were all favourable to the Socii.

sense." In this war Otricoli and Fiesole suffered much, and the recusant freedmen were punished for their short hostility by being forced to serve in the army under Roman officers, and not under their own Prefect.

When the Social War was ended Sulla and Marius began to contend with each other, and for a short time carried on the most frightful civil war that ever desolated Rome. All Etruria took the part of Marius, and when he returned from Africa he landed at Telamon, where 5000 volunteers joined his standard and marched with him from Ostia to his last occupation of Rome. Upon his death they were still faithful to his cause, and joined Pap. Carbo his friend and young Marius his son. But both were routed and killed: Clusium, which was defended by the former, and Præneste, by the latter, were taken; and, one by one, all the strongly fortified and beautiful cities of the Etruscans fell into the terrible dictator's hands. His system was to dismantle them all—to destroy their public buildings, *burn their records*, throw down their monuments, and, where possible, raze their walls. Instead of the ruined Fiesole upon its towering height, he built Florentia in the plains, and settled it as a military colony. Arretium suffered least, because Cicero was its patron, and we may conclude also Metellus,* whose noble statue has been found there in bronze.

* Probably Metellus Pius, who was often in Liguria: he was Consul in B. C. 81.

Volterra resisted the Cornelian arms for two full years, and was not taken until B.C. 83.* After Sulla's death in that year its loyal daughter Populonia followed its fate, and, Strabo tells us, was besieged and destroyed, indeed all but razed. Sulla's system was to deprive every Italian municipium that took part with Marius of citizenship and of its right to share in the public lands. Volterra was never despoiled of its citizenship in consequence of its prolonged resistance, and of enjoying, in common with Arretium, the patronage of Cicero. Subsequently the Triumvirs established eighteen colonies in the land, and Augustus Cæsar, as Octavianus, twenty-eight more.

Sulla fined, taxed, and colonised, the whole of Tuscany, in which he had forty-seven Legions to reward. His booty, we are told, was immense in costly armour, embroidered carpets, richly-dressed slaves, and an abundance of vessels in gold and silver. The Etruscan sepulchres bear evidence to the vast wealth and refinement of the people, and Posidonius, Diodorus Siculus, and Athenæus, all testify to their Asiatic luxury.

Sulla's principle of government was to exterminate all his opponents, or else exact from them unconditional surrender. He left their religious privileges untouched, and the Etruscan rites and brotherhoods accordingly endured for some centuries after the Christian era; but he abolished at

* Livy, lxxxix.

one fell swoop all their civil rights. They were henceforward Romans, merged in the conquering people, and for many years cruelly oppressed by the Cornelian veterans, to whom their lands were confiscated. But when Sulla's cruel influence had passed away, when Cæsar and Pompey, Cicero, Mark Antony, and Augustus, came upon the scene, sharing none of his antipathies, and wishing rather to unite the land than to keep up his oppression, then, notwithstanding that the Triumvirs had settled eighteen colonies in the country, and Octavianus twenty-eight more, yet most of the former proprietors were able to buy back their ancient estates from the reckless and extravagant soldiery.

Amongst the most powerful friends of Augustus we find the wealthy Mæcenas of Arretium, glorying in his descent from the old kings of that state; Virgil of Mantua, the sweet singer of legendary Italian story; and Livy of Padua, who wrote a history in language scarcely less musical, and in its earlier portion scarcely less imaginary, than the *Æneid* of Virgil.

One act of Augustus, namely the burning of Perugia in his wars with Antony, though he considered it unavoidable, created a lasting indignation in the country; and Propertius was bold enough to accuse him "of wasting" the cradle of the race, "the hearthstone of the Etruscans." But when his power was established, and he divided the whole of Italy into eleven regions, he carefully consulted the feelings and respected the rights of every people,

and he placed the Etruscans under the rule of their own regal chief Mæcenas.

According to persistent Etruscan tradition the power of the nation was to continue for 1100 years beginning with the year 434 (B.C. 1187), before the foundation of Rome, and therefore ending about A.R. 665 (B.C. 87). There can be no doubt that the belief in this tradition discouraged the people in their opposition to Sulla, which they looked upon as fighting against inevitable fate; and after the reduction of several of their capitals, which were probably in no state of defence against so very unforeseen a foe, one of the Haruspices publicly counselled submission, declaring that he had heard the shrill blast of a trumpet in the air, mingled with a voice which proclaimed in tones of loudest brass that "the day of Etruscan dominion was at an end."

The people of Tarchon were henceforth united with the people of Romulus, and their civil history was closed.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, RELIGION
AND ARTS,
OF
THE ETRUSCANS.*

BOOK I.

ON THE AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, AND INDUSTRY
OF THE ETRUSCANS.

CHAPTER I.

AGRICULTURE.

IN the most fruitful lands it has pleased God to ordain that human industry should still be necessary to bring out all their riches. Campania alone of the Etruscan settlements yielded much food to little labour. Etruria proper was full of insalubrious salines, pestiferous swamps, and fever-breeding

* *Freely* translated from the German of Karl Otfried Müller.

marshes. This we know from the state of its western coasts at this moment, and the ill fame it has borne ever since the commencement of the Christian era, denounced alike by poet and historian as prejudicial to human life from its sulphurous exhalations and desolating malaria. Yet this thinly inhabited and often barren country was once the site of powerful and populous cities, so numerous as scarcely to be credible to modern travellers. In this region flourished Melpum and Vetulonia, Rusella and Saturnia, Gravisia and Cosa, Populonia and Tarquinia, where scarcely anything now remains of them excepting the site of their enormous walls, and the graves or tumuli of their dead. Human skill and industry once made this soil fruitful and wholesome.

The same may be said if we turn our attention to the rich Northern Lucumonics of Pisa, Fiesole, and Arretium. Pisa was constantly liable to be overflowed by the Arno and the Ausur, or Serchio, which, though now running in separate channels, were formerly united, and emptied themselves by the same mouth into the sea. Modern engineers affirm that but for the canals and colossal drains of its ancient people, Pisa, in Etruscan days, instead of being a mart of commerce, and the strongest barrier between fertile Italy and the intruding Gauls, would soon have become one vast shallow lake. The whole course of the Arno, from its rise in the mountains to its fall into the sea, bears traces of human interference; and both above and below Fiesole, the

direction of its waters seems to have been turned. This artificial channel is called by the Italians "*La Incisa*," or "The Cut." Who can measure the bold struggles which were required in the first ages of a primitive race, against an intractable country by any scale known to our later times of a comparatively high civilization?

Owing to the nature of the soil there are fewer settlements between Volterra and Volsinia than in any other part of the land; for Sienna (*Sena Julia*) is never mentioned as a place of importance earlier than the Social War, B.C. 90. The valleys of the *Arnus*, rich in minerals, are destitute of ports. The country between *Clusium* and *Saturnia* as far as Rome, is all volcanic, and so it must once have been as far as *Campania*. Yet it was redeemed by an industrious and numerous people, who knew, when its fires had subsided, how to preserve it from destruction, by guarding against the overflow of its innumerable volcanic lakes. One of their educated professions was that of the "*Aquilex*," and such appears to have been also that of the "*Haruspex*," who suggested the *canal* which saved *Alba* during the siege of *Veii*, B.C. 403. The artificial outlets which the Etruscans made to these formidable lakes have not yet received the investigation they deserve.

Upper Etruria seems to contain the oldest cities (next to the coast); for here are *Arretium*, *Cortona*, *Perusia*, and *Clusium*, each the capital of a *Lucumony*, and scarcely sixty miles apart. The population must have required much food, and could nowhere

have found a more fertile land when turned to account by hard and persevering labour. Pliny's *Tuscan* villa boasted of a healthy site, mild air, cool and pure, even in summer; high woods in the vicinity; fruitful hills; broad, and fair, and well-watered plains, furrowed by deep ploughshares, or stocked by large oxen and other cattle. Such was the vale of Thrasymene, and such the whole course of the Clanis, otherwise and but for the marvellous net-work of canals by which it was controlled, the wildest and most unmanageable of rivers.

The cities were almost all built upon heights, dominating tracts of pasture and arable land, with a view to defence, to health, to security, and to long-continued rule. Such was Populonia with its harbours, Cosa, Rusella, Volaterra, the highest town in Italy, Perugia, Cortona, Tarquinia, Fiesole, Veii, Fidene, and Arretium. To these we may add Volsinia and Falerii before their conquest by the Romans, who forced their inhabitants to quit the heights and build new cities in the plains.

Throughout Etruria proper, the aspect of the country always points out where great cities have been, and where their ruins may still be found. From the labour and skill required in the construction of these cities, the regulation of the wild and rapid rivers, and the drainage of the marshes round them, we may form some estimation of what was required in the plains of the Po, or Padus, or Eridanus, which, in still more remote times, they inhabited and civilized. In those days the mouth of the river Po lay

considerably south of its present embouchure, and the rich city of Spina covered the site now occupied by Porto di Primaro.

In Strabo's time the alluvium had so increased that Spina lay ninety stadii inland, and had dwindled down into a village. Now its exact site is unknown ; but it is certainly between three and four miles inland, for Ravenna, which was then like Venice built into the sea, is now a full mile from the shore. The river mouths at Spina and Caprasia were turned by the Tuscans into *the seven marshes* (a Delta), and all the waters of the Padus land were so deepened and channelled as to be compelled to fall into them. The Lagunes of Venice appear to have been reckoned as one of them. Polybius speaks of the *Sagis* and the Volana Tuscan outlets, and Pliny of the Carbonaria and the Fossa Philistina. This Philistinian canal united the Padus with the Atrianus or Tartarus, which was led into the harbour of Atria. In our days the Po runs south of this channel, having formed itself a new bed in A.D. 1150 ; and the coast, which once bounded Atria, is now at least 209 stadii distant, the vestiges of the ancient city lying above the plain, which has been formed by the river mud.

When the Etruscans first entered this prodigious plain of the Padus, the river probably was like an inland sea, or series of lagunes, and often affected by the ebb and flow. It was highly dangerous, continually increasing in width and diminishing in depth, so as to be pestilential and destructive. The

course of the real river was southward, through these lagunes. What the Tuscans required to do was, what the Venetians, with infinite pains, have failed to effect with their tiny stream of the Brenta, namely, to confine it to the course of the lagunes, and make it a drain to the neighbouring lands. For this purpose they dug channels of irrigation along the whole course. Probably they foresaw the raising of the land about Comantin, in consequence of draining its lagunes by these outlets. So long as Atria flourished these outlets and canals were cleaned and kept in order; and when this care ceased under the Gauls, the haven became blocked up, and what was not marsh was converted into sterile dry land. Greek fables tell of its former fruitfulness, and even Aristotle refers to what it *had been*.

It is most probable that the swamps between Placentia and Panna, which were redeemed by Emilius Scaurus after his conquest of the Gauls, by means of the Fossa Emilia, was only the restoration of a former work by the Tuscans, neglected and abandoned for so long a time as to have become forgotten.

CHAPTER II.

AGRICULTURE.

AGRICULTURE was honoured in Etruria, and when the various Lucumonies helped P. Cornelius Scipio to fit out his fleet for the invasion of Africa, B.C.

206, we find that wheat and other grain were contributed by many of them amongst the supplies. For example: Cære, Volterra, Arretium (which was then especially flourishing), Perugia, Clusium, and Rusella.

Livy's enumeration shows for what the different States were famous: the *spelt*, wheat and maize, of Clusium and Pisa, were the nourishment of Italy. The fable of Tages ploughed up by Tarchon shows how they honoured the plough; so also marking all their city boundaries by the plough, and having a store-granary for wheat, is the *mundus* of the central point.

In this respect they differed from the Greeks, and far excelled them. Their knowledge of the plough was older than their acquaintance with iron, for their sacred and state ploughs were of bronze, and of a more curved form than in later days.

Flax and hemp were grown in Tarquinia and Falerii; Tuscan wine took rank next to Albanian and Falernian, and their vines grew to such a size that in Populonia a statue was erected to Jupiter of this wood. Oil was the special commerce of Volturnia. Firs for house and ship-building, tar and other products, flourished most abundantly in Perugia, Clusium, and Rusella; and their long and broad stems were in great demand for building at Rome.

The forests were full of game. The Tuscan boar was preferred even to the Umbrian, and the coins of Clusium (Kamare) have for their type a boar.

The white oxen of Falerii were prized in Rome for sacrifice. The cheese of Luna was sought for in the Italian markets. Sheep's wool was spun by the women of all classes, and woven into the fine fabrics of their robes. The legend of Tarquin extols Tanaquil as the best spinner in Etruria, and her distaff was long preserved in the Temple of Sancus at Rome. Horses were bred, not only for burden and for battle, but for races, and the race formed one of their sacred games.

The swine were kept in large herds, and, Polybius tells us, were taught to follow the sound of the trumpet (*buccina*). Perhaps it is from them, through the Gauls and Tyroleans, that the present Germans lead out and collect their swine by a horn!

The fisheries of the Tuscans were numerous and profitable, and appear to have been largely carried on at Populonia, Cosa, and Pyrgi.

Etruria abounds in minerals, the oldest worked of which appears to be copper, and the most valuable iron. The best iron was found in masses in the island of Ilva, and smelted in Populonia: thence the Greeks and other nations purchased it. Traces of very ancient and early abandoned copper-mines may still be seen in Ilva. A mountain of iron rises up out of the granite in the centre of it, and suggested to the Greeks the name of *Æthalia*.

Volaterra abounds in the richest copper, which the Tuscans used plentifully for arms and armour, statues, ornaments, and coins. The same may be said of silver, of which there are mines at Montieri,

near Volaterra; and it is probable that in early times they had many mines rich in the precious metals, which after the conquest of Spain were thrown into oblivion by the more abounding and accessible mines of that rich mineral country.

The Tuscans made little use of marble, though they had the quarries of Luna (amongst the finest in the world), Massa, and Carrara. The walls of Luna were indeed built of it, but we do not know that it was used for statuary, though the Tuscans were so fond of images, before the days of Augustus. Some twenty years earlier it is recorded of Mamurra, that the pillars of his house were of this marble. Strabo speaks of it as used to make large tables and pillars, but it was never an article of commerce nor employed in works of art. Strabo, indeed, best knew the quarries of Pisa, which are very inferior to those of Carrara. The Tuscans chiefly employed in their statuary a dark-coloured volcanic stone, like peperino, found near Tarquinia and Volsinia. Vitruvius says, that it was impervious alike to weather and fire, and that he saw very ancient and very beautiful specimens of it in Tarentinum.

The images of the dead, the monumental effigies and funereal urns, are generally, if not always, of the stone or clay of the locality: hence, in Volaterra they are of alabaster; in Clusium and Perugia, of travestine; and in Toscanella, of brick. The best clay was found at Arretium, which seems to have been the emporium of the best Etruscan clay works. Hence their ordinary building material was brick.

CHAPTER III.

DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE ETRUSCANS.

A FEW words may be bestowed upon the dwellings, dress, and food of the Etruscans; because the manners of a nation, being the expression of its character, have always an *ethnical* importance.

Their cities were surrounded with high walls, built of enormous blocks of stone, which may very possibly have been extracted from the hill-tops on which these walls were erected, when they levelled the ground, and so in many instances may have saved them labour: but the uniformity of the style implies some principle of architecture. They were of giant proportions, and though built without mortar, have lasted until our day. Everywhere the stones were wrought by the hand of man. Nowhere were rude masses piled upon each other. The common form was a parallelepiped, as in Volaterra and Fiesole: but some of them were polygonal and irregular, as in Saturnia and Cosa. This style of building, peculiar, so far as we know, to the Greeks and the Italians, is one reason with many authors—Niebuhr, for example—for believing that the Etruscans were a tribe of the Pelasgi, and of the same original stock as the Hellenes.

The Tuscan walls bear no trace of towers, yet both Latin and Greek writers derive their name of Tyrseni, or Tyrrheni, from tower buildings, which

they are said to have first introduced into Italy. At all events, they are the earliest architects that we can trace, and the only ones before the Romans deserving of the name.

Most of the cities were small, only two or three miles in circumference ; but a few of them, such as Volaterra, Veii, and probably Tarquinia, were large enough to contain 100,000 inhabitants, and had their Acropolis, like the Greeks.

All the walled cities were sacred. Besides the cities there were also *castella*, places of refuge and safety, in great numbers scattered through the land. Mantua was one of them ; and Castellum Axia, near Viterbo, now Castel d'Asso, gives an excellent idea of the defensible ground upon which they were usually built. The architectural tombs and temples still remaining in those rocky ravines testify to the civilization and opulence of the nation.

In a private house the principal apartment was the *atrium*, or *cavædium*, or court, adopted in all its uses by the Romans. Here the father dined with his children, and here the mother span with her maids. Here stood the images of revered ancestors, by which their names, their virtues, and their examples, were kept in memory ; and here were assembled the family clients : around there were sleeping apartments, store - closets, and needful offices.

The atrium was roofed over on all sides to a certain distance, beyond this it was open to the sky ; and in the centre, towards which all the roofs in-

clined, there was a deep basin for water (*impluvium*). It is probably from this universal usage that the Tuscan city of Hatria or Atria, on the Hatriatic Sea, took its name, as it was built at the confluence of all the rivers of the Padus Valley, viz., the Padus or Po, the Athesis (Adige), and the Tartarus. The atrium had originally no pillars, and in very early times was called in Roman houses "Tuscanicum." In later ages, both in Etruria and in Rome, other Atria were added, pillared all round and without the impluvium, simply for the accommodation of guests and clients.

To the Tuscans we must also attribute the introduction of the arch into Italy; and though the Cloaca Maxima is the best known example which remains to our day, it is by no means the only one, as specimens may be seen at Vala Ceria, Clusium, and some other of their ruined cities. It is believed to have been used by the Etruscans at least B.C. 900, whilst it can hardly be traced in Greece before the time of Alexander the Great, B.C. 340. The most remarkable specimen of their skill in arch-building is the great gate of Volaterra, bearing the heads of the three superior gods. The bas-reliefs of the funeral urns seem to show that arched doors were common in their private dwellings.

The dress of the Etruscans we may partly deduce from the royal robes with their gold and purple borders, which passed from them to the Roman magistrates, and from the Romans to the kings of the Franks, the Teutons, and the Britons. The purple

dye for the borders was probably procured from the Phœnicians or Carthaginians.

Lucilius, in his scorn of Roman luxury, speaks of these robes as the work of the hated *Lydians*, meaning amongst the Lydians to class the Etruscans. Queen Tanaquil is said to have woven the toga with an undulating pattern for young Servius, which was afterwards hung up and exhibited for many centuries in the Temple of Fortune.

The *toga*, as worn by the Lydians and ancient Pelasgi (called also *tehenna* and *chlamys*) was the national garb of the Etruscans—so also was the close-fitting tunic worn under it. All these were home-spun. In the temple service the officiating priest wore his toga in such a form, that one end of it could be drawn over to cover his head. The toga in war and in certain religious ceremonies was fastened tightly round the body by a girdle.

The *shoe* seems to have been a characteristic part of the national dress, for some statues, otherwise quite unclothed, yet have shoes. The greater part of the vases, bronzes, pateræ, and urns, show the foot enveloped in a leather shoe, with a wooden sole, pointed at the end. The best known Roman example is the very ancient Lavinian Juno, and her shoe is said to have been derived from the *Tyrrhenians*. The most ornamented sandals, also some of them covering the heel and toes, were called "Tyrrhenian sandals." They were adopted by Phidias, for those sculptured upon his Minerva of the Parthenon were called by the same name.

Some of them were of crimson leather, and a kind worn by the old kings of Alba were studded with ornamental nails.

The head-dresses of the Tuscans were of different forms, and were called in Latin *Galerus*, *Apex*, and *Tutulus*.

The "*Galerus*" was a hat of fur, and was worn by the Lucumoes. The hat which the eagle bore off the head of Tarquin (if the legend be true) was probably of fur, which it mistook for a hare, as dogs often make the same mistake with a muff or a tippet. However, Cicero calls it an "*Apex*." It was high and pointed, of a conical form—probably like the hats of the Abruzzi peasants of the present day—and it was distinguished by a small rod or wand of authority being fixed in the centre. This wand was also borne by the Flamens in their hats.

The "*Tutulus*" was of wool in the form of a column, and was worn by priestesses and women of rank. They also wore the Greek *strophion*—corrupted into *struppus*. In Falerii one of the festive days was called "*Struppearia*."

The Tuscans adopted the Western usage of shaving their beards, and were careful to keep the body free from superfluous hairs.

The food of the nation was pulse, with such varieties of acorns, beech-masts, chestnuts, and preparation from the milk of sheep and goats as we at present find nourishing some of the finest men in the world, viz., Umbrians in their ancient sites. But they also consumed in large quantities poultry,

game, and fish, besides the flesh of oxen, sheep, and swine, as we learn from their incessant funeral feasts, and the sacrifices at their fairs, treaties, auguries, temple-worship, and all their solemn and state assemblies. The Etruscans were famed or notorious for their luxurious living, and were known by the epithets of "Pinguis Tyrrhenus" and "Obesus Etruscus," tantamount to "Jolly Englishman," "Stout John Bull," &c.

They made two meals a-day, contrary to the custom of the hardier Sabines, who made only one, and their women sat on the same couches, and mingled on equal terms in all their entertainments, to the scandal and disgust of the Greeks, amongst whom all the virtuous women ate by themselves. This mingling of the sexes was, however, the old Italian custom, and in the images of their gods (their highest ideal of holiness and purity), Talna (Juno) and Minerva are seated on the same form with Tina or Jupiter.

CHAPTER IV.

COMMERCE OF THE ETRUSCANS.

THE Tuscans in the days of their prosperity were the most important mercantile nation in the Mediterranean, next to the Phœnicians, the Greeks, and the Carthaginians, to whom they were vexatious rivals. Their tolerance of piracy, however, was an

evil to themselves as well as to their neighbours, and they were restricted in its exercise by the scarcity of good harbours along their seaboard.

But they carried on a much more important inland commerce, though veiled in poetry and mystery, by means of their possessions on the Padus, with Greece on the one hand and the Baltic Sea on the other. Connected with this is the Greek fable of Europa, and the hints at a sacred road across the Alps, protected by the barbarous nations along its whole route. Themistocles of Molossis met with Ligurian merchants in Epirus, who were travelling towards Macedonia, and, according to all probability, they came from Tuscan Hadria. Our strongest proofs of an extensive and continued commerce northwards lie, however, in the accounts the ancients give of the trade in amber or *elektron*. This substance in all times came to the southern nations from the Baltic, sometimes through Goths, at others through Esthonians. In Pliny's days the highway led through Pannonia, and such had been the abundance transported, that *then*, as *now*, the peasant women wore necklaces of this much-prized substance. This highway must have been the very same 600 years before Pliny's time, for the name of the river Eridanus (*alias* Padus or Po) is always connected with amber. Amber or *elektron* was held by the Greeks to be the congealed tears of the daughter of the Sun, the sister of Phaeton, who wandered under poplar-trees upon its banks, bewailing her lost brother. It was on these grounds that Pherekydes,

in the 75th Olympiad, pronounced the Padus to be the Eridanus, because elektron came to the Greeks from its banks.

The ports from which they obtained it were Hatria and Spina, and thence also it was procured at a still earlier period by the Phocians, and the Corcyrians. Occasionally, doubtless, the Etruscans themselves took it directly into Greece.

Most of the early geographers, and especially Scylax, call the Padus Eridanus in their works. Hence later geographers were amazed when they came to see the river not to find elektron poplars growing on its banks.

Æschylus calls the Rhone the Eridanus, partly from the similarity of sound "Rhodanus," and partly because the Greeks obtained amber from Marseilles, and therefore imagined the Rhone to be the amber-bearing river. But the Massilians procured their amber from Liguria, as Theophrastus has fully proved. There appears to have been a road leading to them from Upper Italy, and they exchanged for the precious gum, tin, which they obtained in large quantities from Britain (Cassiterides), through Gaul.

That the Kasiteros road was connected with Hatria we learn from the old tradition that, besides amber islands, the Padus flowed round another island bearing tin. Æschylus placed his Eridanus in Spain (Iberia), and yet he says it was the women of Hatria who mourned for Phaeton.

Euripides places the amber-weeping Heliades on

the banks of the Eridanus, and he means by that river the Rhone. Pliny also holds the Rhone to be an afflux of the Eridanus, and Apollonius boldly solves the mystery by informing us that the great river of the north, the Rhone, divided itself into three branches, falling into the ocean as the Rhanus, into the Sardinian Sea as the Rhodanus, and into the Ionian Sea as the Eridanus. To this latter, however, he assigned the Amber Island.

We have thus elicited from this description that in the third century of Rome there was a commercial traffic, which had been long established, leading from the Baltic provinces into the Padus lowlands of the Etruscans, which first reached a southern seaport at Hatria. Herodotus assures us that elektron did not reach the Greeks by sea, but came to them from the uttermost parts of Europe. He disbelieves altogether the existence of a northern sea, and doubts about the Eridanus. Homer speaks of amber as their own in Greece. Hesiod adopts the whole fable of its production on the banks of the Eridanus as the tears of the Heliades. Some authors have surmised that amber might be procured from the Phœnicians, but we have no trace of the existence of such a substance amongst them. It may be thought that a commercial highway through the wild nomadic tribes of Germany into Italy, before the time of Homer, was too dangerous to be traversed; but whence came the numerous caravan roads which we find from the earliest times in existence to allow passage to whole migratory popula-

tions, each following without impediment in the wake of the other, the moment that history pierces the veil, and shows us Gauls and Teutons, Cimbri and Longobardi, Goths and Vandals, full on the march to seek for themselves new and pleasanter habitations ?

The sea trade of the Etruscans undoubtedly began, as with all the ancient nations, in piracy; and as Tyrrhenian or Pelasgian pirates they were known and feared by all the nations in the east and southern coasts of the Mediteranean, especially by the Greeks, but also by Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Phocians, Cretans, and Sicilians. This sea-marauding, which (though prisoners) settled many foreigners in the country, became ameliorated in time by effectual resistance and by treaties into a regular and profitable commerce, the one nation improving the other, and each admitting settlers from each.

It must, however, be confessed, that although the Greeks, the Phocians, and the Sicilians, were all at times pirates, the Etruscan piracy continued for many centuries. It is named by Homer and Hesiod in their days, and it is severely animadverted upon by Cicero in his day (see "Hortensius"). The Rhodians fought the Etruscan pirates after the time of Alexander. It is, however, more than probable that all pirates from the Italian Peninsula, including every one of the Magna Grecian cities themselves, would be reckoned by other vexed Greeks or Asiatics under the head of Etruscan pirates. One of the Tyrrhenian pirates captured by Timoleon was named

“Posthumius,” and this is a Latin and not an Etruscan name. Antium, where a Latin colony was zealously engaged in piracy, sent private corsairs into Greece. In the early days of Rome we never hear of the Etruscans attacking her dominions from the sea.

As proofs of the peaceful and regular trade of the Tuscans, we may mention that their domestic luxury, continued through long centuries, could not have existed on piracy alone. This and the arts which have flourished amongst them required for their stability treaties between the various Tuscan States and their foreign allies. We know that such existed between them and the Carthaginians, in which there were express stipulations as to exports and imports and safe conducts. We can gather their substance from similar treaties between Carthage and Rome in A.R. 245 and A.R. 409. In these, commerce with Sardinia was prohibited, and probably also with the south-eastern coast of the Mediterranean and Libya. Doubtless, also, with Southern Spain about Carthagenæ and Gadiræ. This does not apply to Northern Spain, where Tarraco is regarded as a Tuscan settlement, and is believed to owe to the Tuscans its rocky walls.

In Magna Græcia we know of their active trade with Sybaris, which they supplied with many luxuries, and in which they enjoyed many privileges. Cære early separated herself from the pirates and was held in honour by all the Greek States for the justice and integrity of her dealings; yet, because of

her nationality, she afforded a pretext to Dionysius the Elder to plunder her as a nest of Tyrrhenian pirates; and the immense booty he took from her temple, viz. 1000 talents, shows us the greatness of her wealth. Spina, on the Adriatic, was equally honest in her dealings, and so favourable to the Greeks, that she came at last to be reckoned as a Greek city. Both Spina and Agylla (Cære) had treasures in the temple at Delphi.

In speaking of their harbours we must not omit Luna with its marble walls, which we infer from Ennius were built by the Tuscans before the place came into the possession of the Ligurians. Strabo tells us that the ports included several minor havens, and that it was well suited to shelter the fleets of a people who ruled the sea. There can be no doubt that he describes the bay of Spezia, called by the Greeks *Selene*, and by the Romans Luna, from its form—translating probably the old Tuscan name. The coasts of Italy have undergone changes on both sides since those days when the city of Luna stood on the other side of the Macra, at a little distance from its port.

Less favourably situated was the harbour of Pisa for the commerce of the Etruscans, but more important to them than Luna, as having remained longer in their hands.

This city stood upon a branch of the Arnus, and the finest fleets of Etruria issued from her haven on account of the incomparable timber which was grown in the vicinity. Partly for this reason, as

well as for its size and shelter, the harbour maintained its reputation through the centuries of antiquity down to the Middle Ages.

Volaterra had only an insignificant station for ships on account of the shallowness of its waters; but its great trade was entered in the spacious harbour of Populonia, which at Porto di Baratto continued to be frequented when the great city upon the height above was reduced to a mass of ruin. Ships of war could not lay here in any number, but it was crowded with vessels which carried iron to the other ports of Italy.

Argoös was the haven of Elba Ilva, and Diodorus reckons it as the finest on that coast. It is indebted for its name to the Greeks, as well as the island of Æthalia. They Hellenized the Etruscan names, and then commonly attached to them some Greek fable, ascribing, for instance Argoös to a connexion with the Argonauts; so also *Telamon*, which still preserves its name in Talamone, though we cannot decide whether it was the Port of Rusella, Saturnia, or Volci.

There were no other harbours upon the coast excepting the small Portus Lauretanus and the harbour of Cosa until we came to the Centum Cellæ (Civita Vecchia) of Trajan, and therefore it would seem as if Tarquinia never could have been a commercial city.

The celebrated harbour of Cære (Pyrgoi), esteemed alike by Greeks and Romans, can be no other than the now insignificant inlet of San Severo—such

have been the changes in the coast since ancient days.

The largest harbours of Western Etruria were Pisa, Populonia, and Cære, of Eastern Etruria, Spina and Hatria. Hatria was a large and flourishing city somewhat inland and Matrinum was the name of its port.

The twelve cities of Southern Etruria possessed the harbours of Capua and Marcina, and drove a thriving commerce with the Greeks from the fertile banks of the Volturnus, the Clanius, and the Sarnus.

The commerce of the Etruscans with foreigners was ruled by their desire for gain, and limited by their danger from powerful enemies. Their trade with Greece was seldom direct, but through the cities of Magna Græcia. Populonia, for instance, sent her iron to Dicæarchia in Campania. We never hear of Tyrrhenian vessels in the Piræus. The Phocians ventured up to Hadria in the Adriatic, and a successful voyage doubled their gains; but even in the time of Lysias it was reckoned a perilous adventure.

The Tuscans sent help to the Athenians against Syracuse. They fought with the Phœnicians and against Lipara, and the rostra of their vessels were exhibited as trophies in the harbours of Rhodes. The Greeks believed the Tuscans to be the inventors of shipbuilding in the Ionian Sea, and one old writer ascribes to them the invention of the guiding helm.

Tyrrhenian wine was sent from Etruria into Greece and its islands, which is the more remarkable as so little wine is now exported from Italy. Tyrrhenian shoes were celebrated in the year 300 of Rome. Pictile ware was very early distributed throughout Italy, and Etruscan works of art in iron and bronze were prized in Greece at the date of the Peloponnesian War. Amber was also sold by them, the source of which was kept a profound secret. The architecture of Italy, and the ornaments for the temples or basilicas, were exclusively either Tuscan or Greek. They seemed to have worked together and aided each other.

Besides amber we know that they imported incense for perfumes, and spices for worship, and ivory for thrones and sceptres, at least 600 years B.C., in the days of the elder Tarquin; and they used the precious metal in far greater quantities than their land produced, and manufactured with a delicacy, beauty, and skill only to be found in Egypt or India. The stone scarabæi used in the burial of the dead, the Egyptian symbols, the veiled head of Isis, the lion's claws, the sphynxes, the painted tombs, and the ostrich-eggs, all point in the same direction to commerce, either direct or through the medium of some common mart, with Egypt or Asia Minor and the countries adjacent.*

* Those who wish to assure themselves of the proficiency of the Orientals in very early times, probably 1700 years before Christ, in working the precious metals, have only to

It is evident that an active commerce was always carried on in Italy amongst the States themselves at their various annual fairs; and in this manner Etruscan pottery, glass, and bronzes, may be found all over the land.

The twelve States of Central Etruria held their annual meetings at the temple of Voltumna. The thirty Latin States and their allies met in the Grove of Feronia on Mount Soracte. Here, on the borders of the Latin, Sabine, and Etruscan States, the three nations used to hold their common fair, and worship one common divinity. From this mart the wares of Cære, Pisa, Spina, and Hatria, circulated throughout Italy; and there can be no doubt that the States east of the Apennines had a good road to communicate with their brethren west of those mountains. The *Periplus* of Scylax, undertaken before the Padus-land was wholly Gallic, describes Tyrrhenia as reaching from sea to sea, and gives us the distance from one city to another all the way from Pisa to Spina, three days' journey.

ON ETRUSCAN COINAGE.

But the most significant evidence that this commerce was really carried on by the Etruscans with the Italians, with the Sicilians, and with the Greeks, is to be found in the fact, that the coinage

recollect the ornaments of the Egyptian queen Aahotess, belonging to the Viceroy of Egypt, and shown in the International Exhibition in London of 1862.

of these nations was made to bear a proportionate value with that of Etruria.

We have no occasion to prove that we may with propriety include in this list the Latins, the Sabines, and the Umbrians, because they have placed it upon record themselves that they borrowed their monetary system from the Etruscans. The Etrurian coinage of cast copper or bronze appears to have been an entirely original system, in which the *as*, or the pound of twelve ounces, was the standard unit; and when the Greeks colonized Southern Italy, they constituted the Peloponnesian *obolus* of equal value with the *as*, and they placed peculiar marks upon their other coins, for the purpose of designating the minor divisions of that unit. This arrangement was disturbed and finally upset by the continually increasing value of copper, arising from the Roman wars, until at last a lump of copper of one ounce weight came to bear the same nominal value as the ancient *as* of twelve ounces.

After the Social War, B.C. 90, the *as*, in consequence of its depreciation, was replaced by a new coin, in imitation of the Greek drachma, called the silver *denarius*. This coin was known to the Romans almost as early as the time of Pyrrhus, but it did not become national until the period of the Social War.

Copper, and not silver, was the national coin of Italy, hence all the early tributes to Rome were reckoned in asses. Silver, and not copper, was the current coin of Greece. The Greek money was

round and stamped. The Etruscan and its derivatives were in the beginning square, or oblong and *cast*.

A long, narrow plate or ingot of copper was cut into the quantities required. This money is now only found in Central Italy, either in Etruria Proper or amongst the conterminous tribes. The copper itself all came from the Etruscan mines; and the mints, which are ascertained from inscriptions, are Volaterra or Feltri, Clusium or Kamers, Telamon, Rom, Tuder, Iguvium or Ikuvine, Pisaurum, and TAH, or HAT, or HATRI.

As the Greeks always spelt this last name ΑΔΡΙ, the coins marked HAT must have been struck whilst the Etruscan influence there was stronger than the Greek.

Doubtless many other flourishing cities had mints, such as Cære, Veii, Volsinia, Tarquinia, Arretium, and Cortona; but we do not with certainty recognise their name upon the coins. The tradition that Janus was the author of the first coinage doubtless arose from the double head being the recognised sign of the *Aes grave*.

The duodecimal system of the Etruscans agreed with their twelve states, their twelve great gods, and the general sacredness of their number twelve; and probably the very names of as, libra, or lipra, uncia and unca, came from them also, and were transferred from them to the Romans and the Greeks, being slightly latinized or hellenized, as suited the genius of their respective tongues.

Etruscan money was current in Sicily long before the Sicilians had any money of their own. Hence we find the Syracusan poets, Epicharmus and Sophronius (Olymp. 76 and 90) speaking of “*λίτρα* and *εύγυρία*,” to designate money. From Sicily the terms passed to Athens, Corinth, and other parts of Greece.

It is proper to notice that two or three of the Greek cities, such as Zanete and Himera, had an Æginetan coinage as early as B.C. 484 and 460, but this was not general.

In Rome, derived from Etruria, according to Livy, we find the as-semis, triens, quadrans, sextans, and uncia. In Sicily we have the corresponding litra, hemilitron, pentuncion, tetras, trias, hexas, and unkia.

It appears, therefore, that Etruscan commerce first introduced coin and its names of value into Sicily; and the Greek settlers, finding a monetary system already established there when they first arrived, adopted it, and adapted to its value the coinage of their mother country. Epicharmus speaks of gold and *copper* as current in Syracuse.

The asses of HATRIA are marked with an L, which means *Libra* or *Lipra*, and this word in Sicily expressed the *weight* as well as the coin, thus intimating that the Etruscans introduced the first system of weights and measures into Sicily as well as into Rome: The Greeks proper never adopted

* B. c. circa 550.

this coinage, but equalised their own with it. Aristotle tells us that the litra was equivalent to the Eginetan obolus; and this seems to refer to a time when both the as and the obolus retained their full weight. The Eginetan money was large, heavy silver, minted in Egina, and current through the greater part of Greece. The Dorian colonies brought it with them from their homes, where it bore a fixed proportion to the Athenian drachma. In Sicily and in Italy it became law that the as, litra, and obolus, should express equal values; so that, if they were of the standard weight, they became easily exchangeable in trade. Aristotle tells us further that the Corinthian stater was equal to the Syracusan decalitron, or piece of ten oboli. The stater was the current coin in cities, and was used in gold and silver for pieces of high value, and it was divided at Athens into drachmæ and minæ.

Now why was the Corinthian stater made to weigh $1\frac{2}{3}$ of a drachma instead of two or four drachmæ, like the Athenian? It was because throughout Italy, from the sacred twelve-ounce as *upwards*, values were calculated in tenths, *decusses*, *centusses*, &c.; and in Etruria, such decusses (ten-as pieces) were cast in one piece, which originally, and before reduction, must have been very large. These decusses were the equivalents not of the Attic, but of the Corinthian stater, and by them the Etruscans were accustomed to reckon their foreign trade.

In this manner are explained a number of co-

incidences between the early Italian and the Greek coins.

First, it appears that the signs of value between the as and the uncia were derived from the Italians to the Greeks. This change was very gradual, because in the beginning the Greeks did not impress their coins with any marks of value. In Etruria the mark of the as was I, of the semis II, of the tressis III, of the quinquessis or fifth multiple V, and of the decussis or tenth multiple X. These signs are all found upon the copper money of Magna Græcia. The ounces were expressed by little round dots (o o o o); and these are found, not only through all the Greek cities of Italy, but through those of Sicily, as Syracuse, Himera, Agrigentum, Kentoripa, &c., and also in Velia and Pæstum, at a time when the native influence was strong enough to change these names into *Ve* and *Pais*.

It is worthy of note that the same marks are found upon some small and very ancient silver coins of Syracuse and Tarentum, evidencing how firmly the Etruscan monetary system had there rooted itself before Rome had any influence.

On the other hand, the mark C, which is found upon the Tuscan semis, is borrowed from the Greeks, who were accustomed to mark their half obolus, dividing the O thus, C or \mathcal{C} . An obolus was equivalent to an as, and a half obolus to a half-as or semis.

The name *numus* for money was also derived from the Greeks. It was the term for small silver coins amongst the Sicilians and the Tarentines; and

when the Tuscans began to coin silver, they seemed to have expressed the article by the word *nume*, and either from them or from the Greeks the Romans borrowed their word *nummus*.

It is probable that in Greece the numus expressed a proportion of the decalitron, from which the Roman denarius was imitated, either a sestertius (an ἀμισιντάλιτρον) or a quinar (a πιντάλιτρον), which latter is the more probable, because in Syracuse 120 litras composed a talent, and this, in still remoter times, was expressed by 120 nomen.

It is only by considering all these circumstances that we can explain the reduction of the as, the original standard of Italy, to a smallness exceeding all common sense.

There was a time when the as was literally the *as librale* (poundweight), and when in lower Italy and Sicily the obolus of Egina had an equal weight, and was exchangeable with it.

Etruria had then no silver money, but received large quantities of silver from foreign sources, which was consumed upon articles of luxury. The cradle of the precious metals lay in the East, and they first came into Europe through the Greeks by means of their commerce with the Levant and Phœnicia.

Afterwards this supply was increased by tributes and the spoils of war. We must not, however, omit altogether from our calculation the gold obtained from the rivers of Liguria, and the silver from the mines in Spain, though the Carthaginians guarded these latter with jealous care. We must observe

that silver was the only money which formed a common standard to the Italians, Greeks, Etruscans, Carthaginians, and Milesians. The gold of Asia and the copper of Italy were as articles of commerce or barter, whose price was determined by the silver standard. For this reason Rome always demanded her tributes from conquered nations in silver, and never in gold; and therefore gold, even so late as the time of the Punic wars, could command a price in Italy from which it had long sunk in Greece.

The Tuscan copper, owing to its great cheapness, was certainly in early days coined in immense quantities and transported to Greece, there to be melted down into vessels for domestic use. Now as a natural consequence of the abstraction of copper its price in Italy rose, and in proof of this we have certain fixed data.

During the period of Tuscan domination asses were coined marked with a single initial signifying a pound. At the date of the first Punic war, about A.R. 487, asses were coined which weighed only the sixth of a pound, and sixteen of which were reckoned to the denarius. It did not fall suddenly, as Pliny states, for otherwise we should have no intermediate weight; whilst, on the contrary, Roman asses in considerable quantity have been found weighing eleven, ten, and eight ounces, showing that the decrease was gradual. This took place between the A.R. 200 and 500, and it would seem to follow of necessity that the same fall in value was synchronous in Etruria. According to Passeri the as of Volaterra fell from

12 oz. to $3\frac{1}{2}$, and this was probably about A.R. 470, from twenty to thirty years before the Roman as fell to two ounces. Tuder fell from thirteen to one ounce, and this must have occurred after A.R. 486, when Umbria became *Federate* to Rome. Hatria appears always to have maintained an extra weight, for rude and heavy pieces marked HAT and TAH begin long before the Greeks settled in Picenum, and are carried on to a time when the stamp was so admirably executed as to be almost a work of art.

We see that under these circumstances it was necessary to have constant recourse to the scales in order to obtain the existing weight of the as, and the date of its most recent symbol. Asses of full weight cannot have existed beyond the third century of Rome, and none such have ever been found. Probably they were all melted down. Asses of from ten to six ounces we may assign to the fourth century. Those of four ounces belong to the fifth century.

It follows from these premises that the reduction of the as was another name for the rise in the value of copper, and this is also proved by other considerations.

The modius of wheat, for example, in A.R. 500 was sold for precisely the same number of light asses that it had cost in A.R. 300 of heavy ones. Its usual price was from two to three asses, whilst the equivalent measure in Athens—the *hectar*—varied from three to five oboli.

A still stronger proof is the pay of the soldiers, which in A.R. 700 was 350 light asses, exactly the

same sum as formerly paid in "Aes grave," as measured by the decalitron or the denarius.*

During the Peloponnesian war the Greeks paid their cavalry three Eginetan oboli a-day, and in Sicily the pay seems to have been the same.

Now the Etruscans must have given a sum of equal value, for they maintained large bodies of foreign troops, and they sent auxiliaries to the Greek cities. If the pay of these men had been lessened, they would have deserted and gone over for a higher salary to the better paymaster.

I am persuaded that the tressis of Etruria was of the same value as the triobolus of Egina, and that it was the pay of the troops in Camillus's days, and perhaps much earlier. In the time of Polybius and Plautus the foot-soldier's pay continued to be only three asses a-day, though all the necessaries of life had risen in price; and such a result can only take place when a very ancient usago continues to be submitted to. Julius Cæsar was the first commander who altered and doubled the pay. The diminution of weight in the as had not been previously considered, because three asses, whether light or heavy, were always reckoned as three-tenths of the decalitron or denarius; and even in the second Punic war, when the as was reduced to one ounce, and reckoned as the sixteenth only of a denarius, the as of the soldier's pay was still esteemed the tenth.

* Niebuhr opines that the aes grave of eight ounces was marked with an ox, in consequence of the Lex Papiria. 1 S. 475.

His pay for ten days was exactly three denarii. We see from this that the pay was three-tenths of a decalitron per man, exactly as it had been in Peloponnesus 200 years earlier, although the soldier was thereby defrauded of his just reward, for the denarius of that date was worth in silver little more than one-third of the old Syracusan decalitron.

Whilst the Tuscans enhanced the value of their copper by reducing the as in weight, and still reckoning an as at the worth of a Sicilian obolus, the Greeks reduced their silver, as may be seen in any numismatic collection. This, of course, altered the standard, and drove the heavy Eginetan litras out of Greece. We know that the old decalitron of Syracuse weighed 228 or 229 Paris grammes,* or 10 Eginetan oboli; and the denarius of the later Roman republic weighed 73½. But at this time there must have existed a silver coin to express the decussis, and this would first be minted in imitation of the Greeks. This coin is actually found at Populonia, though usually without inscription. Gold coins have also been found there and at Volsinia. Silver was coined in Luna, and probably in Tuder.

The marks upon the coins of Populonia are X and XX, that is, they are single and double denarii; and they are heavier, and therefore in date earlier, than the heaviest Roman coins with which we are acquainted.

The void between these coins of Populonia, which weigh from 150 to 160 grans, and the old decalitron,

* 187 English.

must be filled up by the Magna Grecian and Sicilian coins in our museums; and it were to be wished that numismatists would study them in a much more historical point of view than they have hitherto done. The original decalitron weighed 228 Paris grammes, the pentalitron 114, the sestertius 57. Now in Sicily we find coins that weigh 328, 164, 82, and 41, aliquot parts of each other, and exactly agreeing with the Attic tetradrachm, didrachm, drachma, and triobolus. Where these have been long current they have become somewhat reduced in weight, but not much. Now how came an Attic-drachma currency to obtain in Syracuse, where we know that the money was reckoned in litra, nomen, and decalitron? We must hold these coins as equivalent to the double decalitron, single pentalitron, and sestertius; whence it follows that the litra, anciently weighing twenty-three grammes, had sunk down to sixteen, and had come near to the Attic obolus of $13\frac{1}{2}$. The Eginetan obolus, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, had sunk from twenty-three to twenty grammes. The Sicilians, therefore, appear to have altered their standard for the sake of their increased trade with the Athenians, who paid in coin with their oboli of the finest silver, which now began to be prized by all the nations bordering on the Mediterranean. The Sicilian decalitron was made to suit the didrachm; and the proportion between the litra and the obolus, instead of as six to ten, became as six to seven. Aristotle's account of the equality between the Italian litra and the Eginetan

obolus must necessarily refer to times very anterior to his day.

We must also remember that Dionysius, the Syracusan, coined a small piece of money worth only one Attic drachm, which he forced his subjects to take for four drachmæ, and so he made the pentalitron for a time worth double the decalitron! This false standard spread from Sicily into Italy, and maintained itself there for a long while.

These coins of 328 and 164 grammes are found in quantities at Geta, Agrigentum, Catarra, Selinus, and elsewhere; also in Rhegium (RECINON), in which Aristotle tells us they were coined by Anaxilas.

But, most remarkable of all, as mediums of exchange, expressly adjusted to the Italian weights, are the coins of Corinth, as seen in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow. They are forty-three in number, and all weigh between 135 and 164 Parisian grammes. The other coins are under fifty-four grammes, and represent the Corinthian stater; but these forty-three are decalitrons, thence proving that the litra in Corinth weighed sixteen grammes.

From these premises I think it certain that the magnificent silver medals of Syracuse are pentecotalitrons: different specimens weigh from 807 to 818 Paris grammes; and if to this latter number we add 2 grammes, we have the exact weight of 50 litra, weighing $16\frac{1}{4}$ each. This brings out the medals as belonging to the widely celebrated class of the "numismata Demareteion," first minted by Gelon

in honour of his wife Demareta. We are told that the demaretecia weighed 50 litra, and were worth ten Attic drachmæ. I believe, with Payne Knight, that these medals belong to the date B.C. 380 to 330,* and therefore I should assign that date to the debasement of the litra from 23 grammes to 16½.

This litra was considered as equal to many of the staters of Corinth and Sicily, which, to judge from their dies, are of a much higher antiquity. They are equal also to the later and finer coins of Agathocles, and to some Panormitan coins with Punic inscriptions. Our inference is, that the Corinthian and Syracusan decalitrae underwent no change in 150 years. Copper, in the meanwhile, had so changed its value that it was necessary to express the decussis by silver, and the substituted coin was called a denarius.

In A.R. 400 the proportion of copper to silver was 1 to 187; at the date of the Punic war it had risen as 1 to 140.

The subject of Coins can only be studied successfully in a museum, and by experienced eyes. The following are the Etruscan cities, or their allies, the coins of which have been ascertained and arranged:

1. **POPULONIA.**—The coins of this city are marked **PUPLUNA**, **PUPLANA**, and **PUP**. The bronze money is abundant. The silver is sometimes marked **X** or **XX**, and sometimes is without mark. The gold

* A. R. 373 to B. C. 423.

coins are without inscription, but with proper emblems: viz. Vulcan's head, with a hammer. The head of Hermes, with a herald's staff and a trident: emblems of navigation and commerce. Head of Minerva, with the owl; with the half-moon and the Gorgon's head. A female head, with the lion's skin: on the reverse a club. Sextans, with a youthful Hercules' head on one side and the club on the other.

2. VOLATERRA.—All heavy copper. Inscription, FELATHRI or FELATRI. The type, a double head with pointed hat.

3. CLUSIUM.—Marked KAM or KA, for Kamass, the Etruscan name. Distinctive type, a boar.

4. Some coins, marked KAS- and KA-RAIT, are referred to Cære: but though Cære must have possessed a mint amongst the earliest, her coins are not ascertained.

5. TELAMON.—Inscription, TLA or AIT, or TI, or T, or TEL. Types, the same as the Roman: a Jupiter's or Janus' head for the as, and a ship's prow for the semis. The sextans bears the head of a youthful Hercules with a trident, between dolphins. Telamon belonged to the Volsci.

6. VOLSINIA, or Felsune. Inscription on a gold coin, FELSU, with a female head and a lion. Many bronze coins with an F probably belong to this city which are ascribed to Volterra or Veltterra. One, however, marked FE, with a Vulcan's head, and on the reverse a hammer and tongs, appears certainly to have been minted in Volsinia.

STATES ALLIED WITH THE ETRUSCAN, AND ADOPTING
THEIR MANNER OF WRITING.

1. TUDER.—Heavy copper: the silver coins seem doubtful. Inscription, TUTERE or TU. Peculiar emblems, a male head on one side, a cross and hook or crook on the other; or a frog; or an anchor marked by the letters TU. There are many other emblems, such as a satyr's head, an eagle, a cornucopia, a lyre, a wolf and two cubs, a sow with a litter, and many others.

2. IGUVIUM (Ikuvine), IKUFINI.—Heavy copper. IK or IKVIN. Types, the crescent moon with stars, or a cornucopia, or tongs, or a palm-branch.

3. VETTUNA.—It is now ascertained that the as and its series, with wheel and anchor on the reverse, and the inscription FETL . . A, which was read Fetlana or Fetluna, or Vettuna or Vettona, designated a small town in Umbria, near Perugia, and is the same with Feltuna.* Abundance of copper coins is found on the site of this place, and its coinage was probably consequent on its federation with Rome.

4. PISAURUM.—Heavy copper, from the as to the quadrans, with the letters PIS. Types: Cerberus, Hercules with Cerberus, and bearded head with an ivy wreath. This city is not Pisa.

5. HATRIA.—Heavy copper. The inscription is

* And not Vetulonia ?

written in old Greek or Latin letters, and the money is abundant. Types: Silenus' head, wolf, fish, cock, and Pegasus' sandals. The later coinage of this city is unusually fine, and is probably Greek.

In the neighbourhood of Hatria some coins of heavy weight, such as a sextans of nine ounces, and some silver coins, are found, marked *VES*. Their meaning is uncertain: perhaps *Vescia*, united by commerce.

COINS WHOSE MINT IS UNCERTAIN.

1. *LUNA*.—The Guarnacci Museum, in Italy, possesses a series marked *LUNA*; but it is much corroded, and may possibly stand for *Pupluna*.

2. *PEITHESA*, or *PETHESA*, or *PIETHESA*.—Some small copper coins have been found with this inscription, and are attributed by numismatists to Perugia, or to Veii. But Italy had no such small coins until after the destruction of Veii, and it more probably designates Pisa (*Peisæ*).

3. *PERUGIA*.—A quadrans in the Museum of Perugia, with the inscription *FIR.*, is supposed to indicate this city. The type is a youthful hand and three balls; an ox's head on the obverse.

It belongs to an eight-ounce coinage.

COINS ERRONEOUSLY ATTRIBUTED TO ETRUSCAN CITIES.

1. Silver coins, with the legend *FAAEION* and

FA, were supposed to denote Falerii. They belong to the Greek city of Elis.

2. Coins marked ΓΡΑ, and the sign of a sextans, assigned to Gravisia, belong to some Sicilian or Magna Grecian city—perhaps Agrigentum.

3. Coins marked COZA and ΚΟΣΩΝ were certainly struck in Thrace.

BOOK II.

DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE ETRUSCANS.

CHAPTER I.

UPON the domestic life of the Etruscans our information is very scanty, and we must lament the loss of all those records which touched upon the subject, especially of those Rituals in which, according to Festus, their rules were written for founding cities, consecrating altars and temples, blessing the walls and the gates, dividing into tribes, curiæ, and centuries, raising armics, and whatever other ceremonies pertain to peace or war. These books, which were of authority till the third century of our era, were to the Etruscans what Leviticus was to the Jews, or the Laws of Menu to the Hindoos.

In Roman history we find the Twelve States of the Etruscans proper constantly mentioned, and we also learn that this people had a similar federation of Twelve States in the Padus Valley, and Twelve

States in Campania; but both these latter were soon broken up, and we only know the separate names of the Twelve States in Central Italy. Even these were occasionally changed, but the conventional number was always reckoned as twelve. Livy tells us that at one time Cortona, Perugia, and Arretium, were the leading cities; at another time, Arretium, Perugia, and Volsinia. To these we must add Tarquinia, the city of Tarchon; Clusium, the mighty State under Porsenna; and Volaterra, probably the strongest and largest of them all. Rusella comes forward as allied with the Latins in the days of Tarquin the Elder; and Vetulonia, a luxurious capital destroyed by the Gauls, gave the pompous insignia of the throne and the magistracy to the Romans. Populonia, important for its wealth, industry, and commerce, was never one of the twelve ruling cities, excepting as an appendage to, or a colony of, Volaterra. Cosa, though strongly walled and fortified, was not amongst the rulers. Pisa appears to have been reckoned one of the number and to have maintained its importance down to the latest times; it was said to have been founded by Tarchon. Fiesole asserts its claim through walls which even now awe the beholders of the mighty works of old. Luna is doubtful, and was more probably included in the government of Pisa. Veii was one of the most prominent amongst the twelve, though its kings were disliked by the other States; and with it were usually allied Falerii and Cære. Capena and Fidene were probably colonies of Veii. Saturnia is reck-

oned by Dionysius as amongst the oldest cities in the land ; but its name is later than that of *Aurinia*, and it was probably the Latin name given to a Roman colony on the site of the ancient and ruined *Aurinia*. *Statonia* appears to have been a city of the *Vulci*, to whom all *Vulci* (famous for its beautiful vases) and *Cosa* belonged. They bravely resisted the Romans until A.R. 472. *Salpina* is also a city of state, named in the wars with Rome.

In this manner we extract from the Greek or Roman historians the names not of twelve only, but of seventeen independent and powerful Etruscan States, viz. *Cortona*, *Perusia*, *Arretium*, *Volsinia*, *Tarquinia*, *Clusium*, *Volaterra*, *Rusella*, *Vetulonia*, *Pisa*, *Fiesole*, *Veii*, *Cære*, *Falerii*, *Aurinia* (or *Celetra* or *Saturnia*), *Vulci*, and *Salpina*. Some authors have imagined, that at one time one metropolis was acknowledged, and at another time upon its destruction or decay another ; but it seems more probable that at the assembly of the States for national purposes, such as to elect a leader in war, or to promulgate new laws for the benefit of all, twelve votes only were allowed, and that certain cities always voted together, such as *Pisa* and *Fiesole*, *Vetulonia* and *Rusella*, *Vulci* and *Cosa*, &c. &c. In this manner we can easily account for the number of the States being always reckoned as twelve, the sacred number at the shrine of *Voltumna*.

It appears from history that all claimed equality, and that no one city was ever acknowledged as the permanent head and leader of the others. If such a

claim was ever advanced it was immediately resisted. Tarquinia, which was really raised to a superiority for a time, was upset by an internal revolution brought about by Volsinia and Clusium.

The political tie between them was kept loose by republican jealousy, the religious bond was what bound them together. Every year the Twelve States met at the fane of Voltumna near Viterbo to elect a high-priest who officiated for the nation, and who offered up the sacrifices accompanied by music and games. United with the religious solemnities was a fair for all sorts of merchandise, to which the allies, the neighbouring tribes, and sometimes even foreign nations, were invited.

When pressing necessity for national union was required, this council might be summoned by the high-priest to meet at any time, or any number of times, as we see in the case of Veii, when her proud and unpopular king sought aid against the Romans.

When an "Embratur" was chosen at these meetings to command the whole League in any national war, we are informed by Dionysius that each State furnished him with a lictor. In the greater number of their wars only a few of the States were engaged at the same time, and the council decided which were to be selected. Had any such refused they would have been expelled the League. There was much similarity between this council of the Etruscans and the councils of the Greeks in Lesser Asia.

Amongst the ancient nations the destruction

of a political union did not necessarily draw with it the disruption of religious ties, and it appears from inscriptions late in Imperial times that this was the case in Etruria. At Arretium and other places inscriptions are found speaking of oaths taken by or administered by the Pontifex, "ad sacra Etruriæ," or "Etrusca."

We find also in Perugia and elsewhere mention frequently made of the "Prætores Hetruriæ XV Populorum." The XV are supposed to include three tribes of Umbri united to the original sacred twelve.

CHAPTER II.

CONSTITUTION OF THE DIFFERENT STATES.

ALTHOUGH we have shown in the last chapter that in many cases several large and powerful cities were probably united together and shared one vote between them in the Diet, originally having been colonies from a common centre, yet, following the universal rule in Greece and Italy, every State must have had one city which was its capital and the seat of its government. To this city the others were subordinate, although they might independently appoint their own magistrates and levy their own troops. In the case of Veii we find that her dependants, as well as the Capenites and Faliscians who went over to Rome, were as a reward formed

into new tribes and incorporated as free Plebeians. The Stellatina was assigned to the Capenites, and the Sabatina to the Faliscians; and these latter must have been native Veientines, for the lake and territory of Sabatina lay close into Veii, and was included in the Ager Vejentanus. In the same relation Gravisia lay to Tarquinia, and Aurinia to Caletra. On the other hand, Nepete and Sutrium, strongly fortified and important places, never belonged to Veii, though by custom allied with it, and therefore, after the fall of Veii, we find them transferring their alliance to Rome, as perfectly free to choose for themselves. They were ruled by their own chiefs, and, though in some sense bound to Veii, were not in the League of the Twelve. Fidene appears to have been in the same circumstances.

Every Etruscan State ruled itself and had an aristocracy, named by the Romans "Principes." These, according to Livy, were the same as the Samnite magistrates. They alone consulted and decided in the Diet, and they alone formed the Senate in each State. They commanded the assemblies of the people, and they appear to have been, not an elective but an hereditary caste. Their native name was *Lauchme*, or *Lucumo*, which means ruler, president, or chief; and in an assembly of *Lucumoes* one was chosen as chief over the others.

They were all priests and keepers of the sacred books and discipline of Tages. The eldest son, the heir of his father's honours, seems also to have borne the title, and from the *Lucumo* junior of Clusium,

against whom the Gauls were invoked, appears to have been derived the Roman proper name of Lucius. Aruns as a proper name often appears in Etruscan inscriptions, but "Lauchme or Lucumo" never.

The nobles alone could aspire to the highest rank in the state, namely, that of king; and this seldom or never seems to have been hereditary, but was equally open to every member of the aristocracy. It is very possible that an attempt to make the power hereditary gave rise to an oppression of the aristocratic order by strong-willed and arbitrary kings, and that this, as in the well-known instance of the Romans, originated that hatred of kings which distinguished the Etruscans as well as other Italian races. All the Latin authors who have come down to us speak of kings as the first rulers of the Etruscan States, and it was because the Veientes had returned to this hated rule of kings, that the League refused them assistance in their last wars. The ensigns of Roman magistracy were derived from the *kings* of Etruria.

Varro tells us that at their marriages the *kings* and chiefs of Etruria used to sacrifice a swine. Festus derives the Toga Prætexta and the golden bulla from the Etruscan *kings*. Macrobius tells us that the Tuscans greeted their kings and inquired after their welfare every eighth day. Propertius and Horace derive Mæcenus from the ancient *kings* and commanders of many Legions; and with him we must join the Cilnii of Arretium, who appear to

have exercised sovereign power during the whole of their lives in that city, and were probably at times the elected leaders of all the forces of the League.

The names of a few of these kings (or *lars*) have been preserved to us. Pausanias mentions a throne in the sanctuary at Olympus as the gift of Arimnos, a Tuscan king, who was the first of the barbarians who sent gifts to Jove.

Cato speaks of Propertius, a king of Veii; and again of Morrius, another king of that State. Virgil records the Legends of Mezentius, the tyrant of Cære, out of whose sacrilegious hands Jupiter is said to have delivered the Latins; and Livy gives us a charming picture of Lars Porsenna, the powerful king of Clusium and the conqueror of Rome.

But not only was the pomp of kings in Rome ascribed to Etruria and the twelve lictors, the apparitors and the ivory throne, but also all the circumstances of the military triumph. The broad, golden diadem, wreathed with golden oak-leaves, and glittering with acorns in gems, which was held by slaves over the head of the triumpher, was called the "Corona Etrusca." To these we may add the embroidered tunics, the *palmata* and the *pieta*, and the sceptre of ivory, surmounted by an eagle, which was used by Etruscan Lucumoes before it descended to the Roman emperors.

These costly robes and ornaments are not without their historical importance. In the first place, they testify to the high civilization and progress in art and refinement of the people who used them. Next,

they demonstrated their intercourse with other nations, and especially the Greeks, whose ideas greatly influenced their religious customs, as we may trace in the palmated tunic and ivory sceptre.

Entirely national, however, was their idea to liken a conqueror, or victorious imperator, to Jupiter, and to clothe him in the same costume. The triumphal robe, the sceptre, and the diadem of oak-leaves, belonged to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the Capitol, and, therefore, were they of such wide dimensions, and were kept in the temple, and brought out of it solely to be worn by the illustrious object of the triumph. Following the same idea, which we find to have been Egyptian and Assyrian also, the triumpher stained his face with vermilion—the same colour as that with which the image of Jupiter was stained on the days of public festivity.*

For the same purpose of deification we frequently find the images of the deceased stained with red upon the sarcophagi. From this we may infer that noble birth in Etruria was supposed to connect a man much more nearly with the gods than was the belief in Greece.

The golden bulla, which Juvenal styles "*Etruscum aurum*," was a charm against fascination, and also was worn by Etruscan kings and Lucumoes, and by Roman triumphers. Latterly it was worn by every Latin child of the wealthy classes. All these ornaments and personal distinctions, as adopted

* Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 36.

by the Romans, we find referred back to Tarquinius Priscus, and the Etruscan rule.

No doubt they involved both a political and a religious idea, namely, that the young Lucumo was separated by his birth to serve the gods and rule over men, and that the young and innocent boys amongst the nobles were as acceptable to the Supreme Being as the grown men.

We know little of the domestic and civil life of this people. Many cities had an elective senate, but it could only consist of Lucumoes. When Arretium, during the second Punic War, wished to separate itself from Rome, its fidelity was secured by the punishment of the children of the Senators. That there was also a free *people*, not subject to the nobles, seems certain, but what were their rights we know not. In Faleria assemblies of the people were chosen at the same time with the Senate. In A.R., 451, the Cilnii of Arretium were at feud with the citizens, and the Romans had to mediate a peace. Of a similar nature were the disturbances in Veii, A.R. 451, indicating probably *clan* dissensions.

One large class of inhabitants appears to have stood to the others as the aborigines of Sicily stood to the first colonists, *i.e.*, as the conquered to the conquerors, they were serfs upon the estates of the nobles, and were not free. Others were clansmen, between whom and their chiefs mutual duties were acknowledged, and could not be refused on either side. Others were naturalized foreigners, as in the case of the Tarquins, or they were the free members

of guilds and professions, bearing a certain weight in the state, but not admissible to offices of magistracy. In short, the three orders which we find in Rome, under the names of Patrician, Client, and Plebs, we also find in every state of Etruria. Without the other two classes the aristocracy could not have maintained themselves so long, and it seems probable that the Umbrians formed the standing Plebs.

The Roman law, that a false client, or a false patron, should be sacrificed to the infernal gods, appears to be quite an Etruscan idea. Dionysius (ii. 10) tells us that, in the year A.R. 274, the princes of Etruria brought a large army to the help of Veii composed of their serfs. These princes were large territorial lords, who for the occasion armed their peasants. There was a marked difference between the inhabitants of the cities and the land, both in speech and in manners. The numerous dancers, flute-players, wrestlers, and others of that class, who are represented as slaves to the last kings of Veii, probably in general belonged to the clients of the great houses; but the Etruscans also furnished themselves abundantly with domestic slaves and artists, by war, by piracy, and by trade. They prided themselves upon beautiful slaves, who waited upon them at their feasts clothed in rich attire.

When the government of Volsinia fell into the hands of the "*lower class*," this is interpreted of the clients, a similar catastrophe having once happened at Argos,* and also at Capua. We may infer it be-

* Herodotus, vi. 83.

sides from the fact that the former lords of the State themselves, instead of attempting to raise their clans, called in the Romans to rectify disorders which were beyond their power; and these foreign allies, in A.R. 487, took the opportunity of making an end at once of Volsinia, her rebels, and her freedom.

A priestly and hereditary aristocracy, built upon the subjection of a lower class, and the inferior rights of less distinguished freemen, was the Etruscan institution, upon which the unity of the Twelve States was founded.

That, however, during the centuries in which Etruria flourished, no disturbances should have arisen against the domination of the Lucumoes is not to be believed, and is not asserted in history. We hear of some civil dissensions and of many violent party strifes, during which the inferior classes always contrived to raise themselves, to extort concessions, or to obtain privileges which made them of more importance. When they became absolutely necessary, as defenders of the hearth and home, then their day of slavery and of insignificance was over.

When Capua (or Voltumna) became an asylum for the Greek refugees, how could it escape the influence of Greek ideas? How could it escape from the silent working of a *census*, which raised the wealthy burgess, and those naturalized amongst them, to power, expressly as a counterpoise to the nobles? This is the political progress of men in every country; and we have unmistakable traces of it in the history of the Tuscan Mastarna, who

fought for the Plebs, whether he were the same with Servius Tullius, or only a hero of the same spirit ("King of the Commons, good King James.")

This leads us to endeavour to extract some light on the constitution of Etruria from what is recorded of the first institutions in Rome. According to Volnius all the early principles of Roman government and organization were Etruscan; and the names of the three tribes, the Ramnes, the Tities, and the Luceres, were all Etruscan, having at first a sacred meaning, and corresponding with the three great gods and the three holy gates.

It probably implied the division of the nation into knightly houses, consisting not only of priests and warriors, but also of a free commonalty, though not eligible to any offices of rule.

It is certain that in the beginning these three tribes included the whole population of ancient Rome, whatever it may consist of, and that in every curia there were to be found men of different ranks, though from the knights and nobles alone could the chief of each curia be chosen, he being also the priest and magistrate in peace and the leader in war. The nobles alone had a public life as legislators and leaders. The very name of the knights "Celeres" was an Etruscan appellation, perhaps denoting that the highest in birth were also expected to be the most prompt in action. Livy derives "Celeres" from Celes the Tuscan, the "Tribunus Celerum" of the Ramnes. Some German critics believe "Celsus Ramnes" to be altogether an Etruscan form, imply-

ing illustrious descent, and think that Romanus comes from Ramnes.

The city of Mantua, which was Etruscan for many centuries, had, according to Servius,* its three tribes and twelve curiæ, each of which was headed by a Lucumo; and there can be no doubt that in early Rome each curia was under its patrician, who was also its priest, its lawgiver, and its captain. As the number of the Celeres was regulated by the tribes, so the number of the centuries (infantry) was regulated by the curiæ. A curia was a group of 100 houses, who worshipped at one common shrine, and acknowledged one common *lar*, or patron divinity. A tribe consisted of a certain number of curiæ—in Rome ten, in Mantua twelve, possessing one district of land and worshipping one patron god.

Now if we are thus led to conclude that the division of the earliest Romans into tribes, curiæ, and centuries, was grounded upon the principles of an Etruscan aristocracy, we may reasonably doubt if this organization can be ascribed to an originally Latin or Sabine city. It cannot be denied that Rome proper was founded on the Palatine hill with Etruscan rites, and that it was surrounded by an Etruscan Pomærium; also that it was, for a time, wholly under the influence of Etruscan rites and customs. Hence it appears that the Roman story, as to the names of the two first tribes having been

* In *Æneid*, x. 202.

given by Romulus, a Latin, and Tatius, a Sabine, to which the third was afterwards added by a Lucumo, is false, for all the internal evidence as to the organization of Rome shows it to have been under Etruscan influence in the beginning. It is least probable that the name "Romulus" was derived from the Etruscan "Ramnes," and that of his associate Tatius from the Etruscan Tities. The legend that Tarquin, the Lucumo from Tarquinia, wished to create new centuries of his own friends with appropriate names, and was prevented by Altus Nævius, so that he could only double the existing centuries under the old names, is to be understood of an endeavour to alter or modify an original Etruscan principle, and not of an endeavour to introduce for the first time an Etruscan principle upon some other Latin or Sabine custom which had preceded it. Thus we find that the new houses introduced by Tarquin still ranged themselves under the three ancient tribes and the thirty centuries *as sacred*, unchangeable institutions, however much their numbers might be increased.

The constitution of Servius was quite foreign and contrary to that of Tarquin, and was by no means an extension of it. Whilst under Tarquin, that part of the nation only bore any rule which was comprised under the name of knights or patricians, they alone having any place in the Senate, or being acknowledged in the curia as magistrates, priests, and patrons. Here was introduced the whole assembled commonalty, reckoned as an integral part of the

legislation. Every man who could arm himself against the foe, and in exact proportion to his power of defending the State by means of his wealth, was not only accounted a citizen, but was called upon to take part in its government.

This changed at once the whole ancient system of administration in which men had taken rank hereditarily, "by birth and right divine," every man's station having been assumed as irrevocably fixed by heaven. Now, not by birth alone, but by wealth also, were men to be estimated and classed, it being supposed that according to a man's possessions would be his interest in the state and his power of defending it, and hence probably the cause why the military element continued to maintain its strong pre-eminence with the Romans, even in the affairs of civil life.

The centuries were always assembled in the Campus Martius, without the limits of the peaceful Pomærium. It is not to be supposed that Servius was the originator of the "Exercitus Urbanus," and that he also endowed it with its civil privileges. That both these great innovations should spring up together as the work of one man is contrary to all our experience of the progress of mankind. Historical fragments let us into the secret that Servius found a Plebeian army already existing, as the work of Celes Vibenna, who to his own victorious followers had joined the Latins and Sabines already existing and settled in Rome. We must recollect that, according to the story, Tullus Hostilius had

previously increased the Senate and doubled his army (*i.e.* the number of men in his centuries) by the conquered Latins from Alba ; but he neither increased the three tribes nor their thirty divisions. Ancus Martius was the first who innovated so materially upon the constitution of the nation as to consecrate *land* (the Aventine) to the Latins, and therefore he is justly styled the Father of the Plebs. He first acknowledged them as a national element, apart from the three sacred tribes. It was subsequent to this that Tarquinius Priscus was forced to yield more land, even the Cœlian, to the democratic chieftain Celes, from Volsinia ; and this latter appears to have been the author of the Plebeian centuries, as, ranged under their respective tribunes and standards, they were summoned by military forms to meet in the Campus Martius.

At first the thirty Plebeian tribes, answering to the thirty aristocratic *curiæ*, were taxed and entitled to vote in the *Comitia Tributa*. Servius found them discontented with the subordinate share this gave them in the government of a State of which they had grown to form the major part, and he allowed their claims to more importance by bringing in a standard of value and an element of power which was entirely new. He tried to weld together Patricians and Plebeians by throwing the whole Roman nation, consisting of the three tribes and the Plebs, which Livy calls a "fourth tribe," into six classes, to be estimated according to their wealth, and to be investigated and re-distributed every *lustrum*, with

the exception of the Patricians and the Knights, who, though nominally reckoned as merely first in the first class, always maintained their dignity, whether rich or poor, and were never subject to the census.

The first movement must be ascribed to Celes Vibenna, in whose days the internal dissensions in Etruria seem first to have brought into view the transcendent worth of strong military genius in a commander, whether he could take auspices or not. The strict separation which before him had existed between the priestly caste and all other ranks of the people, could only have maintained itself through quiet times, and a settled order of long standing. A greater equality had become a necessity even in Etruria, and Mastarna Servius was the representative of this phase of political progress, and this development of the new order of things.

But Servius laboured only to improve and not to destroy the system which he found, and this he effected by vesting the whole power of the century in its first man, he alone delivering the opinions and giving in his one vote the votes of all; so that the domination of the Lucumo appeared to be transferred to him, and the exaltation of the Burgher class still assimilated to itself something of the old Patrician rule.

Before this the Celeres had wielded the power of the State, simultaneously with the kings, and in close connexion with them; for, next to the king,

the *Tribunus Celerum* was the first and highest of the magistrates.

Now whatever may have caused the fall of the Tarquins, whether it proceeded from without or from within, so much is certain that it was no attempt to restore the constitutions of Servius. It is a point upon which Roman history throws no light, for it relates upon the subject nothing but fables.

The mainspring of Servius's reform was to replace a religious or *caste* division of the nation which could never change, by a property qualification which was always changing; and this reform, various glimpses of Etruscan history show us to have spread very widely in Etruria.

The Patrician principle, whereby the *Gentes* and the *Curiae* alone had the privilege of voting, was restored by the Consuls, and adhered strictly to the maxims of the overthrown Tarquins. The Dictator received his supremacy not from the centuries, but from the *curiae* only; and it required long years, and many severe struggles, for the Roman Plebs to regain that footing which Servius had once won for them, and which they would have continued to exercise but for the counter-revolution of the Patricians. Indeed, Roman history tells us plainly enough, that the fall of Tarquinius Superbus was owing to his arrogance towards the *Patricians*, and chief amongst them towards the *Tribunus Celerum* (Brutus), and not to any novel oppression of the Plebs.

Had the *Comitia* of the centuries under the

Consuls been what Servius tried to make it, there would have been no need of tribunes of the people to win back for them their just rights; and instead of being assemblies, chiefly, if not exclusively, to rectify the boundaries and settle the concerns of their land and districts, they would from the first have had an administrative influence upon the government and legislature of the nation.*

Let us briefly review the traces of Etruscan influence which are preserved to us in the Latin legends of Rome. First, the names of the three tribes were Etruscan, and they for upwards of a century constituted the whole nation. Next, Rome proper was founded on the Palatine by an Augur, with Etruscan rites and ceremonies. Celer, the Tribune of the Celeres, was an Etruscan. Janus, God of the Double Gate, was Etruscan. Censur, God of the Circensian games, attended by the Sabine Virgins, was Etruscan.

* To this chapter of profound research and accurate reasoning, on the part of Otfried Müller, I shall merely add what was told me by Frederick Schlegel when I saw him at Bonn, about the year 1842.

He said that when Niebuhr, with whom he was very intimate, first began his criticisms upon the pristine Roman annals, he deduced from them that Rome in its origin was an Etruscan colony from Cære; but that, subsequently, his quarrel with Schlegel had influenced him to change his opinions, for he scorned to own anything to Schlegel's hints and investigations. — *Translator.*

The Lictors, which were prior to Numa, for they guarded the Interrex, were Etruscan.

Terminus, the God of Boundaries, was Etruscan, so were the Lares of the Guilds and the Patrician houses.

The three Flamens, and the three Vestal Virgins, one for each tribe, were Etruscan; so were the ancilia and the artists who made them.

January was dedicated to Janus, and February to the Etruscan genius, Typhon.

The nine great thunder-gods, worshipped by Tullus Hostilius, were Etruscan. He was the first who incorporated the Latins amongst the Patricians. Ancus Martius first gave lands and sacred rights to the Plebeians, chiefly Latins, forming them into a fourth tribe of the Roman people.

CHAPTER III.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF THE ETRUSCANS.

WHEN Mastarna had come to Rome with the remainder of the army of Celes Vibenna, and had been acknowledged king, as we learn from the Etruscan annals, he founded a new constitution of the army according to the census. It is impossible not to recognise in this organization of the host, which lasted until the time of Camillus, an imitation of the Greek Phalanx, in which the wealthy and

fully armed where placed in the first row to charge the enemy, whilst the lighter armed were ranged behind in order to strengthen the shock of the whole and be helpful in time of need. The Tuscan general would not have accomplished this had it been quite new to his people, and it is not to be doubted that in the days of Servius and in the succeeding century the Roman and Tuscan armies resembled each other. Indeed one Greek author* asserts that the Romans *learnt* fighting and to thrust with the lance from the Tuscans. The armour of Greeks, Tuscans, and Romans of Servius's day, appears to have been the same.

Diodorus describes the first Roman shield as *square*, but when they saw the Tuscans armed with "aspides" they adopted the same. Now the "Aspis" is the same as the Clypeus, which belonged to the harness of the first Servian class, called by Dionysius the "Argolian aspis." These Argolian shields were in use amongst the Faliscii, and were, amongst other things, considered to prove that there had been a settlement of Argives or Pelasgi amongst the Etruscans. In the time of Camillus, the "Scutum" was introduced, which formed a half cylinder about the soldier, a necessary change to meet the wider arrangement of the maniples. The aspis, on the contrary, had formed an iron wall against the closed ranks of the Phalanx. The scutum was probably derived from the Samnites.

* Athenæus, vi. 273.

Along with the *aspis* the Etruscans used metal helmets, with high plumes or crests, and deep side-pieces, such as are constantly represented in their works of art, and which are called "*Cassides*," apparently an Etruscan word. Also the panzer and greaves, long lances or spears, which in Falerii were exactly of the same pattern as the old Athenian, and a short sword which bore the Tuscan name of "*Bal-teus*." With all these arms Servius equipped his first class.

The regiments of these fully armed warriors constituted the strength and kernel of the Etruscan army, and appear to prove the existence of a free class of burghers, as it is not to be supposed that the nobles only formed these bands, for which their number was far too small, neither was it likely that their serfs would be so expensively and formidably equipped. In any case the raising of such a host, which no cavalry, composed of nobles only, could withstand, was the symptom of an elevation in the social standing of those who served. It seems to answer to the "*Hoplites*" of the Greeks composed of free citizens.

On the other hand, from the legend of Porsenna paying his troops, we may deduce that in time hired freemen replaced the burghers, and that the rich aristocracy found it more for their interest to pay regiments, composed partly of their clients and partly of poorer citizens, rather than to require the burghers to arm themselves. It is with such a host

that Celes Vibenna appears to have ravaged Etruria,* and such an arrangement appears in every Etruscan State to have been possible in combination with the supremacy of the Lucumoes. The example of Servius in Rome is a demonstration that such a proceeding must lead to a free, and finally a domineering middle class.

Lighter arms were also in use amongst the Etruscans. The light spear, called "*hasta velitaria*," was regarded by the Greeks as a Tuscan invention, and the name "*Velites*" is Tuscan. The lance, the short spear, the arrow, and the sling, are also found amongst the Etruscans. The "*Pilum*," probably Samnite, seems never to have been adopted by them; and in consequence of adhering always to their old forms in the order of battle, they had no efficient weapons wherewith to meet the shocks of the second and third attacks of the Romans. Their light troops were only serviceable on the flanks or in the rear of the phalanx, and could only be massed in small numbers. In such bodies the country people could fight when the Romans crossed through the forest of Mount Ciminus with sickles, and the light spear called "*gæsa*," which was manufactured in Arretium, besides shields, helmets, and other heavier armour.

The *Tuba* (trumpet) must be noticed, because it was strictly an instrument for war, and because its invention and use were attributed by all antiquity

* Niebuhr, ii. 531.

to the Etruscans. Little is known of the cavalry of the Tuscans, excepting that the decorative harness of their horses (designated by the Greek word "Phaleræ") was transmitted to the Romans. It was probably the favourite service of the nobility, from their passion for chariot-races. And yet the highest ranks appear rather to have withdrawn from war, excepting in the earliest times, before luxury had weakened the energies of the nation. The soldiers themselves, even in the last century of their freedom, fought at Sutrium as if they sought for death; and the Sacred Legion, which after the Italian custom consisted of pledged and chosen warriors, contended at the Vadimonian Lake with such Samnite perseverance and ferocity, that the Romans scarcely hoped to maintain their ground against their often-conquered and humiliated enemy.

Finally, we must trace the boasted Roman institution of the "Feciales" from the Etruscan Falerii. We find them established amongst the Samnites, and Roman tradition ascribed them to the "Æqui." Now the Faliscans were called "Æqui Falisci," either because they were descended from a colony named "Æqui," or simply because their new city was built on the *equal* ground or plain. It appears that the derivation of the Feciales from Falerii, rests entirely upon a false etymology, and it is probably the same in the case of deriving the Faliseii from the Æqui.

This is suggested to us by a passage in Dionysius, whose false and superficial criticisms would identify

the *Feciales* with the Greek *Spondophori*, whom he imagines to have belonged to the Argive Pelasgic colony at Faleria. In truth, however, the *Spondophori* and the *Feciales* were so diverse in many essential particulars that they cannot have had a common origin.

CHAPTER IV.

DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE ETRUSCANS.

OUR information respecting the domestic and inner life of the Etruscans is so scanty that it still remains doubtful whether their family divisions into races and clans represented the state ideal or not as with the Romans. One thing, however, is certain, that they never bore the three names which distinguished the Latin *Gentes*, for amongst all who come forward in Roman history and amongst the hundreds engraved upon the funeral urns we never find more than two, a pre- and a sir-name. They appear to be the distinctive name borne by the individual with that of either his father or his mother. There is no name of a *Gens* of which his family formed part, though this omission cannot prove that no such *Gens* existed. When a noble Etruscan enrolled himself as a Roman citizen we always find him with two names, one of which was very probably a *Gen-tile* name, such as *Celes Vibenna*, *Vestricius Spurinna*,

Cilnius Mæcenas, and he soon adopted the three names, as we find with the Cæcinas and the Salvii. But in Etruria itself a Cilnius was simply "Larth Cfelne," and any addition is like the primitive of all nations—Owen the son of Meredith, David the son of Saul. In Etruria, however, the same family always bore the same name, and the prænomen of the individual alone differs.

With the constitution of the Etruscan States, which were all under the dominion of a few ruling families, came a careful remembrance of their extraction and great pride of birth. Indeed, this pride was so ingrained that it outlasted their freedom and continued after they were incorporated with Rome. Horace assures us that Mæcenas was not proud, yet he glorified himself exceedingly for being descended from a long line of the ancient Etruscan kings. Aulus Cæcina is commemorated by Cicero, as amongst the noblest born in Etruria. Persius of Volaterra exhorts a young student not to plume himself upon being the thousandth in descent from an ancient Tuscan house. Persius is not speaking to a patrician of his descent from some illustrious magnate of the olden time; his whole satire is addressed to youths of the middle class, and his warning to them relates to the silly pride of being descended from a very old family. Etruria was the fatherland of old families, and her youth were as proud of being able to count back their unknown and unsung forefathers, as any Roman of his descent from an equally long stream of councillors and dictators.

“Larthal” on an urn is supposed to mean the son of a Larth.

It is remarkable that on the funeral chests the mother’s name is quite as often given as the father’s, and it is expressed by the termination *al*. The distinction lies in the prænomen not being given, but only the family name with *al* annexed. In the same family sepulchre we find “Larthia Fuisinei Lecnesa;” *i.e.* a born Fuisine who was married to a Lecne or Licinius; an “Arnth Lecne Fuisinal,” *i.e.* a Lecne whose mother was a Fuisine. The ancient historians adduce it as a proof of the importance of women in Lydia, that the children bore the names of their mothers as well as their fathers; and we may be sure that both in Lydia and in Etruria it was the influential families only that were thus distinguished. Tanaquil was celebrated along with Tarquin in Rome. The paternal name of Mæcenus was probably Cilnius, and in his person the two ruling families of the Cilnii and the Mecenati were joined. It seems most natural that “Cfelne Maecnatial” should in Rome become Cilnius Mæcenus. Even so “Cale Fipinal” would become Celes Vibenna. “Festrice Spurinal,” Vestricius Spurinna. All these four names, Cale, Fipi, Festrice, and Spurinna, belong to distinguished families on the burial urns.

A Latin inscription upon an Etruscan urn at Volsinia, “Festus Musoni, suboles prolesque Avieni,” clearly expresses the father and mother of the man.

The right of primogeniture seems to have been strictly upheld in Etruria, and in ruling families

was expressed by the title of Lucumo or Lars. The first-born, who was the prince of the house and its representative in the council, was dignified by the title of Lar, or lord, or chief. Aruns appears to have belonged to the younger son, and always designates a person in an inferior or oppressed condition.

Still less do we know of any other arrangements in an Etruscan noble house beyond the circumstance that their estates were very large and that they could not be divided and sold. Like the Highland clanships they seem to have belonged to the house and to have remained in it through the lapse of ages. The lands were cultivated by serfs or clansmen. The Cæcinas of Volaterra either took their name from the river Cæcina, or gave their name to the stream which watered their domains. The Perugian "Tins" took their name from the river Tinia, or *vice versa*, as their possessions lay all along its banks.

The Cæcina Decius Albinus,* who was the friend of Symmachus and visited by Rutilius, as Præfectus Urbi in the reign of Honorius, lived in a villa of Volaterra, close to the river Cæcina. He was Consul A.D. 444.

SELECTION OF ABBREVIATED NAMES IN ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTIONS.

The Sepulchral inscriptions usually commence with a prænomen, or title: such as —

* Note in Appendix, No. 77: Cæcina Albinus, who lived in A.D. 380, is the father of this Decius.

Larth, Lart, Lth,

Laris, Ls, Lar, La, L ;

adopted by the Romans as a Gentile name—*Lartius*.

Arnth, Arnt, Ar, Ath, A.

Aule, A, Au, Af.

Fel (Velius), Fl, Fe, F.

Cuinte (Quintius).

Sethre (Sextus), Se.

Láchne (Lch), Lucumo.

Thana (fem.), Thasna, Thna, Tha, Thn.

Thanchufil, or Tanaquil.

Titia, Ti.

Phastia, Pha.

Ane and Ramta are doubtful.

FAMILY NAMES.

Cilnium of Arezzo. In one vault twenty-nine urns, or other objects, were found, inscribed Cfenle or Cfelne.

Mæcenas of Volaterra or Arezzo.

Cæcina of Volaterra, or Ceicna.

Caspu or Culpe of Volaterra.

Tlapuni (Tlabonius) of Volaterra.

Selcia do.

Musu (Musonius) of Volsinia.

Sejanti (Sejanus) do.

Salfi (Salvius) from Ferentinum. The Emperor Otho was of this princely family.

Phlafe (Flavius) from Ferentinum, and in many other cities.

Propertius, king of Veii. Also a ruling house
in Umbria.

Tins of Perugia.

Anaine.

Ancari.

Aphsi.

Aphune.

Atusnei.

Aulni (Aulinna, Olenus).

Cestna of Volaterra.

Farna do.

Felani do.

Feltsna do.

Pherini Clusium.

Cuinte or Quintius.

Felehe Veleia.

Utthafe Octavius.

Feli Velissa.

Herna Herennius.

Tite Fesi Titus Vesius.

Fipi Vibennius.

Meteli Metellius.

Petru Petronius.

Plaute Plautius.

Pumpu Pomponius.

Pursne Porsenna.

Surte Sutrina.

Thurmna Thormena.

Velimnia Volumnus.

Carna Carinius.

Phulne Folnii.

Reicna	or Ricius.
Trepu	Trebonius.
Puste	Postinius.
Pepne	Perpenna.
Marce	Martius.
Festreni	Vestricius.

These may serve as a specimen. Particular names in general belong, like the coins, to particular states, but a few are found throughout the Confederation.

There were no clan names with nomen and cognomen.

SEPULCHRAL NAMES.

Tite Feli (Titus Velius),	Perusia.
Fete,	Clusium.
Fipe (Vibius, Vibenna).	
Lautni,	Clusium.
Lecne (Licinius).	
Metele (Metellius),	Arretium.
Petru (Petronius), or Plancure,	Clusium.
Pumpu (Pomponius),	Perusia, Umbria.
Plaute (Plautius).	
Pume, or Pursne (Porsenna),	Clusium, Sutrina.
Thurmna (Thormena).	
Velimnia (Volumnus),	Perusia.
Ani (Annius),	Clusium.
Carna (Carinnius),	Clusium.
Fusine (Volsienus).	
Reicna (Ricius).	
Trepu (Trebonius),	Clusium.

Puste (Postinius), Arretium.

Pepne (Perpenna), Volsinii.

The termination *al* is feminine, and denotes the mother's family; and sometimes in a sepulchral inscription it is given alone, the father's name being supposed as possessor of the family vault.

Arnth*al*, Larth*al*, is the son of an Arnth and Larth.

Before names ending with *al* we seldom find patronymics, unless in an abbreviated form.

Ls Tetina, Ls Spurinal,

Lth Causl. Lth Fipinal: that is,

Laris Tetina, son of Laris (the father) and a Spurinna.

Larth Causlim, son of Larth (father) and a Fipi.

There are two other forms, *sa* and *ei*, which require explanation. The first four of the following inscriptions are of men, the last four of women.

Lecne is Licinius.

1. Fel Lecne Fisce Larc*nal*.
2. A. Lecne A. Alth*nia**l*.
3. A. Lecne Fuis*ina**l*.
4. A. Lecne Fus*ina**l* Arth*al*.
5. Thanchuil Scset*nei* Lecnes*a*.
6. Thanchfil Phrel*nei* Tebat*nal* Lecnes*a*.
7. Lth. Titei Lecnes*a* Cain*al*.
8. Larthia Fuis*inei* Lecnes*a*.

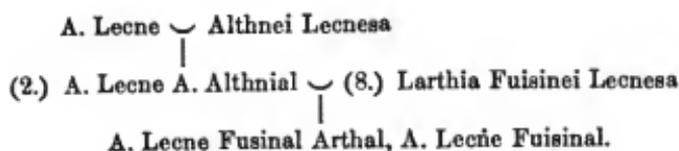
From these we learn that the male name Lecne, &c., is never put with the woman, but second with the addition of *sa*.

From these examples it appears that females of the name of Lecne were buried in this vault whether married or unmarried; only if they became Lecne by marriage, this was signified by the addition of *sa*.

Lecnesa means the wife of a Lecne; the other names *Sesctnei*, *Phrelnei*, *Titei*, *Fuisinei*, are the family names of these ladies before their marriage.

Hence, also, it appears that two brothers amongst the male names, A. Lecne *Fuisinal*, were the sons of No. 8, *Larthia Fuisinei Lecnesa*. The one designated *Arthal* was the son of No. 2, A. Lecne A. *Althnial*.

In this way we may construct a very intelligible genealogical table.



The ladies *Tebatnei* and *Cainei*, of course, added their own names.

In the vault of the *Cfelne* family we find "*Thana Methlne (nei) Cfenlesa*;" *i.e.* a *Methlne* married to a *Cilnius*, and their son *Au. Cfenle Methlnal*.

Many other examples might be given, and are to be found in Muller's German Edition, but these will probably be sufficient for an English reader.

A single *s* is often made to stand for *sa*.

In one Etruscan sepulchre of the *Fete* we find

the names "Arnt *Fete* Arnthalisa Caias," "Larth *Fete* Larthalsa Caialitha;" here *th* seems to stand for *s*, and Lartha Cai, Arntha Cai, may perhaps signify elder and younger daughter.

From these examples it seems proved that *al* is a patronymic as well as a matronymic; that *sa*, or *s*, or *th*, means taken into the family by marriage, and that

Ei, or *i*, or *eia*, or *io*, means the family in which a woman was born.

All Etruscan names are declined, and we find names in the genitive and dative as well as nominative, on the funeral urns.

Some of these families had branches in several of the states, and a great many of them are named by Latin authors, giving their names in the Latin form.

There are no clan names, only the name of the individual and his title.

Meaning of the annexed syllables, al, sa, ei.

Al is a patronymic, or matronymic, signifying "son of," &c.

Ex. "Ls Tetina, Ls Spurinal;" *i. e.*, Laris Tetina Larisal Spurinal Laris Tetina, son of the Laris and a Spurinna.

Sa, or *s*, is believed to indicate "wife of." Lechnesa, married to a Lecne.

1. A. Lecne — Althnei Lecnesa.

2. A. Lecne A. Althnial — Larthia Fuisinei Lecnesa.

3. A. Lecne Fusinal Arthal.

4. A. Lecne Fuisinal.

1. *i.e.*, a Lecne married to an Althnei.

2. A Lecne, son of Lecne, and Althnei and his wife, the Larthia Fuisinei.

3. A Lecne, son of Fuisinei, son of Arth.

4. A Lecne, son of Fuisinei.

Ei, eia, ia, appear to be feminine terminations.*Musonius.*

1. Larthi Titnei Mus usa.

2. Ath. Musu An ainal.

3. Fel Musu Titial.

This shows that Arnth Musu, whose mother was an Anaine, married a Larthia of the family of Titne, called from him *Mususa*; and their son Fel Musu was, after his mother, called *Titial* or *Titnal*.

Mi. Afles Apianus.

Mi is supposed to mean "I am."

The derivation of the family names is sometimes from the gods, as Tiris, Ancare, &c.

Many from their lands or original birthplace.

Caspere from Casperia in Sabina.

Suthrina Sutrium.

Phrentinate Ferentinum.

Sentinate Sentinum in Umbria.

Urinat Urinum.

Capenate Capena.

Sarsinas Sarsinum.

Tifernas Tifernum.

Urbinas Urbinum.

Interamnas Interamnium.

BOOK III.

ON THE RELIGION AND DIVINATION OF THE
ETRUSCANS.

CHAPTER I.ON THE PERSONS WHO PERFORMED DIVINE WORSHIP
AND EXERCISED DIVINATION.

THE Etruscans were regarded by all antiquity as a nation who peculiarly honoured the gods and who had reduced their worship to a science. In this the interpretation of the supreme will by *divination* accepted a larger part than with any other known people. They intermingled their worship with every civil and practical interest. Hence the arts of divinity was one of their strongest characteristics and a principal point in their education. For our knowledge of this we have chiefly to thank the Romans who made use of the augurs for the welfare of their own state, although they never entirely or exclusively adopted their religion, we do not find in

Rome temples to Nortia or Voltumna; and when divines were wanted we read of their being constantly sent for into Etruria and never of their being educated in the Latin schools.

This leads us to inquire what sort of persons were the early Augurs and Haruspices of Etruria, who visited the Latin States on special occasions, and then returned to their own homes. It is certain that the grandees of Etruria united to worldly pomp also priestly and prophetic dignity. When the Twelve States met for their annual festival, they chose one of their noblest princes to be high-priest for the occasion. The high-priesthood of each deity was within the Tribe hereditary, as we learn from Juno of Veii, whose image could only be touched by one priest out of one particular family.

The Lucumoes, according to Censorinus, were all taught the maxims of the demi-god Tages, and were the constituted guardians of the Etruscan discipline.

Virgil, in the 10th *Æneid*, presents us with an Etruscan chief as a seer and an interpreter between gods and men. The Lucumo's wife and daughter, Tanaquil, lives in Roman story as the interpreter of signs to Tarquin and to Servius, for the noblest women were also priestesses. The instruction of the father was taught to the children even down to Cicero's time, but after the conquest and desolation of the nation by Sulla, many of the nobles became wretchedly poor, many were exiled, much of their discipline became corrupted, and many foreign customs were introduced. Even before this, unqualified and ignorant men had

become diviners for money, for we find the Roman Senate, about the A.R. 600, decreeing that out of each of the twelve States ten sons of the nobles should be strictly educated according to the old system, that the long-venerated discipline might not be lost, nor sink into contempt by reason of the meanness of those who exercised it.

Cicero records the law that the *chiefs* of Etruria should *teach* the discipline, and that prodigies and protests should be referred to the Etruscan Haruspices.

This law shows us that though the princes were obliged to learn how to exercise and to teach the principles of their religion, other men of every grade, if marked by peculiar fitness, were not excluded from it; and there was an old saying current in Rome, that Attius Nævius was a man of low birth who showed in his childhood a talent for divination, and whom his father therefore placed for instruction in an Etruscan religious school.

The Lucumoes appear to have had seminaries something like the schools of the Druids or the Jewish prophets.

For all the ordinary purposes of civil life the Romans thought themselves sufficiently provided with the auguries of their own priests, the auspices of their own magistrates, and the Sibylline Books, but for all portents and prodigies they continued to the very last to call in Etruscan diviners. It appears that the Etruscan discipline was not taught out of their own country, though Romulus is said (Diony-

sus) to have appointed a Haruspex to each of the three Tribes; but we always find that in cases of difficulty the Romans called in aid from Etruria. A notable instance is seen at the siege of Veii. The consequence, however, of having at times to seek information from an enemy was, that the diviners occasionally gave counsel exactly the reverse of what their science taught; and when this was discovered, and they were found to have misled their inquirers, they were put to death. The Romans could scarcely see even a swarm of bees unexpectedly without sending for a Haruspex to explain the reason.

We generally find the Haruspices named in the plural, as if several usually went together, perhaps a master and his pupils from the college, or a grandee and his followers. In both cases the bond of union between the disciples and their chief was as children to a father.

Some diviners stood in higher esteem than others and enjoyed a personal reputation, such as Olenus Calenus, who was summoned to explain the prodigy of the bleeding head upon the Capitol, and such persons were always richly rewarded.

If we now inquire what was the peculiar office of the Haruspex we shall find that he was expected to explain what evils the prodigy portended, and what ceremonies or sacrifices were required, and especially what duties were to be fulfilled in order to avert its evil influence. The sacrifice itself was left to the native priest. Cicero records a very interesting example of a dreadful noise being heard, accompanied

by a gushing forth of water, which the Haruspices explained as a sign of wrath, or rather as a warning from Jupiter, Saturn, Neptune, and the Earth, that the games had not been celebrated with their appropriate ceremonies, that they had been desecrated by the murder of ambassadors contrary to the laws of gods and men, and that if sufficient propitiation were not made, there would be a strife between the fathers and the nobles, which would throw the State into danger, and perhaps lead it to destruction.

Here naturally arises the question, how rules given for Etruscan deities could be applicable to Roman ones? But it is not to be doubted that cases prescribed for Nortia, Voltumna, Ancharia, the veiled Gods, and the Genii of the Gods, were passed over to the Roman deities, Jupiter, Saturn, Neptune, and others. No Tuscan Haruspex ever prescribed a sacrifice to his own peculiar gods in a foreign territory.

Doubtless it was *Talna* of Veii which consented to become Juno of the Avertine, and we know that a State or city was never considered to be hopelessly doomed until its gods had moved away from it.

It was a maxim of the Haruspices, that the sacrifices which they prescribed should be offered in every State according to the customs of that State. This rule seems to have perplexed and fettered them as to the answers they should give.

When they reproached Tiberius Gracchus with not having conducted the choice of the new Consul according to law, he answered them that they were Tuscans and foreigners, and as such not competent

judges; but he found that they were right and that the rules for election were derived from their books of discipline.

In the story of the banishment of the Bacchanals, Livy tells us that the Consul Posthumius quoted innumerable warnings respecting them from the Pontifices, the Senators, and the Haruspices.

Vitruvius mentions that, according to the rules of the Etruscans, Haruspices, the temples of Venus, Vulcan, and Mars, must be placed outside the walls, as also that of *Ceres*, meaning thereby the Greek ideal of that goddess as *Demeter*, the spirit of fire and warfare.

It seems that in later days the Haruspices lost much of their ancient adherence to their peculiar faith, and became more and more modified by the spirit of Rome.

But besides explaining the meaning of portents, the Haruspices were the chief inspectors of the sacrifices when offered. In the second century of the Republic it was a Tuscan Haruspex, who during the Latin War proclaimed to Decius his fate in the presence of the two armies. It indeed appears that the science of interpreting the sacrifices rose in estimation in proportion as the predictions of the Augurs and the Auspices of the magistrates declined in favour. As Sulla attended to the Haruspex Postumius, and Julius Cæsar to the Haruspex Spurinna, so most of the Emperors had a Haruspex attached to them. Even private persons consulted them for their own affairs, and Tiberius passed a law forbidding

them to be employed secretly. According to Juvenal women at length would call in the seers to explain the meaning of lightning or other signs, and then consulted them about the sacrifices. Persius names Ergenna. Ennius tells us that in his time this craft was often exercised by needy people of low estate who made their calling ridiculous: but in the time of Augustus it is certain that the Etruscan Haruspices were scattered over the Roman world, and were in special request as the explainers of all portents by lightning.

The great rivals to the Haruspices were the Chaldæan astronomers, whom we find to have fascinated the later Romans, and though often banished by law, were continually returning under new names. Divination by the stars or by casting nativities seems to have been quite foreign to the Etruscan discipline.

The Emperor Claudius laid a proposition before the Senate, respecting the College of the Haruspices (*super collegio haruspicum*), that the old and venerable discipline of the State should not be overthrown by foreign superstitions. Whereupon he obtained a *Senatus Consultus* to the Pontifices to examine the doctrines of the Haruspices, and give sentence what it was of importance to retain—an evidence that much corrupt matter had been introduced. This College of Haruspices was not then first originated, but is spoken of as a settled establishment in Rome. Alexander Severus* authorized

* Lamprid. Alex. 27.

the open teaching of *genii* as theology, therefore in his day the *Haruspices* must have been publicly acknowledged officials, and indeed we find inscriptions speaking of "*Haruspices publicos*," "*Magister publicus Haruspicum*," "*Ordo LX. Haruspicum*," and a "*Haruspex primus*" of the LX.

The *Haruspices*, therefore, appear to have preserved their dignity and influence, supported by the State, until the extinction of the old religion. Under Maximinus we find the *Aquileians* following the counsels of the inspector of the sacrificers; and the people of Italy generally appear to have had full faith in his predictions. Julian consulted the *Haruspices* about a falling star, and was accompanied by these sages in his campaign. The fate of this Cæsar strengthened their authority for a brief space; but all the Christian emperors, both before and after, forbade under the severest penalties any one to consult the *Haruspices*, the *Chaldæans*, or the *Magi*.

That the *Haruspices* to the very last were *Tuscans*, though no others were absolutely excluded from their profession, is evidenced by the example, in A.D. 408, of the *Tuscan Fulgatores* in *Narnia*, who offered, by drawing lightning from heaven, to protect that city from the *Goths*, and were ready to do the same for *Rome* if the *Bp. Innocentius* would have sanctioned it.

On the birth of *Honorius*, A.D. 385, according to *Claudian*, the *Tuscan seers*, whom he calls "*Augures*," predicted the future greatness of the child, along with the oracles of *Ammon* and *Delphi*.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE WRITINGS OF ANTIQUITY CONCERNING THE
ETRUSCAN RELIGION AND DIVINATION.

THE foregoing remarks upon the persons who guarded the religious rites and the divination of the Etruscans suggest a slight criticism upon the sources whence our information is derived. No one in these days will believe in any account of the Etruscan discipline in pre-historic times, and had there at any time existed a sacred written code, the Roman Senate and the Emperor Claudius need not have feared its extinction. Indeed the innumerable incomplete inscriptions which still exist upon monuments or urns evidence that in Etruria not even writing was common.

What was at first written down was certainly not universal rules and principles—not a theory of knowledge, but rather a memory of rare things which were likely to be forgotten, such as extraordinary signs, omens, and portents, and what were their consequences. These prodigies were described in the “*Libri Fatales*,” of which Livy makes mention in the A.R. 357, B.C. 396, during the siege of Veii. Copies of them, or copious extracts from them, existed very early in Rome, and were committed to the same College of Priests who had charge of the Sibylline books. In A.R. 356 we find the Patricians

consulting them and learning from them that the gods must be propitiated to deliver them from a desolating pestilence, and subsequent to this date we find many signs procured through their instructions. That these "Libri Fatales" should, in the A.R. 524 and 536, have prescribed that a Gallic man and woman and a Greek man and woman should be buried alive in Roman soil to fulfil the prediction that they should one day inhabit the land, is always ascribed to the Etruscans, because the Gauls and Greeks were their enemies with whom they were always at war; also the furious adjuration with which the chief of the Quindecimviri commanded the sacrifice; and the strange gods whose wrath was to be turned away were Tuscan Infernals.

But so much must be conceded, that a peculiar fitness for the religious discipline in the early Lucumoes who were devoted to it seems to have inspired them to embody their feelings, their convictions, and their experiences, in lofty and noble songs and verses, which made a strong impression upon the people. But an authoritative scheme of the whole discipline in detail, and in its practical application to every-day life, is not credible before experience and necessity called it forth, that is, until family traditions became extinct, and until many pretended to the craft for the sake of gain. Then a written code would give greater confidence and importance to a verbal interpretation. In Cicero's time there were a great many books in the hands of the Tuscan Haruspices, all of which contained the same dis-

cipline. Out of these they sought counsel when prodigies occurred, and the extraordinary and peculiar precepts they sometimes enforce show us that these books were written in the Etruscan tongue, and that the Haruspices were employed to translate them, otherwise indeed they would not have been called "Libri Etrusci, Chartæ Etruscæ."

From these premises we may safely conclude that an accommodation to Roman manners would prevent the old traditions from being transmitted to foreigners quite pure and genuine, and that very soon a system of explanation and accommodation would come into play corrupting whilst it modified the old Tuscan rules. In later days still greater changes must have arisen from mixture with other superstitions.

These later corruptions I mean to treat briefly of, and from the greater number of them I hold the genuine Etruscan books down to Cicero's time, and indeed from his time to Pliny's, to have been free. They were classed under the names of "Etrusci Libri," "Etruscorum Libri," and "Etruscæ disciplinæ Libri." Very often we find quotations from the books of Tages, of which the following is the legend: "A ploughman in the fields of Tarquinia having struck his plough deeper into the earth than usual, Tages sprang forth. He was the son of a Genius, the grandson of Jupiter, a child in form, but an old man in wisdom. The ploughman shouted loud from fear, upon which the neighbours flocked to his assistance, together with the Lucumoes of the

Twelve States. Tages sang to them his precepts upon sacrifices, divination by lightning, and other sacred themes, which having finished he sank into the earth, and immediately expired."

The ploughman, whose name is never given in Etruscan annals, could be no other than Tarchon of Tarquinia, and is so called by John of Lydia, and indicated by Strabo. This chief hero of the nation is the man whom Tages instructed, and the precepts which he and the other Lucumoes wrote down formed the substance of the "Libri Tagetici," or "Disciplina Tagetis," or "Sacra Tagetica." Their contents were very comprehensive and varied. Here were rules about lightning, the foundation of cities, and even instructions, as we learn from Virgil, about many of the common events of life. These were doubtless mixed up with the original verses of Tages, and tended not only to corrupt, but sometimes to falsify them.

Added to the books of Tages were those of Acheron, in which were rules for the propitiation of the gods, the averting of fate, and the elevation or glorification of disembodied spirits. In these it was taught that even fixed destinies might be delayed for ten years by a certain course of conduct, a maxim that was inculcated in other books also. In these books we find the extraordinary assertion, that when certain animals were offered to their allotted gods the souls of the offerers became divine and exempt from the laws of mortality. These books were translated by Labeo along with those of Tages, and were

entitled by him, "De Diis quibus origo animalis est." The name of Acheron is doubtless taken from the Greek, and was transplanted by the Greeks into Bruttium and Apulia. There was also a Lake of Acheron close to Cumæ—the very ancient ally of the Etruscans and the Latins. The Etruscan synonym seems to have been Avernus, which Sophocles places in the land of the Tyrrhenians.

The Greek maxims were, very probably, mingled with the Tagetan during the existence of the twelve southern States of Etruria, when they were lords of Campania and before the foundation of Rome.

That, however, the Acherontic Discipline was not purely Greek is proved by the very un-Grecian doctrine about the "Dii Animalis."

We may believe that Tages was to the Etruscans what Vannes was to the Babylonians, Thoth to the Egyptians, and Menu to the Indians; therefore, that under the name of the Tagetan Books all the first principles of their faith were laid down.

In very early ages the word "Discipline" had a very circumscribed signification, and indicated by no means all that was to be found in the Rituals and Fulgural Books, but rather maxims and precepts of a greater sanctity and a higher antiquity than the others, transmitted also in a more poetical form.

Cicero describes what pertained to Tages as merely the groundwork upon which successive haruspices and sages built their own experiences and

deductions. The Verses of Tages, called the "Sacra Tagetica," were doubtless sung with a pompous solemnity, and were treated with a higher reverence. Hence, we must trace their origin to an earlier time than any of the written signs, and to any comprehensive or extended theories. Therefore, we must separate the Songs of Tages from the voluminous works upon Discipline which were current in Cicero's days, and known as "Etrusca Disciplina," and which, according to Pliny, were full of corruptions. To these continual additions were made down to a very late period, for amongst them was found the description of an earthquake at Mutina, A.R. 663, B.C. 90. Cicero divides these books into the Haruspicini, the Fulgurales, and the Rituales; and says of them all, that they gave distinct rules for the interpretation of omens. I have already given the substance of the Ritual books according to Festus. He says that when the Haruspices were consulted upon the religious aspect of current events or omens, they determined according to those books whether their requirements were properly fulfilled. In these also the sacred chronology of the Etruscans, *i.e.*, the doctrine of the Secula, was recorded, as also the interpretation of omens in their bearing upon public life, civil or military. There were besides rules for the occurrences of private life—births, marriages, deaths, and the attainment of maturity.

The Ritual books conducted each man as each State, through every period of his life, until the time when prodigies for him should cease, and the

will of the gods to him below be exchanged for intercourse with them above.

The Fulgural books contained instructions about the lightning-hurling gods, and about the places which were struck by the electric fluid, and about the signification of the flashes to the right or the left, from the earth or from the clouds. These were probably the books translated by Cecina.

There was also a book called "*Ars Fulguratorum*," the precepts of which were attributed to the Nymph Bygoë, and which was laid up in the Temple of "*Apollo Palitanus*," along with the Sibylline Books and the Marcian Oracles. They were much in the tone and character of the *Tagetan Verses*, and were translated along with them by Labeo, and quoted by Lucretius.

There remain to be considered the books of the *Haruspices*, distinguished by themselves by Cicero. These contained the doctrines of sacrifices, also rules for the flight of birds, distinct from the Roman rules. However, though the Romans were satisfied with their own interpretation of the birds, they yet applied to the Etruscans for guidance in these three particulars—the proper sacrifices for propitiation or expiation, the meaning of prodigies, and the doctrines of lightning; and these three were contained in the books of the *Haruspices*, the *Ritual* and the *Fulgural*.

But, besides these, explanations of particular signs are sometimes recorded as "*Ostentalia*;" such

as that of Tarquitiuſ, inſpired at the moment, and for which there was no rule.

Juvenal mentions alſo “*Tuſci libelli*,” in which monſtrous births, ſhowers of ſtone, &c., are regiſtered. From this enumeration it appears that we may claſs the religious writings of the Etruscans under the following heads:—

Libri Fatales. Ancient prodigies and oracles.

Books of Tages, of Bygoë, and of Acheron.

Songs or precepts, in verſe upon ſacred diſcipline.

A complete ſyſtem of religious inſtruction in the books of the Haruſpices—the Ritual and the Fulgural, combining altogether the “*Volamina Etruſcæ Diſciplinæ.*”

The Roman antiquarians in the days of Cicero and Auguſtus found in this primeval, comprehensive, and national literature, an ample field for learned reſearch; and their comments upon it have handed down to us all its moſt important fundamentals.

By far the moſt diligent author, and the beſt qualified by ſtudy and education to command our reſpect, is Aulus Cæcina (Aule Ceicne), the Volaterranean, to whom we have frequently referred, and out of whoſe work on Etruscan Diſcipline Seneca has preſerved to us a precious fragment upon the interpretation by lightning. Contemporary with him was Nigidius Figulus, a learned and acute man, but, in the higheſt degree, ſuperſtitious. At

once a Pythagorean, a disciple of the Chaldees and of the Tuscans, he gave himself up to those investigations which surpass human powers. Yet his earnestness of purpose and his purity of life won for him the esteem of his age. Amongst his works are several chapters upon Etruscan Discipline.

This Figulus has often been confounded with Vicellius, quoted by John of Lydia, as a translator of the verses of Tages; but that they were not the same is proved by another passage, in which Figulus and Vicellius are both cited.

Umbricius, the soothsayer of Galba, and the most learned Haruspex of his time, was an Etruscan author. Along with him Pliny mentions Julius Aquila, apparently a Tuscan, and Tarquitius of the same nation, who translated an "Ostentarium Tuscum," of which the "Ostentarium Arboreum" was a part. Even under Julian the Etruscan Haruspices were summoned to explain a meteor in the heavens by the Tarquitian books, "De rebus divinis."

When Cornelius Labeo lived is uncertain, probably not so early as the first century; but his writings upon the Roman religion were as highly esteemed amongst the priests as those of Antistius Labeo amongst the jurists.

His work would be invaluable to us if it still existed, for it was a compilation and explanation of the whole of the precepts of Tages, and the Nymph Bygoë in fifteen books.

From these authors, and from the scholiasts that have been made upon them, we may gather much

genuine and trustworthy information upon the national discipline of the people, and about the gods in whom they believed, for the Etruscans had their peculiar gods who cannot be identified with those of the Greeks and Romans. It is different with the writers of a later age with whom other superstitions were so mingled, and especially the Chaldaean, that it is almost impossible to separate them. John of Lydia, for example, cites as a commentator upon Tages, the great Appuleius, and quotes from him reflections upon some wonderful phenomena—meaning by him the Platonist of Madaura, who was initiated in all the mysteries of Greece, and who naturally saw the Discipline of Etruria in an Oriental and Platonic point of view. It was at this epoch that comets were introduced into the Discipline as having a special meaning, they not having been distinguished in earlier times from other celestial portents; and with these a certain Campester, or Campestrius, occupied himself, and is quoted by Servius and John of Lydia. In the same age I place the work of the Tuscan Claudius, which John of Lydia literally translated, and which professes to be wholly grounded upon the sacred books of the Tuscans; but it proves merely to be a calendar with the rising and setting of the stars, and similar occurrences, such as the meaning of storms and other meteorological phenomena, the interpretation of which coincided with that of the Greek astronomers. We may judge from this what interpolations had crept into the Etruscan Discipline, and need no longer wonder to read in

Suidas such monstrous statements, as that "The Demiurge has appointed to this world 12,000 years, and has placed each thousand under the rule of one sign of the zodiac: 6000 years were given to creation, 6000 more should be given to duration." He then gives almost the description of the first of Genesis, and calls it the system of the Tuscans! Of their traditions about creation and the first ages of the world we know next to nothing. If they were a tribe from Lydia, it is very possible that many of their ideas may have been Chaldæan, but after their settlement in Europe they were wholly isolated from all the nations of Asia excepting the Phœnicians, through their early and widely extended commerce.

Thus drifted away from the ancient Etruscan faith, overlaid by foreign superstitions, and dressed out in modern ideas, the primitive beliefs were dwindling away, whilst Christianity was pursuing its triumphant march, and so probably they became gradually absorbed and extinguished in a better creed as we may gather from various passages in the works of John of Lydia.

John explains that he, as a Roman, prefers the teaching of Tages, the author of Italian divination, as it is found in the writings of the old Haruspex Tarchon; and he sets this forth in dialogues between Tarchon, in the Latin of his own day, and Tages, in a language and a character perfectly unintelligible. These mystical answers, out of which it is scarcely possible to make sense, have been elucidated by Capito, Fontejus, Appuleius, Vicellius, Labeo, Ni-

gidius Figulus, and Pliny the naturalist, who have endeavoured to make their explanations agree with the signs which are described in the Discipline. But what follows in various portions of the work, and professes to be drawn from old Etruscan sources, is full of Chaldaean and Egyptian superstitions, Greek meteorologies, the teaching of the later Haruspices, and precepts and allusions to the manners and customs prevalent rather in the sixth century than at an earlier period. The daily rules for thunder, which Figulus pretends to be extracts from Tages, give the days of the month according to the moon's age, and describes the weather, or the political events likely to occur, and then record something out of the Christian Fasti, or allude to some arrangements of the empire.

A work which was literally translated by Labeo begins, "If the earth be in the 11th degree of the Crab and the moon in the Ram we shall have fog, thunder, and hail," and uses terms which would certainly not have been used in any antique document upon Tuscan discipline.

Every here and there, however, we find a trace of something drawn from genuinely ancient sources, of which I shall make use presently; but upon the whole it appears that the later writings became more and more corrupt and deformed until they were wholly untrustworthy. Happily antecedent to these accommodators of ancient usages to modern notions, we have through Pliny, Seneca, Festus, and the Scholiast upon Virgil, much true and reliable in-

formation respecting the discipline and religion of the ancient Etruscans, upon which we may confidently rely.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE GODS PECULIAR TO THE ETRUSCANS.

WE shall here give an account of those divinities who were worshipped in particular cities, as well as those which were common to the whole nation.

The Tuscan Jupiter was named Tina or Tinia (is this Odin, or is it Diances, the oldest Roman god?), he was the highest of their gods, honoured in every State, and, during the Tarquinian dominion in Rome, enshrined in the chief temple along with Juno and Minerva. The lightning was always in his hand, he spoke and he descended in the flash. He was the ruler of the gods, and on high festivals the Lucumoes bore his garland, his tunic, and his toga. He had great influence upon the destinies of men's souls, and the days of the full moon, called *Ides*, were sacred to him.

Another chief divinity was the goddess Talna, or Kupra, called by the Romans Juno. We know of her worship in Perugia, Veii, and Falerii. In Veii she was called "the Queen," and her temple was in the citadel, doubtless with attached shrines to Tina and Minerva, but she was the patron divinity, and was translated thence with great pomp to Rome. In

Falerii, where she was zealously adored, she bore the name of "Curetis," or "Quirites," that is, "of the spear," the word being Sabine, and thus showing that some Sabine rites had been accepted in the Tuscan worship. The spear is a well-known ancient Roman symbol of *imperium*, *mancipium*, and emancipation, betokening in Talna's hands that she was sovereign. But tradition also says that Juno of Falerii was introduced by a colony of Argives, and it must be confessed that there were many points in her worship coinciding with the worship of Hera at Argos.

The temple was of the Greek form, and there was a grove attached to it as in Argos. White heifers were the principal offering, after which calves, rams, and swine, but no goats, as in Argos.

With the annual sacrifices a peculiar ceremony was united; the streets were laid down with carpets, young virgins clad in white and veiled in the Greek manner carried offerings upon their heads like Canephora. The whole marshalling of the pomp was according to Ovid Argive; but as it is certain that with this exception all the other details of Juno Curetis were genuinely and from all known time Tuscan, we must remain in doubt whether these ceremonies were introduced by the Tyrrhene Pelasgi, or whether they were the result of communication and mixture with the later Greeks. Under the name of Kupra she had a sanctuary in the Tuscan colony of Picenum. She was one of the lightning-hurling gods, placed in the kalendar along with

Jupiter, and having the new moon dedicated to her.

Minerva was really an Etruscan name, "*Menerfa*, *Menrfa*." We find it so written upon many Etruscan pateræ and mirrors; and though their fabricators were doubtless well versed in Grecian myths, they never would have attached to them the name of a foreign Roman god. We have no example of such a thing. Hence it follows, that the third divinity of the Roman Capitol was originally Tuscan, and continued to retain her name and attributes without being, like Tina and Kupra, made over to any Latin deity. It is true that Varro calls the name Sabine, but it is more likely the Sabines adopted it from their neighbours.

In what was formerly Tuscan Campania, near Sorrento, a shrine of Minerva continued to be honoured. In Falerii she was also worshipped, and thence transplanted to Rome. The feast of the Faliscan goddess in March, called "*Quinquatrus*," was hence Tuscan. The later Romans understand by the foreign word "*Quinquatrus*," which indicated the fifth day after the Ides, a feast five days long, and Ovid knows no other explanation of the term. It was a high festival of the Tuscans, because, according to them, Minerva presided over spring lightning, and threw her brightest bolts at that season of the vernal equinox, which was the time of the *Quinquatrus* celebration. Immediately after the great *Quinquatrus* came in Rome the blessing of the trumpets, and in June there was a smaller

Quinquatrus, at which Minerva's flute-players were blessed. Now Rome borrowed both trumpets and flutes from the Tuscans, and it proves that Minerva presided in Etruria over music, as Athena did in Greece, and not over vocal or stringed music, but only over wind instruments. Here we must admit that there appears to be a direct connexion between the two. The fable of Athena's invention or discovery of the flute comes from Lesser Asia, and Lesser Asia is the source of wind instruments for Greece, even as Etruria is for Italy.

A Pelasgian Tyrrhener is said to have founded in Argos a sanctuary to Minerva Salpynx. We must connect all this with the tradition that the Pelasgian Tyrrheners came from the coast of Lydia and Karia to South Etruria, the sites of Cære, Tarquinia, and Faleria, and that they united themselves to the ancient Rasena. Had these Pelasgi already attributed the use of the flute and the invention of the trumpet to a peculiar goddess in Asia Minor, it was natural that they should transfer her worship and attributes to the similar native Etruscan goddess, called Menrfa, and Etruscan artists then represented their Minerva under the same forms as the Hellenic Pallas, from their intimate connexion with the Greeks.

Vertumnus was a much-venerated and important Etruscan divinity (*Deus Etrurie Princeps* according to Varro), enshrined as their chief god by the old Volsinian settlement upon the Cælian, and afterwards by the dwellers in the Tuscan Vicus.

The meaning of the word was lost by the time that Roman literature came into being, and antiquarians give different versions, all from Latin derivations, therefore probably all wrong. One explanation is *verto*, betokening either the returning of the waters into the Tiber (*verso ab amne*), or the turning of the sun in the heavens, or the exchange in merchandise (*a vertendis mercibus*), the shrine being established (though probably by chance) close to the Roman market-place—or perhaps because the god could consistently assume many characters, as he was represented as something between a girl and a young man.

We must remember that “*verto*” was itself a Tuscan word.

The many legends about the wanderings of Vertumnus were undoubtedly traditional, and the poets invariably represent this propensity as one of his characteristics. As, however, the forms which he assumed all relate to country life, and the fruits of the year, so must we suppose that the plenty and variety of nature's gifts are expressed thereby, and that Vertumnus shows forth the ever new and ever changing blessings of the spring, summer, and autumn. The summer harvest was under his protection in grass and corn; the wine and fruits of autumn were his peculiar property. The feast of Vertumnus was in October, Ceres and Pomona were united with him, and the last was considered in Rome as his wife. It is undoubted that with the Tuscans he was a mighty year-god. With the

Romans, after they fell so completely under Greek influence, he sank to be a demi-god.

In Volsinia, the home of Vertumnus, there was another divinity adored above the rest, called "Nortia." This is a genuine Etruscan name, and synonymous with the Fortuna of Antium and Præneste. Her temple was remarkable for having the nails of the Kalendar driven into it, and she seems to have been regarded as presiding over Time.

The goddess of the Municipium of Ferentinum, who by some is called Fortuna, by others Salus; also the Fortuna of the little town of Arna, near Perugia, and the Fortuna of the Tuscan Penates — all these are the same as Nortia.

Neptune appears in one of the Etruscan prophecies as the father of the kings and heroes of Veii. He also is named in the "Discipline," and in a response of the Haruspices. The name is not Tuscan; but in the mythology of this people there must always have been an analogous sea-and-water god.*

In the port of Cære, called Pyrgoi, a large and rich temple was dedicated to a goddess known to the Greeks as Leucothea. Strabo calls her "Eileithyia," and says that her temple was founded by the Pelasgi. She was, undoubtedly, the same as the Mater Matula, revered alike in Rome and Etruria, and considered by Greek and Roman antiquarians

* Neptune appears upon the Speechj, under the name of Consus.

to be the same as Leucothea: a translation which rested upon the common propensity of the heathen to find their native gods with some variation, also worshipped in the land of strangers.

In Rome Mater Matuta was considered as the goddess of the Morning, and her name implies "the Mother of Day;" so also Leucothea—"the White goddess," or the Dawn—rather than of the white foam or the sea. Strabo's name of Eileithyia has the same signification, alluding to light and day. The peculiar attributes of Leucothea are obscure; but she had an oracle in Cære, and was, perhaps, the same with the Tuscan oracle sea-goddess Tethys in the fable of Prometheus.

Vulcan was an Etruscan god honoured in Perugia; but whether under that name or not is very doubtful. He appears as "Sethlans," in an Etruscan patera, opening the head of Tina on the birth of Minrfa; and again, in another vessel, forming the horse of Troy. He was one of the lightning-hurling gods.

So also was Saturnus, an earth-god worshipped in Aurinia. This city, when colonized by Romans, was called Saturnia; and the colony established in Faleria was, from its patron divinity, called Junonia.

Mars had a month dedicated to him in Faleria, and was reckoned amongst the lightning-gods.

Janus must certainly be included in the Tuscan mythology. An image, with four faces of that god, was brought from Faleria to Rome.

The name Janus, however, in so far as it designates a God of Ways and Gates, is purely Latin, and must have been differently expressed in Etruscan, as that language has no hard or consonant J.

According to Varro and John of Lydia, the Tuscan Janus is the firmament, and overlooks all our doings. Hence, the four faces turn to the four points of the compass, and Janus is the God of the Cards and the Decumanus. In this character he may have been assimilated to the god of Gates, and have been given his name.

This explains to us how the Roman god is so often invested with a double character. It also throws light upon the four-headed Tuscan Janus, being represented with only a double head upon the coins of Volaterra and some other cities.

Vigovis or Vedius, a Latin name, is applied to a Tuscan god of very evil omen. His lightnings affect those towards whom they are directed, with deafness. He is an evil Jupiter, and had a temple in Rome, between the Tarpeian rock and the Capitol. He was represented as a young man armed with arrows, a sort of avenging Apollo. His festival was held in March, when a goat was sacrificed to him instead of a man. He was reckoned amongst the infernal deities.

Summanus was one of the mightiest gods in the early doctrine of lightning-hurlers, and was received in the Primitive Roman Pantheon as almost equal to Jupiter.

In later times he was completely ignored. His

ancient shrine in the Circus Maximus was restored to him to propitiate him against Pyrrhus, and a clay image of him stood near the temple on the Capitol.

The Romans preserved no genuine tradition as to his power and attributes; but the Arvales used to offer him black sheep, as an atonement for trees struck by his thunder-bolts. He seems to have been supreme by night, as Jupiter was by day, and as Janus was by both.

The God of the Shades, peculiar to the Tuscans, was Mantus, the same as the Latin Dispater. Mantua was named from him, and a goddess called Mania was usually united with him.

Ceres finds place amongst the Tuscan Penates, and with her is joined the demigod Pales. The worship of Ancharia flourished in Fiesole. Both her name and that of Voltumna, the divinity who was honoured in the temple common to the Twelve States, had nearly passed into oblivion, not being Latin; and we may say the same of several others, but for the funeral inscriptions. The goddess *Horta* had a temple in Rome, apparently also in Sutrium, and gave her name to the town Hortanum at the conflux of the Tiber and Nar.

On the coast of South Etruria, not far from Cære, there was a place called "Castrum Inui," a Latin cattle-god, who is identified with Pan of the Arcadians.

The shrine was probably founded by the abori-

ginal Siculi or Pelasgi before the Tuscans, and was united by them to their god Sylvanus, who had a grove consecrated to him in a dark valley percolated by the water of Cære, and mentioned as a sacred spot by Virgil. Also, in the wood of Arsia, near the Janiculum, dedicated to Sylvanus, his voice was supposed to be heard during the old battle between the Romans and the Etruscans. The obscure rule of the Agrimensores, that every estate should contain at least three Sylvani, appears to be derived from the Etruscan religion.

I shall now mention some gods who, though worshipped in Etruria, were beyond all doubt of Sabine origin; and I would observe that both these nations were renowned for their piety, and that there is no marked distinction between them.

In very early times the Tuscans and the Sabines must have worshipped each other's gods, and they possibly derived them from a common source. Varro tells us that the Romans adopted Feronia, Minerva, and the Novensiles, from the Sabines; and with a slight modification they also took from them the names of Hercules, Vesta, Salus, Fortuna, Fors, and Fides. Even the names of their altars bore a Sabine stamp, which were consecrated in Rome after the oaths of King Tatius. According to Roman annals he built altars to Ops, Flora, Vedius, Jupiter and Saturn, Sol and Luna, Vulcan and Summanus, Larunda and Terminus, Quirinus and Vortumnus, the Lares, Diana, and Lucina. It appears that there were twelve altars, of which some were sacred

to one god, some to two, and one to three separate divinities.

Amongst them were some peculiarly Tuscan, as Vortumnus, and to these we must add the gods of the Capitol, which were all Tuscan, though it was originally a Sabine fortress. On the other hand, some cities of Etruria had adopted gods originally Sabine, especially the Faliscans, amongst whom we find Feronia and Soranus.

Feronia is best known by her annual fair; but we cannot be sure that her sanctuary at it was really and originally Etruscan. It is, however, beyond dispute that she had a considerable temple in the district of Capena, on Mount Soracte, by the brook Capena, and near the confines of Sabina and Latium. This place increased in size and grew to some importance, owing to the renown of the temple.

There was also a grove of Feronia at the other extremity of Etruria, near Luna. She was an earth-goddess, akin to Tellus and Mania, to whom the worshippers brought flowers and fruits; but besides these the temple at Capena was in Hannibal's time rich in offerings of gold and silver.

On the top of the hill on which this sanctuary was situated, and within the territory of the Falisci, there stood another shrine of no mean reputation. Servius relates that the mountain was sacred to the infernal gods, especially to Dispater and the "Diis Manibus." Whilst a sacrifice was making, the altar was attacked by wolves, which carried off the entrails out of the fire. The offering shepherds

being persecuted by these wolves were driven for shelter into caves, and there were stifled by the bad air, which brought on a plague. Upon the Oracle being consulted, it replied that the people, like the wolves, should live on plunder, and therefore they were named by their neighbours "Hirpini," from the Sabine "Irpus," a wolf, and their god took his name from the Sabine god of the shades *Soranus*. It was these "Hirpini" or "Hirpi," a few families only, and probably of Sabine origin, who twice at the festivals on Mount Soracte (which takes its name from Soranus), snatched the entrails off the altar, to which they walked barefooted over the glowing embers of the fig-tree. Strabo reckons this custom as belonging to the feasts of Feronia; and this tradition, as well as the proximity of the shrines, induces us to believe that the worship of Soranus and Feronia was originally one, and that it coincided with the purely Etruscan worship of Mantus and Mania.

The story of the wolves is possibly a confusion with the Samnite tribe of the "Hirpiner," who deduced their name and settlement from the guidance of a wolf to the mephitic lake of Ampsanctus.

We have already seen how much the Faliscans were influenced by the Sabines in their ready acceptance of Juno Quiritis in the place of or as identical with their own Kupra.

It is very remarkable that the god of Soracte, whom we call Dispater, was generally known to the

Romans as Apollo, and that the fire-walking of the Hirpiner was also regarded as belonging to his rites.

Now Apollo is a purely Greek god, whose very name was unknown to the early Romans, and whom we find inscribed upon Etruscan pateræ as "Aplu" and "Apulu," and upon bronzes as "Epul" or "Epure." Hence we infer that partly the influence of the renowned sanctuary of that god at Cumæ, and partly their intercourse with the Oracle of Delphi, had introduced his worship into Etruria. Thus we see how national gods were interchanged. Roman philosophers reckoned the avenging Apollo as a sort of Vejovis, and Vejovis was a form of Soranus. The wolf was specially sacred to Apollo, and it was from the wolf that the priests of Soranus derived their name, and this casual coincidence was sufficient in the minds of the multitude to identify the two gods. The fusion of Greek divinities with the Italian increased more and more as the people became acquainted with Grecian legends and poetry.

It has been disputed whether the Cabiri of Samothrace, and of the Pelasgians and Tyrrhenians, were not worshipped in Etruria with their secret mysteries. Nothing is more common amongst the bronzes than small highly ornamented caskets called "*Cista Mistica*;" but we cannot find a single instance in any State of the Confederation, of a single temple, shrine, fane, priest, or even grove, dedicated to these demi-gods.

Mercury and Venus were scarcely natural divi-

nities, and indeed bear unmistakable marks of being Greek transmutations in very early times, perhaps coeval with Juno Quiritis in Faleria. We find Mercury upon the patera called Turms (Hermes), and Venus "Phrut" (Aphrodite); and where the name "Mercury" is found and spelt "Merkur," it is written in old Latin, and not in Etruscan characters. A bronze statue of this "Merkur," an adopted Roman god, was found in Arretium in the A.R. 659. Venus, as "Phrut," was probably the original of the Roman goddess "Frutis." "Hercules" had a holy well in Cære and a statue named after him near the Portus Labronis, which is mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

There can be no doubt that Etruria adopted Greek gods long before Rome, and that their transmutations and adaptations caused in time the whole of the earliest Italian worship to pass into oblivion. Tina became Zeus, and Zeus Jupiter; Hera became Kupra, and Kupra Juno; Athena was fused into Minerva, and Soranus into Apollo, and this probably before the days of Tarquin.

Unmixed with their own Pantheon, and as a completely foreign faith, stands the worship of Bacchus. The native festal meetings of Etruria contain not a trace of orgies or rioting; but that such a worship should be eagerly adopted and zealously cultivated when once introduced amongst a people of the passionate and excitable nature of the Etruscans we can well understand, and it is evidenced in many of their works of art. It assumed with them

the form of night meetings, confined at first to women only, but gradually admitting men also (in Rome about B.C. 200); and feasts and couches in the Etruscan manner were added to them, until presided over by Campanian and Etruscan priests those dreadful scenes of lust and avarice, drunkenness and gluttony, were enacted, which threatened to dissolve society, and which were forbidden by the Roman Senate in A.R. 566, together with the decree that all Bacchanalian mysteries should be banished from Italy, with the exception of a very few, which were of long standing, hereditary, and innocent. It was at this time that a grove was consecrated to "Stimula," at the mouth of the Tiber, meaning by "Stimula" Semele, the mother of Bacchus, and to her those shameless rites were continued which had been forbidden to her son. The strict and severe ordinances of the Senate were thus evaded, and the worship of Bacchus continued to exist until much later in Etruria, and in many other parts of Italy, where it had certainly never been hereditary, but the Bacchanalian societies for the celebration of the offensive orgies were annihilated. The Tuscans from the first adopted the worship superficially, and never received it in its deeper meanings. To them Bacchus was a god of mere pleasure and sinful indulgence. He was never the conductor of the soul through the Shades, the Dionysos of Hades, the intellectual Orpheus of the spirit-world, otherwise we should have found his emblems upon the funeral urns, which is never the case. They appear only

upon the *Cista Mistica*, the bronze mirrors, and other works of luxury and fashion.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE DIFFERENT ORDERS OF GODS, AND OF THE ETRUSCAN DOCTRINE OF THE GENII AND MANES.

THE foregoing appears to be all that we can ascertain of the individual gods of the Etruscans, and little and unsatisfactory as it is, we know still less of the purely national worship of the great inland cities, such as Volaterra, Arretium, and Clusium, than we do of those nearer the borders who were so powerfully influenced by the Sabines, the Latins, and the Greeks. These were, indeed, some gods common to all the four nations and sacrificed to by all four at the great annual fairs. Falcrii and Capena took from the Sabines Juno Quiritis, Feronia and Soranus, from the Greeks many rites both from Juno and Apollo. In the interior of the country, however, the purely Tuscan faith must have been dominant and deeply seated, or it could not have continued to maintain itself for ages. Thus we find that through centuries they adhered to their doctrine of the *Templum* and other written points of discipline.

The doctrine of the Tuscan *Fulgatores* teaches us that there are two orders of gods who are included in the term "*Æsur*," viz. the upper superior, or veiled divinities, whom Jupiter consults when he

wishes to cause devastation or change by lightning, working by secret power; and secondly, the twelve gods who are his standing counsellors, and who in Latin are called "Consentes," or "Complices," so named, according to Arnobius, because they rise and fall together. To these also is attached an inferior order nearer to nature and to human kind, with a limited, although very extended existence; whilst the others, as the remote source of being, come less into prominence and are only supposed to exert themselves on very important occasions. These were believed to dwell in the inner sanctuary of heaven, their number and their names were unknown, and they were seldom addressed in worship. Of the Consentes it was known that they were twelve, six male and six female, and their gilded statues were shown in the Roman Forum.

From their number and a fancied similarity of attributes, they gradually came to be confounded with the Greek twelve gods, as we find in the verses of Ennius. Whether Jupiter himself is reckoned as one of the twelve gods is hard to determine; but it seems more likely that he belongs to both orders of the gods standing between them as a connecting link, shadowed forth in Seneca as the all-present spirit of the world; but again we know not whether this idea is drawn from the Tuscan writings or is simply a doctrine from the Discipline of Lightning. Perhaps the Tuscan proverb, that a nymph (probably Bygöë) slew an ox by simply whispering into its ear the fearful name of the Highest, may imply that

amongst the veiled ones there sat a supreme Jupiter. If, however, we strive to decipher the names of the *Consentes* we must turn to the lightning lore, where we find not only those whom Jupiter consults when he designs to hurl the thunderbolt, but also those who hurl the bolts themselves, and of these the Tuscan acknowledge nine, of whom we know the names of eight, Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Vejovis, Summanus, Vulcan, Saturn, and Mars. Six names are wanting in the number of the *Consentes* if we exclude Jupiter, and his full reverse Vejovis, whom no one could reckon as one of his counsellors, and these we may perhaps fill with Vertumnus and Janus, or with Neptune (*Consus*), but we cannot attain to certainty. It is also doubtful in what rank the Etruscans placed their Goddess of Destiny, such as Nortia; we should imagine amongst the veiled divinities, did not our knowledge of the name imply the contrary.

The idea of the *Consentes* appears to arise from their intimate connexion with the present order of nature which they dominate, and therefore the year was divided amongst them. We know that Minerva threw the lightning in March, and Saturn in December, Vertumnus guided it in Autumn, and each god had his appointed time.

What Pliny writes about these deities being connected with the planets I do not believe to be old Etruscan lore, but rather a mixture of Chaldean and Tuscan of later date.

The Orient was acquainted with the movement of

the planets in very remote times, and placed them amongst the gods as *El* (Kronos, Saturnus), *Baal* (Zeus, Jupiter), *Astarte* (Aphrodite, Venus), &c.; but it was long before such knowledge penetrated into Greece, where Parmenides, or some Pythagorean, first discovered the identity of the morning and evening stars, and consequently it was long before these names were translated into Greek, and later still into Latin. In fact, the very translation was variable, as we see in *Astarte*, the chief goddess of the Aramæans and the Phœnicians, who was sometimes called *Juno*, and sometimes *Venus Celestis*; so was it also with the names of the planets. *Epigines*, a disciple of the Chaldæans, taught that the lightning governed by the planets chiefly came from Saturn. He was followed by others who combined his doctrine with the discipline of the Tuscans; and whereas in their system Jupiter alone held three thunderbolts they explained this to show that he was placed in the midst of the planets, and combined the powers of the three beside him.

The division into veiled gods and *Consentes* referred to the nature and existence of the gods themselves as two different classes. The gods, "*Penates*," were not so divided.

Penas is a Latin adjective like *cujas* and *nostras*. "*Dii Penates*" are gods in *penus*, that is, gods honoured in the store-chamber of the house in the innermost part (*vorraths*). Hence it follows that they were the peculiar gods from whom the family expected blessing, nourishment, and protection, and

they may have been of many classes and orders, and even have had demi-gods and slaves associated with them. Hence arises our uncertainty in many cases of who they were, and the uselessness of searching out any, excepting perhaps those of great cities such as Rome, and the several Etruscan capitals. Nigidius teaches us from the Etruscan discipline that there were four classes of Penates ; those of Jupiter, those of Neptune, those of the infernal deities, and those of deceased men. From this I infer that the Genii, who were believed to increase the substance of the house, were partly the spirits of ancestors, partly sprites of the earth or the shades, the water or the skies. Cassius and Servius give us the names of Fortuna, Ceres, Capella, Genius, Palcs, and Jovialis, by which last we are to reckon some of the household of Jupiter. Palcs is a hermaphrodite, both male and female.

The ancient Roman feasts of the Palilia were doubtless in honour of this deity as one of the female patrons of the State ; like many other portions of Roman worship they had become obsolete before the history of Rome was written.

The worship of the Genius Jovialis gives us another light upon the old Etruscan faith. We do not know the native word which the Latins have translated by "genius." The word "genius" means a generator, "Lutus Genialis." Varro explains it as a god, who has the power of bringing forth. "An-fustus," according to Festus, teaches that the Genii are the sons of the gods and the parents of men

("Deorum filius et parens hominum.") This seems to be genuine Etruscan doctrine; for Tages, the son of a Genius, the grandson of Jupiter, is also called the son of a Genius Jovialis; and what he was pre-eminently, the whole nation also assumed itself to be, *i.e.*, the sons of the Genii. Their teaching apparently inculcated that Jupiter, the father of souls, wrought, through his Genii, to introduce a soul into a human body; therefore, whilst Ceres and Pales presided over the increase of corn and cattle, the Genius Jovialis undertook, for the continuance and prosperity of the family itself. Through him Jupiter remains the everlasting, inexhaustible giver of life to all the successive generations of men. There were, however, other Genii besides the Jovialis — the inscriptions mention Genii of the Shades (Manto, Typhon, &c.); and a passage upon the Genii of Neptune, names also those of Hades and of mortal men. A *Genia* is not pure Etruscan doctrine, though mentioned by late writers. Women seem to have been presided over by Juno. At least she can be traced as their patroness to very remote times.

The word *Lar* (*Lares*) is Etruscan, and seems to have denoted a title of honour rather than a class of persons, and to intimate the protector and president over a certain district. Hence, there were Lares of the skies (*cælopotentes*), of the sea, of the roads, of villages, of cities, of the country, and of the ground on which the houses stood. There were Lares domestic and familiar. The Lares of the land are those who were sung by the *Frati Arvales*, "Enos Lases

juvate." Mars appears to belong to them, whilst Neptune and his Genii to be reckoned amongst the Lares of the sea.

At first sight it is very startling that, amongst those divinities who are called "Lares and Penates," we should find the souls of men. In the Acherontischen Books of Tages, translated by Labeo, there were certain rites, through which the souls of men could become gods, entitled "Dii Animales," because they had been human souls, and these were the Penates and the gods of the highways. These rites were the "Acherontische," consecrated to the gods of the lower world; and, in their origin, they were Tuscan, although, in the course of time, they borrowed from the Greeks both their name and many modifications of their rites. Through these, other souls were believed to be ransomed and exorcised out of the Shades, and elevated into demigods. This is a natural consequence from the doctrine of the Genii. A genius is sent into the body of some mortal favoured by the gods; he works there with power, and, on the death of the body, becomes a genius again.

But these elevated and deified souls could not become superior divinities; they were first, as Labeo and Nigidius tells us, "Penates and Lares," especially *Lares familiares*, who, as a rule, may be regarded as the spirits of ancestors; and hence, many of the ancients hold Genius and Lar to express precisely the same thing. According to Appulejus, who in this appears to follow good authorities, the ancient

Latins called the spirit of man so soon as it had left the body "Lemur." A friendly Lemur, which watched over the posterity and prosperity of a house, was called "Lar familiaris." A Lemur, which haunted it only to judge, and punish, and terrify, was called "Larva."

When the fate of the departed was uncertain they used the term "Manes Dii."

The Lar was believed to possess the same generative power as the Genius. We read that, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, a spirit in the palace raised itself from the ashes of the hearth to a maid of Queen Tanaquil, who was sitting there, and that in consequence she produced a son. This child was named Servius, and was called the son of the Lar familiaris; and to the Lares he dedicated Games and the Compitalia. This is apparently a legend about some old Etruscan hero, whom the Romans have confounded with their Servius and Mastarna. Pro-mathion locates a similar fable in Alba, where he ascribes the birth of Romulus to a Lar, and brings in for confirmation an Etruscan oracle.

Whether Manes, the universal epithet for departed souls, is an Etruscan word or not is not easy to determine.

In old Latin *manus*, *manuus*, *manis*, means good. The Dii Manes are the good gods—the celestial, who are to be venerated, and the infernal, who are to be propitiated; but its chief meaning was the souls of the departed, "the blessed ones." The Tuscan word Mantus, for the god of the Shades;

appears to stand in direct relation to it, and the form of the word seems to be Tuscan.

These Manes had a particular locality for their residence, symbolized by the *Mundus*, which was strictly enforced by the ritual for the founding of cities, and was certainly Etruscan. Cato tells us that the "*Mundus*" took its name from its form, which was that of an inverted cone, closed at the top by the *Lapis Manalis*, and only uncovered three days in the year, once in September, one in October, and once in November,—days consecrated to Pluto and Proserpine, on which departed souls were believed to come into the world again, through the *Mundus*. Varro says, that whilst the *Mundus* is open, no bargains should be made, no troops should be drawn out, no anchor should be lifted. They are unlucky, and days of mourning.

In connexion with this belief we may observe the care with which all the first-fruits of the earth were thrown into the *Mundus*, and the wide-spread custom in the ancient world of keeping corn in vaults of a similar form. It would seem as if the Tuscans united the ideas of corn-preservers and the blessing of the earth with the gods of the lower world, and so inclined towards the Greek mythology in the Eleusinian mysteries. This also throws a light upon the *Penates* from the lower world. On the other hand, this extreme anxiety to close the *Mundus* and other circumstances leaves no doubt that the lower world of the Tuscans was one of terror, and that the infernal gods were regarded as inimical and

gloomy. Hostile divinities play a principal part in Etruscan mythology, as we may see from their numerous piacular rites and their fear of fascination, against which the *bullā* was provided. The Etruscan books treated of infernal and averting gods (*Dii inferi et avertentes*), and placed certain trees under their influence, which were therefore considered unlucky, such as the black fig and the thorn. Doubtless the angry demons, to whom the "Libri Fatales" decreed human sacrifices, were of the same class. Thus Lucan makes Aruns cry out when he is terrified by evil omens that "the infernal gods have come into the entrails of the slaughtered bullock."

To this class belong *Mantus* and *Mania*. *Mantus* is often represented on the Tuscan funeral urns in the act of leading away the deceased, who is generally on horseback and veiled. He has the appearance of a four-hoofed man, with wild features and satyr's ears, often winged, and in a high and tight tunic, sometimes armed with a sword, and very often with a hammer. In the same way in Rome, Dispatēr was represented when carrying off the corpses of those slain in the gladiators' games, namely, armed with a hammer; and though this idea was comparatively modern, in the games they borrowed for it the old Etruscan costume.

On a funeral urn of Volaterra, the subject of which represents the murder of Clytemnestra, there is a crouching figure by the altar exactly like *Mantus*, and over it is written the name "Charon;" and we must hence infer that the same divinity whom the

Etruscans regarded as ruler of the shades and conductor of the souls of the dead, was identical with the Dispatier of Hades and the Charon of the Greeks; should it, however, be thought that Charon, as leader of the dead, was too subordinate a character to be identified with Mantus, we must at least accept him as a minister and servant of that god, and derive light from him as to the fearful nature of the gods of the lower world. It appears to me most probable that the god Manducus, with his vengeful mien and grinding teeth, who was always represented in the ceremonies of the circus with the exaggerated features of a god, was in the original not a devourer of mankind, but simply a "Mani-ducus," a leader of the dead, the same as Charon.

Mania was a most fearful spirit to the old Italians, and the name was often joined with Mantus and with the Manes, and is inseparable from the Tuscan doctrine about departed souls. Mania was held to be an awful goddess, to whom children were sacrificed even so late as the Etruscan king Tarquinius Superbus. Her frightful image used to be hung over the doors, like a scarecrow to frighten away evil. She was called the mother or the grandmother of the Manes, and in older times the mother of the Lares, and she shared with them the grand atoning festival of the Compitalia. They assigned one mother as one fate to all departed souls, either to remain closed down by the Mundus, or to wander aloft as beneficent Lares, bringing blessings to the sons of men.

The Greeks held similar ideas about Orpheus, according to Pindar. For his sake Persephone permitted those horses, kings, warriors, and philosophers, for whom he had made atonement, to return to earth after eight years' penitence.

From Mania, as mother of the Lares, it is hard to distinguish the Acca Larentia of the Romans, who is probably the same person divested of the attributes of divinity.

Larentia is commonly described as a courtesan who lived in the time of Ancus or Romulus. She is called the nurse of Romulus, and the mother of twelve sons, on the death of one of whom she took Romulus in his place, and formed out of them the college of the twelve Arval brothers. Hercules married Larentia to a rich Tuscan, named Tarrutius, and she inherited all his wealth upon his death. This wealth she left to Romulus or to his people, and by her bequest they held the Ager Turax, Semurium, Lutirus, and Solinius. In gratitude she was assigned a grave in the Velabrum, near the old Porta Romanula, and *parentalia* were offered to her by the Flamen Quirinalis. The story seems to have arisen from Acca Larentia being also called "Lupa," a word which has ambiguous meanings, and which has been confused with the Lupa (she-wolf) of Dis-pater, and the Lupa equally sacred to Mars.

The Tuscan Ager Turax was on the opposite side of the Tiber, and contained a shrine to Acca. Her twelve sons are the Arvalian brothers, sacred to Mamere. That Acca Larentia belongs to the

Tuscan mythology is proved from this, that the Roman feast of the Lares was held on the 11th day before the kalends of January, and on the 10th the Larentinalia were celebrated, in which sacrifices were offered to Jupiter as the father of souls, and to Acca Larentia as their mother.

Finally, we must add a third name of the same divinity—Lara, or Larunda. Ovid, who describes her superstitious rites, calls her the mother of the Lares Compitales, and says that she dwells with the Manes. Her symbolical name was the "Mute Goddess."

This aspect of religious belief seems to have been worked into a perfect system by the Etruscans, and we miss exceedingly any historical account of it, which we could supplement by the sculptures and paintings remaining in the sepulchres. These latter are fast perishing from the walls, but at Tarquinia there were representations of men hung up by their arms and burnt with torches, or otherwise tormented. These represented Purgatory to the later Italians. It is certain that Furies and vengeful Demons held a prominent place in Etruscan mythology; and it is highly probable that the human sacrifices amongst the Romans were derived from them. It is true that the Greeks admitted such even in their days of highest culture; but substitutes were usually found for them, and the men or women were withdrawn. But with the Etruscans (reminding us of the Phœnicians or Assyrians) we find, in A.R. 399, their priests rushing into battle

armed with torches and snakes, as Furies, and advancing like madmen to the fray ; and another time we find the Tarquinians sacrificing three hundred captive Romans to their angry gods.

The Etruscan belief seems to have been this :— They regarded the gods as the great living forces and principles of the universe. A certain number of them, amongst whom were the Fates, dwelt in mystery and darkness, and only came forward upon great occasions. Jupiter and his *consentes* were the rulers, protectors, and benefactors of mankind ; who, indeed, were connected with him as the father of their spirits. But there was an under-world opposed to him, hostile to man, and always working against him and them. It was the policy of man, therefore, as much to guard against the vengeance of these lower beings, who showed themselves in signs and portents, as to serve and honour those who dwelt in heaven. The mediators, through whom life and strength were communicated, were the *Genii*. Through these men were purified and united to the gods after their appointed course was run ; but if they failed of procuring such protection through their impiety, then they remained without ransom under the powers of darkness for ever.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE RELATION BETWEEN THE ETRUSCAN DISCIPLINE
AND THE AUGURAL DOCTRINES OF THE ROMANS.

WE must exceedingly regret that our information upon these points is so limited, for we have no special work upon the subject extant, and we must ground our knowledge upon isolated historical facts, or upon hints, and perhaps deductions in the Latin narratives.

In Cicero's time augury had fallen into such disrepute, that one augur laughed at the science in the face of another, and it was not professed by any educated men.

Yet there was a time when it was regarded with the utmost respect, and when every young patrician was carefully instructed in the meaning of the flight of birds, the course of lightning, and the interpretation of prodigies and portents.

The magistrates were all obliged to know the signs of the heavens, for they and the patricians alone were permitted to take auspices and to consult the will of the gods, which they did even in their private concerns, such as marriages, and other ceremonies.

Between the auspices of the magistrates and the auguries for the public there appears to have been this difference, that the magistrate inquired of the

gods for the purposes of his magistracy, whilst the augur consulted for the common weal. The augur usually stood by the magistrate to enforce silence, point out to him the signs, and in very early times he conducted him or accompanied him to the field, that is, if he was Consul, Proctor, or Censor.

Cicero's description of the augur is as follows:—
“He must see into the future through signs and auspices as the interpreter of the supreme Jupiter, and he must preserve the ancient discipline. He shall take auguries for the priests and for the welfare of the people; he shall instruct the captains and leaders of the host, and they shall obey him; he shall foresee the anger of the gods and turn it away; he shall carefully observe the signs by lightning, and in the consecrated *Templum* he shall make an atonement for the land. What an augur pronounces to be unjust or unlawful, faulty or cursed, must be renounced, and whoever rebels against him is guilty of death.”

Still there comes the question how far the Roman *auspicium* and *augurium* was the same as, or was derived from the Tuscan, for in Roman history they often seem to separate carefully between them, and to speak of the Tuscan as a foreign thing. It is a certain fact that the Lucumoes were carefully educated in religious discipline, of which they were the hereditary guardians, rulers of the state, and leaders of the army. I doubt not that the host was called out with the same ceremonies as the Roman, and that they never went to war without invoking for

themselves divine protection. The Romans, however, deduced their augural science, not from Etruria, but from the mythical Romulus, their first and greatest augur, and they intimate that in some points it differed from the Tuscan. Doubtless they used terms which were not Tuscan. Their "Sangualis Avis," one of the most important birds for augury, the *Ossifraga* (or Osprey), derived its name from the Sabine god Sancus, to whom it was sacred. There were also birds of the *Titias* (*Titiae aves*), appertaining to the *Sodales* of the tribe *Titias*, who were Sabines; but this notwithstanding, there can be no doubt that the original groundwork of augury, the *Templum* for instance, was purely Tuscan, and that the Sabines, the Latins, and other Italian people had adopted and nationalized, with slight variations, many of the Tuscan rites. The purely Tuscan ideas of the seat of the upper gods and the kingdom of the infernals is closely bound up with it. The *Discipline of Tages* indeed teaches many theories, and gives a cosmography of spiritual existences foreign to the Roman mind. But the Roman system must have been familiarly known to the Tuscans, and in the lapse of ages there would be many accommodations from the one people to the other, which, through gradual changes, would approach them to a union. According to Roman legend, their augury was not derived from *Cære* only, but also from *Gabii*, in which city Romulus was brought up. Tradition further said that by augury the whole land was divided into five classes, Roman, Gabinian, foreign,

hostile, and undetermined ; and with the two first the auspices were taken in the same manner. The Romans also derive their toga from Gabii, but this is no proof that the Gabinians did not derive it themselves from the Tuscans, and so transmit it to the younger people.

Doubtless there would be slight changes in the transmission of customs, and far more of ideas from one people to another. Hence many originally Tuscan forms may have established themselves amongst the Romans with a Sabine, or even a Marsian tint upon them. The Marsii also were famous for their augurs.

The source of knowledge about augury in Cicero's time was tradition, communicated from one to another in the colleges which had been used to assemble every nones for that purpose. In the days of the Gracchi there were augural books, or commentaries upon augury, which apparently were composed of ancient rules and formulæ, with explanations by the most learned of the college members.

The Augur, Appius Claudius Pulcher, the colleague of Cicero, compiled from them an excellent augural book ; and the Augur Messala drew from them an explanation of signs in which he declined to give the original import of " Marspedis," and in the same manner we find citations from other augural books.

The " Libri Reconditi " were distinct from these augural books, and were probably translations from the Tuscan, which were only consulted upon critical

occasions. One of their doctrines was that every bird which appeared unexpectedly could be used for an auspicious, whilst in common augury only particular birds were effective, and by them alone would the gods be consulted.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE LOCAL DIVISIONS AND FIXED PRINCIPLES OF THE ETRUSCAN DISCIPLINE.

THE foundation of all divinations and of the whole Etruscan system was *Templum*, that sacred division of the heavens, of the earth, and of all that was under the earth, into separate parts by the Lituus of the Augur. The *Templum* signified every circle in which auspices might be taken. The Romans divided these spheres of augury into four regions, *Cardo*, *Decumanus*, *Antica*, and *Postica*; *Antica* fronted the south, *Postica* the north; the west was on the right hand, and the east upon the left. The north was the most sacred, being regarded as the seat of the gods. The Etruscans divided their spheres into sixteen, therefore their auguries were more detailed and minute in their meanings. The holiest portion was the north-east; and that of most unfriendly import was close to it on the other side, the north-west. The Etruscans, like the Greek, regarded that quarter of the heavens as the most blessed, in which the sun, moon, and

stars rose, and attributed evil or failure to the quarter in which they set. By this means the flash which passed through the luckiest portion would by a little management be seen to pass also through the worst, and *vice versâ*. As east or west denoted good or evil, so north and south varied the intensity of the signs; that which was nearest to the dwelling of the gods being of course the strongest. There was a difference in the augury whether the seer simply looked for signs in the heavens or whether he looked for some particular sign for a particular object; and this latter constituted the augurium, which we have already described by an extract from Livy.*

Varro's assertion that the seat of the gods was in the north we learn yet more distinctly, from a very remarkable passage in Martianus Capella. He says that the whole heaven was divided into sixteen regions, amongst which the gods were distributed. In the first was Jupiter, whose house extended through them all, with the Consentes and Penates, Salus, the Lares, Janus, the Favores, Opertanei, and Nocturnus; in the second dwelt *Prædiatus* (perhaps a god of health from *præbia*, a charm), Quirinus, Mars, the Lares of War, Juno, Fons, the Lymphæ, and the Novensiles; in the third, Jupiter Secundanus, Jupiter Opulentia, Minerva, Discordia, Seditio, and Pluto; in the fourth, Lympha Sylvestris, Mulciber, Lar Celestis and Familiaris, Favor, Ceres, Tellurus, Vulcan, the father of the Earth, and Genius.

* See "Hist. of Etruria," vol. i.

Further, Jupiter's sons, Pales (who here appears as a male) and Favor, also Celeritas, the daughter of Sol, Mars, Quirinus, and Genius, have also here their dwelling. In the seventh region dwell Liber, Secundanus, and Pales, with their wives. In the eighth we have only the name of Veris Fructus. In the ninth dwells the Genius of Juno Sospita. In the tenth, Neptune, the *Lar omnium cunctalis*, Neverita, and Consus. In the eleventh, Fortuna, Valitudo, Pavor, Pallor, and the Manes. In the twelfth Sancus. In the thirteenth the Fates and the Gods of the Manes. In the fourteenth Saturn and his Celestial Juno. In the fifteenth Vejovis and the Dii Publici. In the sixteenth, finally, Nocturnus and the Janitors of the Earth.

This appears to be a fragment out of an Etruscan fulgural book, and is full of genuine Etruscan doctrine, though mixed up with a good deal of foreign matter.

The first region is beyond doubt the north-east, and this is further proved by Nocturnus, the god of Darkness, being placed in the adjoining and adverse sixteenth region. The first region is the chief dwelling of the gods, for here dwells Jupiter with the veiled deities, the Opertanei with the Consentes, the Penates, the Lares, and the Favores. Juno and Minerva are placed in the second and third regions as the equals and co-partners of Jupiter, seated by him in heaven as in the Capitol. These three divinities occupy the most favoured places, and they are "left-hand gods," rulers of the left. On the

other side, the Manes and the gods of the Manes occupy the eleventh and thirteenth regions, showing that their seat was to the west, along with the Fates. The region of Vejovis was about the west. In the sixteenth, or last, we find the doorkeepers of the Earth, by which I presume is meant, that they guarded the portals between earth and heaven, through which celestial beings descended to this lower world, and then again ascended.

But if the whole visible heaven was a *Templum* for auspices above, a very narrow circle was all that was conceded to them upon the earth, and this circle was marked out in the following manner. After the scer with his *Lituus* had marked the *Cardo* and *Decumanus*, and fixed upon the point of their intersection as his own zenith looking to the south, he was obliged to indicate a square by lines called "*Cardines* and *Decumani*." Varro has preserved to us the words of consecration as they were used for the *Templum* upon the Tarpeian Hill: "*Templa, tescaque me ita sunt, quoad ego caste lingua nuncupavero. Olla veter arbor quirquir est quam me sentio dixisse, templum tescumque finite in sinistrum, olla veter arbor quirquir est quam me sentio dixisse, templum tescumque finite in dextrum. Inter ea conregione, conspiciione, cortumione, utique ea rectissime sensi.*" That is, "My temple and holy ground shall be as far as I can with a sanctified mind reach it with my voice. That old tree and whatever I may name with it shall be my boundary to the east. That other old tree and whatever else I shall

name with it shall be my boundary of the holy ground of the west. Between them I limit my temple through the drawing of lines, through supervision and through contemplation according to my best will and power."

After this, the augur observed in stillness and in silence that he might not by word or movement disturb the prosperous issue. His interpretation was not always right, as we find in the instance of Olenus Calenus, who obtained for answer, when he inquired about the head upon the Capitol, "Here shall be the head; here shall be the temple of Jupiter the Supreme." The answer arose from a strong impression, believed to be inspiration on his own mind, and his interpretation of it was, that Etruria was to be the head of Italy. The augur always believed himself in direct communication with the gods, and accepted the ideas which were impressed upon him as unquestionable indications of their will. The words used in answer were binding upon them for good and evil, and the augury formed a compact as it were between gods and men. Thus, whilst with the Greek words whether in worship or business were merely the signs of thought, amongst the Italians they carried weight as being of importance of themselves.

Sometimes a temple was only marked out by words, at other times by bands and linen cloths: the important point being to fix the corners, because every inch of it was holy, and must not be infringed upon, excepting only a space to go in and out. The

right and left, the front and back of the consecrated space, were as fixed as the *templum* in the heavens, and the entrance was always on the *antica* or southern side.

Most of the shrines and altars in Rome were in temples, but not all; for the temple was always a place in which auguries might be taken. It was not simply a *locus sanctus*, a *delubrum*, &c. The so-called temple of Vesta was not really a temple, as we may know from its form being round. The temple was originally synonymous with "fane;" and the first solemn act regarding it was to draw a cross in the centre of the space, to mark the *Cardo* and *Decumanus*.

One author, describing the *Agrimensores*, says that this was sometimes done by the elders of the assembly. Then the walls of the temple were erected, inclosing a square space, such as the temple of the Capitol, at whose foundation the Etruscan *Haruspices* presided, in which the breadth exceeded the length by fifteen feet. The worshipper was commanded after prayer to turn himself to the right, and then to depart; *i.e.*, having his face directed to the north, the seat of the gods, he was to turn himself to the fortunate East, and so cast *Vejovis* and all his unfriendly crew behind his back.

Further, we must remark that the whole civil life of the Tuscans and Romans was so interwoven with the religious, that not only places devoted to worship, but those also used for public assemblies, were consecrated temples.

The gods were supposed to guide all the affairs

of life, but they must be consulted in places set apart for the purpose. The Senate always met in a *Templum*. The *Curia*, *Hostilia*, *Pompeja*, and *Julia*, were temples of augury, in which the *Senatus consultus* might be held.

The spot in the *Forum Romanum*, from which the magistrate treated with the people, was an augural temple, in which the *Rostrum* was raised. It was originally appropriated to the *Curia Comitium*, but was afterwards used for the *Tribus Comitium*. In the *Campus Martius*, where the *Centuries* met—the spot on which the altar of *Mars* stood—was a temple; and here was the *Curule* chair, upon which the presiding magistrate sat. From this seat the magistrate spoke with priestly authority to the people.

In the temple of the *Rostra*, which lay to the south of the *Forum*, the magistrate originally was placed, like an augur, with his face to the south, towards the *Comitium* and the *Curia*, but turned away from the assembled multitude. The *Roman Asylum* appears to have been this kind of *Tuscan Templum* on its first institution, and not to have had any sacred building erected upon it, as *Dionysius* fancies.

All of these were *Templa* in the strict sense of the word, though, besides these, there were *auspices* connected with sacred chickens and other animals.

Almost all the *Etruscan* localities, which were sacred to the living or the dead, show a connexion

with the temple; and prove that the Etruscans grounded their customs and conduct in this life upon their firm belief in another of a higher and more enduring character.

The Tuscan rite of the foundation of cities was, according to Cato and Varro, as follows,—

The founder, on a day determined by favourable auspices, appeared clothed in a Gabinian Toga, leading a white ox and a white cow, yoked to a plough, whose share must be of iron; the ox on the right outwards, and the cow on the left inwards, drawing a square with a continuous furrow; all the sods falling inwards to be used in the building of the walls. At the place of the gates the plough was lifted up and carried over.

If we connect this with what we have already stated as to the corn vault in the centre of this square, we are led back to a vision of an originally agricultural tribe, with whom agriculture was a sacred occupation, and the foundation of all their civil polity (something like the Chinese).

All the Etruscan cities lay four-square, so far as the ground allowed; and old Rome was “*Roma Quadrata*,” though it had a pointed corner beyond the *Pomœrium* of the Palatine, towards the *Circus Maximus*, upon which the altar of *Consus* was erected. This four-square made an analogy between the city, whose walls were all sacred, and the *Templum*.

The furrow was called “*Urvum aratri* ;” the *plough-share*, as a component part of the plough *urcare*,

and as *v* and *b* are interchangeable in all languages, it is not to be doubted that the Latin word *Urbs* is derived from it; and in the early days of Rome no colony became an *Urbs* unless it was founded in this manner.

With the foundation of cities was involved the site of their chief sanctuary.

The old scholiast upon Virgil gives it as a part of the Etruscan discipline, that no city of Etruria could be called an *Urbs* unless it had three holy gates and three temples (they might all be in one enclosure) to the three great divinities, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. This, however, did not exclude other gates and other gods. It was certainly the doctrine of the Ritual books, that these patron divinities should first be appointed their holy possession, and that in the most elevated part of the ground from which they could overlook the major part of the buildings.

Before the Tarquinian era Rome appears to have had an older Capitol upon the Quirinal, in which were the sanctuaries of the three gods.

As to the gates it seems to have been undetermined which quarter of the heavens should be excluded, whether the unlucky west, the nearest to the infernal world, or the less-esteemed south. "*Roma Quadrata*" appears to have had only three gates, *Porta Romanula*, *Janualis*, and *Mucionis*, lying west, north-west, and north. The south was shut up; but all this is grounded on a very obscure tradition. *Cossa*, whose walls are nearly square,

has gates to the east, north, and south; but its situation scarcely admits of an entrance from the west. Rusella had gates to the north, east, and west; some cities had more.

The sanctity of the walls being a chief point in the Tuscan foundation of cities, and a consequence from their idea of the *Templum*, they were guarded by a space void of buildings within and without, called by the Latins "*Pomœrium*," divided into regions, and marked off by stones, called *cippi* or *termini*. This was also sacred augural ground, and might not be transgressed.

The *Pomœrium* was dedicated to peace and to civil government. No military oath could be taken there, and no troops were allowed within its precincts. But in time of war it formed a most convenient space for the massing of its defenders. The custom of destroying a city by passing the plough over its walls, and so annihilating its sanctity, is old Etruscan.

With the original form of a city, that of a camp bears a striking similarity, and both bear a close relation to the *Templum*.

The Etruscan lawgiver was also their first camp-founder, and the fixing of the *Cardo* and *Decumanus* in it was his first care. These lines gave the *Cardo* as the *Via principalis*, and the *Decumanus* as the broad street. The camp, like the heavenly *Templum*, placed the east in front and the north upon the left hand. The Commander, like the Augur, turned his face to the rising sun. The front gate, called the

Prætorian, was at one end of the Decuman street; and, in later times, was always towards the east.

The Porta Decumana, which lay to the west, was used to drive criminals through, and to carry out the dead, as the west was the quarter of the Manes.

Near to the Prætorian Gate stood the Prætorium, originally an Etruscan institution—a square of 200 feet—larger than the Capitoline temple. On the right lay the Auguraculum, with its altar; on the left the Tribunal—the whole forming a Templum. Here were deposited the standards of the Legions, always sacred in the eyes of the Romans; and their holy character was probably derived from the early teaching and faith of the Tuscans.

The science of land-measuring was also, in the beginning of the Etruscan polity, considered as a part of the auspices; and is here best mentioned as connected with the many-sided character of the Templum. It was a noble thought of the primitive Tuscans that the land, which, according to their belief, Jupiter had given them to cultivate, should be divided in a similar way to the place in which they heard his voice; and thus they wished that every acre should stand in religious connexion with his system of the universe, and his division of the heavens over our heads.

Jupiter himself was supposed to have ordained the partition and limitation of the lands, either immediately or through his son the Genius Tages, and it would be a crime against the decrees of heaven to disturb or neglect this order.

In this also it was the first care to describe the *Cardo* and *Decumanus*. How the Etruscans originally effected this is unknown. Their *groma* or *gruma* is evidently corrupted from the Greek *γνώμα*, and this *gnomon* (dial) was not known either to them or to the Romans for some time afterwards, as the Greeks first received it from the Babylonians in the days of Pherecydes and Anaximander. In previous times the Tuscans must have had some other method for fixing the place of the sun at noon-day, and from that point they reckoned all their time. Occasionally they preferred to calculate from the pole-star at night. Auspices could be taken at night, and it appears that the *Templum* was drawn out at sunset. Later it was common to reckon from due east and due west, whence unscientific *Agrimensores*, instead of measuring from the cardinal points, took the sunrise and sunset of the time of year. Hence these men usually made the *Decumanus* their leading line from which they measured off the others, and this led to a change in the meaning of the terms. It is, however, hard to understand how they came to make west the front and south the left. This inversion of names obtained in Lower Italy, Campania, and Bruttium. In Rome *Cardo* continued to represent the lines from north to south, and the expressions *Anticum* and *Posticum* had the same meaning in land-measuring as in the *Templum*.

The measure of a square of 100 feet was called a *orsus*, and was rather less than half a Roman *jugurum*. It was the measure used in Umbria, and

was continued as a vestige of the old Etruscan rule in Campania.

In conclusion, we find the idea of the *Templum* carried out in the cemeteries as we might have expected. The entrance to a tomb was from the south, and in the large stone coffins the corpse was laid with the head to the north, the seat of the gods, and the feet to the south.

CHAPTER VII.

ON PARTICULAR BRANCHES OF ETRUSCAN DIVINATION.

It is a remark of the ancients that Italy is distinguished from other lands by the frequency and severity of its storms, and amongst the divisions of Italy Etruria in this respect stands pre-eminent, owing to its mountain-chains. The Tuscans who marked the finger of the gods even in the smallest occurrences could not fail to venerate them, especially in lightning, a phenomenon through which all the nations of antiquity believed that they spake with man. The *Fulgatores* (amongst whom the men of Fiesole were the most celebrated) were therefore placed in the highest class of the *Haruspices*. The rules of their science were laid down in the *Books of Bygoë* and other *Fulgural* treatises. In the early days of Rome they were little inquired after out of their own country; but in the time of *Diodorus* they were spread throughout Italy, and in the days

of Julian they accompanied the Emperor in his campaigns.

The Tuscan Fulgurator contemplated the lightning under four aspects,—to consult, to expiate, to ward off, or to draw down.

To consult, he observed whence the flash came and whither it went. Its mission depended upon which of the sixteen regions it passed through, and it was of more importance to observe its exit than its entrance. The best omen was, when the lightning passed out of the first region into it again. A thunderbolt was naturally considered according to the spot on which it fell. A flash in the place of common assembly or solemn magistracy was called "Fulmen Regale," and was interpreted according to ancient Etruscan Discipline when there were kings over all the States. Such a flash betokened civil war, overthrow of the State, an entire revolution of the place and its destination. Next to this comes lightning in the Prætorium of the camp, which betokened the conquest of the same and the destruction of its commander. Lightning in the Temple of Juno concerned the matrons, and in the shrines of other gods was an omen to those concerned with them. We are not told anything certain about lightning upon walls and gates; the question was in what region of the Pomærium the stroke had fallen. Then came the inquiry which god had sent it. There were nine who hurled the thunderbolt, Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Vejovis, Summanus, Vulcan, Saturn, and Mars, of whom we have already spoken.

Each god had his own peculiar flash, but Jupiter held three in his hands, so that there were eleven flashes for divination, according to the doctrine of the Fulgatores. Of the three pertaining to Jupiter one had relation to himself alone, and was for peace and remembrance; one was for counsel with the other gods, and bore with it somewhat of a sinister import; one was for counsel with the veiled gods, and changed the whole aspect of existing circumstances. The different nature of these flashes was discriminated by their effects. The first was quite innocent, the second came with great noise and force, the third blasted and destroyed on all sides. That any particular flash did come from Jupiter was known partly from the colour—his flashes being all red—partly from the quarter of the sky out of which they proceeded, viz., the three first regions, and partly by the time at which they were hurled. The lightning of Minerva was restricted to the spring of the year; that of Saturn, which appeared to issue from the ground, was limited to mid-winter, and was above all others dangerous and dreaded. The lightning of Mars scorched or burnt. A deep red flaming bolt of Mars in A.R. 659 burnt the unlucky city of Volsinia. Deadly or death-bringing lightning was ascribed to Vejovis.

It was therefore a very difficult thing to determine to which god any of the various bolts, any particular one, was to be ascribed, for the time, the quarter of the heavens, the nature and effects of the stroke, must all be taken into account.

The Romans, who abbreviated the Etruscan Discipline for the use of their State, compressed the nine Etruscan thunder-gods into two, inasmuch as they ascribed all the lightning which was visible in the day-time to Jupiter, and all that came by night to Summanus. Lightning which fell as a *shower* and passed over they called "Provorsa."

Let us now inquire what the lightning meant or foreshadowed. To determine this, the locality whence the flash came, and whither it went, and the god who sent it, must be considered; also the circumstances under which the auspices were taken, and the reason why they were sought. The Tuscan Lucumo believed his intercourse with the deity to be so intimate, that the gods were interested in all that befell him, whether public or private.

Lightning which fell before the execution of a projected undertaking was called "Consiliaria," and advised for or against. After the completion of the work, lightning was called "Auctoritatis," and blamed or approved; those, finally, which had no reference to any undertaking were called "Fulmina Status," others were termed admonitory "Monitoria."

Heed was also given to the endurance of the electric sign, whether it was for life or merely for a period, or whether it threatened some evil which might be averted. Of the first kind was a thunder-bolt at birth or marriage, or the entering upon an inheritance; upon the founding of a city or the leading forth of a colony. Temporary signs of the second class might endure for ten years with an

individual, and thirty with a State. Lightning, in conjunction with other signs, might confirm and strengthen, or might overtop and change them all. Some flashes indicated that an offering was accepted, and others that a vow was absolved.

Another point in the doctrine of lightning concerned the expiation which it made. Where it struck the ground, that spot was sacred through the whole of Italy, and the origin of this was Tuscan. The Haruspex erected such a spot into a *Templum*, in which two-year-old animals might be sacrificed. He surrounded it by a wall, and left it open at the top like a well, or like that kind of altar called "*Ara*." Stones and other articles struck by the bolt were called "*Bidental*," and such an article must never be used nor even looked upon. The stone slabs which are occasionally found inscribed "*fulgur conditum*" belonged to this class. If a second bolt fell in the old place before the first had been consecrated, it was called "*fulmen obrutum*." If a tree was struck it was regarded as unlucky, and the sacrificial cake was broken beside it. Men who were killed by lightning might not be burned, but must be buried by the Haruspex without ceremonies. The idea connected with thunderbolts always was that the angry gods required a sacrifice from men, and thus warned them of their needful duty.

The third point was how to avert lightning. The Tuscans had precepts for turning away storms. Tarchon, according to Columella, surrounded his house with a hedge of white grapes; and Tages, to

secure the land against misfortune, placed upon the boundary stone the decapitated head of an ass. Such a charm was also used in ancient Rome, but Juvenal tells us that it was fixed on the banqueting room !

We now come to the fourth and most enigmatical point touching the drawing down of lightning. There is no doubt that this was practised from the earliest ages, and that in the flash Jupiter was often believed to descend out of favour to the inquirer. In this way King Porsenna invoked the lightning, and the Volsinians destroyed the horrible monster Voltu. In this way Numa consulted the supreme deity, and Tullus Hostilius accomplished his own destruction. The accustomed forms and ceremonies were known to the Tuscan Haruspices down to the very latest times, and by the use of them they believed that they had defended Narnia against Alaric, and hoped to protect Rome.

Jupiter Elicius continued to be venerated longer than any other form of that god.

So much knowledge concerning natural phenomena amongst the Tuscans seems to imply much more ; for instance, a considerable insight into the causes of electricity ; but here we must stop. The Etruscan faith made the priests keenly observant of every outward circumstance connected with lightning, but rather deterred than quickened their inquiries as to hidden influences.

The lightning-diviners of the Etruscans and the natural philosophers in general are classed together

by Diodorus, and we find the Greeks, especially Aristophanes and Aristotle, dividing the lightning into three systems, answering to the three bolts in the hand of Jupiter; namely, the innocent, and the destructive from the clouds, and the flash which proceeds from the earth. We may well admire the accurate observations of the ancients, but we cannot give them credit for having discovered the cause.

Another very important branch of Etruscan divination is the inspection of entrails, commonly called the taking of auspices. The rules for this proceeding are very obscure, though, doubtless, something might be discovered by a comparison of all that we are told respecting Italian sacrifices. Something depended on anatomical knowledge, and much on the observant powers of the divines. The Tuscans were diligent sacrificers, and therefore made sacrifice a part of divination. Thus priests and Haruspices divided the offerings into two classes, atoning and consulting.

By the first only the blood and life of the animal was sacrificed to the god, without the entrails being exposed and burnt. These latter seem always to have been expiatory, like the "Acherontischen," by means of which men's souls were redeemed from the lower world, and were turned into "Dii Animales." When employed for this purpose men spoke of the "Melior Anima," or better life.

The other class of sacrifices comprises those by which the will or counsel of the gods is consulted through the entrails, and these entrails are then

offered to them as a thank-offering. Divination is here the proper aim of the offering. In this form it was common to the twelve States and appears to have been peculiar to the Tuscans.

When at a "Consultatorium sacrificium" the sacrifice was slain, the first point was, that the body should be opened and the sacred portions inspected, especially the lungs, heart, and liver. The heart was first introduced for consultation after the war with Pyrrhus. The liver was originally held to be of the most importance, because it was considered as the seat of animal life.

The different organs amongst the Tuscans were sacred to different gods, the gall, for instance, was dedicated to Neptune, and betokened luck or misfortune by water, other portions related to fire. The influence of the infernal gods was discerned through the colour and form of the intestines. Further, the different sides of the offerings had different meanings. The liver had a friendly and a hostile side. The appearance of the first depended upon the fate of the offerer, the other upon that which awaited his foe; strong sinews upon the hostile side betokened misfortune; an orange-coloured liver was a sign of scarcity, and, according to Tages, it was necessary in such a case to drag up and down the "manales lapides," the stones which charmed down rain. A deficiency in one portion of the liver denoted ruin; an exaggerated increase of it, division; a slit in it a revolution of the existing order of things.

That portion of the inwards which was holy to the gods was sprinkled over with salt and flour. It was then cut up, placed in dishes, and carried to be burnt.

Before dividing the liver and other parts, they were sodden, and if, during the process, any portion shrank and was absorbed, this was as bad a sign as if the whole had failed from the beginning. There elapsed, therefore, between the slaying of the animal and the cutting up and offering of the sacrifice a considerable time, also there were many days of common life upon which no such sacrifice could be made, "Dies nefasti."

It is also certain that the later Romans, especially their commanders and magistrates, troubled themselves very little about the complicated rules of Etruscan divination.

The Greeks, at the time of the Persian war, had many points of divination agreeing exactly with the Etruscan, and which they appear to have borrowed from them. It is probable, if we had details upon the subject, that we should find the whole of Asia Minor observing the same rules; and it would be a strong additional proof to us that the Etruscans were originally of that race, as their earlier traditions assert.

According to *Æschylus*, Prometheus showed to mortals what must be the colour and appearance of the intestines in order to please the gods, also the various forms of the gall and the liver for divination when it was burnt. According to *Euripides*, when

Egistheus offered before his death, the liver had no head.

Plutarch tells us that Agesilaus was warned of his death by a similar sign, and so, long afterwards, was Alexander the Great. This agreement with the Etruscans cannot be fortuitous. It was probably taught by them to the Sicilians of Syracuse and passed from the Sicilians into Greece.

The Tuscans also observed the flight of birds in common with the Italians, Mysians, Phrygians, and Carians, and many of the Greeks ; but, inasmuch as the Romans consulted them rarely upon this head, and had their own signs, which were often of a contrary signification, we have less information about this point than about most others. There is no doubt that the Tuscan doctrine was much fuller than the Roman. Instead of a very few birds of omen they could draw omens from every bird, and appear to have held them sacred to different gods. The crow, for example, belonged to Juno. Pliny tells us, that in the books of discipline birds were drawn unknown to the Romans. Some birds gave auspices by their voice breaking the silence of augury, others only by their flight, whether to or from the *Haruspex*. A bird appearing in the zenith was a sign of great fortune, and, according to Livy, was so interpreted by an Etruscan priestess.

Finally, the explanation of wonders, prodigies, portents, and monstrosities, was a chief part of discipline, and the rules for them must have been very numerous. The Tuscans found auspices in the

usual course of nature, and prodigies in whatever was extraordinary. Horses gave auspices. Trees were divided into lucky and unlucky. The fall of a tree had its meaning.

The Haruspices often explained new prodigies upon the spur of the moment, being assisted by native wit or sagacity.

Thus in A.R. 626 (B.C.), they explained an eruption of Etna as foreshadowing a secret insurrection; and before Cicero's consulate they advised the making of an image of Jupiter, to be placed in the Forum looking eastward over the Curia as a charm against civil disturbances.

Thus we see that the chief part of divine worship consisted in divination and in burnt-offerings to the deity consulted. The ritual of prayer was taken from the forms used in the *Templum*, the sacrifice was partly ruled by the *Haruspex* and partly by the belief in the *Lares*, and the gods of the *Shades*. Only a small portion of the animal was burnt, and the rest was divided between the offerers. The Etruscans endeavoured to give their worship every possible splendour, and to unite in it everything that could gratify and charm the senses.

Their gods and goddesses were dressed as men and women of the highest rank; and the wardrobe of Jupiter and his companions Juno and Minerva in the Capitol was of the most costly and refined description. This subject, however, leads to our next chapter upon the arts and sciences of the Etruscans.

BOOK IV.

ON THE ARTS AND SCIENCES OF THE ETRUSCANS.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE SACRED GAMES AND THE MUSIC OF THE
ETRUSCANS.

WHAT we call *Art* amongst the Tuscans, was closely connected with their religious worship. There must have been a time when undoubtedly every dance and every tune were consecrated to worship; and when every meal at which flesh was eaten must have betokened a sacrifice.

The pomp, the music, the rival games, all then formed one whole with the temple services. Gradually they became independent and were made useful in purely civil life.

We find that the twelve States were offended when the nobles of Veii withdrew their youths from the games because they considered it an offence to the gods. According to the Haruspices, neglect of the fitting games often roused the anger of the gods against Rome, and these games were expected to be

conducted with little less solemnity than sacrifices and auspices. If the dancer stood still at the wrong moment, if the flute-player ceased to blow, if the youth who conducted the procession car turned aside, or if he took his hand off the reins, the games were as much disordered as if during augury the silence had been broken. The fault must be atoned for, and very often the games must be commenced anew.

Such a superstition brings with it the consequence, that the arts subservient to them must have remained from age to age the same.

Appian, in describing a triumph, tells us that the generals went first, then the lictors in purple tunics, and then, in imitation of an Etruscan pomp, a choir of players on the cither and the flute, with girdles and golden diadems, called "Ludier;" amongst whom there was one in a long purple mantle, golden bracelets and necklaces, who made grimaces, as if in derision of the foe. Then followed the incense-bearers, and, finally, the triumpher himself, in his toga decked with stars; his tunic embroidered with palm-leaves; his wreath of golden oak-leaves; his ivory sceptre, tipped with gold, and his chariot with golden plates, and drawn by four horses.

All these things the Romans borrowed from the Etruscans. The games of the Circus bore a strong resemblance to a triumph.

In them were young men on foot, and men riding in chariots and on horseback. The Athletes; the choir of armed dancers; then the unarmed

dancers, called by Dionysius "Satyristen," probably the same as the *Ludiers*; then the flute and lyre players; then the bearers of incense; and, lastly, the images of the gods. Nothing is wanting to make this ceremony identical with the triumph, except that a Curule magistrate should close the pomp in the gorgeous robes of triumph, and perhaps carry with him images of his ancestors, thus mingling the commemoration of the aristocracy with the worship of the gods. The chariots of the latter were of ivory, inlaid with plates of silver.

All these pomps and all religious ceremonies were accompanied by music: an art in which the Etruscans attained so much proficiency, though they were not inventors, that the reputation of their flute-players long outlived the fame and freedom of the nation.

Stringed instruments are never mentioned in the descriptions of their entertainments, though they are represented in paintings; but the wind instruments were known throughout antiquity. Flute-players attended at every sacrifice, and were present at every feast and ceremony. The dancers danced to the flute, the wrestlers wrestled—the masters scourged their slaves, the cook and the baker carried on their labours by its music. The chase was also accompanied by the flute; and it was the common belief of the people, that the boar and stag were allured into the toils by the tones of this instrument. So extensive a demand caused numbers of men to devote themselves to this calling; and amongst

Numa's guilds we find one of flute-players. These were, most probably, the Tusean "Subulones," not natives of Rome; and the subsequent story of their withdrawal from the city upon an affront seems to corroborate this view.*

The fame of the Tyrrhenian flute-players reached even into Greece; and Polystratos, the Athenian, received the name of "Tyrrhenus" because of his exquisite playing. His love for the art even induced him to wear the long garments and the masks in which the Tuscan performers walked the streets. It seems to have been as a remnant of their Asiatic descent that they continued to wear the old costume. This was a saffron robe (the colour of the Lydian Bacchus) and Milesian shoes; and Horace tells us that, as the music became more enervating, the garments also grew longer.

Virgil calls the instrument of the Subulones *ivory*. Pliny says that at sacrifices it was of box-wood, and at the games of lotus-wood, or of asses' bones, and silver.

The lotus-wood seems not to have been Tuscan, but to have been used in similar games dedicated to the great Phrygian Mother Cybele. The ancient flute of the Circus was short and small. The sculptures leave us no room to doubt that the double flute was commonly used by the Etruscans.

Now Pliny ascribes the invention of this instrument to the Phrygian Marsyas, and another author

* Livy, ix. 30.

to the Phrygian Hyagnis, thus showing that its use was very common in Asia Minor from remote times. Alyattes is said to have set out for war with male and female fluters. On the other hand, the flute-players in Greece were almost all Asiatics; so that we must regard this instrument in Etruria as one of the connecting links with their real or legendary cradle in Lydia.

Indeed, the Greeks called the instrument the "Lydian flute;" and in Etruria it was consecrated to Minerva.

In that country it had probably a shriller and louder tone than in Asia, because the use of it, at the solemn sacrifices, was to drown every sound of evil augury.

This instrument was usually accompanied by a crooked flute or horn, with a bent mouth to deepen and modify the tone.

Varro tells us of an ancient flute with only four holes, which hung as an offering in the temple of Marsyas, on the Lake Fucinus; but the Etruscans did not rest satisfied with anything so rude and imperfect as this instrument. On a patera we have a flute with six holes; but much more remarkable is an instrument like an organ, but called by Pollux a Tyrrhenian flute. It was like a coiled-up syringe. The pipes were of brass, and blown from below by air, from a bag or billows if small, and by water if large, which, rushing in, drove out the air above, and produced a very powerful sound.

Still more celebrated was the Tuscan or Tyrrhene

trumpet, which was invented by that people. The existence of the Tuba or the Salpinx, which is the same instrument, we can trace in the very earliest annals of Greece, but always as a foreign instrument. Homer names it in his comparisons as if its use were new. So, also, it was not known to all the Greeks at once.

The Spartans and the Cretans used to go into battle to the sound of the lyre and the flute. The tragedians seem the first to have introduced it, though they gave it no place in their mythology.

Eschylus relates that Athene sounded the loud and piercing Tyrrhenian trumpet. Sophocles compares the voice of Athene to a brazen *Tyrrhenian* trumpet. Euripides and other authors call it by the same name, as do also the Latin writers. One of the proverbs in Greece was, that "Athene had invented the trumpet for the Tyrrhenians."

From this it appears that the Salpinx became known to the Hellenes through the Tyrrhenians; but as we cannot trace any commerce between Greeks and Tuscans in such very early times, to make the music of one nation known to the other, we must suppose that these Tyrrhenians were Pelasgi, who, in the days of the Heraclidæ and the following century, wandering through Greece, spread there the knowledge of the trumpet; and thence, settling on the coasts of Italy, introduced it as their martial music, and made it, as it were, indigenous.

This is one of the coincidences between Athene and Minerva, to both of whom the trumpet was

sacred. Attached to the temple of Athene Salpinx in Argos, we find the tradition that Hegeleos, the son of Tyrsenos, the son of Hercules by the *Lydian* Omphale, had brought with him the trumpet, with the Dorians, from *Temenos* to that place, and hence the goddess derived her name. Such a tradition is probably based upon some very ancient alliance between the Tyrrhenians and the Heraclidæ; and it is evident how very useful such a loud sounding call must have been to the leader of a migrating host.

The invention is sometimes attributed to the Tyrrhenian Maleos, a pirate, who takes his name from Malea, a hill in Laconia, upon which he had built a fort. He also is called the son of Hercules and Omphale. Others refer back the invention of the trumpet to Lydia as the cradle of the Tyrrhene race. Another proverb refers the invention of both flute and trumpet to Lydos and Tyrrhenos, when they endeavoured to prolong, by amusement, the lives of their starving people. Others say that the instrument was invented at sea by the pirates to keep their scattered fleet together; and, through the visits of Tyrrhenian vessels to the coasts of Greece and Italy, Asia Minor and the islands, the trumpet first became generally known. All these sayings agree together in the main.

To prove, however, that the very same sound-producing medium as the trumpet of Asia Minor was indigenous in Etruria, we have other evidences. The saying which names Pisæos as its inventor refers it to Pisa. Silius says that it was introduced

from Vetulonia into the other States. Trumpets are always mentioned along with the Tuscan armies ; in Rome, the blowers of the Tuba were generally Tuscans, and all the Latin writers agree in their testimony that Etruria was the native country of that instrument.

The Etruscans had another instrument of very piercing tone, called the *Lituus*, its name showing its country. It was of a crooked shape, like the lituus of the Augur, and was much used in religious ceremonies, at funerals, and to give signals on the field of battle. It, like the trumpet, was made of metal, with a mouthpiece of bone for the safety of the musicians, the muscles of whose faces were generally strongly brought out by the exertion which these and other great horns required.

The Tuscans have no reputation for song or poetry along with their music ; the only theatrical accompaniment seems to have been the dance, in gay festive robes, and with much gesticulation. They were called "Ludi" or "Ludiones," but their native name was "Hister Histriones." Some of their accessories of a Bacchic character may very possibly have been borrowed from the Magna Grecians by the Southern Etruscans, and through them have become disseminated amongst the Central States.

We must also notice the practice of war-dances amongst the Tuscans, for it was a part of the pomp of the Circus, and assimilated the Etrusean Histriones with the Kuretes. There were dances in

Veii answering to the Salian, which latter tradition was derived from *Morrio*, a king of Veii, and there is a Tuscan painting which undeniably represents such a dance. The actors in it are chiefly youths, wearing purple tunics and brazen girdles, short swords and lances. The men wear bronze helmets with high plumes. Each band had a leader, who imitated the movements of a fight in a certain rhythm. Hence we find that song was mingled with it, or they would not have observed the prescribed measure, and some fragments of the Salian songs are yet preserved to us. The first singer was named *Vates*, and the first dancer *Præsul*. All must bend or touch the ground together, and therefore they required continual practice to keep in time.

Another game of the Tuscans was wrestling or boxing. The *Athletes* of the Circus were derived from Etruria to Rome, but it was the lower class of people only, the dependants of the great, who took part in them. It was never the nobles, as with the Greeks, for no Italian noble would ever expose himself naked. In Tuscan representations we find wrestlers continually with the flute-players, and they were no doubt of the same professional class.

Another sport in Etruria, very similar to the Greeks, was the chariot-race. This formed the very staple of the Circus, and the *quadriga* was the form always preferred, although *bigæ* and even single race-horses were admitted. The Tuscans, who introduced these sports into Rome, continued to take

such an interest in them, that, according to one legend preserved by Servius, Porsenna granted a truce during the siege of the city that he might contend in the Circus races, and that he was crowned as victor. In later times a Cæcina of Volterra sent his quadriga to the Roman games. Still later we find the Circus arranged to represent the course of the Sun and the Seasons of the year, and then we have descriptions of the paces of the horses and the symbolical colours of the factions. The course round the Spina and the Meta always led upon the left side, or inner circle, and was in relation with the religious usages of the Tuscan people.

Amongst the Etruscan sports we must reckon the Gladiatorial shows. They were foreign to the Greeks, or only used as trials in feats of arms; they were never combats to the death. Nicholas of Damascus tells us that the Romans first took them from the Etruscan banquets. We know also that the name of the superintendent and trainer, "Lanista," was Tuscan. They were not, however, common to the whole people, but were introduced from Campania, where the Tuscan nature was influenced and modified by the barbarity of the Samnites and the enervating climate of the country. Capua was the head-quarters of this cruel and debasing sport, and continued to be so to the last. It gradually extended itself through Italy, so that at last it was advertised at all the great fairs that gladiatorial games were to take place. It became a part of the funeral ceremonial for distinguished persons, and it was perhaps

not worse than the sacrifice of slaves and prisoners on such an occasion, which continued until very late in their annals, and was regarded as a pious and suitable offer to the manes of the dead.

CHAPTER II.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE TUSCANS.

THE architecture of the Tuscans brings before us most characteristically a people who had a strong sense of symmetry and order, as is shown in their doctrines of the *Templum*; a strong inclination for pomp is evidenced by their triumphs, their games, and their ceremonials; and besides this, that through their aristocratic and hierarchical constitution they had always a superfluity of hands at their command to carry out grand designs. Such a nation must naturally have cherished a taste for architecture. They did not create art, however, but only esteemed and employed it to exalt the dignity of their courtly and priestly nobles, as their music and choral games testify. Yet they united to the most scrupulous observation of their all-embracing and most superstitious ritual the inward love of a reckless luxury and extravagance. This is shown in the gladiatorial games, the Bacchic feasts, and the general corruption of manners in later times, thus evincing that even in their most enduring works they were deficient in the spirit and pure sense of the beautiful,

the sublime, and the refined, which a lofty architecture above all other arts can show forth, and through the possession of which alone it can secure an immortality. With these observations the remains of the Etruscans singularly agree. Their ideas as to civil constructions were soon developed.

Through the Atrium they gave space and convenience to their dwelling-houses; they built regular city walls and tombs of unusual solidity: it seems indeed probable, if not proved, that the vault and the arch were known to them. But their stately buildings, before they had Grecian models, seem to have borne the inharmonious character (the somewhat Chinese character) of Porsenna's tomb, according to the description of it by Pliny and Varro; and though their words picture forth an impossible building, yet it seems to have been standing in Varro's day.

He says, as an eye-witness according to Pliny, that "Porsenna lies buried under the city of Clusium, in a monument, which he built for himself, of squared stone; each side 300 feet broad and 50 high. Within this enclosure there was a labyrinth, out of which no man could find his way without a clue. Upon this foundation stood five pyramids—one at each corner and one in the middle—each 170 feet broad at the base and 150 high, tapering up so finely that, on the topmost point, only a bronze circle and hat could be laid, from which depended a chain of bells, which gave a loud sound.

"Above these stood four other pyramids, each

100 feet high; and *above** these, again, five other pyramids, whose height Varro does not venture to calculate. According to Tuscan tradition they were as high as all the rest of the work; and their author sought, by their colossal size, to secure for himself a renown in the outer world, which he lost by their uselessness. The expense exhausted the resources of his kingdom, and the merit, such as it was, surely belonged to the architect."

It appears that Varro really saw some portion of the building (fabric), for he would scarcely have given such minute details from mere hearsay; and the upper and missing portions were magnified to him by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. It was not all fancy. It had a foundation in some gigantic work of ancient magnificence; but what that was it is impossible now to restore. Of the five lower pyramids the centre one was the larger, so as, in form again, to represent a pyramid.

The bronze *orbis* or *petasus* appears to have been of wood, and was probably covered over with plates of bronze: a wonderful work for those days from the absence of supports. The top of it may have borne another of slender size, rising from the higher pyramid of the centre; and the four pyramids of the second story were perhaps only minarets in continuation of the lower columns, and for which the scaffolding of the roof served for a wide support.

* May not "above" mean, higher up an incline? Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 19, 4.

A portion of this plan we still see in the so-called tomb of the Horatii at Albano.

The Labyrinth at Clusium, regarded as a colossal work, was merely so for that small city. The Labyrinth of Memphis was double its size.

These imitative works, seem to imply, that in the days of Porsenna there was commerce between Etruria and Egypt. Perhaps he himself had visited Egypt in one of his own merchant-vessels.

Probably the Sardinian Nuraghe, which present so many affinities with the Etruscan sepulchral mounds, were also the work of that people.

Diodorus ascribes them, by an ancient tradition, to Dædalos and the Pelasgi; and some portion of the Etruscan people appear to have been Pelasgi—those for instance, settled in Cære and in Hulina.

It is a tradition, preserved in one of the Greek poets, that Priam shut up Cassandra in a stone building without beams, or a proper ceiling in the roof; *i. e.*, not a square roof, but a vaulting of stone, like the Nuraghe and parts of the tomb of Porsenna.

In the building of their temples the Etruscans struck out an order of their own which still bears their name. We find the description of it in Vitruvius, taken apparently from the then existing temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera; vowed by Postumius in A. R. 258, B. C. 495, and dedicated by Sp. Cassius in A. R. 261, B. C. 492. He says, "The ground-plan of an Etruscan temple is nearly square; for instance, a length of 12 by a breadth of 10. The length is

divided into one half for the cellum, and one half for the portico and pillars. If the temple contains three cells or shrines these will occupy the whole of the hinder half. If there is only one shrine these pillars will occupy the ground on either side of it. The distance from the centre of one pillar to that of the other is three, and so is their distance from the wall.

“There are two rows of pillars before the shrine, each four in number; and there is a wider space left before the principal entrance. The centre shrine has a breadth of four, the side shrines of three; so that the outer and partition-walls answer to the site of the pillars.” According to this simple and clear description, the doors of the great shrine close exactly in the centre of the building. The point at which the *Cardo* and *Decumanus* cross each other, and which divides the building into the *Antica* and *Postica*, already described.

The temple of the Capitol, which was consecrated by Augurs and Haruspices, and built by Etruscan artificers, appears to agree entirely with this description. We know concerning it, from Dionysius, that its circumference was 800 feet, and its length was 15 feet in excess of its breadth; *i.e.*, $207\frac{1}{2}$ by $192\frac{1}{2}$. There were three rows of pillars in front, and one row at the sides; and from a coin of *Vespasian's* it appears that there were six pillars in each front row, therefore seven in the length. These we must so divide as to leave 15 feet between the columns and leave space for the grand central en-

trance, within which the Consul, or Imperator, and Augur, stood on the day of dedication.

Vitruvius further instructs us concerning the temple, that the pillars must measure one-third of its breadth, and therefore must be $3\frac{1}{2}$ in height; also one-half in the lower thickness; this proportion gives one quarter the lower diameter. It would appear that originally the pillars were shorter, but the thickness remaining the same, when they were heightened, the proportions became more slender. The temple dedicated by Sp. Cassius had certainly slenderer pillars. There can be little doubt that the Tuscan order was a native imitation or development of the Grecian Doric.*

It was a Tuscan peculiarity that the beams in the stone buildings were invariably of wood. They seem to have attained a perfectibility in wood-work beyond other nations; and hence we are told that the first Pons Sublicius, at the foot of the Tuscan settlement, on the Janiculum, had no metal in it. Vitruvius describes to us how artistically these beams were placed to form an architrave; how they crossed each other, and to what a height they rose.

It appears, also, that the indigenous buildings of Italy required very deep and strong foundations, that they might admit under them the graves of young children, who were allowed to be buried in

* May it not rather have been a development of the Egyptian Proto-Doric, which it so much more nearly resembles?

the dwellings of their kindred, whilst all adults were required to be carried forth beyond the city.

How much the Etruscans prided themselves upon the skilful timbering of their houses may be seen by the imitation of roofing beams in the stone-work of their tombs.

The spaces between the beam-ends appear to have been fastened with nails, forming the *antepagmenta* of Vitruvius. Over these beams, at either end a light gable seems to have been erected, either of wood or slight masonry, one-third the height of the temple—too high according to Grecian taste.

Though the exterior of such a building, on account of the width between the pillars and the overhanging thick beams, must have been top-heavy, too low and too broad to be compared in majesty or grandeur with even the old Doric temple, yet it had a proportion and a charm of its own, especially as the Tuscans, with their love of pomp, spared nothing in plastic ornaments or painting, or even gilding. So much the more remarkable is it, that no traces of these remain amongst their ruins, nor amongst their innumerable works of art, which teem with every variety of Grecian ornament, triglyphs, dogs-tooth ovals, beading, &c. These are used as decorations without any rule, or any respect to their original meaning, yet they show an intimate acquaintance with the Doric and Ionic architecture. They have even columns with capitals, not unlike the Ionic and the Corinthian.

We must take this as a proof that Etruria, in

later times, allowed free entrance to the beautiful inventions of strangers, embodying them in her own art and literature, without having taste enough to adopt them, and still less to originate something yet more new and perfect from them.

It is quite certain that the Etruscans had other public buildings besides the temples of their gods, — Curiaë, circuses, theatres for dancers and public shows: the last-named probably imitated from the Greek. In Rome the State erected the course for the races, levelled the ground, and constructed the *meta*. The spectators were expected to provide their own accommodations. Of the purely Tuscan circuses we have no separate descriptions. In their theatres, to judge from the remaining monuments, they closely imitated the Greeks. There are ruins of theatres in Ficsole, Adria, and Arretium, and of amphitheatres in Luna, Lucca, Florence, and Arezzo.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE PLASTIC AND DESIGNING ARTS AMONGST THE ETRUSCANS.

IN this chapter I will endeavour to combine the accounts of ancient authors in one view, casting a glance here and there upon the existing remains which show the progress of the plastic and designing arts amongst the Etruscans, without binding myself to separate between the arts and the manual profi-

ciency in it. This appears to me the fittest place in which to collect together and pass in review their works in clay, metal, and stone.

The Tuscans were skilful potters and workers in clay in the widest sense of the word. That potters were expressly included amongst the guilds of Numa shows, as Pliny remarks, that the manufactory had very early passed over to Rome, probably through the Inquilini; and yet those same wares which came direct from Etruria, whether for divine worship or for domestic use, were especially valued. The vases, or vessels from Arretium (which city Lanzi rightly names the Samos of Italy), where there were ancient brick-kilns, were not despised even under the Empire, and were sought by the common people for domestic use.* These Arretian vessels were red, chiefly of the colour which usually marks the Roman pottery, and they were not painted. There is no mention in antiquity of painting connected with Etruscan pottery, and this silence would betoken little if upon other grounds we could demonstrate that the numerous vases found in the neighbourhood of Tarquinia with black figures in the archaic

* Pliny, xxxv. 46: "Retinet hanc nobilitatem et Arretium in Italia."

Martial, xiv. 98:

"Aretina nimis ne spernas vasa, monemus:
Lautus erat Tuscis Porsena fictilibus."

I. 54:

"Sic Aretinæ violant crystallina testæ."

"Aretina" sometimes stands for *testea* or *argillacea*.

Grecian style, or the numberless vases scattered through Etruria with the red figures of the later style, were of native manufacture, and need not pass for mere importations. Apart, however, from the results of local investigations, it seems most probable that the Etruscans ornamented their vessels more with plastic forms than with painting; because in the first branch of art they were far more esteemed than in the latter, which Pliny notices merely as the potter's art. The fame of the manufactories of Mutina and Hatria, for example, was founded upon the durability of their wares; and even the Surrentinian drinking vessels frequently lauded were originated undoubtedly at the time when all these places were Tuscan.* In the days of Augustus the Campanian vessels stood in the same estimation as the Arretian, yet they were mere pottery. No one in that time looked for painted vases. However such as were made in earlier days at Capua and Nola in that secondary branch of art, merely copying Grecian models, must be reckoned as Tuscan. The commencement of the Samnite domination in Campania falls about B.C. 421, and at this date there is no doubt that a very great amount of the population of Capua was Tuscan; and this is particularly evidenced by the lively commerce in Tuscan manufactures. Still, further, after the Samnite conquest, Capua continued to cherish and support the Tuscan Nola by strict amity and by a brisk trade with the Hellenes upon the coast, and also by adopting the

* Pliny, xxxv. 46.

Hellene manners; and when, through the citizens of Posidon (Pæstum), the original Greek degenerated so much into the Oscan and Etruscan manner, that the people themselves bewailed the loss of their ancient language and customs, there yet remained in Nola for a long while an orderly and industrious population closely united with the Hellenes, not indeed by speech or nationality, but by commerce and the love of arts; and these, doubtless, formed an influential element in the history of national culture.

That the Tuscan works in clay attained to a high eminence is proved, not only by the accounts of the ancients, but by their remaining statues and other works of high art. The ridge tile ornaments in Rome and in other *municipia*, which were of the very finest workmanship, and of very early date, were almost all Tuscan, and, according to Pliny,* must be regarded as in relievo, and we must remember that the later practice to adorn the gables with statues was not the early mode. Also the clay "antefixa," by which it seems we are to understand the ornaments at the corners of the gables, which stood over the water-leads (*gurgoyles*) at each side. These also appear to have been very richly adorned. Cato reproaches his generation for their contempt of these ancestral temple ornaments of baked clay.

Without doubt also statues of clay by Tuscan masters filled the temples of ancient Rome. We need not be surprised that little is said of them, for

* xxxv. 46.

the early Romans did not trouble themselves about art; and the later, surrounded by works of the first Grecian artists, cared nothing for former native productions. Tuscans adorned the Capitol with their plastic masterpieces. The clay statue of Jupiter in the central cellum was indeed manufactured by a Volscian, Turrianus of Fregella, apparently a scholar of the Tuscans, whom Tarquinius Priscus, or Superbus, employed. On high feast-days the face of the statue was painted with vermilion, and in his right hand he bore a clay thunderbolt. It was of importance to have a distinctive representation of the character, attire, and position, of this Jovian image, and Greek ideas seem to have influenced it considerably. But above this, upon the very apex of the front gable, there stood a clay *quadriga*, which, according to tradition, was expressly manufactured for that place in Veii, immediately after the driving away of the kings. It swelled instead of shrinking in the furnace—a miracle concerning which the Haruspices predicted eternal greatness for the city which should possess it. Upon this, the Vejentines refused to deliver it up to the Romans, but were constrained to do so by the gods. We can comprehend this *quadriga* perfectly from old Grecian works, and from examples upon coins and vases; it only seems strange that it alone should have been chosen for the ornament of the Acroterium, and that where a god might have stood, this should have been selected in preference.

Probably it was intended to indicate that Jupiter

was the first and original triumpher, more especially, if it is true, that they considered the four white horses to be sacred to Jupiter. Then may we believe that the people were pleased to see the chariot stand empty, even as the Persians were with that of Ormuzd, according to whom his stirrups sprang up to his foot.

But there must also have been statues on the roof of the temple, for this was common with Etruscan shrines, and the spacious front with its broad overhanging cornice would afford room for a whole Tuscan Olympus. Apparently there was a group, and the statue of Summanus, which alone is mentioned, and *that* accidentally, is only one of the many which once occupied this space. In later days works of a large material (bronze or stone or marble) supplied the place of these fertile images, here and elsewhere, and they must bear the blame that so few of the baked clay images of Etruscan gods have descended to us.

With works in pottery we may class also works in bronze; far more than works in marble amongst a people who did not imitate their models very exactly, and in these metallic works the Tuscans attained pre-eminent excellence. Etruria's most famous cities, Arretium, Volsinia, and others, must for centuries have been as fertile in these works as Ægina, Corinth, Athens, and other cities in Greece. Metrodorus of Skepsis reproaches the Romans, whom he hated, that they plundered Volsinia before the first Punic War, merely to obtain 2000 statues; and

from an expression of Pliny's it appears that these statues were fabricated in many parts of the civilized and populous Etruria. Hence we may safely conclude that all the bronzes in Rome of early workmanship were Etruscan. What, however, were called Etruscan statues in Pliny's time, must almost all have been images of the gods, for the historian says, that he should have believed all such statues to have represented divinities, but for the fact of the Volsinians having possessed such a prodigious quantity. Their size was very various. Horace mentions Tyrrhenian statues as precious articles of furniture. Pliny, on the other hand, describes a Tuscan statue of Apollo, in the library of the Temple of Augustus, whose height was fifty feet, and the weight and finish of which were worthy of all admiration.

The Etruscans were also skilful in the mixing and handling of metals. The native mines yielded copper, and which they loved to gild. The bronze statues, which in time were substituted for the clay ones upon the roofs, were generally gilded. Stone statues were not used, because the wooden beams would not have borne them. But so far have the names of the ablest masters of Volsinia, Arretium, and other schools, receded into shadow behind those of Polycletes and Praxiteles, that not the name of a single native Etruscan founder has reached us, unless we adopt "Veturius Mamurius" for a Tuscan, who is commemorated in the Salejan songs as the maker of the Ancilia, and to whom the brazen

image of Vertumnus in the Vicus Tuscus was ascribed. Now if we believe him to have been a real person, we must set him, not in the days of Romulus, but of Tarquin, for the tradition seems quite authentic, that Rome during the first 170 years of her existence was without images, and it was the Etruscan dominance which introduced them into the Latin shrines. That Arretium was also a great manufactory for arms agrees also with its renown in plastic fabrications.

Parallel with their skill in casting metal was their excellence in toreutic works, meaning by that term works in gold, silver, and ivory, as applied to statues. In this respect the Etruscans were so eminent, that in one branch of the art, the manufacture of articles of luxury, they scarcely ranked behind the Greeks, renowned as were Myron, and Mys, and Mentor. Perhaps the Etruscan inclination to the grotesque and the fantastic, with which their works were very early impressed, seemed most congruous to the ornamenting of a cup or a candelabrum. The ancient Attic comedian, Pherecrates, mentions Tyrrhenian lamps. No testimony as to Etruscan art can surely be stronger than that of the refined Athenian, the contemporary of Mys, Kritias the son of Kallaschras, who asserts that the Tyrrhenian cups in gold and bronze were the very best of their kind, as well as every other vessel which serves for ornament in a house; of course this includes candelabra, bowls, basins, and even arms.

The various vessels in metal of antique work-

manship, to obtain which the sepulchres of Capua were rifled in Cæsar's time, were held to be the workmanship of the Etruscans of Vulturnum.

We may understand the constant exercise of skill which was demanded from the Etruscan goldsmith, when we remember the garlands of ivy and oak leaves set with gems, the gold earrings, whose use the Romans borrowed from the Tuscans, and which they wore upon the fourth finger of the left hand, the golden bullas of the noble children, the quantities of ornaments worn by the women, the golden plates of the triumphal car, the silver breastplates of the horses, which appear to have been in common use, the silver patterns upon the procession cars, the curule chairs, which were certainly adorned with precious metals, besides ivory, and amongst which very probably we ought to reckon the throne of the Tuscan Arimnestos, which he dedicated to the shrine at Olympia: all these things give us a glimpse of the proclivity of the nation towards luxury and its proficiency in arts. We see hence that the account of a guild of goldsmiths amongst the nine instituted by Numa probably consisted of Etruscan Inquilini. It appears that one reason why the Tuscans minted so little gold or silver as a nation, was because they liked better to employ these metals upon objects of luxury, both in war and peace. How sensitive they were to the splendour of gold, we see also in the superabundant quantity of it expended upon the sarcophagi, though it may be an exaggerated expression to say, with Gori,

that the eyes of the first beholder were sometimes blinded by it!

Amongst toreutic works we must reckon the bronze gates of Veii, which Camillus wished to retain as his own booty. Many beautiful fragments still remain of Etruscan works in metal, such as the plates which in 1812 were found at Perugia of bronze and silver, richly covered by figures in the pure Etruscan style, which appear to have belonged to the apparatus of a chariot, and a whole class of monuments called mirrors, and sometimes "mystical or sacred mirrors."

Sculpture in wood or stone appears to have been much less common amongst the Tuscans, though we have some examples of it in the mention of wooden idols beside the clay ones in the early temples of Rome, all of which were the work of Italian artists, such as the Jupiter of Populonia, made from the vine. We have also antique work in Tarquinian stone at Frentinum, besides the funeral urns (sometimes elaborately carved), in tufa or alabaster. Later, indeed, we find scarcely a trace of the old Etruscan style, which we must search out in a few tablets or *cippi* preserved in local museums. Had the art of sculpture been more in exercise, and had the Etruscans possessed more skill in the workmanship of hard stone, the marble of Luna would have been much sooner in request. We have already stated that the marble they used was the inferior stratum from Pisa. We must adduce in excuse of the Tuscan artists that even in Greece Dipœnos and Skyllis,

about the 50th Olympiad, are the earliest marble-workers named, and until the days of Scopas and Praxiteles scarcely one-tenth part of the statues of the gods and heroes were in marble. Before the sculptor in Etruria the engraver seems to have been the favourite of that ornament-loving people, for there are many precious scarabei, gems of Etruscan art in the purest style, and some of them with letters, which can only be ascribed to the earlier and more flourishing ages.

Painting had also its school in Etruria, not only for ornamenting statues and vases, but as an independent art in the form of frescoes. Pliny saw in Cære, in Ardea, and in Lanuvium, pictures, which he, following the opinions of the inexperienced Cicero, believed to be older than Rome. Of the last he says that they represented Greek characters, Atalanta and Helena. We should probably date them prior to the paintings in the tombs of Tarquinia and other neighbouring cities.

We must concede to the Tuscans also as much of encaustic painting as is needful for the use of ships. We have an allusion to it in the fitting out of Scipio's fleet from Volaterra. It is well known that in Greece and Rome ships were covered over with a preparation of wax, on which coarse patterns were drawn, thus ornamenting the vessel and preserving the wood against both the salt water and the sun. Probably Philostratus, in speaking of the many colours of a Tyrrhenian pirate vessel, had an eye to the usual brilliancy of Tuscan art.

In Greece the custom of painting a ship was of the highest antiquity, and it may have easily passed through the Tyrrhenians to the Tuscans.

After these notices of the various branches of art cultivated amongst the Tuscans, if we wish for an idea of the perfection to which they had attained upon the whole, we must fix our attention upon the epoch when their relations were most flourishing with the Greeks, as it was from that people that all the higher developments of art in Etruria took their rise.

The extensive national relations between the Greeks and Tuscans, as also the intimate communion between them through the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi, which at one time obtained, during which time the Grecian mind expressed its inner life very little in bronze or stone, could scarcely have introduced those arts amongst the Tuscans, and therefore the Etruscan art in comparison with the Greek does not appear to have been indigenous, but rather to have been an offshoot transplanted to a foreign soil. Hence the imitation of the Doric pillar in the so-called Tuscan, and the almost universal agreement in style of the antique Greeks and Tuscan statuary, above all things the employment of Greek mythology throughout Etruscan art. According to Pliny it was Corinthian artists, Eucheir and Eugramma, who brought their skill to Demaratus, in Etruria; and it must be conceded that Corinth, whose trade and colonies lay to the west, exercised a great influence upon Tarquinia, the city which, from the beginning, had

adopted the largest measure of Greek civilisation through the Tyrseni, and which, by this means, surpassed them all in splendour and riches, exercised, if not an active commerce, yet at least a friendly and frequent intercourse with the powerful and industrious Corinth. The astounding similarity of the vases with black figures found in the Tarquinian sepulchres with the works of antique Corinthian potters, give a singular weight to the historical legend, which might not otherwise have been so readily accepted. Stronger indeed and more lasting was the immediate influence of the Greeks upon the Tuscans in Campania, which began very early and continued actively, until the Samnite conquest of Capua (A.R. 332) B.C. 421. Even this conquest did not soon destroy the arts in Capua and its neighbourhood. It is probable that it lasted long, through the uninterrupted commerce between Grecian Naples and Tuscan Nola; but the connecting links of the chain, through which, in earlier times, the genuine spirit of Greek art was introduced into the Twelve States of Central Etruria, we have now lost irrecoverably.

There were Greeks from the mother country, free Greek cities on the coast of Campania, and free Tuscan cities on the same coast, besides the cities of Tuscany proper. Campanians, Faliscii, and Arretinians, were no longer the same people. They did not hang politically together; and though the bulk of them might be Tuscans, yet they formed parts of different nations. We may assume that this confederation had been broken up fifty years

earlier, because the Tuscans, certainly until the 70th Olympiad, took a lively interest in the art-culture of the Greeks, and appear to have advanced along with them, and then gradually to have become stationary. We must, however, take into consideration, that it was not all the artists nor all the schools in Greek itself, to say nothing of foreign offshoots, which made the giant strides of Athens, between the Olympiads 75 and 85, under the teaching of Phidias and his scholars and contemporaries; and we can even show that many of the associated members, fifteen years later, when Phidias accomplished his Olympic Jove, had become weak or degraded, they had evidently degenerated, and therefore beauty of composition, and light, and skilful execution, never were predominant in the sculptures of Etruria. That this was the case we know with certainty, because "Tucanica signa" betokened a peculiar style in ancient art, which could only be compared with the archaic Greeks.

Strabo classes the reliefs upon the Egyptian gateways, the Tyrrhœnian, and the oldest Grecian works together, apparently because of their stiff and hard outlines. Quintilian, in his famous parallel between the progress of painting and eloquence, says that Kallon and Hegesias had produced the strongest and most finished works in Tuscan art, but that Kalamis and Myro had enriched the art itself with more fulness and flexibility. Kallon flourished, according to our most trustworthy accounts of him, from the 60th to the 65th Olympiad. The Attic

Hegesias first appeared in the 75th. These masterpieces, which can scarcely be ranked after the Eginetan statues, were imitations of the widely-spread Tuscan bronze works, but they had less freedom and vigour. Very likely, at that epoch, there might be an emulation between the Tuscan and the Greek sculptors, for the temple of Ceres, in the Circus Maximus, was built in the Tuscan style about A.R. 260 (72d Olympiad, B.C. 493); and its decoration with clay images and frescoes was, for the first time in Rome, entrusted to the Greeks, Damophilos and Gorgasos, whose art long after excited admiration.

Any man would be much mistaken who would limit the works of Etruscan artists to the time between this period and their decay; for that some of them, belonging to an earlier age, were even superior is evidenced by the Tuscan Apollo, which Pliny would not have praised so highly if it had shown less talent than the works of Kallon, and many isolated remains testify to the same effect. It is, indeed, probable that in later times, the restricted use of Tuscan art, almost to the funeral urns of Volaterra and other cities, had freed themselves from many of the faults of the old Tuscans; but there can have been no revived outburst of art over the whole of Etruria, or the term "Tuscan" would not have been appropriated to the more ancient productions. When taste and feeling for art had arisen in Rome, there was little industry of any importance existing in Etruria. Had there been all traces of it

would not so entirely have vanished. In fact, high art always appears to have been an exotic, which the soil and the climate did not bring forth, and could not sustain. It withered away when the foreign influence ceased, without having attained to its full maturity. With all their most carefully finished works, there failed to the Tuscans that inspiration of genius, that ray from heaven, which makes of art a living body, animated by a free and independent spirit.

Finally, these brief notices from antiquity can serve to sink the pillars upon which we may construct a history of art in Etruria by means of the monuments which remain, and these may teach us how much of Tuscan proficiency was original, and how much was due to that old Greek influence which adorned and ennobled it, and may show us why the taste and inclination of the Tuscans, in their choice of subjects and manner of representation, always leaned to those Greek mannerisms which had first become naturalized in their land.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE HEROIC MYTHOLOGY OF THE TUSCANS.

THE art of sculpture leads us, through its objects, into the region of a mythology, which is not strictly connected with worship, and therefore is better here treated as an art or handicraft, from the style

of its usual exercise, than be considered as a part of religion. The religion of the Tuscans was far less mythological than that of the Greeks. It seems that they never allowed their Gods to appear upon the earth, and only granted them to show their presence through Genii, or by signs. The heroic legends appear to have been limited to the oldest cities, or to the ancestors of the most illustrious families. On the other hand, the Greek heroic mythology was early naturalized amongst them, and universally known. This may remind us how far and how early, through tradition and song, the myths of the Greeks were known to their neighbours; so that Xerxes offered sacrifices to the heroes of Ilion, the Egyptian priests related to Herodotus many of his own stories in a somewhat different version, and the wise men amongst the Persians and the Phœnicians had much to tell of Io, Medea, and Helena.

It is even stronger language, and by no means vain boasting, when Pindar affirms that there was no state or city so barbarous that it did not know the divine ancestors of Peleus, or the fame of Ajax of Telamon. All the world known to the Greeks rang with the praises of their heroes. Now Etruria was surely earlier accessible to all these tales than the foreign nations of the East, for quite, independently of their meaning and their national interest, they must have amused as mere narratives. What the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi brought over with them could only be some few fundamental propositions, for no-

body now believes that there was any participation in an extended Pelasgian mythology which served as the groundwork of Etruscan art. In what way, however, Greek myths were transplanted into Etruria is not easy to divine. It is not likely that the Tuscans should have learnt Greek and read their national ballads simply out of a thirst for knowledge. It is more credible that they should have become known through those who were settlers in Greek cities, and *vice versa*. It is not, however, to be supposed that the song and legend would be transplanted and transmitted quite pure, the easily varied tale would submit to many alterations in a Tuscan mouth, and some additions of home imagery. A remarkable example, and one which may serve as a useful standard for critics upon Greco-Italian legends, is the following:—Theopompus tells us, that when Ulysses had landed in Ithaca, and had received intelligence of the situation of affairs with Penelope, he immediately took ship for Tyrsenia, came ashore at Cortyna, and there died. Now in Aristotle's Epigrams upon Homer's heroes, there are two named Ulysses who settled in Tyrrhenia. The grave of one of these was believed to be upon Mount Perga, near Gortyna—Gortyna is the Hellenic form of Kortona, "Kurtun"—and no other city of Etruria can be meant. But this Ulysses of Cortona was widely different from the Ulysses of Ithaca. He was indolent, surly, and morose. He must have been victor in some combat with the Tuscan fleet. His Tuscan name was Nanos, which means "a wan-

derer." This shows that Cortona had traditions about a hero of those parts named Nanos, who sailed thither and settled himself in the city, and whose adventures bore a certain resemblance to the Greek Ulysses, and therefore became confounded with them. Now let us compare this fragment out of the Greek Phoronis, "Pelasgos, the king of the Pelasgians, and Menippe, the daughter of Peneios, had a son Phrastor, who was the father of Amyntor, the father of Teutamides, the father of Nanos. Under this rule the Pelasgians were driven out by the Hellenes, and directed their vessels to the river Spina in the Ionian Sea, and seized the city of Kroton on the mainland; sallying forth thence they conquered the people called Tyrrheni." In this legend and genealogy every detail is Greek down to Nanos—for Teutamides, or Teutamias, the prince of the Pelasgi, came from Larissa in Thessaly.

Nanos is the Cortonian hero, the wandering chief who finally settled there. Hellenicos, or his predecessor in this narration, accepted the Tuscan tradition, and maintains that the Tyrrheni were Pelasgi, that they took Spina, a city near to Greece, and always friendly to it, and that out of this for their starting-point they evolved the rest of the story. So was this same chief, whom he called a prince of the Pelasgi in Larissa, confounded with the Greek hero Ulysses as one condemned to perpetual wandering, and one who had performed many wonderful voyages in their seas.

The result at which we arrive from this combi-

nation is, that the Tuscans themselves amplified the Greek mythology by engrafting upon it their own; and thus we must consider many other Greek myths, which extended themselves to Etruscan cities, not as arbitrary inventions of the Hellenes, but as probably combined with the local traditions of the Etruscans. However there are great differences amongst them, some of which shall be noted here.

Tarchon, as we have already stated, is the hero of Tarquinia (Tarchuvin) and the representative of the ancient Lucumoes of the place, therefore it was he who ploughed up Tages and first received his doctrine. This native aboriginal Tuscan legend, as well as the sequence that he founded the twelve States on each side of the Apennines, justifies the claims of Tarquinia to the highest antiquity and importance amongst the Etruscan cities. The name of Tarchon was widely renowned. Lycophron speaks of him as a prince of the Tyrrheni, and he, as well as Virgil, makes him a contemporary and ally of Æneas. It is with Tarchon's name also that the Lydian legend is connected, doubtless because those Tyrrheni who had really dwelt upon the coasts of Lydia, afterwards established themselves by preference in the neighbourhood of Tarquinia. Tarchon, from Tyrrhenos, the son of Atys, was esteemed the founder of the twelve States. He is called the son, or the brother, of Tyrrhenos, and it is by no means unlikely that Tarchon, gutturally pronounced, was the Etruscan name of Tyrrhenos.

That the Etruscans during their period of civil-

isation recognised this connexion with the Lydians is not to be doubted, and their coins bear an allusion to it. Had they denied the genealogy of their Tarchon from the Lydian gods and heroes, it would scarcely have been so generally promulgated.

It is much to be regretted that Dionysius imparts to us none of the legends about the ancient Etruscan leader of the Rasenas; perhaps they would have shed a gleam of light over the perplexing relation between the aboriginal Rasena and the Tuscan Tarchon.

Similar to Tarchon and Tarquinia is the relation of Halesus to the city of Falerii, whose high walls he is said to have founded. But here, also, the transformation of the name by a people not Tuscan brings confusion into the story. We can perhaps better show in another place that the Tuscan letter S, which has been derived from the Greek Φ , carries with it a strong aspirate, a 'sibilus,' so that it may express H in other languages, though it is translated by the Latin F. A similar letter in some other Italian dialects, the Sabine for instance, varies between F and H, so did also the old Latin. The name of the Tuscan city must have been expressed $\Phi\Phi\text{JA}\delta$, or Phalese, according to the letters out of which the Romans, by their interchange of S and R, have made Falerii for the city and Falisci for the people; but we can equally find in the sounds of the hero of the city, Halesus or Alesus. With this name also, as Silius tells us, the little port of Alsium stood in connexion.

Morrius, one of the kings of Veii, derived his descent from Halesus, and dedicated a war-dance to his memory. In the local ballads he was styled the son of Neptune, *i.e.*, a maritime genius.

Now the worship of Juno prevailed in Falerii, which, as we have above remarked, in many respects was ordered after an Argive model. It was suggestive, therefore, to connect Halesus—a hero unknown to Greek mythology—out of Argos, and to connect him with the leader of the Argives, Agamemnon, and finally to assert that Falerii was a colony from Argos, a statement which Cato apparently gives us from native records. If this is rejected as a later association, then Halesus stands alone unaccounted for, but more exact details of any Etruscan hero we cannot expect to find amongst our scanty extracts from their scattered annals.

There was an old hero of Perugia named Aucnus, which name is sometimes turned into Aunus, and sometimes into Ocnus. Aunus, the son of Faunus, according to Silius, ruled over the plains of the Lake Thrasymene until the arrival of the Lydian Thrasymenus. This Perugian Aunus is evidently the same person with Ocnus, or Aucnus, who separated himself from his father or brother Aulestes, the founder of Perugia, that they might not quarrel, and then founded the ancient capital of the twelve cities of the Po, namely, Felsina or Bononia, as also Mantua, according to the Mantuan Poet.*

* Virg. ap. Serv. ad *Æn.* X. 198. "Hunc Ocnus alii

Virgil calls him "son of the Tiber," which flows by Perugia, and this seems taken from an old tradition. His mother, the Theban Manto, is a Greek etymological myth.

Pisa and Cære were the cities of Etruria with which the Greeks had most intercourse by commerce and navigation, hence both are frequently mentioned by Lycophron. The name of Pisa, very likely altered from its Etruscan pronunciation, reminds us of Pisa in Peloponessus. And upon this is founded the tale of the Greek descent of the Pisans, as is witnessed by their interchanges. For sometimes Pelops, the founder of the Alpheian Pisa, is the founder of Etruscan Pisa also, which thereupon is assigned to Alpheios. At other times the foundation was attributed to the neighbouring Pyliern, whose kingdom extended to Alpheios, and who is called the comrade of Nestor. Here it is difficult to decide whether this is the invention of an individual writer, or whether it was a tradition current amongst the Pisans.

The most enigmatical of all the legends are those relating to Corythus at Cortona, which plays so important a part in Virgil's *Æneid*, and are assigned as a reason for *Æneas* taking refuge in Italy. Corythus, who is regarded as the hero of Cortona (*Corythi sedes*), was the father of Dardanos

Aulestis filium, alii fratrem qui Perusiam condidit, referunt, et ne cum fratre contenderet, in agro Gallico Felsinam, quæ nunc Bononia dicitur, condidisse."

Silius calls Bononia "Oeni prisca domus."

and Jason, who quitted Italy, the one for Troas and the other for Samothrace. Most of the learned are now convinced that "Corythos" was really the old Pelasgian name for Cortona, although this city was also called Cortona, Kroton, and Gortyn, and possibly may originally have belonged to a hero of Corythos; but to me it is evident that we have here nothing but a Greek legend, which has been transferred to Cortona. The Korytheer was one of the nine ancient names of Tegea, and represents a mythological hero "Korythus." Now the Tegeans associated him with Dardanos, and married the latter to Chrysa, the daughter of Pallas, and hence they naturally constructed the genealogy of Korythus and Dardanos. That the name of "Korythus" is to be found amongst the Trojans is not wonderful considering the ancient community of legends between Troy, Tegea, and Athens. Cortona was doubtless united with these; first, when the Italian legends were regarded as offshoots of the Hellenic, and the assertion that the city in Pelasgic times was called Corythus agrees exactly with this idea.

It is interesting to note how in the middle ages down to the revival of literature a similar working of the imagination took place, and new relations of Greek eponyms to the Italian cities were assumed. Who in antiquity even thought of connecting the shining Phæsole, one of the Hyades of Hesiod, with the city of Fæsulæ? But in modern times the similar sounds of Phæsole and Fæsulæ was thought to be very enlightening. The Hyades were then changed

into the daughters of Atlas, the Pleiades, and Atlas was made to travel into Italy, and to name the first city he founded after his daughter. The Italian poet Facio Uberto relates this modern fable, and adds, "As an ancient historian informs us."

I have placed these traditions together (from which many others purely Italian have arisen) in order to demonstrate that the Tuscans, supposing that no Greek colony was ever really settled amongst them, yet that they took a keen interest in Greek mythology—that Ulysses, the Argives, and the Trojan heroes were well known, and almost naturalized amongst them, and so in their artistic representations the mythological details were not the merely formal relation of a legend which they are to us. In many cases Rome drew her knowledge of Greek gods and heroes first from the Tuscans. At any rate we find that the ancient Roman Ulixes comes from Uluxe, the Tuscan transformation of Odysseus; so also Alexanter, Kassantra, Pulyxena, Culchides, all Tuscan forms, turning the soft consonants into hard, and the *o* into *u*. The Roman Polluces comes through the Tuscan Pultuke.

In the native mythology of Etruria heroic legends always occupied an inferior place. Their faith was absorbed in the gods whose wearisome and many-branched services occupied their minds. What remained over of religious thought formed to itself vague and shadowy classes of beings, like Lares and Genii, and had not the individuality and the energy of Heroes. Their popular sayings were

doubtless rich in allusions to spectral existences, such as the Mania of the Romans, or in imaginary monsters, such as the Volsinian Volta. This is surely a sufficient reason why the arts of painting and sculpture amongst the Tuscans should have found its more suitable subjects amongst the heroic tales which they learnt from the Greeks.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE POETRY, LITERATURE, AND LANGUAGE OF THE TUSCANS.

THE poetical faculty which we miss so much in the Tuscan mythology appears to have been deficient in the national mind. The Tuscan *Histrion* danced and gesticulated, but was mute, and the Tuscan tragedies of *Volnius* appeared not long before *Varro* in the literary age of Rome, and were very likely composed to keep alive a language which was rapidly dying out.

The Tuscan flute-players played and danced at sacrifices—according to Greek ideas the universal accompaniments of worship, and had not one soul-stirring or heart-inspiring song to accompany. Yet there certainly were songs in Etruria which were sung in divine worship, and which were accompanied by the flute, their sacred instrument, and the old Romans sang to the *tibia*. The books of *Tages*

also were appointed to be sung at certain ceremonies, and were written in verse. At the annual festival of Juno at Faleria, a choir of young maidens praised the goddess in native songs. The War-dancers of Veii sang songs in praise of Halessus, which were compared to the Roman hymns of the Salii. The Tuscans possessed also a sort of Liturgical poetry, which we might imagine to ourselves, from some brief extracts out of the Salian Hymns, a few lines from the Arval Brothers, and some portions of the Eugubian tablets, which contain addresses to Jove, or "Di Grabovi," and other gods—if we could only understand them better.

The last-named appear to be antiphonal and recurring forms—or at least a measured rhythm, which is characteristic of that style of poetry—whether a connexional rhythmus or peculiar simple metre dominated in the ballads of the Tuscans, we do not know. The Saturnian measure may have come to the Latins through their more civilised neighbours, and nothing forbids us to esteem it the production of its native soil. A more musical versification, however, seems not to have been possible for the Tuscans, owing to the preponderance of consonants in their language.*

But, besides this Liturgical poetry, the Etruscans had another kind to express a joyous and somewhat

* The Litany of the Eugubian tables is very remarkable. We select as an example the prayer in the sixth table to Jove Grabovi, on the sacrifice of the three oxen. It is

boisterous humour (viz. the Fescennine Verses), deriving their name from the city of Fescennium, in South Etruria. This city, however, was probably rather a seat of the original Siculi, or, according to Dionysius, of the Pelasgi, than of the pure Etruscans — Etruscan manners and speech, however, had the predominance, and the dances that we have already described show an unmistakable taste for

repeated three times; only the second time, instead of "pilhaclu," we have "etru," and the third time "tertiu:"—

"Suboco Dei Grabove.

Di Grabovie tiom esu bue peracrei pihacu ocreper fisiu to-
taper Iiovina erer nomneper erar nomneper.

Di Grabovie orer ose persei ocrem fisim pir oriom est toteme
Iiovinem arsmor derseeor subator sent pusei neip
hereitu.

Di Grabovie persei tuer perscler vasetom est pesetom est
peretom est frosetom est daetom est tuer perscler
virseto avirseto vas est.

Di Grabovie persei mersei esu bue peracrei pihacu pihafei.

Di Grabovie pihatu ocrem fisim pihatu totam Iiovinam.

Di Grabovie pihatu ocerer fisier totar Iovinar nome nerf arsmo
veiro pequo castruo fri pihatu futu fons pacer pase
tua ocre fisi tote Iiovine erer nomne erar nomne.

Die Grabovie salvo seritu ocrem fisim salvam seritu totam
Iiovinam.

Die Grabovie salvom seritu ocerer fisier totar Iovinar nome
nerf arsino veiro pequo castruo frif salva seritu futu
fons pacer pase tua ocre fisi tote Iiovine erer nomne
erar nomne.

Die Grabovie tiom esu bue peracri pihacu ocreper fisin to-
taper Iiovina erer nomneper erar nomneper.

Die Grabovie tiom subocau."

comic amusements amongst the people. Horace deduces the Fescennine Verses from the uproarious joy of the peasants in their harvest festivals, and describes them as alternate verses, bandying an interchange of taunts and satirical jests. These responsive repartees were doubtless essential, and they were popular at all festive meetings, even in the songs upon a Roman triumph. According to the testimony of the ancients, these Fescennine satires were quite foreign to the national representations of the Tuscan Hester. It was the Roman youth who first employed both in the same games. Now, though both were naturalised in Etruria, and their suitability was evident, yet we must believe that, in their original cradle of Fescennium, these verses were represented on the stage like the Sicilian Mimos, and that they were accompanied by dances. A work of high art could never emerge from such a narrowly restricted measure, binding together dance, music, and speech; and whilst the Greek availed himself of these accompaniments with freedom and taste, the Tuscan seems to have bounded his desires by the coarse effusions of the Fescennine rhythm. Even at bridal feasts, they were satirical and licentious (*convicia festa*). In Rome, pasquinades took their place.

When regular books of Fescennine Verses were afterwards composed in Rome, such as those by Annianus, a contemporary of Gellius, who had an estate at Falerii, and who wrote them in a peculiar measure, we must not assume that this was the rule

in Etruria, for we can scarcely attribute to that nation a poetical literature. In the proper signification of the word, "literature" of any kind must always have been very scanty, even in the days of their independence and highest prosperity. The Tuscan histories, quoted by Varro, seem first to have been written in the sixth century of Rome, about the time the Roman Annals began — though, according to another calculation, they may be 150 years older.

Their Annals, kept by the high-priest, must have been contemporary, and their religious bond was not dissolved until it was absorbed in Christianity. Amongst the earliest remains are those of the Haruspex Vegoja, from his book upon Aruns Voltumnus, of which we have a fragment in the Agrimensoral Hymn. The voluminous works upon Discipline, as we have already shown, were chiefly composed or compiled in Roman times, though portions of them may have existed in writing much earlier. The songs of Tages, in so far as they are genuine, were apparently handed down verbally by the Lucumoes, and so taught in their schools. Oral tradition is their source, but when the use of writing became common, they very much increased in bulk. Other songs used in worship we must consider in the same light.

The first writing was used, according to all probability, to register such events as we find in the Pontifical Annals of Rome, and which were inserted in their linen books, viz. prodigies, the names of magistrates, and other matters for the current year.

The Etruscans may well have preceded the Romans in these things by a century, for the Romans do not appear to have kept written annals before the middle of their third age; but the nails driven into the temple of Nortia were a more ancient mode of record still. One mainspring for a history of the written documents amongst the Etruscans must be sought in the character of the writing itself, and I will endeavour to investigate this in a subsequent section.

How far the Tuscans had cultivated their language we can only judge from the miserably few remains which have come down to us. How little can be determined from these with any certainty we have already discussed in comparing the relation of the Tuscans to the other nations of Italy. Hence we shall merely add, that their speech, both by mouth and to the ear, appears to have been far removed from the euphony of the Greeks, and less adapted to civilisation and refinement. The greatest of their monuments, the Perusian inscription, combines consonants which, according to the principles of articulation, cannot be sounded together—for instance, we have a vowel, then a mute, then an aspirate, then a liquid, and then a mute and an aspirate again—such as amefachr, lautn, tesns, epl, eplc, srancxl, thunchulthl, a—combination of sounds which must have pleased the Tuscans, though we know not where to divide the syllables. On the other hand, this superfluity of consonants does not avoid the combination of many vowels. They fre-

quently added an *s* and an *a* to the end of their words, and thereby actually destroyed their grammatical forms. When Greek influence began, they dropped some of their first sounds; and if the patera painted with the visit of *Hermes* to *Paris* be indeed Tuscan, it was a useless device to substitute "*Alixentros*" for the more properly native "*Elchsntre*."

To judge from the sepulchral inscriptions, the language was never so fixed that forms, which admit a short vowel or leave it out — words which call in the aid of a liquid, and those which reject it, were not used indifferently. At any rate, we find amongst them differences which mean the same thing, such as were never admissible in the Greek and Latin languages.

From these specimens we must place the Tuscan language below the Latin, and conclude that it never was formed into a grammar with artistic rules, otherwise we should never find such variations in the inscriptions as actually exist. It cannot, however, be denied that culture and taste had an influence, even upon the language of a genuine Tuscan. They were sensible to a more agreeable accent and a greater choice of expressions, for we know that the speech of a townsman* amongst them was easily distinguished from a rustic of the country.

We are not without hints that the Perusian accent was very harsh.

* *Livy*, x. 4.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE WRITING AND NUMERALS OF THE ETRUSCANS.

As our fountain-head for a history of Etruscan civilisation, and in default of other aids, we must make use of their written characters. We will first compare them with the Greeks, the Umbrians, and the Latins, and advance some inferences from their intimate connexion with these people, and then, combined with other considerations, we will draw conclusions to the degree of literary culture to which this nation had attained.

As regards the origin of the Etruscan letters, it is now certain, from our wider acquaintance with the archaic monuments of Greece: 1st, that they did not come to the Tuscans immediately from the Orient, but that they were received through the medium of the Greeks, for their alphabet contains few forms which are not also found in early Greek inscriptions;* 2dly, on the other hand, many purely Phœnician forms, which the Greeks long retained, are missing in the Etruscan alphabet, and therefore seem to have become obsolete before their transfer; and 3dly, purely Greek signs, which the Greeks added to the Phœnician alphabet, were adopted by the Tuscans. It appears, from a comparison of the Syriac-Phœnician letters upon in-

* The Tuscan *t*, *u*, *x*, *m* and *n*, are not found in Greek.

scriptions and coins with the archaic Greek and Tuscan, that a conviction is forced upon us, that the Tuscan stands in a nearer relation to the early Greek than to the Oriental forms, and that therefore the introduction of alphabetic signs into Italy was not immediate, but came through the Greeks. Of course, we must make allowance for the changes which the original Phœnician characters underwent in the course of time, and during their transmission into Europe through Ionian commerce, as is proved by existing monuments. This migration we must not regard as accomplished all at once, as if the Etruscans had received this writing at some one determined date, and had thenceforward retained their letters unaltered. Rather, we have in them a proof of long-continued alliance and sympathy, for, in many cases, where the Greeks have older and newer forms of a letter, we find both with the Etruscans; and it surely follows that, for a long series of years, the Etruscans were observant of the changes in Greek literature, and adopted them for their own benefit.

I will endeavour briefly to give my reasons for this view, and to fix the epochs within certain limits in which the current writing of Etruscans took its rise from a somewhat abnormal, but older form. For though, from the inspection of stones and bronzes with inscriptions, we may trace several epochs, yet they are distinctly divided into two classes. By far the greater number of inscriptions, especially upon the mortuary urns, belong to one

mode of writing common to the later Etruscans, as is testified by the authors themselves, and only a few monuments, gems, cippi, and bronzes, very scanty in words, are distinguishable from them by their incontrovertible archaicisms. To the following comparison of some ancient Greek and Etruscan letters we must premise that the Hermes of the Pisistratides and the helmet of Hiero are selected, because they are the only inscriptions before the *Nointelschen* (Olymp. 80), whose date we can fix—the one Olymp. 63–65; the other, Olymp. 76; and therefore they are of inestimable worth for genuine palæography.

The first letter of the alphabet in Greece apparently differed little from the Phœnician, a sort of perpendicular hook with a stroke through it, from which, through intermediate forms, in some places sooner and others later, was developed the regular A, as we find it in the helmet of Hiero. The Etruscans used at first the old Greek A, like the Phœnicians, as several antique inscriptions prove, but more commonly they used a letter very like A, viz., Λ more rounded, of a form also found in Greece, but which became dominant in Etruria because their style of writing was more rounded. We deduce from this that the change in Greek writing took place between Olymp. 60 and 80, and from this date forward that it permanently influenced the Etruscans.

The Greek literals Β, Δ, Γ, were not used by the Etruscans, because these sounds were not in their language. Therefore, the two first are never found

in Tuscan inscriptions. The Γ was adopted, but only as another form for K. In the old Greek alphabet Γ plays a singular part, for sometimes we find it as like the Phœnician, sometimes as 𐤄 , or 𐤅 , or Γ , which last is the latest. Sometimes this appears as 𐤄 turned to the left, as on the column of Milos, and it is hard to determine which of these two is the earliest or latest. A third form is rounded like C, and this was adopted by the Etruscans, but *why* they adopted it, seeing that their sound of it was already so fully expressed by K, would be hard to define. They could scarcely intend to mark by it a difference of accent. In the mass of their inscriptions K is very seldom used, but it frequently appears in their more ancient ones, and it seems there, even as in Latin, to have been gradually supplanted.

This is a point from the solution of which we may perhaps gain some light upon the Latin alphabet. The Romans did not take their writing as a whole from the Tuscans, because they could give them no B, or D, or O, or Q, but the example of their more civilized neighbours had certainly an influence upon them. They, like the Tuscans, accepted C for K, in its third form, where it stands as a medial between B and D very inconsistently, when they felt the want of an appropriate sign for the soft consonant, in the place of which for a long while they used the C. About the time of the second Punic war, or perhaps a little earlier, they found out of it their G, and fitted it into the vacant place

of Greek Z, which they did not use, so that once more the alphabet of the Æolians, if they had not by that time lost their digamma, and that of the Latin, were brought into a certain harmony:—

A B Γ Δ E F Z H

A B C D E F G H

The Greek E, which underwent little change with that nation, remained unaltered also by the Etruscans. In their common writing it was perhaps somewhat more rounded, and underwent slight modifications occasionally.

The digamma F we find with this form common in Tuscan inscriptions, but along with this comes another (J), which was in later use with the Hellenes, and in the family sepulchres we find the same name sometimes spelt with the one form and sometimes with the other. Besides these we have a third form, apparently derived from both. Sometimes this digamma is replaced by V or γ , though it is a letter of quite a different power, so that we must regard the interchange as a mistake in orthography.

The Etruscans had another literal much nearer in sound to the F, viz., 8. This we find in the names Phlafe, Phulne, Caphate, and others, and it always retains in them the same form. The feminine name Phastia or Phasti is also written with the same letter, but sometimes it is replaced by another, which appears to have been an equivalent,—a circle or square divided by a line through the centre, the Greek Φ . The family name Pherini, which appears to mean

the same under many forms, is sometimes written with 8 and sometimes with the divided circle or square. These two examples prove the identity or great similarity of the two sounds, and also that they are derived from the Greek literal ϕ . In the names Amphiaras (Amphiare) and Perseus (Pherse) we have the circle with the stroke through.

ϕ is a letter which the Greeks invented for themselves, and did not borrow from the Phœnicians. In the pillar of Melos there is an archaic PH, and that this should be so much used by the Etruscans evidences that they derived it from the Greeks. The forms of ϕ which we find in ancient Greek monuments are ϕ and Φ , which latter is sometimes made square, and from these the Etruscans have taken Φ and Θ . Out of this last again comes 8, and the square form in like manner, although another element seems here to come into play. That the oblique or slanting divided circle and the diagonal square should also express *th* must be regarded as a mistake in orthography or a variation in speech, and indicates that the pronunciation of ϕ was never regulated by any fixed rules.

As regards the signs F and 8, however, they prove distinctly that the Etruscan and the Latin letters were formed from independent sources. F in name belongs to both languages, but it is synonymous with the Latin V; thus Fipi, Fulsine, Menerfa, are written Vibius, Volsienus, Minerva. Tuscan F retained the sound it had with the Orientals, expressed in Latin by V.

Latin F, on the other hand, expressed a strong and peculiar aspirate not far removed from a sibilant.

The Tuscans, who had the same uncouth sound in their speech, chose to indicate it by the Greek Φ , and kept the digamma for its original use. Consequently the Latin F is synonymous with Φ , as in Phulni-Folnius, Pherini-Ferinus, Phlase-Flavius, &c. With the Etruscans the vowel V is interchanged with F, and is occasionally found between F and Φ , but that Φ should ever have been translated by V, I never recollect to have found; and this because the two sounds are separated by another which comes between them. In Sabine and in old Latin we often find *ficus* instead of *hircus*, *fasena* instead of *harena*, and *f* and *h* alternating in many dialects; so in modern Romish *f* is sometimes a mere aspirate, and so also it is often impossible in Etruscan to distinguish between the sounds of Φ and H. This does not prevent the Etruscans from having had some other sign to express the simple aspirate.

The old Greek H, a square broken through, generally served to express the first sound in the names of Heracles, Hercle, Hercla, Hercole, and in the great Perusian inscription (which has a very consistent orthography) this H recurs with the same power, and always as quite a different letter from Φ , with which nevertheless in the above and other examples it sounds identical. The confusion of the signs for Φ and for H is increased by this—that the

horizontally-divided square which, according to Etruscan custom, is somewhat sounded, passes easily into the ϕ , and so we find it in the Eugubian tables, where θ is substituted for the Latin F, and the digamma ν and the divided circle is used where the Latin writing has an *h*.

The Th was a very common letter with the Etruscans. They took \odot from the Greek sign, and so we find it, though in an angular form, upon the Cospian Patera. But as the point in this letter merely seems to distinguish it from the O, and the Etruscans have no O in their language, they usually expressed the *th* by \circ without any point, or in its square form. In common writing we find, times without number, Larth, Arnth, Thana, written with \circ , but the most ancient inscriptions are all written thus, \odot . Latinized, the aspirate was omitted, and the form of these names is Lars, Lartis, Aruns, Aruntis. Thanchufil becomes Tanaquil, and sometimes the sound is expressed by D.

The I has always this simple form in Etruscan. The broken line common in Phœnician and old Greek inscriptions did not pass into Etruria,—a proof that the alphabet had undergone a certain degree of improvement in Greece before it was transmitted to the Tuscans.

K has always been the same both with the Greeks and Etruscans, or has been very slightly modified.

L, both in the Etruscan and Phœnician alphabet,

has either an acute angular form or a line turned back, the same as that first used by the Romans, and which we see on the tomb of the Scipios. The exceptions to this are insignificant. The oldest Greek inscriptions place the oblique line sometimes on the right side, or in the corner, sometimes under, or in the middle, and sometimes above, and for this we can discover no rule; but the Etruscans could not use the last form, because with them it expressed P; they therefore restricted themselves to the angular corner.

As to the letter M, this form with the Greeks originally expressed S, and our M was figured in another shape, with an abbreviated final stroke, and this unequal figure had its root in the Phœnician alphabet. It was used in Athens in the 64th Olympiad, but by the 76th Olympiad they had adopted the present M, which we find also in the important older Elean "Rhetra." The Etruscans first appropriated to themselves this later form, only they added to it a small stroke inclining outwards, as we find it in their earliest inscriptions.

Therefore this letter is not properly Etruscan, The pillar of Melos exhibits it five times in four lines. But when this irregular form was obsolete and still M was used for S, and could not be changed, the Etruscans adopted m for their ordinary writing.

The same was the case with N. The Etruscans at first adopted the old Greek unsymmetrical form, and afterwards replaced it with n .

But sometimes the older form of the M has its small stroke prolonged, as is seen in some very ancient monuments, and this suggests that their alphabet was the work of many hands. Lanzi constantly writes Nu or Nui for words which we otherwise know began Mi.

It follows from this that the Etruscans took their first letters from the ancient Greek, and after the latter had changed that they followed them, but unwillingly and only from necessity.

O is never formed as O in the Etruscan words.

The Etruscans formed their P from the old Greek, although they left out the vertical line and made the cross-line somewhat more oblique, a modification they could not avoid, although they did not require to distinguish it from the gamma.

The Latins appear to have rejected the Greek P independently of the Tuscans, although it is found in some of their inscriptions, and they seem to have formed their own P from it.

The Etruscans did not adopt the koppa, although the Romans used Q, which they formed as Q. The Tuscans gave the sound as *chf* or *cf*.

R in common writing has two forms, ʀ and R, which are also sometimes made angular. Lanzi finds both in early inscriptions. The ancient Greeks also sometimes used one form and sometimes another, and we cannot determine that the one belongs to an older and the other to a later age.

R is very seldom found in Etruscan inscriptions.

The Romans took it immediately from Greece, where it was used at the time of the 76th Olympiad.

S. The oldest form of the Sigma in Greece was M; yet by the 64th Olympiad we find Σ used in Athens, which long remained the reigning form, and which when dashed off shortly and with freedom might be compared to a Scythian bow with a curl at the end. With the Tuscans we find both forms in their earliest inscriptions, and sometimes both used in the same word. Nor can we even discriminate between the more frequent use of one form or the other, for in the great Perusian monument we find S used three or four times in these words, slel, tesns, tesne, cemulmlescul, enesci, masu. In all the other words without exception the form is M.

The names Aphsi, Caspre, Feltsna, Fesi, Senti, Fusine, Leskine, are written with Σ . The final *sa* in Canxasa, Curfesa, and so on, is written Σ . The final *si*, on the contrary, is written with M; and M is more generally used at the end of a word as when *Rexusa* becomes *Rexus*.

The Etruscans appear to have distinguished between the two sounds of the S, the buzzing and the hissing sound, but we cannot tell which was which.

T. I cannot at all account for the reason why the Tuscans should have given this letter the form of a cross with an oblique line, one-half of which is broken off.

V and Y the Etruscans took from the Greeks. The former is very generally used; the latter rarely.

X. By the time the Tuscans adopted this letter it had already replaced K H with the Greeks, and assumed the form of ψ . Thus it was transplanted, and we never find it in any other shape.

The double consonant α was indeed not in common use in Greece until after the days of Simonides and Epicharmos, but we find it as + in the brass tablet of Petilia and on the coins of the Pyxoeis. It appears, therefore, to have been used the earliest in Italy. The Etruscans used it in the form of \ddagger (the simple + being appropriated to T), for the Greek name Uluxe and for the Tuscan such as Canxna, Arnxle, but, like T, it was often cut off upon the right side. We also find *chs* for X, as in Elchsntre for Alexander.

The Latins took their X from a Greek form rarely used.

ψ for Ps we scarcely find in any Etruscan inscription, but it is also one of the most modern letters of the Greeks.

Z, the long vowel, H and Ω , and the antique *schin*, are entirely wanting; the last because it was already obsolete, the second because it was superfluous, and the Z because the Etruscans had not the sound in their language.

When we endeavour out of these notices to construct a history of the Etruscan alphabet, we must remember that writing from right to left in the Oriental manner prevails in all the Etruscan monuments, whilst this fashion was so early aban-

done by the Greeks that it is difficult to find it followed out for two lines together.

The oldest Greek inscriptions carry us up to the 40th Olympiad, and, therefore, we must place the introduction of writing into Etruria somewhat earlier; and in this way we come very nearly to verify the tradition which makes Cypselos bring it with him to Tarquinia when he was driven away from his country by Demaratos, of the family of the Bacchiadae, about Olympiad 30; however the still earlier frequent and thriving commerce between the Greek and Etruscan cities makes any such fixed date unnecessary.

The first tradition brings into Italy signs for A, M, N, S, as we find them in the oldest Italian monuments, and yet these are not so very ancient but that we occasionally meet with \geq or Σ , which were certainly not introduced into Greece until M was becoming obsolete. Then, as the communication between the States continued, the Etruscan letters followed the changes of the Greek. A, M, N, were first invented when A, M, N, were common to both, and the two last were changed when M ceased to express the sound S. But these signs first became common about the time of the Persian war, though single examples are found of them earlier. It required, however, that the change should be very general to induce the Tuscans to adopt it, and hence the probability that the sepulchral inscriptions in which these letters appear do not date earlier than

A.R. 280, *i. e.*, 473 B.C. They may, however, have replaced writing and sculpture of a much older date, as was certainly the case with some monuments which no longer show the old Tuscan style. Also the inscriptions found in Padus-lund, which belong to the ancient days of the Tuscan dominion, as also those of Volsinii, which I am inclined to ascribe to the year 488 of Rome (B.C. 265), when the city was destroyed, and which chiefly exhibit the older writing.

Towards the end of the third century of Rome the Roman letters took their rise, being before that time nearly the same as the Tuscan, as we see on the family coins and on some very ancient inscriptions. In this writing we generally find A, M, N, S, and R, which forms were used in Sicily in the 76th Olympiad.

The Romans could not acquire these forms earlier. But, on the other hand, we must not allow ourselves too great a distance from the Persian war; the D and the ancient Q appear to have been quite obsolete from that time, and the V gradually went out of use, though long retained in Athens.

The Roman alphabet, as a whole, was derived immediately from the Greeks, probably from Campania; and the Tuscans only added a letter here and there; as, for example, their < or C had the value of K.

In the order of their letters also the Romans followed the Greeks and not the Tuscans, a positive

proof that in the A.R. 300 (B.C. 453) the influence of Grecian culture was much more powerful at Rome than the Etruscan. Before this date all the Roman writing was either Greek or Tuscan; we find no earlier Latin, but the necessity for a writing of their own must have increased with the Pontifical Annals, and the Twelve Tables were certainly written in a character familiar to the people.

Upon the other nations of Italy near the Tiber, especially the Umbrians, the influence of the Tuscans was predominant.

The coins and the sepulchral inscriptions of Puplece are almost identical with the Tuscan. The Eugubian Tables have all their letters of the same form, excepting two. This, however, as little answers for any similarity of language as the certainty of all our alphabets being originally derived from the Phœnician implies any derivation of our tongue from theirs.

The so-called Oscan letters, as seen in the monuments of Abella, Pompeii and others, evidence by their form that they are derived from the Greek *through the Tuscans* when they ruled that country with power. The want of O in the alphabet, though not in the speech, the absence of signs for soft consonants, with the exception of B, has been already noticed. The form of the C (>), the digamma, (J), the H, and the S, are all Tuscan, particularly ϕ , is constantly used in the Tuscan form of 8. F keeps its original value as in Tuscan, and in the Tables of Abella changes with V (thesafrei, for thesaurum).

8 in Oscan appears to express rather the soft aspirate *bh* than the hard; *ph* is frequently exchanged for B, as in TRISARA and Tribara in the same inscription, and on coins, SASINIM for Sabini.

The R has both the Tuscan form of D and the Latin of R, with a modification in sound.

Other variations are found in the forms of A, T, and P, which last comes nearer to the Greek Π. Very remarkable is the I, with a side-stroke (†), reminding one of the Phœnician.

It does not detract from the truth of anything we have advanced that we should find the Southern Tuscans yielding in their alphabet to surrounding influences which did not touch the Motherland. It is worthy of remark that the forms M and N, which were not adopted in Etruria until later, belonged to the Oscans. From them they seem to have been taken by their neighbours not long before the time when Capua was conquered by the Samnites, and they show the close connexion which obtained between the literary culture of the Oscans and the Tuscans.

If we glance over such Etruscan inscriptions as were engraved between the 400 and the 700 of Rome, and especially during the last centuries of the national existence of the Tuscans, we shall be convinced that they were not a literary people, and especially when we compare them with the regularity, correctness, and beauty, of the Attic writing during the period of the Peloponnesian war.

A few of the Tuscan monuments are engraved

with skill and care, but as a rule we find neither the one nor the other. Different forms for the same letter are used arbitrarily in the same word; exchangeable letters, such as τ and F, or F and S, stand confusingly for each other. The same name is often written differently, as Lart and Larth, Arnt and Arnth, in the same family sepulchre.

There was no system in their abbreviations, and sometimes the middle syllable, sometimes the final, is omitted; short vowels are abundantly thrown out, but without rule and according to the pronunciation of the place. The punctuation also is as irregular as possible. In the well-written Perusian inscription the words are sometimes divided by a point and sometimes not, and on the mortuary urns words are frequently torn asunder by points. They wrote without skill or method, and it is clear from their remains that up to the destruction of their freedom and nationality their chief concern was with oral tradition.

How long the Tuscan tongue and writing were in use is hard to say.

Latin inscriptions gradually supplanted them in every possible manner.

Thus we find in the sepulchres Tuscan words written with Latin letters; Latin and Tuscan forms mixed; Latin and Tuscan inscriptions used together. The right of citizenship in Etruria and the merciless desolations of Sulla may have driven out the native tongue and infused the Latin. Yet the Haruspices continued to read their "Etruscos li-

bros" in Cicero's time. Dionysius speaks of the Etruscan as a living language in his day, and many urns with Etruscan legends show us, from the style of their decorations, that they belong to imperial times. At this period, however, the language became extinct, and even the Tuscan seers used in their rites the Tarquitian translation instead of their ancient Ritual and Fulgural Books.

I have deferred until this place reviewing their numerals, because it is still a matter of doubt whether they belong to the same system as the letters.

The Tuscan cyphers up to 100 are perfectly known from the funeral inscriptions, where they generally precede the words *aifil* (age) and *ril* (apparently years). They are the following:—I, II, III, IIII or IΛ, Λ, ΛI, ΛII, ΛIII, IX, X, then XX, XXX, XXXX or XT, T, TX, and so on. The inverted letter V is sometimes, but very rarely used. For T, which is sometimes angular, T and ↓ are very common forms; ↓ is doubtful; ↓ with ⊥ is often found on Roman family coins, and out of this they have invented the common L.

So far all is well ascertained; but to discover their system beyond 99, I only know of one work of art, a beautifully cut cornelian in the "Cabinet du Roi," marked with the Tuscan letters "Alcar." In this a man is seated at a table on which there are three little balls, one of which he is about to seize, whilst he holds the table with his other hand, upon which a number of signs are figured. There are the

same signs upon both tables, and they appear to be cyphers. Λ stands for 5, the figure next it has a stroke in the middle, apparently from accident. X stands for 10, and if we may decide further, a cross in a circle stands for a 100, an 8 for 1000. The whole seems to represent an abacus with its different variations. The interpretation of the last sign is corroborated by the Romans having often expressed 1000 by ∞ . Indeed the common CIC is nothing more than this ∞ , as the self-same figure placed vertically $\frac{\infty}{2}$ frequently comes in place of the common Tuscan 8.

The Duilian column has a middle form D , the half of which is the customary sign for 500, D . The Romans used this sign until they substituted M to form their Mille, and hence the Tuscans formed their sign for 100 as they had done for 5, and 10, and 50. Even in the Latin C for centum we can detect the old Etruscan form. The first lines of a very archaic inscription given by Grüter run thus :

iae serveis contul. H-S. D . D . D . Ψ . V.
 mag. X ded. H-S. S. S.
 saleiu. l. p. s. leiber coeravit.

This certainly does not mean, as Scaliger reads it, "three thousand six hundred victors," but "three hundred and fifty-five sesterces," in which we easily perceive the Etruscan cyphers for 100, and for 50, slightly altered in form by the transcriber.

If this is granted it follows that the higher cyphers, which are only modifications of the fore-

going, belong also to the Tuscan system. This relates to the signs $\text{cc}|\text{ccc}$ for 10,000 and $\text{ccc}|\text{cccc}$ for 100,000, which signs in an older form, as seen upon the Duilian column, are expressed by an elliptical, somewhat abbreviated figure. A Latin inscription of Nepete, given us by Grüter, which contains the number of 15,000 sesterces, gives the cyphers in an upright form, which is probably the genuine Etruscan still lingering in the land, at any rate they cannot be any different.

Now if we compare these signs up to 1000 (for the higher numbers are all formed out of the 1000), we shall trace their similarity to the letters of the alphabet, and also an endeavour to make them somewhat different. Thus the sign \vee for 5, $+$ for 10, \downarrow for 50, \circ for 100, 8 for 1000, vary very intentionally, whilst the rarer forms for 10 and 50 are exactly the same as the letters. From this it appears to me that the cyphers have originally been formed from the letters, and have only been varied to avoid confusion.

Now there are only two ways in which letters can be used as cyphers. We must either let the letters indicate the number, according to their place in the alphabet, or we must take those whose names have the same beginning.

We cannot here assume the first, because \downarrow cannot be so far separated from \circ and from 8. We are, therefore, driven to the second, which cannot at present be proved, because we do not know a single Etruscan name for a numeral, but perhaps in the

future, when the mortuary urns shall be better read, we may arrive at a greater certainty.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE KALENDAR AND COMPUTATION OF TIME BY THE TUSCANS.

THIS chapter shall contain what we know of the Tuscan distribution of time, as divided into days, months, and years; of their Civil Kalendar, and of their religious doctrines about men, nations, and the universe.

The beginning of the day, which the Persians and Babylonians fixed at sunrise, the Athenians and many other people at sunset, the Roman Augural Discipline and civil reckoning at midnight, the Etruscans at midday, when the sun was in the zenith.

In this the Umbrians followed them, and seem to have remained more faithful to the rule than the Tuscans themselves. The regulation befits a people who strive after a constant and stationary division, for when the sun is in the zenith the shadow is always shortest and does not vary with the season of the year.

That the Tuscan months were lunar months is evident from this, that the calculation of the Ides and of the Kalends, which was certainly made by lunar months, was derived from them. Varro and Macrobius tell us that the Tuscans wrote Itis or

Itus for Ides, which is so much the more credible that the hard consonants lengthen out their words. The word itself came to bear different meanings. Some made it imply trust in Jupiter, because the day was sacred to Jupiter. Others refer it to the victim sheep, which in Etruria and Rome was on that day offered to the chief god, a derivation which seems very far fetched; or it may come from "idulare," to divide, which word is also Tuscan.

The last derivation is surely the correct one — it was a Tuscan or rather an Italian root, whence come "dividere," "vidua," and many other similar words. The Tuscans called the time of full moon "the division," even as the Greeks, *διχομηνία*. But that the period of full moon was in Etruria sacred to Jupiter, *i.e.* the Ides, we know with certainty, and herein the Romans followed the Tuscans. That the Kalends, which were sacred to Juno, should agree with this in so serviceable a manner, justifies us in ascribing them to the Tuscans also.

Equally certain is it that the ordering of the Nundinæ or Nonæ, or eight-day week, was Tuscan. On one day in each such week the kings of the Tuscans were accessible to every one for counsel and justice. It was a market-day and devoted to business. Servius Tullius, the Tuscan prince, imported this ninth day, this Nundine into Rome, he having been born upon a nundine or none; on the Ides a ram was sacrificed to Jupiter. Now it can admit of no doubt that the arrangement of the Nundines was made in a fixed and thorough agreement

with the lunar months, although in the later Roman Kalendar the Nundines were as independent of the months as our weeks. Why was the ninth day from the Ides made a period from which other days were to be reckoned, unless to distinguish it as a Nundine ?

Numerous traditions point to this argument, which was first altered after the times of the kings leaving the ancient Nundine character to the Nones. The Pontiff proclaimed the Kalendar, announcing how many days it wanted to the Nones, that the country population might know when they were to assemble in the city. On the Nones itself the sacrificing priest proclaimed the festivals of the ensuing month. It is plain that on these occasions a Nundine meeting was held. In Etruria the whole month was divided by these Nones, so that they not only reckoned backwards, but forwards from them. Hence we deduce that the termination *atrus*, which signifies the day after the Ides, belongs to the Tuscan language. The day before the Ides indicates, if we substitute a Latin for the unknown Tuscan word of number, a pre-Nonatrus. But lunar months, such as the Tuscans had, if they consisted of eight-day weeks, must have been divided into twenty-four or thirty-two days. Every month must have extended beyond the three weeks, and of the duration of this time the country people (who in Etruria were strictly separated from the townspeople) required to be publicly informed that they might observe the Nundines at the right date. Apparently this was so

ordered that, after the Ides of the full moon, two regular Nundines were held, of which the second must fall on the first or second day of the new moon at the conjunction of the sun and moon. On the morning of this Nundine the Lucumo, whose duty it was, stepped forth and announced in how many days of the next Nundine the Nones would fall, whilst he deducted the time which must elapse before the next full moon, judging from the appearance of the lunar crescent, or perhaps from the easily ascertained length of the lunar month, and took from it eight days. Hence, according to Varro, sprang the Roman Kalends, concerning which the Pontiff cried, "*Quinque or septem dies te kalo Juno novella,*" and this custom as to Juno I also hold to be Tuscan. The Kalends thus proclaimed must, when they fall into the second Nundine after the Ides, have occurred within sixteen days after, and this appears to have been a law of the Annual Kalendar. The second half of the month being once for all settled, the first half must have been specified also.

In how far the Roman rule that every month should consist of twenty-nine or thirty-one days rested upon a Tuscan foundation, I do not venture to determine; but whatever length the month was made, the number of days over twenty-four must have been repeated on every day of proclamation. It appears to me that this dividing of the month and arrangement of civil business together give a greater unity and purpose to the whole society,

especially under an aristocracy like the Tuscan or the Roman, where the populace could do nothing without the counsel and direction of their superiors. Even the labours of the field it seems that Tages intrusted to the intelligence of his favoured disciples.

Ides, Kalends, and Nones, were religious institutions, although not withdrawn from the service of ordinary life, and especially when they became partly Nundines. The Kalends or Nones which followed the Ides were reckoned unlucky by the Tuscans—"atri dies"—at least a Tuscan Haruspex, L. Aquilius, B.C. 387, obtained an acknowledgment from the Roman Senate that they were such. The Dies, *nefasti, religiosi, atri*, and many others of the Romans, must be traced to this source; but how many it is difficult to say.

It was easy for the Tuscans to keep their Kalendar in agreement with the moon, seeing that they had the length of the month always in their hands, but how they solved the problem of making a lunar year agree with a solar one no author has informed us. The acute hypothesis which makes their cycle of 110 years consist of ten-month years of 304 days each, I dare not reject, because the duration of many Tuscan and Roman truces agrees remarkably with it, and seems to point to a ten-months' year in common use.

It is deeply to be regretted that we have no better or more circumstantial description of the driving of the annual nail into the Temple at Vol-

sinii, for this would have explained to us the Etruscan cycle. The annalist Cincius saw it, and he says that it marked the number of the year. The custom had passed over into Rome, and was bound up with the service of the Capitol. Here was to be read, on the right-hand wall of the shrine of Jupiter which separated it from the shrine of Minerva, a decree, in antique speech and character, that the chief magistrate (*prætor maximus*) should strike in a nail every year at the Ides of September, and it appears that it was to be in that wall. That it was to happen in September seems to imply that the Tuscan year either began or concluded in this month.

Originally this festival was annual in Rome as well as in Etruria, but gradually a supreme magistrate was only named for great emergencies.

For the regular observance of such a rule the Romans must every year have created a Dictator, but they contented themselves gradually with only doing this when startling prodigies reminded them that they had neglected their religious duties. As to the manner of the thing we trace in it a rude kind of numeration which maintained itself many centuries in the land, although I believe that the Tuscans invested it with a much higher meaning. Certainly the striking in of a nail symbolized throughout Italy an unalterable law like Fate. Hence the *Fortuna* of Antium had a nail for her attribute. Hence Horace gives to the *Genius* of Necessity large nails in her hands, and tools to fasten them with.

Hence we find the Fate Atropos (spelt *Athrpa*) upon an Etruscan patera foreshadowing the inevitable death of Meleager (*Meliacr*) through the piercing of a nail. The pin which the wronged virgin holds in her left hand and is striking into the wall is certainly a nail, as is further proved by the hammer in her right hand. But this "*Athrpa*" is nothing more than a Hellenized form of *Nortia*, which she very fairly represents; and this *Nortia* was in the great festival of the "*clavus annalis*" represented as leading the irresistible course of the year, and conducting one after another into annihilation.

But as the year was a circle of life and destruction to the vegetable world, the Etruscans sought for a wider period which should embrace a circle of human life; and this search, according to the Ritual books, was the origin of their *Sæculum*. The *Sæculum* was to equal the longest duration of man's life, or rather it was to conclude with the death of him who had outlived all those who were born at its beginning. Therefore the Secular Games in Rome were sacred to the worship of *Ditis* and *Proserpina* (alias *Mantus* and *Mania*) celebrated in Mount *Terentus*, and hence called "*Ludi Terentini*." They were celebrated when the last man of the *Sæculum* was laid in the tomb, and death was supposed to reign over the whole of that generation. Now the Tuscans knew that it was impossible for them to ascertain this longest life by their own experience and observation, therefore they made it a matter of faith that the gods would make known to

their favoured votaries the termination of each Sæculum by particular signs. These signs (portents) the Tuscans recorded in their books with religious care; and in the Tuscan histories, which, according to Varro, were written in the eighth Sæculum, the length of the already elapsed seven Sæcula amounted to 781 years, some of them numbering 105 and some 123 years: whence we perceive that the original idea of the Sæculum was not that of the century. In each of these their peculiar portents were described. These Sæcula were regarded as having reference to the age of the nation as well as the individual, and the tradition was that the gods had granted ten to the "nomen Etruscum." Other nations having other appointed numbers, the precise commencement of this era was naturally shrouded in myths. I believe it dates from the appearance of Tages and the founding of the twelve cities by Tar-chon. It may, however, be that it was counted from the first nail struck into the temple of Nortia, and that ceremony probably long preceded the introduction of writing. It is important to history to ascertain as nearly as possible the beginning of the Tuscan era, even if we do not believe the Haruspices about the "Etruscum nomen." The nails themselves merely evidenced a number. What more they might mean we can only learn from popular sayings and priestly traditions.

It appears to me that we possess another date from which to trace the commencement and termination of the Etruscan Sæcula. The Emperor Augustus

relates* that, on the appearance of the comet which shone upon the funeral procession of Julius Cæsar in the A.R. 708 (whose orbit Halley calculates at 575 years), the Haruspex Vulcatius proclaimed in the public assembly that the star denoted the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth Sæculum; that he revealed this contrary to the will of the gods, and that he must die immediately after.

Now the Haruspices concerned themselves also with the Sæcula of Rome, and accorded to it twelve of them, as foreshown by the twelve vultures of Romulus; but Rome could not according to any reckoning be at the end of its ninth, not even if, with Ennius, we restrict them to seventy years (*septingenti anni*). We must hold it established that the Etruscan Haruspex was speaking of the chronology of his own nation; and if we reckon the eighth and ninth Sæcula at the average sum of 220 years, the prophesied termination would fall about the A.R. 850. Some Tuscan histories which were written about the middle of the eighth Sæculum, coincide with the A.R. 560 (B.C. 193). Contemporaneous also we find a fragment of a Tuscan Haruspex and Agrimensor "Vegoja," which is preserved in a collection of the "Auctores finium regundorum." He says there exist "men who through covetousness have craftily broken and removed from their places boundary stones which had stood there for 800 years."

Now it is difficult to imagine how this an-

* See Servius, Ecl. ix. 47.

nouncement of Vulcatius, which is preserved to us by Plutarch, can have been grounded upon any other principle than the Etruscan computation of time. Before the outbreak of the Civil War under Sulla in B.C. 89, when many prodigies terrified the Roman world, the Sages amongst the Tuscans predicted the advent of another race, and that the sign, the blast of a trumpet in a still clear air, would betoken an overthrow of the present state of things. For there were eight races of men, differing from each other in manners and customs, but to each a fixed time was given, which, "by the will of the Gods, would be fulfilled in their Cyclical Year. And when the course of one such was ended and another begun, a wonderful sign would appear either in heaven or upon earth. From this it would be clear to those who observed and could learn, that a new race was born into the world, differing from them in their modes of life and thought, and who would be more or less dear to the powers above, than those who had preceded them. For, as everything would change with the change of race, so would their prophesying augury, which had been held in honour, whilst the Gods sent clear and distinct omens; but this art would be despised by a new race, who trusted more to blind counsels, and sought to penetrate the future by weak and obscure means."

It is plain that the whole of this doctrine is derived from the eight-day week of the Tuscans, so that each race has its day; but it is more obscure in

what relation these days stand to the age of each nation.

That the races should typify Sæcula cannot be accepted, for one reason, that in character they cannot differ from each other, and because, if the announcement of Vulcatius, in B.C. 45, was true, the end of a Sæculum could not occur in B.C. 89, and the terms γένος (race) is never used for Sæculum. Some are of opinion that the eight races apply to the age of nations, and to the termination of the Etruscan period, more particularly because the sound of the trumpet is named, which was their national instrument, and would naturally be supposed to foretell their extinction.

Against this we have the silence of Plutarch and the still more significant declaration of Vulcatius, besides the great improbability that the Tuscans should have measured other nations and other ages by their existence, so as to predict that one should come to an end and another rise in its place, and yet not to perceive how to bring it into accordance with their experience. Hence it appears expedient to separate between the Sæcula of a nation and its centuries, so that they should not necessarily begin and end together. The flourishing times of the Etruscan nation must be referred to a much earlier period, when the divination of the Haruspices was universally believed in, and held in honour. But in the ninth Sæculum another age of the world began, in which divination sank into disrepute, even as the nation dwindled away. We must

compare with this the doctrine of the Ritual books, that, after a man's eighty-fourth year (therefore long before the close of his sæculum), no more tokens could be granted him, and there was no propitiation possible to turn away the divine wrath from him.

I will conclude with the mention of another sacred calculation of time, naturalised in Rome, though of a foreign origin. We know from Virgil that the Sybilline books spoke of an ἀποκατάστασις, in which a certain number of ages followed each other, always becoming worse in succession, but after the currency of the last and worst, the orders began over again, and Apollo, who was the god of the first, again resumed his sceptre. These ages are nine. The tenth begins the new course, and it is in allusion to this that Juvenal speaks of the ninth age as the worst. These ideas are foreign to the Etruscans: their world week—or perhaps even some longer period—agrees well with the extinction of those mortal divinities, the Consentes.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE ETRUSCANS AND THEIR GENERAL CULTURE.

THE question whether the Tuscans were scientific can be answered both in the affirmative and in the negative. Science, in our sense of the word, is not so old in the world as we are inclined to believe,

judging of former centuries by our own time. Whatever was practically useful we find prominent in the life of ancient nations, more compact, better regulated, and adapted to more uses than with us. It is the same with what regards the ideal — acts of faith or of divine worship. Both require a great deal of varied knowledge, and yet all the time the essence of intellectual progress. The love of learning for itself may not be there. This appears to have been the case with the Tuscans on the whole, although much experience, observation, and knowledge show themselves in their religious discipline as well as in their industrial and classical arts.

In all of these the maxims of men had more weight than the study of nature, but these maxims were the fruit of an acute penetration, which stood the test of learning.

Besides which, it is not to be denied that offices were connected with their religious discipline which exacted the study of nature; and one proof of this is, that the Romans endeavoured to transplant from them the "Aquælicium," or knowledge of the laws of water.

But it may appear that the Tuscan aquælicium was only a superstitious custom, like the "Elicia sacra" of the Fulguratores, and that the real science which improved the nature of the soil by drainage and irrigation, had quite another origin.

That custom belongs to the "manalis lapis," which was the name of a stone drawn from the top of the Mundus, and laid before the Capenian Gate of the

Temple of Mars, and was afterwards drawn towards the city to ward off drought. So called also were other cylindrical stones, which were dragged to the Granines to attract rain, a ceremony named "*lapides manales verrere*," which was commanded in the books of Tages, and also formed part of their discipline.

These all pertained to the *Aquælicium* and were connected with sacrifices to Jupiter, the rain-god: Varro's Tuscan *Aquilex*, therefore, who caused waters to spring forth, must be regarded in the same light as a physician who tapped a patient for the dropsy, and not as a mere conjuror; and so we must confess that here superstition and a useful art worked hand in hand.

Whenever an *Aquilex* is mentioned in Roman history, it means a Tuscan who is a discoverer of subterranean waters (for which they had many signs and rules), and whenever the construction of artificial wells is described, it means the same.

It was through this genuinely Italian art that Paulus Emilius discovered the sources on Olympus, and saved his perishing army.

This art was of the greatest importance wherever the lands were not well watered in Italy or Greece. It was studied with the utmost zeal, and maintained its reputation until late in the Imperial times, during which the *Aquilices*, *Aquileges*, or *Aquilegi*, of inscriptions, fixed the localities in which wells were to be excavated — this alone requiring a considerable knowledge of mechanics.

They formed a Guild apart, and were probably connected with the *Agrimensores*.

How far the art of the water-finders was indigenous to the Tuscans, and how far they were influenced by Greek natural philosophy, we cannot determine; but it is certain that the Tuscans had an art peculiar to themselves, both for attracting fire from above and water from below. They also very early sought out their mineral and warm-water spas, although the land so abounds in them that they were scarcely worth any trouble. In the Roman times, Pisa, Vetulonia, Populonia, Volaterra, Clusium, and especially Cære, all had baths (*Thermæ*) either still or vapour.

For the rest, the Tuscan seems to be indebted to the fable of the Kirkes for the medical fame in which they were held by the Greeks, whose sons Hesiod calls Princes of Tyrrhonia. Kirkes, in old Greek traditions, belonged to a race who were devoted to the arts of healing and to enchantment. Then out of the remote part, in which their art took its rise, this legend was transferred to the Italian coasts, and the fame of their art was also attached to the story of the more ancient rulers. It is probably on this account that Eschylus calls the Tyrrhenians a nation addicted to the arts of healing. It is well known how far mythical ideas influenced their ethnography, and even sometimes their natural history. Amongst the Romans I cannot find a single trace of an Etruscan physician.

At least, we shall expect to find in Etruria a

native development of philosophy, unless we choose to call their speculative and yet utilitarian doctrines about Genii and Lares a priestly philosophy, and with Seneca assert that even all their maxims about lightning are grounded upon the researches of the Stoics. It is certainly not to be denied that, in the days when Pythagoras flourished in Magna Græcia, and began to spread abroad his ideas, they extended through the greater part of Italy—(in Rome he was always esteemed the wisest of the Greeks)—and most particularly so in Tuscany.

An Etrusean Pythagorean, Nausithoos (the name indeed is suppositious) ransomed a Messenian of the same school (Eubulos), from the pirates: that Pythagoras should himself have been called a Tyrrhenian does not prove him to have been a Tuscan, but it shows that the authors of antiquity knew that he came from some island in the north of the *Ægean* Sea. Now, in early times, these islands were inhabited by Tyrrhene Pelasgi, who may actually have passed over into Samos; and it is most likely that the native inhabitants of Samothraee contracted marriages with them: from one such marriage, I suppose, Pythagoras to have been descended. This would best harmonise all our various traditions as to this enigmatical man, even the assertion that he was descended from Phlasiern, the Argonaut, who may actually have passed into Samos.

According to the various notices which we have now combined, we can form a good idea of the

education which was given to a young Etruscan of noble birth.

He was not exercised in gymnastics and music, like the Greeks, for these arts were held to belong to the professional class, and were not cultivated as parts of education. And yet many Greek customs must have passed over to those schools of Etruria in which the Roman youth of the earlier ages were brought up. Writing and reading were taught. Arithmetic was necessary to a commercial people; and with this a system of weights and coins stands in near connexion. But their principal point was the knowledge of their religious ritual and discipline, the groundwork of which was laid in the young boys' schools through the songs and books of Tages, which they were made to repeat. The special schools of the Haruspices imparted to them a more exact knowledge. That the Romans derived from them much acquaintance with this art is not to be doubted, but it does not appear that any of the Roman cities required by law that their youth should be instructed in the Etruscan discipline.

These are the notices about the individual branches of Etruscan culture and mental activity, which I have been able to deduce from within the limits of information which I have prescribed to myself. Perhaps more fortunate discoveries, and a more enlightened decipherment of the monumental inscriptions, particularly a more comprehensive treatment of their existing works of art, or perhaps merely a more acute combination of the facts we

possess, may considerably enlarge this sphere of knowledge, and will clear away many obscurities which, consciously or unconsciously, I have brought forward. But that which up to the present time we do know of the Etruscans, helps us very little to ascertain their true place in history. We see in them a race apparently isolated in Italy, which, allowing that it did belong to the Grecian stock (and this is the opinion of Niebuhr), yet was certainly a very remote offshoot; and yet it undeniably preserved traces of its original culture.

The nation has been from all time an agricultural and city-building nation, full of industry and activity, managing its arable land, full of talent and skill in all the arts of life. From their ordinary habits we find reason for believing in their external power, and seldom-disturbed domestic polity. In their maintenance of pomp and strictness of order, we see admirable arrangements for their strong aristocratic government. With this practical sense was combined a religious creed from the earliest times, which, by arming the nobility with the prestige of the priesthood, invested them with a solemnity and an earnest importance, which belonged to the character of the race, and which they continued to develope and to propagate.

Those primeval fancies, out of whose mysterious promptings other nations have formed their belief of divine things, were here forced to confine themselves within narrower limits. They were formed into an artificial and consistent system, in which an account

was given of the origin of man and of his ultimate destiny. Gods and men were united in one polity, and a covenant was established between them, in virtue of which the Gods were bound to warn and guide men, but the strongest desires of men were to be subject to them. Out of the idea of this interchange, especially with the priestly aristocracy, there was formed a regulation of public and daily life, which penetrated even invisible objects and invested them with important consequences. They evidence a people striving after what is positive, and believing that on the whole all things were ordered for the best. Through the strength which order gives, this people was mighty, and ruled for some centuries the richest and fairest portion of Italy. They developed their industrial talents, and carried on an extensive commerce in every direction, by which they heightened and increased the enjoyments of life.

At the same time, this people, through the partial degree of their original culture, and because they could not, like the Egyptians, exclude all others, was always deeply under the influence of those nations which were more advanced than themselves, especially the Greeks. A colony of Greeks, in very early times, came swarming over to them from the coasts of Asia Minor, through whom their music for war or sacrifice, shipbuilding and piracy, and probably other arts and customs, soon became native. The military discipline and arming of the soldiers, as they were practised in Greece in post-Trojan

times, were also established in Etruria. The aristocracy adorned their houses and persons with the production of Grecian art, as well as with such luxuries of the Orient as commerce brought to them; and, above all, they esteemed those arts which they could turn to the glorification of their native gods. In many ways Grecian proverbs, legends, arts, and sciences, passed into Etruria, and were often naturalised and combined with passing events, without being developed, as with a more imaginative race, into anything fresh and new. In all their arts it was more the external than the ideal which they showed forth. They were wanting in the inner agreement of an object with its representation, and again in any unity of the different representations with each other, which the creation of any original invention would certainly have produced.

But, from naturalising much of foreign art culture, the Etruscans were early withheld by internal decay. Very soon their superfluity of property degenerated into luxury; they required increasingly to be ministered to by foreigners, because their arts were not home-born, but imported from without; and because, when they were pressed on all sides by the Gauls, the Samnites, and the Romans, they found themselves as a nation weakened and broken up. Art withered like a solitary cut-off branch, and in the Roman times only maintained itself in some technical manufactures, whilst their native discipline, on the contrary, continued, though dege-

nerated, until the time when the national worship of whole Roman world was overthrown. In so far, however, as their ancient spirit imbued the civil polity of the Romans, and influenced their daily life, we may say that, in a remote and inductive manner, they are influencing our own even now. So generally is the one strictly primeval, the original and the national, also the most durable.

Bolsover Castle,

23d July, 1867, L.D.

