

SOME COMMENT ON THE *TABULA CAPUANA*

(Con le tavv. XXIX-XXX f.t.)

INTRODUCTION

In 1995 Mauro Cristofani published his famous monograph on the so-called terracotta Tile of Capua (henceforth: TC) which was found in 1898¹. It contains the longest Etruscan inscribed text (*tav.* XXIX, Vatican copy)². The TC was found in ‘località’ Quattordici Ponti, a necropolis area to the southwest of Capua³. It is dated to ca. 470 BC⁴. Cristofani suggests that its inscription was copied from an older text dating from shortly before 504 BC, the year in which Aristodemos became tyrant of Cumae⁵. He was killed in 490 BC. Words like *laχuθ* and *laχθ* (in line 25), in non-syncopated and syncopated form, may point to copying⁶. Cristofani defines the text as a local feast calendar from the Archaic period. He transcribes and individuates words word-forms and syntagmas, comments on most aspects of the content and presents a morpho-syntactic analysis of the least damaged part of the text, sections 1-4, and the first line of section 5, but without translation. He deals with the structure, cult deities, -actions, -offerings, -places, -times and the colophon but hardly at all with the actors. He suggests that the TC may have belonged to a cult (?) building, the antefixes of which date to the end of the sixth or fifth century BC⁷.

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¹ Now in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. 30892. The copy in the Musei Vaticani (inv. 14146) shows the TC when it was in a better condition. See CRISTOFANI 1995, p. 56 (line 61).

² The longest written text, with ca. 1330 words or word-forms, is the *Liber linteus Zagabiensis* (dated to ca. 225-150 BC).

³ For the «tomba ‘principesca’» in Quattordici Ponti, see BELLELLI 2006.

⁴ CRISTOFANI 1995, p. 118. WALLACE 2008, p. 7: ca. 450 BC; MARAS 1998, p. 180: between ca. 500 and 475 BC; *Santuari d’Etruria*, p. 126 (G. COLONNA): between 500 and 450 BC; *TbLE I*: fifth century BC. Rix (1990, p. 115) dates the original text between 525 and 475, and the TC between 475 and 435 BC. It seems, however, that the TC can be dated soon after the Second Battle at Cumae in 474 BC. See below.

⁵ CRISTOFANI 1995, pp. 106, 122.

⁶ Cf. also *zuχne* (from **zuχunai*) in lines 14-15. Rendeli (2000, p. 361) suggests that *ziχunice* in line 62 is a syncopated form of **ziχunice*. Heiner Eichner (personal communication) reconstructs: < **ziχunice*, cf. *mulwanice*.

⁷ According to Cristofani (1995, pp. 19-21, 119) the presence of a sacred area and an Augustan altar dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in ‘località’ Quattordici Ponti would show continuity of cult activity.

A plethora of publications on the material culture of Capua, Campania and the Ager Picentinus has appeared since 1995⁸. It seems that the Capua region was not colonized. Rather Etruscan individuals and groups migrated successively from coastal Southern Etruria to the Capua region from ca. 900 onwards⁹. They lived together with local Italic people, probably in a dominant way, until 423 BC when Capua came into the hands of Campanians¹⁰. Capua evolved gradually from small settlements on and to the west of Monte Tifata into a proto-urban space of ca. 200 hectares surrounded by necropoleis, during the transition from the Bronze Age Protovillanova to the Iron Age Villanova culture around 900 BC before the foundation of the nearby Greek colonies Pithecusae (ca. 775 BC) and Cumae (ca. 750 BC)¹¹. Capua's earliest city quarter excavated so far dates to the end of the seventh century BC. The production of local bucchero started at the same time. Between ca. 550 and 504 BC oligarchs and artisans, among whom were coroplasts, had contacts with Cumae.

The oldest Etruscan inscriptions from Capua date to ca. 570-540; most, however, are dated between ca. 525 and 450, and two Italic ones written in the Etruscan alphabet are dated respectively to ca. 550 and 450-425 BC. Greek inscriptions are absent¹².

Some Etruscan inscriptions from Capua mention names of vases of Greek origin¹³. The TC probably mentions one *gens* of Greek origin, the Aschani (see below).

After 1995 no new books or articles appeared on the TC¹⁴. Cristofani's words and word-forms are almost universally accepted, and almost all presented as lemmata without interpuncts in the second edition of the *Thesaurus Linguae Etruscae* (*ThLE* I²) of 2009. Since some of his interpretations are disputable and some aspects are barely dealt with, this article attempts to cast additional light on the TC and its inscription, because after 1995 'new' Etruscan and Italic inscriptions were found and linguistic studies with progressive insights were published. The Appendix I contains, for the readers' convenience, the original text and a very tentative, partial translation.

QUASI-BOUSTROPHEDON WRITING AND THE SCRIBAL TRADITION

The TC has the form of a terracotta pan-tile (width: 48-49 and preserved length: 62 cm) with raised borders on the long sides but it deviates from roof tiles by the presence of a raised border at the lower side. The latter border has two round holes, one near each

Rix (1990, p. 115) suggests that a member of a cult mentioned in TC took it to his/her tomb in the same area.

⁸ See THIERMANN 2012 with an up-to-date bibliography, and CUOZZO 2013, pp. 311-316.

⁹ See D'AGOSTINO 2011, pp. 69-73.

¹⁰ Livy (IV 37, 1) calls them Samnites.

¹¹ See MELANDRI 2011 and 2012.

¹² THIERMANN 2012, pp. 138-139; CRISTOFANI 1995, p. 31, note 17.

¹³ RIX, *ET* Cm 2.13 (*χulixna*), 2.32 (*pruxum*), 2.33 (*culixna*).

¹⁴ In *CIE* II 2 (1996), pp. 30-39 Cristofani summarizes his conclusions in Latin and dates the TC to 475-450 BC. For reviews of CRISTOFANI 1995, see WYLIN 1997 and RÜPKE 1999.

corner (*tav. XXX e*). In both corners there is an incision (*tav. XXX d, f*). The borders of the long sides both have an incision off line 10 on the text side (*tav. XXX b-c*). The superior part of the TC is broken off. It shows a round hole in the centre (*tav. XXX a*)¹⁵. It may have had a border too. Holes and incisions point to fixation. Originally, the TC hung or lay flat in a fixed position. The false boustrophedon writing, also called snake-writing, of the inscription, in cursive style with lines written from right to left (at the start of each month) and every second line turned 180 degrees, made it impractical for a priest to read the inscription. He would have had to turn the tile each time after reading one line. Therefore an original, horizontal position of the TC is likely. Apart from some very short inscriptions¹⁶ exact Etruscan parallels for multilinear quasi-boustrophedon do not exist. However, curved, spiral and serpentine inscriptions, *sinistrorsus* or *dextrorsus*, show a similar direction. An aryballos from Montalto di Castro (Rix, *ET Vc 3.6*), dated to ca. 550 BC shows an inscription inside the lines of the drawing of a twisting snake. As for ritual, spiraling, centripetal inscriptions, the round Lead Plaque of Magliano (AV 4.1), dated to ca. 450 BC, is an excellent example¹⁷. Therefore, the original of the TC inscription may have had a curving form and been written on a text carrier of light material, e.g. lead, or on several carriers, one for each month. Since there are possible errors in the TC text (e.g. *mavilutule* [line 21] instead of *macvilutule* [line 31])¹⁸, it may have been dictated. G. Colonna suggests that the raised borders were useful for stacking inscribed tiles. They may have formed a *codex*¹⁹. In view of the holes and cuts this seems unlikely. The TC was, rather, archived for reasons of sanctity, secrecy, memory, and safety. The inscription does not only mention things which have to be done, indicated by the necessitives ending in *-ri*, but also memorializes things which somebody has done, like *x ...esχaθce*; “x ...has *esχaθ-*” (“x ...has brought/placed”, or similar)²⁰.

The inscription shows syllabic interpuncts of two dots, even between letters, and, interestingly, twice an interpunct with triple dots, in line 7 at the end of section 1, and in line 22. The latter have no special meaning. They are just a variation of two dots²¹.

¹⁵ Cristofani's description of the position of the holes and incisions (1995, pp. 23-24) is only partly illustrated.

¹⁶ See *CIE 6449* (on an Etrusco-Corinthian *phiale*, ca. 575-550 BC, lines 1-2 [*sinistrorsus*] are curving downward, 3-4 [*dextrorsus*] are curving upward), Rix, *ET Pa 3.1* (on the so-called Mars of Ravenna), *CIE 1136* and Rix, *ET Cl X.1* (*CIE 1946*), the Umbrian inscription on the so-called Mars of Todi, and *CIL I 2658-2659* (in Latin). The phenomenon is also present in two lines on the right small side of the famous Stele of Lemnos (ca. 530-510 BC). After ca. 600 BC false boustrophedon writing seems to be absent in Greek inscriptions.

¹⁷ VAN DER MEER 2012.

¹⁸ Unless *mavitule* is an obsolete form of *macvitule*. For another example of tear and wear, see Rix, *ET Cr 4.10*: *aθemeiřcas* and *aθemeican*.

¹⁹ *Santuari d'Etruria*, p. 126 (G. COLONNA).

²⁰ CRISTOFANI 1995, pp. 77-78. Heiner Eichner (personal communication) suggests that *esχaθce* is a dissimulation of **esχaθχe*. If correct, the translation reads in phrases where a subject is missing: “x was/were brought”.

²¹ For syllabic punctuation, see WALLACE 2008, p. 26.

Two-dot interpuncts are present in several inscriptions from Campania (Rix, *ET Cm*, *passim*, indicated with two points on instead of after a letter), the Ager Faliscus (Fa 0.4; ca. 600 BC), Veii (Ve, *passim*), and Caere (Cr 2.43; 3.11 [ca. 600 BC]; 4.1 [550-525 BC], 4.2 [ca. 500 BC]).

Triple-dot interpuncts are absent in other Campanian inscriptions, but present in three inscriptions from the Ager Faliscus (Fa 2.3; X.1-2; ca. 675-625 BC), in an inscription from Veii (Ve 3.34; sixth century BC), in one from Tarquinia (Ta 2.14; ca. 500 BC), and several from Caere: Cr 3.4-6, 3.17 (ca. 625-600 BC), 3.11 (ca. 600 BC), 2.97-98 (ca. 500 BC), 2.115 (fifth century BC), and 5.3 (ca. 300 BC), in the first four from Caere not only between but also within words. The latter are not errors as H. Rix in *ET* suggests by putting them between { }; they mark syllables too.

The comparisons suggest that the scribe of the TC was influenced by a South Etruscan, probably Caeretan writing tradition.

THE NUMBER OF MONTHS

Cristofani assumes that the TC text is a calendar with ten months because nine horizontal lines divide the inscription in ten sections. It depends, however, on the length of the lost initial, upper part of the Tile, section 1, and the question as to whether there was a fourth border. Cristofani estimates that only three to five lines are missing. Sections 3, 5, 7 and 8 have only two to four lines. If the tile had a maximum length of ca. 70 cm²² without a superior border and if the two theoretically missing months, January and February, had few lines, the TC text may have had twelve instead of ten months. Unhistorical literary sources state that Romulus' calendar had ten and Numa's calendar twelve months²³. Recently U. W. Scholz has proposed that the twelve-months calendar, a solar calendar replacing a lunar one, was created in Rome at the end of the Etruscan monarchical period²⁴. His arguments are that a feast for Jupiter took place on the Ides, without relation to the full moon²⁵. The Capitoline temple, dedicated to Jupiter as main god, was built and almost completed during the reign of king Tarquinius Superbus (540-510 BC). The *salutatio* of the king took place on the *Nonae*²⁶. The added months January and February mention some rituals related to kings.

Did the TC have twelve months? The feasts on the Ides in the TC text are not related to Tinia (Jupiter), but on the Ides of April to Lethams, of May to Larun, of June

²² WIKANDER 1993, p. 28, fig. 2; p. 39, fig. 3.

²³ CRISTOFANI 1995, p. 61, note 6.

²⁴ SCHIOLZ 2011, pp. 52-54, 75-76; COARELLI 2010 (dates the introduction of twelve months to the sixth century BC). See also HANNAH 2005, pp. 98-102. According to Forsythe (2012, p. 3), however, the date of replacement of the lunar calendar of ten months by the pre-Julian calendar of twelve months can not be established.

²⁵ VARRO *ap.* MACR., *Sat.* I 14; PAUL., *Festi* p. 93 L.: *idulis ovis dicebatur quae omnibus idibus Iovi mactabatur* («the sheep of the Ides which on all Ides was slaughtered for Iupiter»).

²⁶ MACR., *Sat.* I 15, 13 (see below).

to Lethams, of July to Tinun and Sethumsai, of October and December to unknown gods. *Nonae* are absent. So, there is no proof that Capua followed the possible Roman innovation. In addition, ritual or feast calendars may have had fewer months than year calendars²⁷. The letters in section 1 are larger and more spaced than in the following sections which may mean that it was originally undivided and dealt with one month only. Therefore, it is likely that the TC text mentioned ten months. I return to this question in the next subsection.

The number of months in the fragmentary ritual calendar of the *Liber linteus* (ca. 225-150 BC) is unknown since only the possible temporal locatives *acale* (“in June”; VI 14), *θucte* (probably “in August”; VIII 1) and *celi* (“in September”; VIII 2) are mentioned²⁸. The lengths of months vary as in TC. The month August only covers two lines (VIII 1-2). No month counts more than 29 days.

The *Brontosopic Calendar* of Johannes Lydus (ca. AD 550), a Byzantine translation of Nigidius Figulus’ Latin one (ca. 50 BC), the supposed lost Etruscan original of which J. MacIntosh Turfa dates to around 700 BC, has twelve months, each of thirty days, without Ides. Curiously, this calendar starts with June²⁹. The proposed date of the Etruscan archetype seems too early in view of the number of months and days.

Since TC section 2 starts with the temporal locative *apirase* (“in April”), section 3 with *anpilie* (“in May”), section 4 with *acalve* (“in June”), section 5 with *parθumi* (maybe “in July”, see below), and section 6 with *papui* (maybe “in August”, see below)³⁰, the preserved part of section 1 may describe ritual activities in March.

THE INCOMPLETE SECTION 1

Did section 1 really only mention rituals in March? Does the content of the remaining text shed light on it? Among the gods who receive an offering is *Savcne* (in line 6 and maybe 2). He is also mentioned on a bronze oracle sheet from ‘località’ Cipollara near Viterbo, ancient Sorrina (< Etr. *Surrina?) (Rix, *ET AT* 4.1): *savcnes. suris* (ca. 300 BC)³¹. G. Colonna interprets *savcne* as a substantiated epithet of *suri*. He equates him with Faliscan Soranus (Pater/Apollo/Dispater Soranus) who was worshipped at Mt. Soracte. His name would mean “propitious”. Like the Greek adjective *Meilichios* (“propitious”), an epithet of Zeus, it would have been used independently³². However, *savcne*

²⁷ Rix (1990, p. 113) suggests that January and February were not mentioned since they may have been months without rituals. For Etruscan calendars, see also MACINTOSH TURFA 2012, pp. 105-113.

²⁸ In the *Tabula Cortonensis* (A 20-21) *θux-* means “house”, *θuxti* and *θuxi* “in house”; VAN DER MEER 2014 and 2007, p. 121. The word *cel* means “earth” or “earth goddess”.

²⁹ MACINTOSH TURFA 2012.

³⁰ The glosses *TLE*² 801, 805, 818, 824, 836, 854, 856, 858 mention the Etruscan names of eight months (March-October). Three are mentioned in TC, two in the *Liber linteus*.

³¹ *Santuari d’Etruria*, p. 31 (1.10) (G. COLONNA). CRISTOFANI 1995, p. 119 interprets him as a possible chthonian deity; see also MARAS 2009, pp. 224, 236, 245.

³² COLONNA 2007, p. 105, note 27; COLONNA 2009, p. 11, note 10.

may be an independent deity, like *fulinusne* (in lines 5-6, and possibly in 28-29)³³. In addition, the personal name *sauχnate* (*sauχna-te*) derives from a place name **Saubna*³⁴. This may be Sòcana, modern Pieve a Sòcana in the Casentino, to the north of Arezzo, not far from Umbria. Under the church of Sant'Antonino there are the remains of an Etruscan temple³⁵. The altar dated to ca. 500 BC still stands in line with and in front of it. Temple and altar are oriented to the exact east. Which deity was worshipped there is unknown, but to judge by the place name it may have been Savcne. In view of the eastern orientation the god was probably related to the *equinoctes* of ca. 20 March and ca. 22 September³⁶. This coincidence may confirm that section 1 deals with March. The sanctuary at Pieve a Sòcana yielded circular slabs of stones inscribed with names of dedicants (ca. 500-300 BC), slabs which according to G. Colonna probably had the function of offering tables, similar to those in the southern sanctuary at Pyrgi, at Poggio Casetta, Poggio della Melonta and 'località' Fucoli. Their form and context would refer to catachthonic and solar deities³⁷. Savcne may belong to these categories too, like Šuri whose name is probably present in line 3, in the syntagm: *vacil . šipirsurileθamsul*. Cristofani, however, divides the words thus: *vacil. šipirsuri leθamsul*. In his opinion *šipirsuri* is an attribute of *vacil*³⁸. It looks rather like a compositum consisting of *šipir* and *šuri* than a locative (on *-i*) of *šipirsur*. Composita, however, are extremely rare in Etruscan. The word-form *šipirsuri* is not a necessitative on *-uri* ("the *vacil* must be *šipirs-*") since this verbal ending is only known as *-ri* (*acasri*), *-eri* (cf. *nunθeri*), and *-iri* (*faniri*). In addition, *šipir* is probably not a so-called animate plural since this ends in *-ar*, *-ur* or *-er* (cf. *clenar*, plural of *clan*, "son")³⁹. We have to separate the words thus: *vacil. šipir šurileθamsul* in which *šipir* may be an infinitive used as imperative if the preceding *θuθcu* is a female personal name used as vocative. Though *šuri* is a nominative and *leθamsul* a genitive, the nominative may function as a possessive, like Rix, *ET Cm 2.49: cnaive caisies alpnu puznu*: "of Cnaive Caisie (is the) smart (thing), a vase" and *Cm 2.50: velyχaie pustminas mi*: "of Velchaie Pustminas I (am)"⁴⁰. Probably we have to read: *šuri leθamsul* ("of > for Šuri (and) Lethams"). In addition, also other inscriptions mention *šuri* in combination with another god:

mi : šuris : cavaθas (Pyrgi: *StEtr* LVI, 1989-90 [1991], *REE* no. 21 and 27; Maras 2009, p. 340; ca. 500-400 BC)⁴¹;

³³ For *-ne* compare *farθne* (< *farθ-ne*: "born from") which means "son". See G. COLONNA, in *StEtr* XLVIII, 1980, p. 167.

³⁴ RIX, *ET Pe* 1.126 and 1.27.

³⁵ *Santuari d'Etruria*, pp. 162-168, 9.3 (P. BOCCI PACINI - P. ZAMARCHI GRASSI - G. COLONNA).

³⁶ For the importance of the cardinal point, see STEVENS 2009.

³⁷ COLONNA 2006, pp. 133-134.

³⁸ CRISTOFANI 1995, p. 69-70, 88; cf. *TbLE* F, 331.

³⁹ The word-form *itir*, plural of *iti* (in lines 10, 21-2, and 57) shows a plural ending in *-r*.

⁴⁰ According to Colonna (2007, p. 105) *šurileθamsul* is an example of 'Gruppenflexion'.

⁴¹ MARAS 2013, p. 203.

suris selvansel (Tarquinia: *ET* Ta 3.7 and *ThLE* I², s.v. *selvansel*; Maras 2009, p. 389; fourth century BC);

suris selvansl (Tarquinia: Maras 2009, p. 382; fourth century BC);

θufl. \$uuris > θuflθas \$uuris (Vulci: *StEtr* LVI, 1989-90 [1991], *REE* no. 68; Maras 2009, p. 403; ca. 300 BC).

In this context Rix, *ET* Co 4.10, the inscription on a bronze dog from Cortona: *ś. caluštla* (“of Ś(uri?) that/the one of Caluś”) is also informative since the latter is a god of the underworld. Śuri and Lethams were probably combined because of their similar or complementary nature. G. Colonna suggests that the dyad Śuri and Cavatha can be equated with Soranus/Dis Pater/Apollo/Hades and Persephone/Kore/Proserpina⁴². This does not imply, however, that Śuri was only a god of the underworld because Etruscan deities could operate in a positive and negative way, as is shown by some deities on the Bronze liver of Piacenza who are present both in the *pars familiaris* and in the *pars hostilis*⁴³. Miniature weapons were dedicated to Śuri in the southern sanctuary at Pyrgi and probably also in a votive deposit, without inscriptions, in the northern sanctuary at Gravisca⁴⁴. Iron throwing weapons were found in the sanctuary of the temple of the Belvedere at Orvieto in which Śur(i), Apa and Tinia Calusna were worshipped⁴⁵.

Cristofani does not define the sex of Lethams⁴⁶. He notices that the deity is the most frequently mentioned god on visceral side of the Bronze Liver of Piacenza (ca. 100 BC). He makes a comparison between regions 11 (*leθns* [gen.]), 18 (*leθn*), 27 (*leta*), 32 (*leθa*), 37 (*leθam*) according to the system of A. Maggiani⁴⁷ (in my system between regions 9 [instead of Maggiani’s 11]), 18, 27, 32, and 37)⁴⁸ on the one hand and the *Favores* in *regio* 1, *Favor* in 4, *Favor (Iovis filius)* in 6, *Favor pastor* in 11 of the list of Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae* I 5, 48, 50, 55 on the other hand⁴⁹. He concludes that Lethams is Favor and/or Fortuna. There is, however, only one comparison possible between the two documents, which are respectively dated to ca. 100 BC and ca. 500 AD. As is known, the sequence of gods in Martianus’ list of 16 heavenly regions is

⁴² COLONNA 2006, pp. 139-141.

⁴³ MAGGIANI 1982, p. 85, fig. 3: *cilens, lwsa, leta/leθn/leθam, mar(is)* live in both *partes*.

⁴⁴ G. BAGNASCO GIANNI, in MACINTOSH TURFA 2013, p. 607 mentions a bronze warrior about to throw a lance, miniature lances and a greave.

⁴⁵ MARAS 2009, pp. 427-428 (ca. 500 BC); STEVENS 2009, p. 161; COLONNA 2006, pp. 139-140; *Sanctuari d’Etruria*, pp. 80-83 (S. STOPPONI - G. COLONNA). The temple was built ca. 500 BC; its orientation to south-east indicates that the deities were underworld gods living in the opposite, northwestern quarter of the sky.

⁴⁶ CRISTOFANI 1995, pp. 66-68, 120. For the root **leθ-*, see MARAS 2001-2003, pp. 412-416.

⁴⁷ MAGGIANI 1982, p. 55, fig. 1 a.

⁴⁸ VAN DER MEER 1987, p. 11, fig. 10.

⁴⁹ Apparently Leθams (ca. 470 BC) changed into Leθam (ca. 300 BC), Leθ(a)n and Leta (ca. 100 BC), probably under influence of theonymic names like Alpan, Farthan, Mean, Thesan, and Turan.

only partly compatible with the 16-part margin of the Liver. The congruencies depend on the estimated north point in the margin⁵⁰.

In Maggiani's system the Liver's marginal region 11 (*leθns* < **leθans*) is congruent with Martianus' *regio* 11 where *Fortuna*, *Valitudo* and *Favor pastor*, and the *Manes* reside. This would partly confirm Cristofani's identification.

In my reconstruction, however, the Liver's marginal regio 9 is identical with Martianus' regio 9 where only *Iunonis Hospitae Genius*, "Guardian Spirit of Iuno Hospita", resides. As we will see, Letham(s) can be associated with Uni.

Remarkably Letham/Lethan lives in four inner areas of the Liver: on the anatomical left lobe, the central area, the gallbladder, and to the right of it, in sum, in all main zones. The following combinations in adjacent Liver regions are important:

leθam (region 37) + *maris*(s) (30) in the central zone, and
leta (27) + *marisl laθ* or more probably *marisl lar(an)* (26) on the gallbladder.

Since Maris and Laran are represented in mirror scenes as protective male martial gods, Letham(s) is probably a similar deity. This hypothesis is confirmed by a mirror from Tarquinia (now in Como), dated to ca. 300 BC which must have shown the Birth of Menerva from the head of Tinia on the completely damaged reverse. Only the inscriptions on the raised border are preserved. They mention from left to right: *laran leθam tinia menerva θalna uni*⁵¹. There is no doubt that both Laran and Letham at the left are present because of their protective function. The opposed Thalna and Uni were combined for a functional reason too, since both could function as deities of birth. TC 18-19 mentions in May only Larun and Letham. For these reasons it may be concluded that Lethams in TC is a martial deity. He is present in the *pars hostilis* of the Liver's margin but also resides in the inner zones, some of which certainly belong to the *pars familiaris* (regions 18 and 27). Of course, like other gods he may have had more, and even contrasting functions.

Section 1 also mentions Savlasie (< **Savla-sios*), a male god of Italic origin⁵².

It seems that Suri and Lethams can be associated with war and protection. In the Italic world the war season started in March. Lethams is also mentioned in the months April, May, June and July. Fulinusne (lines 5-6), a male god of unknown identity, is also mentioned in July (line 29). Lethams and Fulinusne may frame the first five months of a year of ten months, if the TC text started with March and ended with December.

DAYS

According to J. Rüpke **Celuta* is the day of the waning moon, corresponding with the Roman *Tubilustrium*, **Tinianta* with the Roman *Kalendae* (dedicated to Iuno) and **Aperta* would be the day of the waxing month, corresponding to the Roman *Nonae*. His

⁵⁰ See STEVENS 2009.

⁵¹ VAN DER MEER 1987, p. 68, fig. 31; RIX, *ET* Ta S.10 incorrectly reads: *leθans*.

⁵² For *-sie/-sio*, see DE SIMONE 1989-90; M. PETTO, in *Oebalus* IV, 2009, pp. 365-380; C. DE SIMONE, in *Oebalus* V, 2010, pp. 7-51.

comparison is based on Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I 15, 13 (ca. 400 AD)⁵³ who states that the Etruscans repeated the *Nonae* after eight days. The days would have been included in a supposed pre-decemviral Roman calendar of 451 BC⁵⁴ in which each month would have three weeks of eight days with four structuring days: *Nonae*, *Idus* (full moon), *Tubilustrium* and *Kalendae*, in total 28 days. The day *macvitula* (“Fifth”) would be the central one in a week of eight days⁵⁵. Rüpke’s equations are probably not correct since two other Etruscan calendars, the months in the *Liber linteus* and the *Brontosopic Calendar*, have respectively 29 and 30 days. Macrobius does not mention the number of *Nonae*. The Etruscan word for *Nonae* is unknown and *Aperta* is a day after the Ides, as appears from the following survey which mentions the names of days as temporal locatives in the following TC lines:

- 08. *isveitule* (on the Ides, in April)⁵⁶
- 13. *celutule* (after the Ides, in April)
- 14. *apertule* (after the Ides, in April)
- 18. *isveitule* (on the Ides, in May)
- 19. *tiniantule* (after the Ides, in May)
- 21. *apertule saizie* (after the Ides, in June, compare the sequence in lines 8-14)
- 21. *ma(c)vilitule* (after the Ides, in June)
- 22. *husilitule* (after the Ides, in June)
- 31. *macvilut[ule ...* (after the Ides, probably in August, compare the sequence in line 21)
- 40. *isveitule* (on the Ides, probably in October)
- 42. *apertu[le ...* (after the Ides, probably in November, compare lines 8-14)
- 50. *...]utule* (probably *macvilutule*, after the Ides, probably in November, compare the sequence in lines 21 and 31)
- 59. *apertule* (after the Ides, probably in December, compare sequence in lines 8-14)

In sum, no day is mentioned before the Ides. Days after the Ides are **Celuta* and **Aperta*, **Tinianta*, **Macviluta* (‘Fifth? [day]’)⁵⁷ and **Husilita*.

⁵³ Unde quidam hinc Nonas aestimant dictas, quasi novae initium observationis, vel quod ab eo die semper ad Idus novem dies putantur: sicut apud Tuscos Nonae plures habebantur, quod hi nono quoque die regem suum salutabant et de propriis negotiis consulebant («Hence some think that the Nones got its name as the start of a new process of ritual observance, or because nine days are always reckoned from it to the Ides: just as the Etruscans used to observe several Nones, because they greeted their king every ninth day and sought his advice on their personal affairs» (translated by and by courtesy of R. A. Kaster [Loeb Edition 2011, p. 181]).

⁵⁴ Non-existent according to SCHOLZ 2011, p. 51.

⁵⁵ RÜPKE 1999, p. 273; RÜPKE 2012, p. 89. The transition from *max* (“five”) to *macvi-*, however, is problematic.

⁵⁶ EICHNER 2012, p. 28, note 66 translates *isveitule* (< *isvei-tule*) as “in the same (place?) > on just the same (place?)», not excluding that the Ides may be meant. Cf. RIX 1990, p. 113.

⁵⁷ FORSYTH 2012, p. 27 compares **macvitula* with Roman *Quinquatrus* on 19 March and translates it as “Fifth other/next (day) (after the Ides)”.

AGENTS

Cristofani mentions as cult actors only *velθur t[usnu]sc lavtun* in line 21-22, reconstructed and translated as “Velthur and the family (of) T(usnu(s)?)”, *pacusnašie* in line 22-23 and *pacus[naš]ieθu[r]*⁵⁸. The latter is a collective in view of the suffix *-θur* meaning: “Pacusnasie family/collectivity/brotherhood/brethren”. The name is interesting since Pacus is a male first name of Italic/Oscan origin (cf. Pac-/k-/q-(u/ʔ)is)⁵⁹, the suffix *-na(s)* is Etruscan, but the ending in *-(s)ie* Italic. This shows a process of successive ethnic acculturations which can be explained by the growing influence of the Campanians.

Cristofani holds that Velthur was the name of Capua between ca. 470 and 423 BC⁶⁰. According to Livy (IV 37, 1) the city name Voltturnum was changed into Capua in the latter year. One would have expected, however, *Velthurna since city names often have the suffix *-na*. In addition, the combination of a city name and a *nomen gentilicium* as agents is without parallel in Etruscan inscriptions. The sequence *Pacusnašie* and *Pacusnašieθur* makes clear that the name of an individual, probably the *pater familias*, precedes the family name. Therefore Velthur is not the name of the city but the main person of the T(usnu(s)) family.

The TC, however, mentions still other family names. Lines 60-61 read: *a.s.χa/nis.c lav.tunui.[s]*, without interpuncts: *asχanis-c lavtunui[s]*, in translation: “and by Aschani belonging to a/the family”⁶¹. The *nomen gentilicium* is remarkable since it looks like the name of Aineias’ son Askanios, later known as Iulus, the mythical ancestor of Caesar and the Julian-Claudian emperors. Interestingly, Suetonius (*Caesar* 81, 1-2) mentions Iulus in the story of a discovery at Capua:

Sed Caesari futura caedes evidentibus prodigiis denuntiata est. Paucos ante menses, cum in colonia Capua deducti lege Iulia coloni ad exstruendas villas vetustissima sepulcra disicerent idque eo studiosius facerent, quod aliquantum vasculorum operis antiqui scrutantes reperiebant, tabula aenea in monumento, in quo dicebatur Capys conditor Capuae sepultus, inventa est conscripta litteris verbisque Graecis hac sententia: quandoque ossa Capyis detecta essent, fore ut Iulo prognatus manu consanguineorum necaretur magnisque mox Italiae cladibus vindicaretur. Cuius rei, ne quis fabulosam aut commenticiam putet, auctor est Cornelius Balbus, familiarissimus Caesaris.

«Caesar had warning given him of his fate by indubitable omens. A few months before, when the colonists settled at Capua, by virtue of the Julian law, were demolishing some old tombs, in building country-houses, and were the more eager at the work, because they discovered certain vessels of antique workmanship, a tablet of brass was found in

⁵⁸ CRISTOFANI 1995, pp. 77, 101-105.

⁵⁹ POCCHETTI 2008, pp. 145-146; M. L. LAZZARINI, in POCCHETTI 2009, pp. 428-429; D’ISANTO 1993, p. 192.

⁶⁰ CRISTOFANI 1995, pp. 102-105.

⁶¹ For *lavitun*, see E. BENELLI, in MACINTOSH TURFA 2013, pp. 450-451. Heiner Eichner (personal communication) points out that the ending *-u* in *lavtunui* (ablative: *lavtunui-is*) indicates the adjective of *lavitun* (“family”).

a tomb, in which Capys, the founder of Capua, was said to have been buried, with an inscription in the Greek language to this effect “Whenever the bones of Capys come to be discovered, a descendant of Iulus⁶² will be slain by the hands of his kinsmen, and his death revenged by fearful disasters throughout Italy”. Lest any person should regard this anecdote as a fabulous or silly invention, it was circulated upon the authority of Caius Balbus, an intimate friend of Caesar’s»⁶³.

Suetonius evidently associates Iulus (Ascanius) with Capys, mythical founder of Capua⁶⁴. The Aschani family, probably of Greek origin, may have seen Askanios as its Trojan ancestor.

The connection between Troy and Capua is already mentioned by Hecataeus in the sixth century BC⁶⁵. TC lines 60-61 may mention a member of the Aschani family who may have caused the TC to be inscribed (*ziχun*[..]). As Cristofani suggests, line 61 may show a first colophon since the last line (62) mentions (Can?)ulis who ordered the inscription of the TC (*ziχunce*)⁶⁶. Therefore, the Aschani may have fallen into disgrace soon after the Sea Battle of Cumae in 474 BC. If correct, the battle gives the *terminus post quem* of the TC.

Other persons or families in the TC text are:

Line 3: *θuθcu* may be a diminutive female first name⁶⁷ or title of a priestess (cf. *hatrencu*, see Rix, *ET* I, p. 113) used as vocative if the following word-form *šipir* is an imperative⁶⁸. Comparison, for example, with *ilucu* (“feast”), *nunθcu* (“offered”?), *θamcu* (“built”?), however, shows that *θuθcu* may be a noun, perfect participle or verbal adjective⁶⁹.

Line 5: *lunašie* (*vacil. lunašie faca*: “let Lunašie *fac*- a *vacil*”). The man has a name of Italic origin.

Line 8: *cuies?* (*leθamsul. ilucu cuiesχu*). If the feast for Lethams had to be organized by a family, *cuiesχu* (*cuies-χu*) may be an adjective meaning “belonging to/of Cuies”. As *gens* name *cuies* is later present in Perugia (Rix, *ET* Pe 1.1007, cf. Pe 1.194).

Line 8-9: *cipen apires racvanies* (“priest of *apire* [a funerary/ancestral rite?] [is/let be] *Racvanies*”) ⁷⁰.

Line 9: Cuve and Cathni. Their names are written as ablatives in: *snuza inte. hamaiθi cuveis. caθnis. f[a]n/ir[i]* (“*snuza* which *inte* in Hamai by Cuve [and] by Cathni must be

⁶² Some manuscripts mention *Iulio*, *Ilio* or *illo* (from > of Iulius, Ilium, or him) instead of *Iulo*.

⁶³ Translation from Loeb Classical Library, 1913 (online; public domain).

⁶⁴ For Capys, see CRISTOFANI 1995, p. 102.

⁶⁵ For the names of Capua, see MINOJA 2012 and CORDANO 2012.

⁶⁶ CRISTOFANI 1995, p. 56 (line 61).

⁶⁷ According to VAN HEEMS 2008, pp. 85-86 the diminutive *-cu*, however, would not be present before the third century BC. The name may be present in RIX, *ET* Cm 2.29: *mi θut-* [ca. 500 BC].

⁶⁸ CRISTOFANI 1995, p. 62, note 9.

⁶⁹ Cf. WALLACE 2008, p. 73 on the participle of the past *aliqu* (“presented”); WYLLIN 2000, pp. 101-104, 106.

⁷⁰ The meaning of *cipen* (later: *cepen*) is based on a comparison with Sabellic *cupencus* (“priest”). See MAGGIANI 1996, pp. 107-108. Adiego (2006) translates: “all”. There is no consensus.

fan- [declared/decreed/pronounced?]). Hamai (Latin Hamae) is the name of a place ca. 4,5 km to the north of Cumae and ca. 30 km from Capua⁷¹.

Line 10: *iti* (plur. *itir*; probably title of a priest, also present in lines 21-22, 57).

Line 16-17: *snenaziulastra vaiuser hivus niθusc* (“the people [-tra] belonging to a **snenaziu* [and?] *vaius-er* [an animate plural indicating persons or functionaries] of Hivu and of Nithu”) *hivustra* (“people belonging to Hivu”) ⁷²; Cristofani reconstructs a nominative **snenaziula* < **snenathiula* (*sneaθ/sneat* in engraved mirror scenes is a female assistant of Turan) and translates it as Latin *ministra* or *camilla*⁷³, a female cult assistant. However, *snenaziu* is the diminutive of *sneaθ* (< *sneaθ-ziu*)⁷⁴, and *snenaziulas* is its *genitivus genitivi*⁷⁵.

Line 18: *canulis*. *Canulis* may also be present in the last line (62): [*.can?*]*ulis zixunce*: “[Can]ulis has (made) written (this)”⁷⁶.

Line 20: *aiu* is the owner and donor or a receiving deity.

Line 21-22: *itir. sver falal* [...] (*iti-r sve-r*: animate plurals of *iti* and *sve*)⁷⁷. They were probably two kinds of priests of *fala*. The word-form *sve-* (in *sve-c* and *sve-m*) is present in the *Liber linteus* (II 2, 9; IV 4, 17). It is followed by the animate relative pronoun *an* (“who”) ⁷⁸. The word *fala* may mean “heaven” in view of **faladum* in a gloss, TLE² 831: *a falado (falando), quod apud Etruscos significat coelum* (“*faladum* means according to the Etruscans sky/heaven”). An inscription from the suburban Campo della Fiera sanctuary at Orvieto (ca. 530-520 BC) mentions *faliaθere* (< *faliaθera-i*) which may mean “in the heavenly (place)” and the Lead of Magliano (ca. 450 BC) mentions *falzaθi* (“in a small heavenly place”) ⁷⁹. There is no reason why *falal*[- should be completed to *falal[θur.?*] as Rix (in *ET*) and Cristofani suggest, since other collective names ending in *-θur* are preceded by a nominative.

Line 21-22: *velθur t[usnu]sc lavtun* (mentioned above).

Line 22-23: *pacusnašie* (mentioned above).

Line 23: *nis.[c l]avtun* (“and the family of Ni” or “the family Nis”).

Line 24: *]niiac. [l]avtun >]niia-c lavtun* (“and the family of ...*ni-*” or “the family -*niia*”) ⁸⁰. The ending *-ia* may be a genitive.

⁷¹ CRISTOFANI 1995, pp. 105-106; G. COLONNA, in *AnnMuseoFaina* XVII, 2012, p. 209; M. BONGHII JOVINO, *ibidem*, p. 356.

⁷² For *-tra*, plural of *-ita*, see EICHNER 2012, p. 31, note 85; EICHNER 2011, pp. 78-80; VAN DER MEER 2007, p. 107 (on **lustra*).

⁷³ CRISTOFANI 1995, p. 83.

⁷⁴ For *-iu* as diminutive, see VAN HEEMS 2008, pp. 82-85. He did not identify *-ziu*.

⁷⁵ With thanks to Heiner Eichner.

⁷⁶ The name may be akin to the Campanian and Latin family name Canuleii. See D’ISANTO 1993, pp. 92-93.

⁷⁷ CRISTOFANI 1995, p. 81 reads *itirsver falaθur* instead of *itir. sver falal* [...]. *ThLE P* reads *itirsver*.

⁷⁸ According to Belfiore (2010, p. 85) *sve-* would derive from **sva-i*.

⁷⁹ S. STOPPONI, in *StEtr* LXXIV, 2008 [2010], pp. 385-388 no. 140; VAN DER MEER 2012, pp. 336-337.

⁸⁰ Maybe **Ninni*, see D’ISANTO 1993, p. 180.

Line 25: ..] $\theta[u]$: maybe a name of a person or family, used as vocative preceding the imperative *acas*.

Line 26-27: *pacus[nas]ie θ u[r]* (mentioned above).

Line 28: *cipen* (cf. line 8: “priest”).

Line 32: *hefina papa* (“grandfather Hefina or *hefi*-like grandfather”). The word-form *papui* (in section 6, line 31) may mean “in/during Papu” (“August”) and *papa θ i* (l. 33) “in *papa*”, probably a place where a grandfather was worshipped as ancestral god. In that case the name of the month was called after a cult in honour of a grandfather. The three word-forms *pap-* remind us of the cult in honour of Aphe in April (section 2, line 14). The word-forms *apirase* and *apire* in section 2 have the root *apir* in common, an animate plural of *ap-* (cf. *apa*: “father”). This suggests that in **apirasa* (April) a feast for Aphe, probably a father-god, took place. If **papu* indicates the month August, *par θ umi*, the temporal locative of **par θ um*, the first word of section 5, may mean “in July”.

Line 56: *jel θ ritec* > *jel θ rite-c* (“and a man from (V?)elthri”; the suffix *-te* indicates a toponymic anthroponym; it may refer to Velathri (Volaterrae) or, more likely, to Velitrae, a Latin name probably akin to Etruscan Velathri, in Latium).

Line 57: *iti* (see lines 10, 21-22: “priest”).

Line 61: *as χ ani* is probably a name of Greek origin (mentioned above).

Line 62: *(can?)ulis* (see line 18) is the name of the person who had the TC text inscribed.

More persons and families may have been mentioned in the missing and damaged parts of the inscription.

The presence of individuals and families raises the question of whether there was a kind of social hierarchy within the cult. A possible clue is the word-form *ce χ iniaitei* (< *ce χ inia-itei*) in line 27 which means “in this *ce χ inia*”. It consists of *ce χ -in-ia-i* and the deictic suffix *itei* (< *-(i)te-i* < *(i)ta-i*). The root *ce χ -* is comparable with that of the adverb *ce χ a* which means “above” (cf. Rix, *ET Pe* 8.4: *i χ ca ce χ a zi χ u χ e*: “as this above has been written”)⁸¹. On vases the animate plural *ce χ anar* has been found which probably means “superior gods”. A. Maggiani has shown that the syntagm *zil χ ce χ aneri* (Ta. 1.9) means “a *zil χ* (praetorship) for *ce χ ana* (senate; *ordo principum*)”⁸². Therefore, **ce χ inia*, may mean: “place” or “building of superiors (civil or divine)”⁸³. If correct, the Pacusna θ ie θ ur, who make a sacrifice in June (section 4), played both an important civil and a ritual role. Lines 26-28 may support this hypothesis:

<i>pacus[nas]ieθu[r]</i>	<i>laθiumia[i zusle]i</i>	<i>[s]iχaiei</i>	<i>t[ar]tiriiai</i>	<i>fanusei</i>	<i>peθiai</i>
“the Pacusnasie family	in/with <i>lathiumia</i> , <i>zusle</i> ,	<i>[s]iχaie</i> ,	<i>tartiriia</i> ,	<i>fanuse</i> ,	<i>peθia</i>
<i>ratu</i>	<i>ceχiniaitei</i>	<i>turza</i>	<i>esχaθce</i>	<i>eθ</i>	
ritually in this <i>ceχinia</i>	gifts has brought/placed thus”.				

⁸¹ For *ce χ a*, see WYLIN 2000, p. 94, note 181.

⁸² MAGGIANI 1996, pp. 107-108. By analogy *c[epe]n ce χ aneri* (Rix, *ET Ta* 5.4) means “a priestship for the senate”. The reconstruction *cepen*, however, is uncertain.

⁸³ Heiner Eichner (personal communication) suggests to compare the shift from **ce χ an-* to *ce χ in-* with *clan* > *clin(i)ar*.

An adverb similar to *ratu* is *ratum* in the *Liber linteus* X 20. The root *rat-* may be akin to the name of the Etruscan Apollo-like god Rath/Rat. The word *ratm* (< *ratum*) in the *Tabula Cortonensis* is used in the context of the deposition of a *sparza* (“little tablet”) in a house⁸⁴. The large number of gifts offered by the Pacusnasiethur and the use of *ratu* (“orderly, ritually”) took place in a *cexinia*, a place or building for superiors, probably an administrative building with a religious function. The family may have played a key role in Capua.

OFFERINGS

A frequent word in TC is *vacil*⁸⁵, which H. Rix and V. Belfiore translate as “further”, and Cristofani as “ceremony” and “sacrifice”⁸⁶, because the word is once followed by *perpri* (“must be held/celebrated”)⁸⁷, a necessitative which usually follows *ilucu* (“festival”)⁸⁸. Neither translation is correct. Cristofani’s translation is based on lines 12-13 in section 2:

vacil. ia *riθnaita* *eθ.* *aθeneica* *perpri*
 “*vacil ia* (here?) (of) this **rithna* so (like) (of) that **athena* must be held”.

This syntagma shows that *vacil* is the subject of *perpri*; *riθnaita* and *aθeneica* may be adjectives of *vacil*. According to G. Colonna **athena* (< **aθema*) refers to a house or temple⁸⁹. Based on this context **rithna* may be an altar⁹⁰. *vacil* is something concrete as is shown by the lines 3-4:

ci tartiria *cim. cleva* *acasri* *halχtei.*
 “3 *tartiria* and 3 *cleva* must be made (offered?) in/with this vase
vacil. *icei. suni* *savlasie[s?*
vacil in/with that vase (oinochoe) of > for Savlasie”.

In view of successive offerings in or with two pots, a *halχ* and a *sun*, the nouns *tartiria*, *cleva* and *vacil* indicate substances or liquids. The noun *vacil* may be a liquid or a libation, in view of syntagms in the *Liber linteus* XI 2: *vacl. vinum*; XI 4: *vinum. θic. vacl*. The latter means “wine and water, a libation” if *vacl* is used in apposition. The words *vacil*,

⁸⁴ See VAN DER MEER 2010-13.

⁸⁵ In RIX, *ET Cr* 4.10 and *Vc* 0.19 a *vacal* is mentioned.

⁸⁶ BELFIORE 2010, p. 103; VAN DER MEER 2007, p. 80; CRISTOFANI 1995, pp. 63, note 13; 73.

⁸⁷ PALLOTTINO 1948-49, p. 184 compares *perpri* with Latin *perpennius* = Greek *authentēs* (“executing”); see the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* II, p. 148.

⁸⁸ For *ilucu* and *ilacu*, see MARAS 2009, pp. 352-353; WYLLIN 2000, p. 89, note 170.

⁸⁹ G. COLONNA, in *StEtr* LIV, 1998 [2001], pp. 416-417.

⁹⁰ Heiner Eichner (personal communication) suggests that *riθnaita* consists of the locative *riθnai* and nominative *ta* (“this [one] in *riθna*”); *riθnaitule* would mean “in this (one) in *riθna*”. Cf. *halχtei* (< *halχ-tei*): “in this vase”.

vacal and *vacl* are never preceded by numerals, but only by an adverb of frequency in the *Liber linteus* VIII 2-5: *ciz vacl* (“three times a *vacl*”).

The *Liber linteus* X 20-22 mentions *balχza*, “a small *balχ*”, followed by names of other vases among which *θapna θapnza-c*, which means “bowl and small bowl”. A *sun* is a vase as is shown by the inscription on the bottom of an Etruscan red figure oinochoe from Vulci, dated to ca. 400 BC (Rix, *ET* Vc 0.38: *sunī*) and *suntnam* (< **sun-etnam*: “further a *sun*”) in the *Liber linteus* XI 13.

Other frequent offerings are *tartiria*⁹¹. *tiria* are mentioned in line 2. Since the *Liber linteus* III 13-14 mentions *θezine χim fler tarc* (“slaughtered [as] correct offering are *fler* [“sacrificial animal”] and *tar*”) and III 14-15 *nac cal tarc thezi* (“then a *cal* and *tar* slaughter!”)⁹², *tartiria* (< *tar* + *tiria*) may be a compositum, possibly a hendiadyoin, indicating sacrificial victims or more probably their liquids like fat. For the latter option there is an indication in lines 28-29 where *cipen tartiria vaci fulinusn[es?-]* may mean: “(Oh) priest libate? *tartiria* of > for Fulinusne (or Fulinusnai)!”. The verb *vac-* is akin to the root of *vacil* (*vac-il*, cf. *acil* [*ac-il*]: “work”, from *ac-*: “to make”)⁹³. Cristofani restores *vaci* in *vacil* which does not make sense. The precise meaning of *fler* is unknown but *cal* may be a dog since a bronze dog is dedicated to a *s(uri?) calusta*, a deity of the underworld⁹⁴.

The noun *zusle* (in line 9, 11, 15, 23, 25, 26) is the diminutive of **zus-* (plural: *zusleva*)⁹⁵. In line 15 *zusleva atu[.]ne* looks like *zusatunina* (Rix, *ET* Cr 0.4) if the latter is the *lectio continua* of *zus atunina*. Maybe *atunina* is an obsolete form of **atunisna*. If true, *zus* may refer to the boar that killed Adonis. Circumstantial evidence comes from Fondo Patturelli, a suburban sanctuary to the east of Capua. The sacred place was already used around 550 BC by Etruscans and others but after 423 by Campanian families⁹⁶. The *iūvilas* stelai with Oscan inscriptions, now dated to ca. 330-250 BC, show cakes and a boar, in one case a sow, incised or in low relief⁹⁷. Some female terracotta votive figures from the same sanctuary hold a piglet⁹⁸. Therefore, if the Samnites offered the same victim as Etruscans did before 423 BC, *zusle* is most likely a little boar or pig⁹⁹. The rituals of the *iūvilas* have in common with those in TC that different families make offerings

⁹¹ *ThLE* P and incidentally Cristofani (1995) reconstruct *tar tiria*.

⁹² VAN DER MEER 2007, pp. 78-80.

⁹³ For imperatives on *-i*, see WYLIN 2000, pp. 122-124.

⁹⁴ RIX, *ET* Co 4.10.

⁹⁵ According to Cristofani (1995, p. 117) *zusleva* are sacrificial animals; BELFIORE 2010, p. 94; VAN DER MEER 2007, p. 69. For *-(i)le*, see VAN HEEMS 2008, pp. 86-87.

⁹⁶ BONGHI JOVINO 2010. Sampaolo (2010, p. 79) does not see a caesura between the ‘Etruscan’ and Samnite phases. For the continuity of the extra-urban sanctuary at Hamae, see LIV. XXIII 3, 13-14.

⁹⁷ CRAWFORD 2011, I, pp. 27-29.

⁹⁸ *Santuari d’Etruria*, p. 124, fig. 6.2 B 4 (ca. 300 BC) (S. CIAGHI).

⁹⁹ For pigs or piglets as victims in the Etruscan world, see S. RAFANELLI, in MACINTOSH TURFA 2013, pp. 574-575, 578-579: pigs were used in expiatory and funerary rituals. See also VAN DER MEER 2007, pp. 40-41, fig. 11. According to Cicero (*leg.* II 55-57) no (sc. Roman) cremation tomb was used without slaughtering a pig (*porcus*).

in different months. The TC rites, however, may not have taken place in a single location in view of the word-form *hamaiθi* (“in Hamai”) in lines 9 and 10. V. Sampaolo, following Cristofani, suggests that *unialθi* and *unialθ* (“in the [sacred place/temple] of Uni”) in line 13 refer to the Fondo Patturelli sanctuary¹⁰⁰. The *iūvilas*, however, do not mention Juno. In lines 9 and 11 the destination of respectively six and three *zusle* is a place called **riθnaita* (< *riθna-ita* or *riθnai-ta*, “this altar”?)¹⁰¹, and that of *zusleva* in line 15 (*vanec calus. zusleva*) in a place called **vana* (locative: *vane* < **vanei* < **vanai*) of Calu, the underworld god mentioned before. The latter word may have the same root as the underworld goddess Vanth (*van-θ*: “[who is] in *van[a]*”) ¹⁰². The word-forms *zusle*, *zusleva*, and *zusleve* are also present in rituals of the *Liber linteus* (II 11; III 3; IV 7, 11; VIII 7; IX 1, 8, 14, 16), in some cases as offering(s) to the *farθan* (Latin *genitor*, *procreator*) of gods.

The syntagmata *icni seril* in line 22 and 24 and *icni zusle* in line 23 may be accusatives. The first is preceded by the name of a family (subject) and the predicate *esχaθce* (“has brought”). Cristofani suggests that *icni* (“that”) is the accusative of the demonstrativum **ica-ni* (cf. *mini* [*mi-ni*], acc. of *mi*).

The adjective *arvusta* (*arvu-s-ta*) in the last lines of section 3 (May) may be of Italic origin, if *arvu-* is akin to the root of Umbrian *arvam* (“field”) and the Latin adjective *arvus* (“ploughed”) and noun *arvum* (“arable land”). In that case the syntagm *santi arvusta aius. nunθeri* means “a vase of field-fruits of (or to) *Aiu* must be offered”. The vase may have contained grain. It is unclear whether *Aiu* is the owner or the receiving deity. The word-form *santi-* or *sanθi-* is also present in the *Liber linteus* (X 21, f1, f6; XI 2). In X f6 the receiving god is mentioned: ----*trinum. vetis. une. mlac. sanθi* (“invoke *Vetis*, for him [*Rix*: for you] a nice [thing], a vase”). *Vetis* derives from Italic **Vedi(u)s*, an Apollo-like underworld god who is also present in the *pars hostilis* of the 16-part Bronze Liver’s margin.

The meaning of *cleva* (plural of **cle-?*) is not known. In view of the phrase *ci tartiria cim. cleva acasri balχtei* (see above) and images on the *iūvilas* maybe “three liquids (fat?) and three cakes” are meant.

The noun *riza* (line 33) may be the diminutive of *ri-*, *rizile* the diminutive of *riza*¹⁰³. The syntagm *mulu rizile* (lines 5-6 and 19) probably means “a given *rizile*”. In both contexts it is something that has to be accepted. Other terms for offerings ending in the diminutive *-za* are *marza*, *turza* (“gifts”), *ecunza* and probably *snuza* if it derives from **snut-za*¹⁰⁴. The root *mar-* may be akin to *Maris*, a theonymic name, and *maru* (a magistrate/priest). The Lead Plaque of Magliano (*Rix, ET AV 4.1*, line B1) mentions *menica-c marca lurca-c*, three

¹⁰⁰ CRISTOFANI 1995, pp. 107-108, 118-119; SAMPAOLO 2010, p. 8. According to Bonghi Jovino (2012, p. 355) Iuno in Fondo Patturelli became popular in the Samnite period instead of Menerva in the Etruscan period. For sacred places of Uni, see VAN DER MEER 2007, p. 157; VAN DER MEER 2011, pp. 104-110. For the locative *-lθi*, see HADAS-LIEBEL 2012.

¹⁰¹ Cristofani (1995, *passim*) interprets *riθnaita* as a type of rite.

¹⁰² If Etruscan **vana* is akin to the Latin adjective *vanus*, it may mean “a hollow place”.

¹⁰³ For the diminutive *-(i)le* in personal names, see VAN HEERMS 2008, pp. 85-86. According to Wylin (2000, p. 136) *rizile* would be the locative of **rizila*.

¹⁰⁴ For *snut[-]* see RIX, *ET Cr 8.1* (mentioned thrice). For *-za*, see AGOSTINIANI 2003.

adjectives ending in *-ca* which refer to the deities *Meni (deduced from *menita*, an epithet of *Maris*), Mar(is) and Lur. In a similar way *turza* may refer to the love goddess Turan. Line 16 mentions: *ci tartiria ci turza*. If we translate “three liquids (and) three gifts”, the first would be specific and the second not. So, maybe *turza* were love gifts.

CONCLUSIONS

The TC has been made soon after the Battle of Cumae in 474 BC. The scribe of the feast calendar was influenced by a South Etruscan, probably Caeretan writing tradition. The number of months was ten. War deities like Lethams were worshipped in the first half of the year. The ritual activities took place on the Ides and on days after the Ides. The number of agents (families, individuals and priests) is far larger than Cristofani suggests. The identification of offerings remains problematic. It seems that *vacil* means a liquid/libation, *tartiria* sacrificial animals/animal fat, and maybe *zusle* means boar/pig.

L. BOUKE VAN DER MEER

APPENDIX

A VERY TENTATIVE, PARTIAL WORD-FOR-WORD TRANSLATION

The Etruscan text is mainly based on Cristofani 1995, pp. 57-58 but here without syllabic and word interpuncts. Some parts of incomplete word-forms are deleted or supplemented with a question mark in the space between the square brackets. The text is split up into syntagms. The spelling is the conventional one which is used in the *CIE*, *TLE*², and *TbLE* ¹. The butterfly-like letter *tsade/san* is rendered as *ś*¹⁰⁵. Locatives with a possible instrumental function are translated as: “in/w(ith)”. Numbers in superscript refer to the lines of the inscription, numbers in the translation lines are footnotes. The θ , φ and χ are rendered as *th*, *ph*, and *ch* (kh) in the translation lines. The symbol > means: to be read as. [...10.] means: number of [10] missing letters.

[Section 1: probably MARCH]¹⁰⁶

[--- 3-5 lines are missing ---]

¹[..30-40..]*vacil* *suxu*[..7-8..

[...] liquid/libation? *suchu*[*ne*?... (in/with **suchuna*, or: has been *such-*)¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ CRISTOFANI 1995, pp. 27, 29. The rare letter is also present in *CIE* 8689 (from Capua). It seems to be a local invention showing two vertically opposed letters M.

¹⁰⁶ According to a gloss (*TLE*² 856) the Etruscan name of March was *Velcitanus*. The name is probably akin to the theonym *Velχ(ans)*, who is mentioned on the Bronze Liver of Piacenza.

¹⁰⁷ Maybe akin to *zuchne* (< **zuxuna-i*?) in line 15-16.

²ai. sa[v]cnes sa tiria saχ[.30-32..] ³ [..18-20..nunθ²]eri
]ai for Savcne sa tiria sach[...] [..offered²] must be ¹⁰⁸.

θuθcu vacil sipir surileθamsul
 (ob!²) *Thuthcu*² liquid/libation² *sipir*(!²) of > for Suri (and) Lethams,

ci tartiria ⁴cim cleva acasri halχtei
 three *tartiria* and three *cleva* must be made (offered) ¹⁰⁹ in this vase.

vacil icei suni savlasie[s²..5-7..
 liquid/libation² in/with that vase (an oinochoe?) of/for Savlasie[...

m⁵ul]u rizile picasri savlasieis
 given *rizile* must be (accepted²) by Savlasie,

vacil lunasie faca iχnac fuli⁶nušnes
 liquid/libation² (obj.) *Lunasie* (subj.) let *fac-* as/like of > for Fulinušne,

vacil savcnes
 liquid/libation² of > for Savcne.

itna mulu rizile picasri iane
 so/further²¹¹⁰ given *rizile* must be (accepted²) *iane* (in *iana*²)

vacil l⁷eθamsul scuvune marzac saca :
 liquid/libation² for Lethams in/with *scuvuna* (or: has been finished²), and *marza* (acc.)
 let (one) consecrate > let (one) consecrate *marza*!

[Section 2: APRIL; **apirasa* = April, based on gloss TLE² 818: *Cabreas* > <c>*Abreas* = *Aprilis mensis*]

⁸isveitule ilucve apirase leθamsul ilucu cuiesχu perpri
 On the Ides on the Feast in April of > for Lethams the feast *cuieschu* must be held;
cipen apires ⁹racvanies
 priest of *apire* (is/let be) *Racvanies*.

buθ zusle riθnaitultei
 Six piglets² in/with this **rithnaita*¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ For *nunθ-*, see WYLIN 2000, pp. 218-222.

¹⁰⁹ For *ac-/ak-*, see MARAS 2009, p. 218.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *etnam* (possibly from *etna-m*), *passim* in the *Liber linteus*. VAN DER MEER 2007, p. 78.

¹¹¹ Heiner Eichner (personal communication) translates “in the one of the one in *rithnai*”.

snuza inte hamaiθi cuveis caθnis f[a]n¹⁰ir[i]
snuza which -te in Hamai by Cuve (and) by Cathni must be declared¹¹²,

marza inte hamaiθi ital sacri
marza which -te in Hamai (of > for this², or: for Ita²) must be consecrated,

utus ecunzai iti alχu scuvse riθnaitu¹¹liei
utus (of *utu*²) in/with little *ecun* a priest² given in/with *scuvs*a in this **rithnaita*

ci zusle acun siricima nunθeri eθ isuma zuslevai
 three piglets², a javelin²¹¹³, *siricima* must be offered, thus *isuma* with piglets²,

apire nunθer¹²i avθleθ aium
apire must be offered in *avθla*² *aium* (*aiu-m*²: and/but *Aiu*², or *aiu*²)

vacil ia leθamsul nunθeri
 liquid/libation² *ia* (here²) to Lethams must be offered.

vacil ia riθnaita eθ aθene¹³ica perpri
 a libation² *ia* (here²) this *rithna*¹¹⁴ so/like that **aθena* must be held.

celutule apirase unialθi turza esχαθce
 On (day) Celuta in April in Uni's sanctuary gifts have > were² brought/placed;

ei iθum unialθ ara
 not *iθum* (acc.)¹¹⁵ in Uni's sanctuary let lift/take away!¹¹⁶

¹⁴epnicei nunθcu ciiei turzai
 in/with this *epn-* (is) offered with three gifts

riθ[nai]ta eiti ia balχ
 This **riθna eiti ia* (here²) vase.

apertule aqes ilucu vacil zuχn¹⁵e
 On (day) Aperta of > for Aphe a feast, a liquid/libation² in/with **zuch(u)na*¹¹⁷ (or: has been *zuch-*)

¹¹² For *fan-*, see FACCHETTI 2000, p. 15, note 43.

¹¹³ If *acun* is akin to Greek *akoon*.

¹¹⁴ Probably an altar. See above. Eichner's alternative translation (personal communication) is: "this (one) in the *rithna*".

¹¹⁵ Probably the *iθuma zuslevai* (an object with pigs?) in line 11.

¹¹⁶ For the subjunctive *ara*, see VAN DER MEER 2007, pp. 54-55; WYLIN 2000, pp. 124-126. The name *aril* (Rix, *ET Vc* 3.2; OI G. 26), the Etruscan name of Atlas, may mean "lifting".

¹¹⁷ For *zuχuna* mentioned in a tomb inscription at Caere, dated to ca. 530-515 BC, see G. COLONNA, in *StEtr* LXXI, 2005 [2007], pp. 171-177, and Rix, *ET Cr* 4.1. Its meaning is unknown.

elfa riθnaitultrais vanec calus zusleva atu[.]ne
elfa by/from the people of this *rithna* and in *vana* of > for Calu piglets? *atu[.]ne*

inpa vinaiθ acas aφ¹⁶es
 which (just?)¹¹⁸ in the vineyard? make! (offer!)¹¹⁹ of > for Aphe

ci tartiria ci turza riθnaitula snenaziulastra vaiuser
hivus niθusc ri¹⁷θnaitula
 3 *tartiria* 3 gifts of/for **riθnaita*, people of the little female cult servant, *vaiuser* of Hivu and Nithu, of/for **riθnaita*,

hivustra vaiuser sne[na]ziulas
 people of Hivu, *vaiuser* of the little female cult servant.

[Section 3: MAY; **anpilia* = May, based on gloss TLE² 805: Etr. *Ampiles* = *Maius mensis*]

¹⁸*išveitule ilucve anp[ili]e laruns ilucu buχ*
 On the Ides on the Feast in May of > for Larun a feast *buch* (celebrate!?)

šanti buri alχu esχaθ canulis
 a vase *buri* (in *bur*?) given bring/place (oh) Canulis!

mulu ¹⁹rizile zizri
 the given *rizile* must be *ziz-*

inpa [..]an acasri
 which (just?) *[..]an* must be made (offered).

tiniantule leθamsul ilucu perpri
 On (day) Tinianta for Lethams a feast must be held.

šanti arvus²⁰ta aius nunθeri
 A vase of field-(fruits/grain)? (of, or: to) *Aiu* must be offered.

[Section 4: JUNE; **acalva* = June, based on gloss TLE² 801: Etr. *Aclus* = *Iunius mensis*]

²¹*acalve apertule saiuzie leθamsul ilucu perpri*
 In June on (day) Aperta Saiuzia for Lethams a feast must be held,

¹¹⁸ See FACCHETTI 2012.

¹¹⁹ The word-form *vinaiθ* is a locative of *vina* or *vinai*; however, a *nomen agentis* as vocative is not excluded. See VAN DER MEER 2010-13. For *acas*, an infinitive used as imperative, see WYLLIN 2000, pp. 164-165.

santi ma(c)vilitule
a vase on the fifth[?] (day).

iti^{22r} *sver falal*[...] *husilitule*
priests[?] (and) priests[?] *falal*[...] (= of heaven[?]) on (day) Husilita.

Velθur t[...]sc *lavitun* *icni seri. turza esχαθce* :
Velthur and of T... family (> family of T.../T...s) that[?] *seril*¹²⁰ gifts have brought.

*p*²³*acusnasie θanurari turza esχα*[θce]
Pacusnasie to Thanur¹²¹ gifts has brought

nis[c l]*avitun* *icni zusle [s̄]ilaciiul eses salχe*²⁴ⁱ
and of Ni family (> family of Ni/Nis) that[?] piglet[?] of/for [*S̄*[?]]*ilacii*[?] of *ese* in/with **salche*

calaieic len[...]ai *stizaitai z[a]l rapa z*[al...7.]
and in/with *calaie*, in/with *len*[...]a, in/with this *stiza* two cups[?]¹²²(and) two [...]

*niiac [l]avitun icni seril turza e*²⁵*sχαθce*
and [...]*niiac* family (> family of ...*ni/-ni*) that[?] *seril* gifts have brought,

laxuθ nunθe[ri[?]...] *ei*[tu] *acasri laxuθ turzais. esχα*[θce].
In a basin[?]¹²³ must be[?] offered; *ei*[tu] must be made (offered), in a basin[?] from gifts (one[?]) has, or were[?] brought,

ecl.]θ[u] *acas eθ zusleva* ²⁶*stizaitai acasri*
ecl.]θ[u] make thus!: Piglets[?] in this *stiza* must be made (offered).

pacus[*nas̄i*]eθu[r] *laθiumia*[i zusle]i [*s̄*]iχaiei *t*[ar]tiriiai *fanusei pepθiai*
The Pacusnasie family in/with *lathiumia*, a piglet[?], [*s̄*[?]]*ichaie*, *tartiriia*, *fanuse*, *pepθia*

*ra*²⁷*tu cexiniaitei turza esχαθce eθ*[..7-8..]
ritually in this *cechinia*¹²⁴ gifts has brought thus [...]

¹²⁰ Probably a funerary gift. See above.

¹²¹ Cristofani (1995, p. 70) characterizes Thanur (in line 23) as a goddess belonging to the circle of Turan and to the sphere of birth. After ca. 470 BC she appears in syncopated form as Thanr. Its adjective is Thanra. Maras (1998, pp. 180-181) has shown that she is also mentioned in funerary inscriptions, on the Lead Plaque of Magliano (Rix, *ET AV* 4.1; ca. 450 BC; VAN DER MEER 2012) and on a travertine *cippus* from San Valentino near Perugia (Pe 4.1; third or second century BC). Maras suggests that Thanur in TC is related to the underworld.

¹²² Three black gloss cups from Spina mention *rapti* (*StEtr* II, 1928, p. 615; XLVI, 1978, p. 297, *REE* no. 10; XLVII, 1979, p. 298, *REE* no. 4). So *rapti* (< **rapati*) may mean “in a cup”. See also Rix, *ET Cr* 4.10; MARAS 2009, p. 281.

¹²³ If **laxu* is akin to Latin *lacus* (“basin, water, lake”).

¹²⁴ Probably a place or building for rulers or for superior gods (see above).

[Section 5: probably JULY (probably **parθum*)]¹²⁵

²⁸*parθumi ilucve isveitule tinunus seθumsal ilucu perpri*

In July on the feast on the Ides of > for Tinun (and) Sethumsai¹²⁶ a feast must be held.

cipen tartiria vaci f²⁹ulinuśn[es or -al------]

(Oh) priest *tartiria* libate[?] for Fulinusne (or Fulinusnai) ----]!

^{30?}*]etula natinusnal. ilucu ituna fulinuśnai. θenunt eθu[...?]*

of ...]eta; of > for Natinusnai¹²⁷ a feast; this (acc.[?]) Fulinusnai hold![?]¹²⁸ *ethu[...?]*

[Section 6: probably AUGUST (probably **papu*)]¹²⁹

³¹*macvilutule papui[....]se ilu[cve...]θasχra turza esχα[θ....]e[s] rapa*

On Fifth[?] (day) in *Papu[....]se* on the feast [...] *thasχra* gifts bring/brought [.] *rapa* (cups[?])

³²*fu[...20-22..]um hu[...23-25..]niśersi hefina papa*

? ? ? Hefina grandfather

³³*riza papaθi[...28-30..turza esχαθce ..17-19..]ice*

riza in *papa* [.....gifts has brought.....] has[?] ...

³⁴*tal[...43-45..]sal iχ raχuθ*

of this? [.....] *sal* as in *rach(u)* (fire[?])¹³⁰ (and)

tarχ³⁵uθ cisasin ezia[---?]

in *tarch(u)* lying[?]¹³¹ *ezia[---?]*

¹²⁵ According to a gloss, *TLE*² 854: Etr. *Traneus* = *Iulius mensis*. Names of months, however, may have varied from place to place (like in ancient Greece).

¹²⁶ Tinun should not be confused with Tina, the Etruscan Jupiter. For *set(b)um(e)-* (from Italic/Umbro-Sabine **septumo-* ["seventh"]), see MARAS 2009, pp. 285-286, 426; BELLELLI 2008; VAN DER MEER 2007, p. 134.

¹²⁷ According to Wallace (2008, p. 133) the name is akin to Sabellic **natin-* ("birth"). Heiner Eichner (personal communication), however, compares *natinus-* with Oldlatin *nationu(s) gratia* ("as thanks for the birth"). It may imply that Etr. *natin-us* and *fulin-us* are genitives.

¹²⁸ For the imperative on *-t(b)*, see WALLACE 2008, p. 75.

¹²⁹ According to a gloss, *TLE*² 836: Etr. [*H*]ermius = *Augustus mensis*.

¹³⁰ VAN DER MEER 2007, p. 64. BIELHORE 2010, pp. 88-90 suggests "altar".

¹³¹ The word-form is present in RIX, *ET* Ta 5.6 and the *Liber linteus* (X 19). The root *cis-* may be akin to that of the verb *ces-* ("to place"; the participle *cesu* means: "placed; lying").

[Section 7: probably SEPTEMBER (**θiria*?)]¹³²

³⁶*zal θirie i* [..54-56..]

two in *thiria*² [.....]

*ta*³⁷*ri*[*iria* ..47-49..]*eras cerur*³⁸*a zaru fan*[*iri*..56-58..]

tart[*iria*]*eras vases (ollae) earmarked*²¹³³ must be² declared² [...]

³⁹[..63-65..]*l*

[Section 8: probably OCTOBER]¹³⁴

⁴⁰*isveit*[*zule ilucve* ..45-47..]*hana*⁴¹*χ*

On the Ides [on the feast]*hanach*¹³⁵

ha[..58-60..]*ia*

ha[.....]*ia*

[Section 9: probably NOVEMBER]

⁴²*apertu*[*le*.....53-55..]*prine*⁴³*ra*

On (day) Aperta [.....]*prinera*

[..61-63..]*e*

[.....].*e*

⁴⁴*nitul*[..58-60..]*fani*⁴⁵*ri*

? [.....] must be declared²

riia[..54-58..]*prai*

riia [.....]*prai*

⁴⁶[-----]*l*

?

¹³² According to a gloss, *TLE*² 824: Etr. *Celius* = *September mensis*. Cf. *Liber linteus* VIII 3.

¹³³ WYLLIN 2000, p. 136 (on RIX, *ET* Pe 5.2; in the tomba di San Manno near Perugia) derives *cerur-* from *ceru* (“maker”, from *cer-* [“to make”]) and translates “made things, *fictilia*”; FACCHIETTI 2000, p. 15, note 44 translates: “founders”, or “ashes of the founders”; for *zar-*, see MARAS 2009, pp. 282-284, 441-442, and VAN DER MEER 2007, p. 69.

¹³⁴ According to a gloss, *TLE*² 858: Etr. *Xosfer* = *October mensis* (*Xos-* from the Etr. numeral *cezp* = 8?). See F. RONCALLI, in POCCHETTI 2009, pp. 509-510.

¹³⁵ Probably an adjective (e.g. of a place name) ending in *-χ*. Cf. *rumaχ* (“a man from Rome; a Roman”).

⁴⁷*vaci* [L.58-60.....*nunθ*²]*eri*
a libation [.....offered²] must be

⁴⁸*nei* [..58-60..] *riθnai*⁴⁹*tult*[*ei*
nei [.....] in/with this ^{*}*riθnaita*

...47-49..*svr.* *snen*²]*aθ*
..... [.....]priests² female serv]ant

⁵⁰[..58-60.....*macvil*]*utule*
[..... ..][...] (on day) Fifth²

⁵¹*esχ*[*aθ*(*ce*²)...56-58.....]*eχi*
bring!²/has brought² [.....]*eχi*²

⁵²[..62-64..*is*²]*uma*
? ?

⁵³*χei* [..58-60..]*lata*⁵⁴*vs*
? ?

[a..53-55..*etei*
? ?

⁵⁵*clisut*[...] *uin*[-.....]
? ?

[Section 10: probably DECEMBER]

⁵⁶*isve*[*itule* ..50-52.. *v*²]*elθritec* *θa*⁵⁷*mcu*
On the Ides [...] and a man from [V²]*elθri* (a) built² ¹³⁶

iti [.] *tin* [..52-54..] *es*⁵⁸*χαθ*
priest² [.] *tin* [.....] bring!

[..48-50..*us acas* *celutu*
[..... ..]*us* make (offer)! (oh²) *celutu* (probably to be read as: *celutule*; on day Ce-
luta)

⁵⁹*apertule* [..54-56..*ale*
on (day) *Aperta* [.....]*ale*

¹³⁶ The word-form, possibly a participle of the past, has the same root as *θamuce* (Rix, *ET Cr* 4.5) and *θamce* (Ta 5.2). In the latter case it probably means “x has built”.

⁶⁰ce[.57-59..] asχa⁶¹nisc lavtunui [s...39-41.] zixun[..
ce[.....] and by Aschani belonging to a family [...] has (been/made) written¹³⁷

⁶²[...?...can[?]]ulis zixunce
[Can[?]]ulis has (made) written¹³⁸.

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¹³⁷ See the copy of TC in the Vatican Museums (*tav.* XXIX). CRISTOFANI 1995, p. 56 (line 61).

¹³⁸ For the causative aspect of the morpheme *-(u)n-*, see WYLLIN 2000, pp. 119-121.

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Copy of the *Tabula Capuana* (Photo Courtesy of the Musei Vaticani; inv. 14146).



Tabula Capuana. a) Damaged upper small side; b) Border of the left long side; c) Border of the right long side; d) Incision near the left corner of the lower small side; e) Border of the lower small side; f) Incision near the right corner of the lower small side. Berlin, Antikensammlung (Photos: Johannes Laurentius).