

THE FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS OF HELLENISTIC PERUSIA

VOLUME 1

by

JORMA KAIMIO



ROMA 2022

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Introduction: The aim of the study and the edition

After finishing the new edition of the south Etruscan cippus inscriptions,¹ I wanted to commit myself to one more area of late Etruscan epigraphy that would be large enough to cover the rest of my scholarly activity. After many collegial discussions, I focused on Perugia, where I had worked fifty years earlier preparing my doctoral thesis on the ousting of the Etruscan language by Latin.² My criteria for the choice were, on the one hand, the size and importance of the corpus of the Perusian epitaphs, second only to that of Clusium, and on the other, the fact that no modern thorough study had refreshed our knowledge of this corpus.³ I soon learned that I was not the only person planning a new general study on the Perusian cinerary urns and their inscriptions,⁴ but since no imminent outcome was visible, I decided to start my five-years project.

My competence is epigraphical; the archaeological and stylistic study of the tombs and the urns was beyond my resources, but it could not be neglected in modern epigraphy. I emphasize that this is not the expected “complete study” of the cinerary urns of Perugia, but a study of the epitaphs, with due regard to the monuments on which they were carved, as well as to their tomb context. The urns without inscriptions do not belong to my material and are only seldom used for comparison.

The main edition of Perusian inscriptions is *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* I by Carl Pauli and Olof August Danielsson from 1901. It included ca. 1250 inscriptions from Perugia and its territory.⁵ The edition offers facsimiles of inscriptions which the editors could find, and reproductions from earlier copies where the inscription was missing. These reproductions included emendations and supplements by the editors; they were their interpretations about what was originally carved. *CIE* gives information on the discovery and earlier copies and publications of the inscriptions. The preservation site, including an earlier site, is recorded, if known. The three great names of the Perusian epigraphy in the 19th century, Giovanni Battista Vermiglioli,⁶ Giancarlo Conestabile,⁷ and Ariodante Fabretti⁸ formed a good basis for the edition, and for the Latin inscriptions also the volume XI of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin 1888, with later additions) by Eugen Bormann.

¹ KAIMIO 2017.

² KAIMIO 1975.

³ The other corpus which I was looking at, that of Clusium, was studied by Enrico Benelli in his unpublished doctoral thesis, summarized in BENELLI 2001. We are still waiting a new edition of the inscriptions.

⁴ A. E. Feruglio (FERUGLIO 1969, 487) indicated that she had finished “uno studio complessivo sulle urne cinerarie Perugine”; G. Dareggi (DAREGGI 1976, 13-14) seemed to promise “una pubblicazione completa”.

⁵ Nos. 3324-4609; inscriptions from other cities were among the last numbers.

⁶ *Antiche iscrizioni perugine, raccolte, dichiarate e pubblicate da Gio. Battista Vermiglioli* I-II, Perugia 1804¹, 1833².

⁷ *Monumenti etruschi e romani della necropoli del Palazzone in Perugia circostanti al sepolcro dei Volumni*, Perugia 1856; *Dei Monumenti di Perugia etrusca e romana*, Perugia 1870.

⁸ *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum*, Torino 1867, with three supplements 1874-1878.

The first volume of *CIE* has, understandably, no photographs. The monument type is recorded (“operculum”, “arca”, “ossuarium”, “olla”, “lapis”), the measures are mostly given, and the inscription described (“litteris insculptis”, “rubro colore pictis”). The height of the letters is also mentioned. The monument itself remains without description, was it plain or decorated, was there a lid sculpture, or a mythological relief? The date of the inscription is not discussed. The information offered by *CIL* for the Latin inscriptions is rather similar. There are no facsimiles, but a little more about the monuments (“iuvenis iacens pateram in d. tenens”).

In the nine decades following the publishing of *CIE* no edition collecting the new inscription finds of Etruria appeared. With the start of *Studi Etruschi* in 1927, its *Rivista dell'Epigrafia Etrusca* took the central position both in editing new and in discussing old inscriptions, but far from all new discoveries could be found in *Studi Etruschi*. At the same time, our understanding of the Etruscan language, onomastics and epigraphy was growing exponentially. For the Perusian epitaphs, *Das etruskische Cognomen* of Helmut Rix (1963) was of crucial significance. H. Rix was also responsible for the next collective edition of the Etruscan inscriptions in *Etruskische Texte. Editio minor* I-II (1991). It included 1,296 epitaphs and 49 other inscriptions from Perugia.

With its excellent indexes and concordances, *ET* soon became a necessary tool of every Etruscologist. It was not only a new collection of the edited inscriptions, but had also an update of old readings. But it was only an *Editio minor*. Every inscription received one line, filled with sigla:

Pe 1.92 opti rec *θa. surnei. feθiuś* : 3523; Con –

“A travertine lid, from Hellenistic period, No. 3523 of *CIE*; reading based on Conestabile’s copy.” For the first time in such editions, the inscriptions are dated, but the common “rec” does not help much in Perusian epitaphs, which are all from the Hellenistic period. The source of the reading (or who has made the emendation) is important for the reliability of the text but does not reveal the criteria for the emendations. The second edition of *Etruskische Texte* by Gerhard Meiser (2014) followed the principles of Rix with further emendations and new inscriptions. The number of Perusian epitaphs grew to 1360, with 64 new inscriptions, most from the tomb of Cai Cutu. But the Latin inscriptions of that tomb (and of all family tombs) are excluded, which in the case of Perugia is a great pity. Luckily, the volume of *Supplementum Italicum* for Perugia (N.S. 30) by Maria Carla Spadoni, Luana Cencioli and Lucio Benedetti came out in 2019 and mended that deficiency. With its numerous emendations to published inscriptions and thorough editions of 95 new inscriptions (with photographs and datings), we can be quite satisfied with that part. But the Etruscan and Latin inscriptions of the family tombs must still be looked at in separate volumes.

My aim in this new edition is to provide the unique corpus of Perusian epitaphs to modern users with texts in the best form our actual knowledge allows, but also so that it is possible for the user to check the reading. For this, the “image” of the inscription is essential, a photograph, or facsimile, or copy, or at least the typographical reproduction of *CIE*, on which Pauli based his emended and/or supplemented reading, which in most cases was taken as such to *ET*. When I depart from the earlier reading, which I do in hundreds of instances, I try to present my criteria. I also think that the value of the edition is defective without an effort to give a dating to the inscription, whenever this is probable. We know from the Perusian epitaphs the name and family relations of ca. 3,000 persons, 2,000 of whom died in the 2nd century BCE. If Perugia (and its territory) had 30,000 inhabitants – just a guess⁹ – and three generations died in one century, we know between 2% and 3% of them, plus ca. 1,000 persons from the 3rd and 1st centuries BCE. In Egypt, we can

⁹ HARRIS 1977, 58-59, estimates that none of the north Etruscan cities had a population much over 30,000 in the 2nd century, and that Perugia was one of the smaller ones, “to judge from the very rough guidance offered by the size of the walled area.”

have similar situations, possibly in Pompei two centuries later, and certainly at Clusium. But this corpus becomes useful for further studies only, if we can advance from “rec” of *ET*² to “4th quarter of 2nd cent. BCE” (my date for *ET*² Pe 1.92 = No. **92**. in this edition). For this purpose all features of the text – the language, the letter forms, the name, the kinship relations – but also of the monument on which it was carved and of the tomb from which it was found, must be studied.

In order to do this properly, I decided to divide the work into two volumes, an analytical part, and the edition itself. In this way, I can keep the edition of 1700 inscriptions concise, but possibly also provide useful overviews of various areas of the Etruscan palaeography, language, and onomastics, as well as of the process of Romanization as reflected in the epitaphs of Perugia. My endeavour to find criteria for the dating of inscriptions is strongly present in this first, analytical volume. The main results are repeated and listed in the introductory chapter of the second volume (Editing principles).

It may be useful for the evaluation of this work if I shortly describe my working method. I started by collecting a Word file of *schede* of each inscription I could find in the corpora and other publications (which at that time numbered 1,530). For each text, there were paragraphs for text, editions, provenance, monument, images of the monument, reading, images of the inscription, name form, names, genealogy, palaeography and dating. Then I built a huge Excel-file (or in fact one for the Etruscan, one for the Latin inscriptions) with one line per inscription (or person, if there was more than one) and ca. 60 columns for all possible information, with the various features having their own codes. For instance, freeborn Etruscan women could have thirty-three different name forms, coded in that column from 1 (praenomen and gentilicium)¹⁰ to 33 (praenomen, gentilicium, patronymic, gamonymic and metronymic). Every letter of the alphabet has its column, and, for instance, for Etruscan *A*, thirty-six different types were coded.

Having completed this, I started the field work in museums and storehouses. My assistant (Maarit Kaimio, Professor of Greek) sat with the lap-top, and quickly identified the monument with help of the Excel-table, which naturally gave a full index of all names, or even all letter combinations. Then I read, measured, photographed, commented, and she completed the *scheda* with the new information. The evenings were spent with the photograph files. Nearly 200 new inscriptions were found during the field work periods (many of them during the editing process in the Strozaccapponi project), and my files grew to 1,740 inscriptions (of which I then have rejected over 50, as too late, not epitaphs, or duplicates). At home I started the analysis of the material with the help of the Excel-table. I first built the FTI corpus (Family Tomb Inscriptions), almost 500 inscriptions to which I thought I could assign a preliminary date with the help of genealogies and better discovery information. New periods of field work at Perugia (altogether four). With numerous cross-tabulates in the Excel-table, I wrote the first version of *FIP* 1, the analysis part. Having that at hand, I returned to the *schede* and wrote version 1 of the edition, improving numerous points. Back to the Excel-table, which had to be corrected not only with new inscription numbers, but also with the new information. Then followed version 2 of the analysis (which again concerned many details in the edition) and version 2 of the edition. In the “usual” world, I would have organized a series of seminars with the best experts on the different topics of the work. But in the world of the pandemic, I decided to invite six commentators for different parts of *FIP* 1. I am very grateful for their support and comments, which much improved my solitary study. In the “usual” world, I would also have travelled around the museums of Italy (Florence,

¹⁰ In this work, I use the term “gentilicium” instead of the usual “nomen”; I think that it makes the presentation clearer. My terms for the different name parts are praenomen, gentilicium, cognomen, patronymic, metronymic and gamonymic.

Naples, Verona) and Europe (Berlin, Paris, Crakow) in search of single urns. In this situation, I have to trust on photographs and earlier editors.

At the beginning of the project, I thought that modern digital technology would solve many problems. And yes, without it the project would not have been possible – at any rate, my mind cannot retain sufficient memory of nearly 2,000 inscriptions. But my hope that artificial intelligence would have analysed the large mass of features in my Excel-table and – in one single instant! – given the complete date list of the inscriptions was, of course, doomed to disappointment. Humanists are still needed!

The turning points in the history of Hellenistic Perugia

This new edition and analysis of the Perusian epitaphs does not aim at a historical study, but at offering a more solid basis for future socio-historical research on Perugia. The work of William Harris on the history of the increasing influence and final subjugation of Etruria by the Romans in 311-40 BCE is still fundamental.¹¹ Focused on Perugia, the work of M. C. Spadoni continues the critical, but constructive analysis of the available literary sources.¹² With further reference to these works, I here present a concise review of the events which may have significance for understanding the epigraphic tradition of Perugia. I would be especially interested in reasons why of the four northern Etruscan cities historically bound together, Clusium, Perugia, Arretium and Cortona, two offer a large corpus of funerary inscriptions, while Arretium and Cortona have left fewer than one hundred epitaphs.¹³

The war of 311-308 BCE. Perugia was for the first time involved in Rome's expansionist policy at the end of the fourth century BCE. It is not unlikely that north Etruria considered at that time the threat from the Gauls greater than that from the Roman side. This was probably the time when Perugia, as well as other northern cities, started the building of new city walls.¹⁴ The war between Rome and the Etruscans had evidently its origin in the Etruscan siege of Sutrium, a Latin colony in south Etruria since 383. After lifting the siege the Roman legions proceeded northwards, ravaging as they went. The war events as reported by Livy are rather confused,¹⁵ but the result seems to have been that after a defeat of the Etruscan army, possibly near Perugia, Perugia, Arretium and Cortona sent ambassadors to Rome to ask for peace and a treaty for thirty years. They soon broke the *indutiae*, were anew defeated, and Perugia surrendered (Liv. 9.39-40). In this war, the Romans considered Clusium an allied city and a Roman garrison was placed there.

The battle of Sentinum 295 BCE. The Third Samnite War, which culminated in the battle of Sentinum, was the last realistic effort to put an end to the Roman expansion in Italy. The Etruscans, probably especially the cities of the north, were active in building the coalition of Umbrians, Samnites and Senones Gauls against Rome. Not everything went as planned. Both Samnite and Roman armies invaded Etruria, the former to compel the hesitating Etruscans to join the coalition, the latter to prevent this. As a result, the Etruscans withdrew from the decisive battle at Sentinum, but that did not spare them from a new Roman invasion. After the triumph at the victory of Sentinum, Q. Fabius returned to Etruria, where the Perusians

¹¹ W. HARRIS, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, Oxford 1971.

¹² Originally published in *Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia patria per l'Umbria* 104, 2007-111, 2014, collected in the book M. C. SPADONI, *Perugia Romana*, Perugia 2017, and summarized in *Supplementa Italica* 30, 2018, 33-41.

¹³ The figures in *ET*² are: Clusium 2853, Perugia 1360, Arretium 96, Cortona 32.

¹⁴ The Etruscan wall of Perugia is now generally dated to the second half of the third century, but its northern part is probably from the late fourth century BCE; SPADONI ET AL. 2018, 53.

¹⁵ Livy's report of this war includes duplicates, exaggeration, and tales from the family tradition of the *gens Fabia*. For a critical analysis of the report, see HARRIS 1971, 49-61; SPADONI 2017b, 4-11.

continued the fighting, but after a defeat in 294, Perugia with Volsinii and Arretium sued for peace and had a truce for thirty years. Each of the three cities had to pay a fine of 500.000 *asses* to Rome (Liv. 10.37).¹⁶ In that year, the first walled town of north Etruria, Rusellae, fell to Rome (Liv. 10.37.3). Clusium's effort to stay outside the war did not spare its territory from ravaging by the Gauls and the Romans. From 294 onwards, both Perugia and Clusium were *civitates foederatae*, preserving their internal administration, but with little freedom in foreign policy. They also had the duty to deliver troops to the allied army of Rome. A *cohors Perusina* fought in 216 with the Roman army in Campania (Liv. 23.17.11, 20.3).¹⁷

The 3rd century BCE is known for social conflicts in Etruscan cities. Perugia and Clusium are not mentioned in this respect in our sources. The large number of the so-called *Vornamengentilia* has led to the assumption that in these cities, the unfree classes were granted the local citizenship, at Perugia without tough controversies.¹⁸ The Romans intervened in a servile revolt at Arretium in 302. Probably in 284, the Gauls sieged Arretium; again, Rome was asked for help, but they were defeated in the disastrous battle of Arretium. The fate of the city itself is not known. At the beginning of the Hannibalic War, the western Roman army was garrisoned at Arretium and Cortona.

The Hannibalic War 218-205 BCE. When Hannibal crossed the Apennines to Etruria in 218, the Etruscan cities remained loyal to Rome. The ravage caused by Hannibal's army and the presence of the Roman army at Arretium and Cortona meant hardship for the Etruscans. It culminated in the battle of Lake Trasimene, on the border of the Perugian territory, where the Roman army of C. Flaminius was heavily defeated. In the following years, the presence and success of the Carthaginian army in Italy probably increased anti-Roman tendencies among the Etruscans. Arretium was considered by the Romans the weakest point, hostages were demanded of the local senators (Liv. 27.24) and one Roman legion was garrisoned in the town. Hasdrubal made an attempt in 207 to entice the Etruscans to join the Carthaginian army (Liv. 27.38.6). The effort did not have any great success, but three years later, legal processes were raised in Rome against Etruscans (Arretians are especially mentioned) for their contacts with Mago (Liv. 29.36.10-12). Many Etruscan nobles were condemned to physical punishments or went into exile. It is possible that the Perugian family of Volumni was involved in these processes, since their newly built grandiose tomb was abandoned at this time for two centuries.¹⁹ In 205 Perugia, alongside other Etruscan cities, provided Scipio with material resources for his African campaign: a large quantity of grain and timber for ship building (Liv. 28.45.13-18). It is not so important whether this support was voluntary or forced; it was better to be on the winner's side.

The major part of the Perugian funerary inscriptions come from the 2nd century BCE. Some scholars have seen this as indicating a strong increase of the population, with the rise of rural centres and prosperous families building chamber tombs. This century was, as far as our records tell, rather peaceful for Perugia,²⁰ thus offering a better focus on family matters, but I think that the increase of epitaphs was more dependent on the development of the burial habits than on the growth of the population. The shift from inhumation to cremation, and thereafter from wooden chests to travertine urns, was decisive. Perugia had been one of the leading cities of Etruria in the preceding centuries, capable of building a monumental city wall, and keeping an important position between Etruria and Umbria, on the one hand, and the gatekeeper position in the trade along Tiber on

¹⁶ More in detail, see HARRIS 1971, 61-84.

¹⁷ See HARRIS 1971, 89,

¹⁸ RIX 1963, 377.

¹⁹ COLONNA 2011, 125-26. However, north Etruria did not after the war suffer of confiscations of land in the same way as the south; CRISTOFANI 1985, 30.

²⁰ See HARRIS 1977, 57-58.

the other. The opening of the *via Amerina* and *via Flaminina* favoured the trade and contacts. Bearing in mind all available evidence, the conclusion of W. Harris was that “Perusia was quite prosperous” in the 2nd century BCE.²¹ Among the Etruscan families who entered the Roman Senate in this century, the Perusians had a major stake. The landowners may earlier have lived more often inside the city walls; now the social development created new rural centres.²² But in this respect, the difference between Clusium and Perusia, as compared with Arretium and Cortona, is not sufficient to explain the difference in the number of epitaphs.

The Social War 91-87 BCE. The Etruscans did not play any significant role in the Social War, after which its inhabitants received the full Roman citizenship in the *lex Iulia* in 90. This meant a mental and administrative change for the Etruscan cities, and probably also a change in the Roman policy to unite and Romanize Italy. Perusia became a *municipium*, administrated by *duumviri*, but we have practically no records illustrating the city administration before *bellum Perusinum*. The Roman citizenship had a clear impact on the onomastics of Perusia, but only after a successful census. In the *lustrum* of 84, only 463,000 citizens were registered in the whole of Italy, evidently leaving outside most allied states with the fresh citizenship. Probably most Etruscans were registered for the first time in Pompey’s census of 70/69 BCE (910,000 citizens).²³

Bellum Perusinum 41-40 BCE.²⁴ Many Etruscan cities took part in the Roman political struggles between Pompey and Marius, Caesar and Pompeius and in the conspiracy of Catiline, with grave consequences. Perusia avoided these calamities,²⁵ but not the struggle between Octavian and Mark Antony. In 41, while Mark still stayed in Egypt enchanted by Cleopatra, his brother, the consul Lucius Antonius, marched with his legions to Rome, but withdrew before the approaching Octavian to Perusia. The strong city walls protected Lucius against the besieging army, but not against famine, and he surrendered in winter 40. Octavian spared his life, but the city was burned, and its leaders were severely punished.

After this destruction, Perusia lost its territory, and most fields were distributed to Octavian’s veterans. But the city itself was rebuilt and rather quickly regained its prosperity. The memory of the destruction lived long, but Augustus evidently wanted to relieve it by favouring the rebuilding of Perusia. The city became *Augusta Perusia*, with Augustus and Claudius as its new founders.²⁶

The limits of the material

The boundary of the territory of the Hellenistic Perusia is mainly defined through the typical urns and inscriptions. In a publication of Perusian inscriptions, this both facilitates and complicates the inclusion in the corpus. One can discern the limits in the *Lapidario* of the *Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell’Umbria*. The urns from the tomb of Trepù (*Lapidario* 2004, 61-62, Nos. 217-19) have the gables of the lid to the sides, and the tomb was closed by a brick (No. 220). This indicates that the place of discovery, Castiglione del Lago, on the SW shore of Lake Trasimene, belonged to the territory of Clusium, whereas the urns from Castel del Piano, SE of the lake, (*Lapidario* 2004, 60, Nos. 211-213) present the Perusian type with the tympanum in the front. However, there are some certainly Perusian urns with lid tympana to the sides, for instance,

²¹ HARRIS 1977, 59.

²² See CRISTOFANI 1985, 30-31.

²³ P. BRUUN in BRUUN et al. 1975, 463-68.

²⁴ A thorough analysis of the events in SPADONI 2017b, 39-82.

²⁵ A good general picture in TORELLI 2017, 693-94.

²⁶ ECK 1995, 83; 90.

716. and **719.** from the tomb of Alfa (Madonna d'Alta). A major problem is presented by the terracotta urns (*Lapidario* 2004, 50-52, Nos. 160-172), typical of Clusium, but also produced in Perusian territory.²⁷ They only seldom bear inscriptions that can be read.²⁸

In the east, on the left bank of the Tiber, the limits of the Perusian territory are somewhat unclear. Asisium and Iguvium did not belong to it, but the closest valley of the Tiber, from Bettona to Umbertide, was Perusian. In the Augustan reform, Tiber was the boundary between *Regio VII* and *Regio VI*. In the north, the boundary seems to have followed the mountains surrounding the Tiber valley.²⁹ In the west, Lake Trasimene, and in the south, the tributary rivers of the Tiber, Nestore and Puglia, formed the boundary.³⁰ In the selection of included inscriptions, I have followed traditional lines in defining what is Perusian. That has been easy, since the great majority of the epitaphs come from necropoleis or communities not far away from the city. But we must bear in mind that the provenance of many inscriptions is unknown.

The time limits of my edition start with the beginning of the habit of recording the name of the deceased on the funerary monument at Perugia, in practice, at the beginning of the 3rd century BCE. At the other end, my criterion has been the preserving of the Etruscan funerary tradition. It mainly ended after the *bellum Perusinum* (40 BCE), but some later inscription following the Etruscan praxis (discovery in Etruscan necropoleis, type of the monument, name form) are included. I closed the corpus of this edition in September 2021; inscriptions published after that could not be included.

This new edition of the Perusian epitaphs contains 1694 inscriptions, 1511 of which are Etruscan, 180 Latin and four Etrusco-Latin bilingual³¹. The last number is **1697**. For the numbers **1.-1359.**, I follow the numbers of *Etruskische Texte*², in order to avoid a new series of inscription numbers. However, I have not included four of the inscriptions of *ET*, primarily because they are double publications, and these numbers are left empty.³² At least nineteen inscriptions bear the names of two deceased, usually a married couple, e.g., *ar(nθ) cacni ar(nθial) atusnal, θana aneinei tusnui* (**1427.**). On the other hand, the name of the person may have been written twice on the monument (e.g., **1305.**, **1306.**), or on two monuments (e.g., *au(le) vi(pi) vercn[a]* on both the lid **491.** and the chest **492.**).

The edition contains sixty-four unpublished inscriptions. In addition, forty-eight inscriptions from the 1996 and 2007-08 Strozacaponi excavations still await publication, but I have included them, partly based on the manuscript of Riccardo Massarelli. During the project, I have published forty-three inscriptions of the tombs of Cai Carcu and Alfa in *Studi Etruschi* 82.³³ The first epigraphic publication of the inscriptions from the tomb of Satna appears in this edition.³⁴

The fate of the epitaphs of Hellenistic Perugia

The Umbrian erudite scholars and antiquarians already copied Etruscan inscriptions of the area in the 16th century. The first manuscript collection of some fifty Perusian inscriptions, from Etruscan to mediaeval

²⁷ SCLAFANI 2010, 350-53.

²⁸ For examples, see SCLAFANI 2010, 299-300, Nos. 7, 8, 9, 12.

²⁹ For a closer analysis, see MATTEINI CHIARI 1975, 14-20.

³⁰ See *SI* 30, pp. 76-78, with further references, and the map in p. 79.

³¹ **72.**, **211.**, **313.**, **846.** In addition, **290.** + **1379.** and **845.** + **1417.** were probably bilingual.

³² **1278.**, **1279.**, **1342.**, **1360.**

³³ **233.-259.**, **1361.-1362.**; **716.-729.**

³⁴ **225.-232.** The texts were given in FERUGLIO 1976, 112, and included in *ET*².

times, was made by Vincenzo Tranquilli in 1561-1589.³⁵ The urns and inscriptions from the discoveries went to monasteries and private palaces and villas, partly also to the international market of antiquities. The first donation to a municipal collection of Perugia was made in 1778 by Francesco Friggerio. In 1810, the *Università di Perugia* received the Palazzo Murena as its site, and the collection of antiquities was placed on its premises. G. B. Vermiglioli (director 1812-1846) then transformed the collection into the *Museo civico etrusco-romano*. In 1836, the museum received the major part of the collection of the Oddi family. The numerous excavations of the 19th century, including the discovery of the tomb of Volumni in 1840, as well as further donations and acquisitions of private collections greatly enriched its Etruscan collection.³⁶ However, a major part of the Etruscan urns with their inscriptions remained dispersed, in private possession, or lost forever.

An example of this is offered by the discoveries in 1822 on Vermiglioli's rural estate. Vermiglioli indicated the place as situated "a quattro millia all'incirca da Perugia", and various guesses at the locality were presented before Defosse found a hand-written note by Guardabassi in a book of Vermiglioli indicating that the necropolis was at Strozzacapponi. Vermiglioli's list (without texts) tells of over 130 inscribed urns. In the same year, another discovery at Castel San Mariano, north of Vermiglioli's estate, provided 200 urns, most of them with inscriptions.³⁷ Of the published inscriptions, about one hundred can be identified as belonging to the finds of 1822. Probably a large number is among the inscriptions "of unknown provenance", but a large number must also be dispersed into unknown private collections or lost for ever.

The directors of the museum of Perugia G. B. Vermiglioli, A. Fabretti and G. Conestabile also started the systematic publication of the Perusian inscriptions.³⁸ We are much indebted to them for saving the text of numerous epitaphs which could no longer be found when E. Bormann (*CIL*) and C. Pauli (*CIE*) started their work on the great corpora towards the end of the 19th century. G. Conestabile also prepared a large number of plaster casts of Perusian inscriptions and donated them in 1860 to the Museum. They were placed on the walls of the entrance corridor of the Palazzo Murena.

After the discovery of the tomb of Volumni, a building to protect its entrance was erected, and a major part of the urns of the Palazzone necropolis was placed there. The necropolis also got an *Antiquario* in 1880. From 1952, the Museum of Perugia has had its premises in the former Monastery of S. Domenico and is now the *Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria* (I use the abbreviation "MANU"). Its storehouse was opened in 2000 at Ponte S. Giovanni in the area of the necropolis of Palazzone.³⁹

Many urns with inscriptions are still in private possession in the Perugian area. Many of the owners (but probably not all) have opened the door to scholars, and separate publications of the inscriptions have been published.⁴⁰ Rumours about large unpublished collections go around, but no-one can say for certain how many epitaphs really are hidden in them. New discoveries show that, in any case, more inscriptions are still hidden in the soil. I must also admit that approximately ten urns with text have been too difficult for me. Some of them were in the *gradoni* of the *Ipogeo dei Volumni*, where it is difficult to get access to the urns and photograph them. These cases were unidentified ("illegibile") in RACANO 2011; I assume that they

³⁵ CALDERINI – MASSARELLI 2013, 41.

³⁶ *SI* 30, 105-06; SENSI 2011, 45-46; SPADONI 2017b, XV-XII.

³⁷ DEFOSSE 1981, 51-56.

³⁸ See above, notes 6-8.

³⁹ When I mention in the edition the preservation site of the monument, I use for this complex the names "tomb of Volumni", "gradoni of the tomb of Volumni" (the stairs with urns in the entrance hall to the tomb), "Antiquario of the Tomb of Volumni", and "the storehouse of Palazzone" (the storehouse of the Soprintendenza and of the MANU).

⁴⁰ DAREGGI 1972; BARBANERA 1990; M. MATTEINI CHIARI in *REE* 42, 1974 and 44, 1976.

either have been published in *CIE* or were already illegible in C. Pauli's and O. A. Danielsson's time. The other cases are in the storehouse of Palazzone. After a vain effort to read what was carved, I photographed the inscriptions, but only single letters became clear enough after sharpening and zooming. The photographing of the plaster casts in the Palazzo Murena without scaffolding was often beyond my skills. I was unable to identify some unclear photographs with the published inscriptions, but since the reading remained too uncertain, and it is highly unlikely that G. Conestabile's copies had remained unpublished, I left these cases aside. As such, these plaster casts should be published with good photographs; that would help the analysis of many lost inscriptions.

The necropoleis of Perugia

The necropoleis of Perugia and its area have been given fresh presentations by C. Berichillo⁴¹ and in *Supplementa Italica* 30 (2018).⁴² This means that I can concentrate on questions relevant to this publication. I start with the distinction between cemeteries of the urban and the "rural" population.

The people living inside the town wall buried their deceased outside the gates, in cemeteries close to the roads leading to neighbouring cities. A few inscribed urns are reported as having been found inside the city wall (1., 1610., 1623.). The Etruscan city wall, as we know it today, was probably built in the second half of the third century BCE,⁴³ and it had five main gates:⁴⁴ *Arco Etrusco* in the direction of Iguvium, *Porta Trasimena* in the direction of Cortona, *Arco della Mandorla* in the direction of Clusium, *Porta Marzia* in the direction of Volsinii, and *Arco dei Gigli* in the direction of *Via Flaminia*.

The most remarkable urban cemeteries of the Hellenistic period were located in the north, behind the *Arco Etrusco*, in the east, behind the *Arco dei Gigli* and *Porta Marzia*, and in the south behind the *Arco della Mandorla*.⁴⁵ The oldest finds come from the northern necropoleis of S. Caterina Vecchia and Sperandio and the eastern necropolis of Monteluca, beginning from the end of the sixth century.⁴⁶ The increase in the burials and the rise of new cemeteries is encountered first in the second half of the fourth or the first half of the third century. To this period belong in the north the necropolis of Elce, in the east those of the Old Cemetery, Monterone and Casaglia, and in the south those of Frontone, S. Costanzo and Piscille. The inscriptions are rare in this period.

More problematic is the connection of the cemeteries in the Tiber valley to the city. Here we have the largest necropolis, that of Palazzone with 500 excavated chamber tombs, many of them quite early, the cemeteries of Ponticello di Campo, Montevile, Ponte Felcino, and several smaller cemeteries (see the map below). The value of the river for the trade of Perugia was so great that there were certainly settlements, harbours and bridges close to Ponte San Giovanni. That does not, in my opinion, mean that a great part of the tombs would not have belonged to families of the city. The distance was not too great, and the important families may well have had businesses and houses in the Tiber valley and on the other side of the river.

⁴¹ BERICHILLO 2004, 201-43.

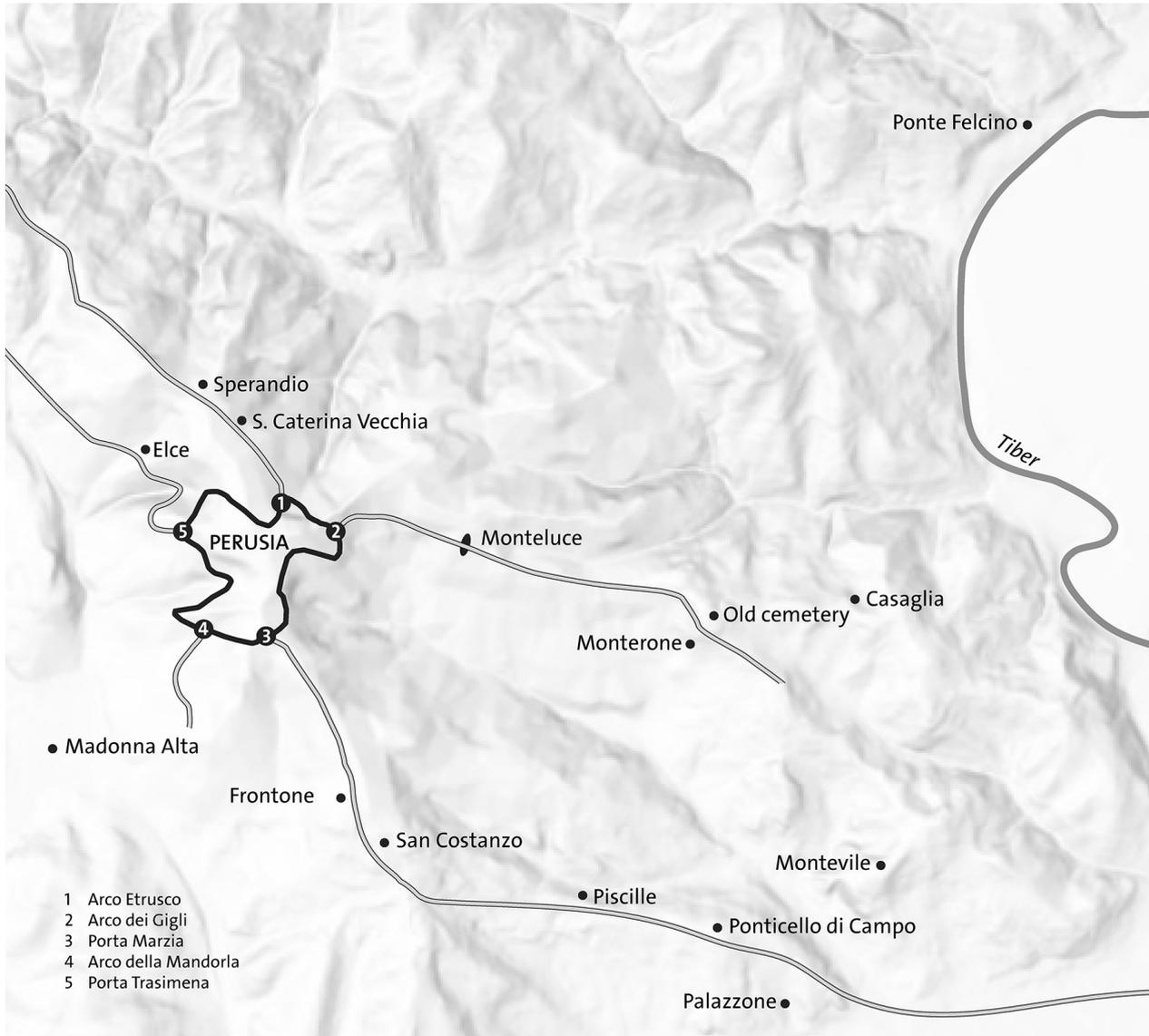
⁴² SPADONI et al. 2018, 48-52, 69-76.

⁴³ For the discussion, see SPADONI et al. 2018, 53-54.

⁴⁴ See CALZONI – PIERROTTI 1951, 276; ANTONINI 1988, 15-23; SPADONI et al. 2018, 53-54, with further references.

⁴⁵ Good maps on the roads and the urban cemeteries is to be found in PILO – GIUMAN 2015, 100, and in NARDELLI 2010, 8.

⁴⁶ NATI 2008, 7.



The main necropoleis of Hellenistic Perugia (by Maija Holappa)

Farther away, we can first take the necropoleis of Strozzeapponi, Castel del Piano, Fosso Rigo and Castel San Mariano. The discoveries of 1822 with over 150 urns (see above, p. 14), seem to originate from Strozzeapponi. In the same year, over 200 urns were found at Castel San Mariano. Modern excavations from the 1950's onwards have disclosed about one hundred tombs. This area was evidently the travertine quarry of Perugia, and the size of the settlement is estimated to about 500 persons.⁴⁷ Not far from Strozzeapponi is Corciano, with numerous tombs found in its area. Still farther in the south, rural settlements at S. Enea and Cerqueto, in the west that at Pieve del Vescovo, and in the north those at Ascagnano and Umbertide have likewise provided epitaphs for our study.⁴⁸ On the basis of the *Etruskische Texte*, about one-quarter of all the epitaphs with a known provenance come from these rural settlements. The new finds of Strozzeapponi increase the percentage. At the same time, however, a major part of the *originis incertae* inscriptions may come from the urban area.

⁴⁷ DEFOSSE 1981, 60-63; *SI* 30, 75.

⁴⁸ For maps of the find places, see FERUGLIO 1977, 110; *SI* 30, 79.

The large family tombs of Perugia

Over sixty large (providing five or more epitaphs) family tombs are known from the area of Perugia. This means that more than one-third of all the funerary inscriptions of Perugia can be ascribed to identified family tombs. This context gives good criteria for an epigraphic study: the structure of the tomb and the order inside it, the kinship relations, in the best cases even a family tree, the funeral practices, tomb gifts and funerary monuments, the onomastic and linguistic practices, all lend support to at least a relative chronology. When I began the analysis of the Perugian epitaphs, I formed the F(amily) T(omb) I(nscriptions) group, in which I included all epitaphs of these family tombs for which I saw rather good dating criteria. Outside the group were lost inscriptions without a credible position in the family tree. In this analysis part of my project, this tentatively dated FTI corpus forms the primary material in the assessment of the chronology of various features of the funeral monuments and their inscriptions.

The large family tombs are not fully representative of the entire epigraphic material – which in turn is not fully representative of the entire population, a large part of which must have been so illiterate that a funeral inscription was out of question. There were certainly differences in the attitudes of the various social strata, and this must be taken into account in the analysis. However, I would not accept *a priori*, for instance, the view that while the middle and lower social classes were ready to enter the Roman way of life, the elite – the people of most family tombs – conservatively stuck to the old Etruscan traditions.⁴⁹

I give here a list and concise analysis of these tombs. The numbers after the name of the tomb refer to the inscription numbers of my edition. I also present the connections of the families with other Perugian families. I follow the order of *Etruskische Texte*, which is also the basic order of my edition. However, if a family has more than one tomb, they follow each other. For the inscriptions and monuments themselves, I refer to Volume 2 of this work.

The tomb of Rafi 1 (44.-77., 1363.-1367.)

Discovered in *Cimitero Nuovo* (now *Vecchio!*) and published in *Notizie degli Scavi* in 1877, the tomb is well documented, but the almost forty inscribed urns and ollas were mixed up so that their original order could not be determined.⁵⁰ Bellucci published a thorough study of the tomb and its family in 1911,⁵¹ which is still

⁴⁹ So, e.g., SPADONI 2017a, 554.

⁵⁰ For a tomb plan, see *Lapidario* 2004, 37. If we try to establish some order with regard to the family tree sketched here, the members of the first generation can be found in the centre, just behind the larger front room. This is also the view of BELLUCCI 1911, 127-129, Tav. II. The Latin inscriptions are found in the first and the last row. It seems that the tomb was enlarged towards the rear part for new burials, but some of the last ones were placed in the front.

⁵¹ G. BELLUCCI, 'L'ipogeo della famiglia etrusca "Rufia" presso Perugia', *Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria* 17, 1911, 123-94.

useful in most aspects. The tomb had a long *dromos*, a large vestibule but only one cella.⁵² Nearly all the urns are displayed in the MANU.

The tomb founders were the two brothers *aule* (45.) and *arnθ* (46.). They have the special cognomen *arzni*,⁵³ not otherwise encountered in the tomb. We have no information about Aule's offspring, but Arnth (I call him Arnth I) seems to have had four sons with his wife *θana caia leθia* (51.).⁵⁴ Of the sons, *arnθ* (47.) may have been the eldest, followed by *vel* (48.), *larθ* (49.), and *seθre* (50.). Arnth II was married to *titia*, but we cannot be certain whether to 63. or 64., both women with this gentilicium. They had at least two sons, *arnθ* (62.) and *aule* (61.). But there is another *aule*, son of Arnth and Titia (75.). Buried in a clay urn (not in a travertine urn like the other), he may have died young and the same praenomen was given to a brother born later, or he is the son of the other Titia in another line. The probably eldest son, Arnth III, may have been married to *vipia* (again two options, 69. and 70.), and their son seems to be the fourth Arnth in this direct line, 74.⁵⁵

Of the sons of the tomb founder Arnth, Larth (49.) had probably one son buried in the tomb, bearing the father's praenomen *larθ* (52.).⁵⁶ Sethre, married to *larθi cincunia* (54.) had a son called *laris* (53.) and a granddaughter *fastia* (67.), married to a *cacni*. She was buried in this tomb of Rafi and not in that of her husband's family. The wives of both Larths and that of Sethre remain unidentified, since the children have no metronymics (and the gamonymics of the tomb only give the gentilicium Rafi). Instead, the wife of Vel, the fourth son of Arnth I, can be identified in *θana marci* (57.). They had three sons, *vel* (55.), *larθ* (56.) and *laris* (73.).⁵⁷

Some further fragments of the family tree can be discerned. *θana sutrinei* (60.) is the wife of one Rafi; I suspect Aule (61.) of the third generation, as one of their sons is named *aule* (58.; the other is *larθ* 59.), and this praenomen does not occur in the other branches of the family. If this criterion is valid, we could think that this son was married to a Cutunei, whose urn is not known. The two sons of Cutunei are *aule rafi cutunial* (72.), also recorded on the olla in Latin *A. Rufius*, and *L. Rufis Cotonia natus* (1366.). The use of Latin places these ollas among the last burials of the tomb. If they were sons of Aule (58.), that would place them into the fifth generation and fit well with the dating (see below). To the same fourth and fifth generations probably belong *tana atinia* (71.) and her son *Aros Rufis* (1365.); I would not try to guess the father.

Finally, there is a series of "loose" deceased, who cannot be connected to other persons of the tomb (44., 65., 68., 76., 77., 1363., 1367.). But the general picture is as follows. Probably five generations were buried in the tomb. The last burials with Latin inscriptions are probably from the 2nd quarter of the 1st century BCE. With the general way of calculating, namely, three generations per century, this would date the first burials to the 1st quarter of the 2nd century.⁵⁸ The tomb founders seem to have been two brothers, but

⁵² SPADONI et al. 2018, 53.

⁵³ RIX 1963, 281.

⁵⁴ *leθia* is, according to RIX 1963, 129, a cognomen rather than an abbreviated metronymic.

⁵⁵ BELLUCCI 1911, 136, gave *tana atinia* (71.) as his wife and *Aros Rufis* (1365.) as their son. This is possible, but without the patronymic uncertain. Furthermore, he saw *Ar. Rufius* (1363.) as the son of 1365. and *Tertia Avilia* (1364.). The metronymic of 1363. begins with *A*, but the rest is illegible.

⁵⁶ But *Fastia* (67.) cannot be his daughter, as BELLUCCI 1911, 136, suggested. Bellucci did not distinguish between the praenomina *larθ* and *laris*.

⁵⁷ *Fastia* (67.) may equally well be the daughter of this *Laris* as of 53.

⁵⁸ BELLUCCI 1911, 137, discerned six generations (1363. belonging to the sixth) and determined the time limits as mid-3rd – mid-1st cent. BCE.

we have no clear descendants of Aule Rafi (45.); it seems rather that the family of Arnth Rafi and Thana Caia Lethia and their four sons have filled the tomb. The general development of the funerary monuments goes from decorated urns to plain urns and further to ollas. But there are exceptions: the urn of the “first mother” Caia is plain. The only lid sculpture belongs to the “architect” Vel Rafi (48.) of the second generation. In the last generation, we have two nice urns with flower and pelta reliefs (the Latin 1363. and 1364.).

With regard to the name forms, we observe a clear difference in the use of the patronymic: of the men, fourteen show the patronymic, five are without, whereas only one of the twelve women bears the filiation, namely Fastia Rafi, daughter of Laris (67.; the other Rafi woman, Thana 66., is without patronymic). The metronymic is regular in the men of the family, only the two tomb founders and Larth (52.) lack it. In two instances, the metronymic was omitted in the carving but painted afterwards (50. and 62.). The use of the metronymic continues in the Latin inscriptions, where all three men bear it. But the metronymic is never encountered in women of the family. Instead, they almost exclusively give the gamonymic, although for the wives of the family, the husband’s name Rafi would be clear and does not identify them, as the praenomen of the husband never appears in the gamonymic. We may leave open the question whether or not the three women without the gamonymic (44.,⁵⁹ 76., and the Latin 1367.) were members of the family.

Furthermore, we can observe that the praenomina of men were abbreviated, with two exceptions (45. and 72.),⁶⁰ while those of women were written in full, with four exceptions (44., 51., 54. and 70.). All in all, we can state that there was a consistent practice inside the family with regard to how the name was to be expressed in the epitaph. Against this background, it is surprising that there was no consistent practice with regard to how the gentilicium of the family, clearly of Umbrian origin, should be written. *rafi* is the normal form with nineteen instances, but the variants *rufi* and *raufi* both appear four times, once even *rfi*. The ending *-e* is met in *rafe* 62.; this was the form in the tomb of Rafi 3 (165.-167.). The genitive ending *-s* is written four times with *san*, four times with *S*. The female genitive of gentilicia always ends in *-ial* except *titeal* in 62. A variation is encountered in the name *suθrina*: the sons (58. and 59.) were recorded in the aspirated form, while their mother’s name was spelled *sutrinei*.

The execution and palaeography of the urn inscriptions corresponds well to the Perusian epigraphy of the second century BCE. The carving is tidy, the letters mainly painted in red. In this respect, the inscription of the only *lautni* of the family in the tomb (65.) clearly differs with its faint and irregular letters. As for the letter forms, *R* with the loop at full height, which is rather common in the Perusian second century inscriptions, is encountered only in the epitaphs of the tomb founders. *T* has more often a descending than an ascending bar (nine against three; in 66., the bar is ascending from the vertical without crossing it, a typical Perusian form). The other letter forms are in line with the other epitaphs of this period.

The tomb of Rafi 2 (815.-829.) and 3 (165.-167.)

Another tomb of the family Rafi was discovered in 1822, probably at Stroz Zacapponi. G. Bellucci and A. Paoletti indicated that the tomb was located at “porta del Monte” near the Villa Sperandio, while G. B. Vermiglioli included the tomb among the numerous finds of that year “four miles west from Perugia”, where numerous tombs and urns were discovered. Stroz Zacapponi is now the strongest candidate for the location

⁵⁹ It has been suggested that this *fasti ancari* was the mother of *Ar. Rufius A++++ natus* (1363.), but the reading of the Latin inscription is quite uncertain.

⁶⁰ The third instance, *vel* in 65., appears in the only *lautni* inscription of the tomb.

of the 1822 finds.⁶¹ At least fifteen urns were found, but there is no record about the tomb plan or the tomb gifts. Of the urns, five (or six) have disappeared.⁶²

The inscriptions do not allow the reconstruction of a coherent family tree, but only fragments of it. Five women married into the family Rafi found their burial in the tomb: *apuni* (816.), *caspri* (818.), *latithi* (823.), *larthi lethi* (825.), and *percumsnei* (828.). It is, however, difficult to identify their husbands. Apuni was married to a Larth Rafi, but there was no Larth in this tomb. They had a son Arnth (815.), one of five Arnth Rafis buried in the tomb. The name of Caspri's husband remains unknown, as their daughter *thana rafi*, wife of Uhtave (817.), has no patronymic in her name form. Latithi, Lethi and Percumsnei were all married to Arnth Rafis. Latithi has a son Arnth (821.) and a daughter without praenomen (822.), married to Sentinate. Lethi has a son Laris (824.) in the tomb. Percumsnei's children were Arnth (829.), Thana (827.) and Aule (826.). It is possible that this Aule was the father of one further Arnth (820.), which would make Vipli (not in the tomb) the wife of Aule.

The urns of this tomb are mainly of a high quality. All the preserved nine urns have sculptures of the deceased on the lid (in 825. in relief) and mythological reliefs on the chests. The stylistic analysis of the urns made by Danile Nati⁶³ may support the relative dating, which, in the absence of a tomb plan, is otherwise difficult. D. Nati dates the urns of Apuni (816.) and Latithi (823.) to the 1st half of the 2nd century BCE. I would, on palaeographic grounds, add to these 819. *ar. rafi ventnal*, not dated by D. Nati because it is in the Meniconi–Bracceschi collection.⁶⁴ In D. Nati's dating Thana Rafi, daughter of Percumsnei (827.), lived in the 2nd century. This rough date would possibly date her mother (828.) and brothers Arnth (829.) and Aule (826.) to the same century – all these urns have disappeared. The urn of the son of Apuni (815.) and that of Lethi's son (824.) were dated to the end of the 2nd century, that of Latithi's daughter (822.) to the 2nd half of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st century, and that of Lethi herself to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st century. The latest of D. Nati's dates, the beginning of the 1st century BCE, was assigned to Thana Rafi (817.), daughter of Caspri (the mother's urn is lost).

The conclusions remain very hypothetical, but one scenario is that the tomb was founded in the early 2nd century BCE by two brothers, Arnth and Larth Rafi. The name of the mother was Venthnei, that of the father remains unknown. For some reason, the urn of Larth has not been preserved in the tomb, only that of his wife Apuni. Arnth was married to Latithi, and their son and daughter, as well as the son of Larth and Apuni, represent the second generation of the tomb. In both families, one son was named Arnth, and these cousins were married to Lethi and Percumsnei – it is impossible to know, which one to Lethi and which one to Percumsnei. The family of Arnth and Lethi left the son Laris, that of Arnth and Percumsnei the sons Arnth and Aule and the daughter Thana to the tomb – the third generation. Possibly this Aule married a Vipli, not buried in the tomb, but their son Arnth would represent the fourth generation. Another representant of the third generation was married with Caspri, and their daughter Thana (817.) is the second member of the fourth generation.

This brings us to the early 1st century BCE, when the tomb was closed. This timeline is supported by the fact that there is no inscription in Latin as in the tomb of Rafi 1. There is no connection between these

⁶¹ See DEFOSSE 1981, 51-53; MASSARELLI 2019, 83; NATI 2008, 25. The tombs of Cai Vetii, Velczna, Velthurna, Venete and Rezu, all discussed below in this chapter, belong to the finds of 1822.

⁶² ET² also attributed to this tomb 1202. and 1351.-1353. The deceased in 1351.-1353., from three different tombs of Strozacapponi, have no connection with the family. 1202. presents a Raufi, daughter of Clanti, but I cannot see sufficient criteria for its provenance from this tomb; see BENELLI 2015a, 190, n. 43; DAREGGI 1969, 472.

⁶³ NATI 2008, 57-69.

⁶⁴ See BARBANERA 1990, 174, Fig. 23.

two Rafi tombs. This branch of the family seems to be the prosperous one, since the quality of the urns is clearly finer than in the tomb of Rafi 1. But one hypothetical link between the tombs is tempting. In Tomb 1, we have the great olla of *Lartia Octavia* (1367.), who seems to have no kinship relation with the family. Now, the last burial of the Tomb 2 belonged to Thana Rafi, wife of Uhtave (817.). Lartia could be her daughter; when she died, Tomb 2 was already closed, but her urn was given a place in Tomb 1, still in use.

We observed in the tomb of Rafi 1 a rather clear family practice in the monuments and epitaphs. The same can be said of the Tomb 2. The urns are of high quality until the last burial (we can, of course, not say anything precise about the lost urns), with the sculpture of the deceased on the lid. In Tomb 1, the ladies did not bear the metronymic. In Tomb 2, this is the case with three of the five Rafi wives, whereas all three Rafi daughters bear the metronymic. All eight women bear the gamonymic, but only three of them have the praenomen. The male praenomen is always abbreviated. In this tomb, the gentilicium is always spelled Rafi. The use of *san* in the masculine genitive ending of the gamonymic is inconsistent: three instances with *san*, five with *S*. The height of the loop of *R* is similar to Tomb 1: 819. and 823. are the only instances of a loop of full height. The bar of *T* is ascending in four and descending in three inscriptions.

A third tomb of the Rafi family was discovered in 1847 near the church of Casaglia. A large tomb only provided three inscribed urns (165.-167.), all of men with different metronymics. We have photographs of two urns, both with lid sculptures. One metronymic, *caspr[ial]* (166.), could connect this tomb to Tomb 2, with *caspri rafis* (818.) as a possible mother, but the name is common at Perugia. Both urns have disappeared.

Apart from these three tombs, the name is encountered in nine inscriptions of Perugia. The oldest instance is the cippus 1049. [*a*]rnθ *vipi rufe*, dated by me to the 3rd quarter of the 3rd century. Rafi also appears as cognomen in 592. It is the gentilicium of a *lautni* in 606., the name of the wife of a *velimna* in 516. and of the daughter of a *clanti* in 1202. It is the name of the mother in 525., 678., 711. and 926. Among the Latin inscriptions of the city, we must observe the *sigillator*'s stamp *C. Rufius S. finxit* on the terracotta statue of Hercules *CIL XI 6709, 28 = SI 30, No. 89*, from the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st century BCE.

I finally give a list of families linked through marriage to the Rafi family of the three tombs: *apuni* 815., 816., *axuni* 165., *cacni* 67., *cai* 47., 48., 49., 50., 51., *caspre* 166., 817., 818., *cincu* 53., 54., *husetnei* 68., *latiθi* 821., 822., 823., *leθe* 824., 825., *marce* 55., 56., 57., *percumsna* 826., 827., 828., 829., *sauturine* 822., *sentinate* 66., *suθrina* 58., 59., 60., *tite* 61., 62., 63., 64., *uhtave* 817., *venθnei* 819., *vipi* 69., 70., *vipli* 820. An interesting chain of links goes from Fastia Rafi (67.), married to Cacni, and Thana Husetnei (68.), one of the Rafi wives, to Thana Husetnei (1671.), married to Cacni, and Hustnei (1439.), wife of Arnth Cacni.

The tomb of Surna (78.-92., 1368.)

A complex of two or three tombs of the Surna family was discovered in 1843 at Monterone, in the farm of Ercolani. I have found no information about the tomb or tomb material. The sixteen urns were placed in the garden of Count Baldeschi at Corciano, but they could not be found by Danielsson for *CIE*. Eleven (or possibly twelve)⁶⁵ of them are now in Villa de Angelis, and I have had autopsy of them. Copies of most of the inscriptions were made by Conestabile and these are found on the walls of the Palazzo Murena.

⁶⁵ The inscription of one urn, probably 86., is so mutilated that the identification remains uncertain.

Ten male and one female Surnas, four wives and possibly one mother-in-law were buried in the tombs. Thanks to the metronymics, we have fragments of a family tree. *thana alfi* (80.) and her probable husband *arnθ surna* (78.) had a son called *larθ* (79.). They may represent the first and second generations of the tomb. The epitaph of Thana is one of the two inscriptions with the loop of full height in *R*, and that of Arnth is the only one carved on the urn, not on the lid, and the only one without the metronymic. This piece of family tree, however, stops with Larth, since this praenomen is not met in the filiations of the tombs.

Another fragment comes around *veilia vipia* (85.). She was married to Aule Surna, whom I cannot identify among the persons buried in the tombs. They had a son *aule* (84.), who was probably the husband of *fasti herini* (88.) and the father of *aule* (87.). But who was *veilia vipiś acriś* (86.)? Her name form can be interpreted in different ways. She may have been a member of the family *vipi acri*, with the gentilicium and the cognomen in the masculine genitive form.⁶⁶ But I prefer to see in *vipiś acriś* a gamonymic, with the omission of the gentilicium. Hence, she could be the mother of Veilia Vipia and the mother-in-law of Aule. Her epitaph is the second one with the loop of full height in *R*.

The third and most interesting fragment is built around *fasti velθuri* (83.). She was married to Arnth Surna, but we cannot decide among the three remaining men with this praenomen (89., 90. and 91.). Three of their sons were buried in the tombs, *larθ surna* (82.), *aule surna* (81.), and *Gaius Sulpicis* (1368.). The fact that one of the brothers used Latin dates at least his inscription to the 2nd quarter of the 1st century BCE., to the last generation of the tomb. Here we have a good example of the Latinization process. The Etruscan gentilicium was abandoned on taking the Roman citizenship and a good Roman gentilicium *Sulpicius*, with a somewhat similar first syllable, was chosen.⁶⁷ But not only this: the father was Arnth, but in the inscription of Gaius Sulpicius the filiation is *C.f. Arnth* was not one of the Roman citizen praenomina, and in the bilingual inscriptions the Latin part often gave just *Gaius* as its Roman equivalent.⁶⁸

The eleven preserved urns are all decorated. There are three lid sculptures, interestingly all of them for the wives of the family (80., 83. and 88.). One of the wives (85.) has a lid decorated with a patera between two amphoras. The lids of the male of the family are more modest: two lids are plain (79. and 87.), two have pelta reliefs (82. and 90.), two an amphora decoration (89. and 92.) and one a flower alone (84.). On the chests, Scylla (79. and 80.) is encountered twice and Medusa (85., 87. and 92.) three times, other mythological themes being the Calydonian boar hunt (89.) and the Centauromachy (90.). All the decorative reliefs depict a flower, two inside a square (82. and 83.), two between peltae (84. and 88.).

We may observe that with one exception (78.), all the inscriptions were carved on the lids. The name forms are rather similar, with the metronymic in ten and the filiation in nine inscriptions. The only Surnei daughter (92.) and three of the Surna wives have the gamonymic; only Thana Alfi (80.), probably the eldest of them, has the metronymic alone. The masculine genitive in the gamonymics is spelled four times with *san*, once (88.) with *S*.

We do not know the distribution of the burials among the two or three tombs. I estimate that the urns cover the period from the 3rd quarter of the second to the 2nd quarter of the 1st century BCE.

The gentilicium Surna appears only once at Perugia outside these tombs, in the metronymic of *la. cai uhtave veluś surnial* (891.) in the tomb of Thurmna. The family was connected by marriage to the families

⁶⁶ For a discussion, see RIX 1963, 83-84.

⁶⁷ For this phenomenon, see KAIMIO 1975, 180. The metronymic *sulpicial* appears in a late inscription of Strozacaponi (1641.), but we cannot say whether it has a connection with the Surna family, or whether she was a Roman *Sulpicia* married to an Etruscan *leuna*.

⁶⁸ KAIMIO 1975, 174.

of *alfi* (79., 80.), *velθuri* (81., 82., 83., 1368.), *vipi* (*acri?*) (84., 85., 86.), *herini* (87., 88.), *pacsni* (89.), *petru* (90.), *urinate* (91.) and *feθiu* (92.).

The tomb of Cire (93.-107.)

The tomb of Cire was discovered in 1865 in the same farm Ercolani at Monterone. In 1897, the fifteen urns were still in the Villa Ricci at Montescosso. Some of them are recorded as being in the Museum of Florence, but I have not had the opportunity to look for them. Only one photograph was available;⁶⁹ the copies of A. Fabretti are very rough. In comparison with the tombs of Surna, we have something extra: a tomb plan with the positions of nearly all the urns. We can build a rather extensive family tree.⁷⁰

The urns of the tomb founders were in the rear of the rectangular tomb chamber. As so often, one of the urns, obviously that of Aule Cire, was uninscribed, but the other one had the inscription of his wife *cafati macri* (97.). They had a son *aule cire* (95.) and a daughter *ciri* (96.). The position of Aule's urn on the left bench was far from the rear. He may have had a long life, or the places of the urns may have been changed when new burials were introduced. The place of his sister's urn is not given on the tomb plan.⁷¹

Aule was probably married to *fasti vi(pi) capenati* (102.), and they had two sons. *aule cire* (101.) may have died young and without children, as he has the first place on the left bench. *arnθ cire* (100.) probably married *fasti salvi* (106.), and they had two sons, *arnθ cire* (104.) and *aule cire* (103.). Arnth's wife was evidently *caia* (94.), and their son *arnθ cire* (93.). If this family tree is correct, we would have five generations buried in the tomb.

But there are four further inscriptions disturbing this neat family tree. In the second position on the right bench is a son (praenomen broken) of *arnθ cire* and *her[in]i*⁷² (107.). As the only "free" Arnth (93.), seems to belong to a younger generation, the father may have been buried in an uninscribed urn or in some other tomb. Then there is the urn of *thania saluvi*, wife of a Cire (105.). We already have *fasti salvi* (106.) in the tree, and Thania could be her sister, married to the same Arnth after being widowed (Fasti may have died quite young, as she has the first position on the right bench) or to some other man of the family.

There are also two women connected to the Cafate family, *larθi cafatia* (98.)⁷³ and *θa. caspri ar. cafates* (99.). The first mother of the family was Cafati (97.), and these may be her relatives, who have not found a grave place elsewhere. If we can trust the tomb plan, they belong among the last burials. In fact, we encounter Thana's daughter *θa. cafati caspriar* (158.) in a late tomb of Casaglia, with two Etruscan and three Latin inscriptions.⁷⁴ Finally, a connection with the Cire tomb is evident for the beautiful urn lid 985. of unknown provenance. The inscription is *au. cafate vl. salvial cire*. Its three names are linked to the tomb of Cire, the gentilicium *cafate*, the metronymic *salvial*, and *cire* as cognomen (the only instance in this function). H. Rix suggested that he might belong to the third generation of the family; the explanation of his name may be that the first mother Cafati adopted his father Vel (unknown in the tomb), who took the

⁶⁹ That of 106. published (as mirror image and with wrong number of *CIE*) in *Artigianato* 1985, 51, No. 31. 107. is, according to MAGGIANI 2011, 194, in the Museum of Florence, where Rix also saw 105.; RIX 1962, 44.

⁷⁰ See RIX 1963, 328.

⁷¹ Two urns in the tomb plan are without *CIE* numbers, and one of them may have belonged to her.

⁷² Or possibly *her[m]i*.

⁷³ The reading remains very uncertain, emended from Conestabile's *hacanal*.

⁷⁴ One of them, 1374. *L. Adanatis Cafatae*, belongs to her son (or possibly freedman, if the reading *Cafatae l. Adanatis* is chosen).

grandmother's name as gentilicium and the original gentilicium Cire as cognomen.⁷⁵ H. Rix himself was rather doubtful, and I am not more confident. The sons of Fasti Salvi (106.) have Arnth as their father, but it is naturally not impossible that two brothers, Vel and Arnth, married two Salvi sisters.

Since most monuments and reliable copies are missing, there is no point in trying to identify a consistent burial practice of the family. If the counting of five generations is correct, and given that the daughter of one of the last buried women probably died in the first quarter of the first century BCE, the time span of the tomb would approximately be from the 4th quarter of the 3rd century to the 4th quarter of the 2nd century BCE.

In addition to the above-mentioned 985., where *cire* appears as cognomen, we know the name at Perugia only from the metronymic of Vel Fethiu (676.). The family of the tomb was linked by marriage to the large Perugian families of *cafate* (95., 96., 97., 98., 99.), *cai* (93., 94.), *caspre* 99.), *salvi* (103., 104.) and *vipi* (*capenati*) (100., 101., 102.).

The tomb of Vipi (119.-130.)⁷⁶

This tomb was discovered in 1885 at Montevile on the farm of M. Antinori. The small tomb chamber with fourteen urns had benches on three sides. On the rear bench, in the back row, were two peculiar high terracotta urns, decorated on the front side with three pateras between two pilasters,⁷⁷ evidently the first burials of the tomb, but without inscriptions. The inscribed twelve urns, four on each bench, all belong to men of the family Vipi. Although we have a tomb plan, little can be said about the kinship relations, since there are only three metronymics and five patronymics. Only one of the inscribed urns is exhibited in the MANU (123.), and another (120.) rediscovered in the Villa Poliseno, Montevile. Most of the others seem to have disappeared.

arnθ vipi (121.) and *laris vipi* (122.) were sons of Vel and Titia. Three sons of Laris were *aule vipiś* (123.), *vel vipi* (124.) and *arnθ vipi* (125.). The father was probably 122., although we also have another Laris, *laris vipiś crusl[e]ś* (129.). This cognomen appears in two other men in the tomb, 128. and 130.,⁷⁸ all without filiations, which leaves the kinship relations undetermined. Another cognomen of the family was *sauχnate*, borne by *vel* (126.) and *aule* (127.), probably father and son.

After the two uninscribed high clay urns, the urns of this tomb were apparently modest. The tomb plan does not easily provide an order of the burials. One might think that they started from the rear of the side benches (places 4 and 9 in the tomb plan of *CIE*), but in these places we have Arnth, son of Laris (125.), and Arnth Crunsle (130.), both belonging rather to the second generation of the tomb. As things are, the best we can say is that we have in the tomb two, but not necessarily more, generations of the family, which started to separate its branches by means of two different cognomina. The women had no place in the tomb (unless one of the uninscribed urns belongs to the first mother). The apographs do not allow a palaeographical analysis.⁷⁹ Of the names, we may note that the gentilicium is twice abbreviated to *vi*. (125. and 127.). It twice has the genitival form (123. and 129.), which also appears twice in the cognomina (126. and 129.), always spelled with *san*.

⁷⁵ Rix 1963, 328.

⁷⁶ In *ET*², this tomb, as well as other inscription groups, is misleadingly put under the title T. d. Velchei (139.-144.).

⁷⁷ In the *Lapidario* of MANU; *Lapidario* 2004, 53, Nos. 174-175.

⁷⁸ In the form *crunsle*; the gentilicium *vipi* is missing, as often in tombs of Vipi, Tite and Cai, and this does not, in my view, make *crunsle* a gentilicium (so in Rix 1963, 204).

⁷⁹ The urn of the MANU (123.) has loop of full height in *R*, which also appears in the copy of 130.

The burials might be from the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 2nd century BCE. Both cognomina of the family are unknown outside this tomb. The rare metronymics link the family to the families of *tite* (121., 122.) and *cafate* (120.).

The tomb of Velchei (139.-144., 1340., 1341., 1369.)

The tomb was discovered in 1932 at Montevile, S. Maria Maddalena. The report of the excavation records eleven travertine urns and one cinerary olla.⁸⁰ In the MANU, there are ten urns, one of them uninscribed, attributed to this tomb.⁸¹

The most remarkable monument is the double urn of *arnθ velχei velimna* and his wife *θana acei* (142.). It has two lid gables, both with face reliefs between peltae; the double chest with the inscriptions is plain. *larθ velχei* (140.) is the son of this married couple. Another *larθ velχei* (139.) is the son of Arnth Velchei, not found in the tomb, and *θana θurmnei* (141.). The other persons of the tomb seem not to be direct members of the Velchei family. There are three women, *caia vicrei* (143.), *fasti laxumni* (144.), and *larθi petrunia* (1341.), and two men, one of whom *la. vicre*, son of *arnθ* (1340.), could well be the brother of Vicrei. The Latin inscription *L. Volcacijs L.f. Vicer* (1369.) finally gives a link between the Velchei and Vicer families. He could be the son of Larth Vicer,⁸² adopted by a Velchei. Curiously, we have another Latin inscription (1370.) carved on a plain lid gable with exactly same text as in 1369. He was probably the namesake son of Lucius Volcacijs. The provenance of these inscriptions is unknown; they are not necessarily from this tomb.

Most of the urns of the tomb are plain. Besides the double urn, that of the son Larth is decorated with pelta and flower reliefs. The only mythological relief is on the chest of L. Volcacijs (1369.). Much more cannot be said about this tomb, where a strict family connection is missing. The first burials may be from the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century, and they continued at least to the 1st quarter of the 1st century BCE.

I observe the cognomen *velimna*⁸³ in 142., but the connection with the Velimna family remains open. The name *velχei* appears outside this tomb as gentilicium in 1032. of unknown provenance and twice as cognomen of the *uhtave* family (638., 639.). *vicre* is known only from this tomb, as is *acei* (140., 142.), whereas *θurmna* (139., 141.), *laxumni* (144.) and *petruni* (1341.) are well-known Perusian families. L. Volcacijs Tullus was consul at Rome in 66 BCE, and his son in 33 BCE. A passage of Propertius (1.22.3), addressed to the nephew of the latter, shows the Perusian origin of the family: “si Perusina tibi patriae sunt nota sepulcra”.⁸⁴

The tomb of Larci (146.-153.)

This tomb was discovered in 1814 near Perugia. The urns were transported to the Villa Antinori at Montevile, where A. Fabretti could still see some of them, but in 1896 they could not be found (146. and 153. have recently been rediscovered in the Villa, now called Villa Polisenio). In *CII*, the number of inscriptions was eight, but this number was doubted by *CIE*. The editors thought that in three instances A. Fabretti accepted G. B. Vermiglioli's copies of inscriptions, which he read differently, as belonging to separate inscriptions, while in reality they presented one and the same text.

⁸⁰ SPADONI 2019, 304-05.

⁸¹ *Lapidario* 2004, 31-32, Nos. 53-62.

⁸² For the Latinization of Etruscan praenomina by bestowal of Roman citizenship, see below, p. 222.

⁸³ RIX 1963, 280.

⁸⁴ HARRIS 1971, 326.

Hence, there may be double publications, but as they are now published in *ET*² and in my edition, we have four men and one woman (*thania* **150.**) with the name *larci*, and three wives of Larci (*ficani* **151.**, *titia* **152.**, and *vipia* **153.**). There is only one filiation (*ar.* **148.**) and one metronymic (*rufriās* **150.**), which does not support the search for kinship relations. One of the men bears the obsolete praenomen *larce* (**148.**), resembling the gentilicium.⁸⁵ The praenomen of the other men is abbreviated as *lar.*, which I usually supplement *lar(θ)*, but which could also repeat the fully written *lar(ce)*. The rare feminine genitive ending in the metronymic *rufriās* (see below, p. 169) is the only vague hint at a late date of the tomb. The gentilicium is not encountered in other inscriptions of Perugia.

The tomb of Vipi Ancari (154.-157., 1050., 1406.-1410.)

The tomb was discovered in 1590 at Casaglia, “appresso S. Maria in Villa Gemini”. The description by Felice Ciatti from 1638 recorded twelve travertine urns of medium size, with Etruscan inscriptions on the lids.⁸⁶ F. Ciatti gave the copies of four inscriptions, which were included in *CIE* and *ET* (**154.-157.**). The provenance of **1050.**, copied by A. Fabretti (*CII* 1844) in the Villa Giovio, from this tomb cannot be confirmed but is probable. Five more unpublished inscriptions (**1406.-1410.**) were found by Aristide Calderini and Riccardo Massarelli in the manuscript of Giovanni Battista Cantalmaggi. All inscriptions have disappeared, and the reading remains uncertain in many instances.

We have probably four men and four women called Vipi Ancari (**155.** without the gentilicium, **1407.** without the cognomen). As three of the men bear the praenomen Sethre, we can assume (at least) three generations buried in the tomb. Aule (**1407.**) was the younger brother of one of them. Of the women, **155.**, sister of **154.**, and **156.** were called Larthi. **1409.**, sister of **1408.**, was Fasti, and **1050.** did not have the praenomen recorded. Two women married into the family had their urns in the tomb, *larθi pumpuni metelial sex* (**157.**) and *[I]arθi tituli* (**1406.**). Tituli is the mother of Sethre (**1408.**) and Fasti (**1409.**). Two other metronymics are *uvilana(l)* (**154.**, **155.**)⁸⁷ and *ventesial*. There is insufficient criteria to date the inscriptions. The copies of the inscription seen by Fabretti (**1050.**) have early letter forms.

The tomb of Anei (160.-164., 1371.)

Discovered in 1844 near the church of S. Maria at Casaglia, the tomb had twelve urns, six of which had inscriptions.⁸⁸ Only two urns has been preserved in the storehouse of Palazzone (**160.** and **163.**); one copy is on the wall of Palazzo Murena (**162.**). All the inscriptions were carved on chests, of which at least **163.** had a pelta relief.⁸⁹

Four men bear the gentilicium Anei without cognomen (**160.-163.**). Three of them have the praenomen *larθ*, one is *arnθ* (**163.**). All praenomina are fully written, as are the patronymics giving three different fathers. Arnth may possibly have had no patronymic, but an extended metronymic *larθias via(cial ?)*

⁸⁵ This praenomen also appears in **481.**

⁸⁶ See the quotation in CALDERINI – MASSARELLI 2013, 273.

⁸⁷ Both are given in the copies as *uvilane*. After *ancari*, a second cognomen is improbable, and a gamonymic *uvilane(s)* in Larthi’s inscription (**155.**) would leave the same name in Sethre’s epitaph (**154.**) unexplained.

⁸⁸ *CII* ad No. 1086.

⁸⁹ **160.** must also have had a decorative relief on the front side, since the inscription is copied in an angular form, continuing downwards on the left edge.

clan.⁹⁰ Kinship relations of the four men cannot be determined. The two other inscriptions of the tomb belong to *thana titia* (164.) and *C. Fuloni Pos.f.* (1371.). It looks as if an old family tomb was later taken over by other people.

The tomb of Selvathri women (176.-180., 1052.)

This tomb of five women was discovered in 1877 at Ponticello di Campo. We have a tomb plan, but it does not disclose the order of the burials. Two of the urns had golden earrings inside; pieces of mirrors and other tomb gifts were found in the tomb.⁹¹ Two of the lids have reclining figures of the deceased, four of the chests have mythological reliefs, and only one is plain (179.).

The line of four women is clear. *hermi* (176., without praenomen) was the wife of *cacei*. Their daughter *caceinei* (177.) was married to *selvaθre*. Their daughter *thana selvaθri* (178.) was married to *cusiθe*, and their daughter *thania cusiθi* (179.) to *χvesna*. The fifth urn (180.+1052.) is problematic. The lid and the chest are of equal size, but both have or have had inscriptions, which were only lightly carved and painted in red (lid) or black (chest). The inscription of the lid is now practically illegible.⁹² That on the chest (1052.) was copied as *fasti vipi velimnaś hermial śex*, and although very uncertain, this reading may be correct. However, one cannot be certain, whether the lid and the chest belong together, and whether the inscriptions on both may record the same woman.⁹³ If the woman of the urn has the metronymic *hermial*, she might, for instance, be a daughter of 176. from an earlier marriage.

We have in the tomb four generations of mothers and daughters. No patronymics appear; three women have the metronymic, and all of them the gamonymic. The eldest women have no praenomen in their name form. Marjatta Nielsen has analysed the urn sculptures,⁹⁴ with the result that 180., not belonging to the right mother-daughter line, might be the eldest (160-130 BCE). The great-grandmother (176.) may have died in 150-120, the grandmother (177.) in 100-50, possibly before the mother (178.), 100-80, and the daughter (179.) in ca. 50 BCE. In view of the palaeography and the onomastics, I would postpone the date of 180. to the 4th quarter of the 2nd century BCE. and otherwise in general terms agree with Nielsen's dates.

The tomb of Petvi (181.-196.)

The tomb was discovered in 1878 at Ponticello di Campo. It had a corridor with one niche on each side and a rectangular chamber with benches on three sides. There were eleven travertine urns, one terracotta urn in the form of a bathtub, and six cinerary ollas, three of which in the niches were without inscriptions. Nearly all the urns are preserved in the MANU. The tomb plan can be interpreted to mean that the first burials were the three on the rear bench, followed by the three urns in front of them. The burials then continued on the right bench, but never on the left bench, which was empty. The last urns were placed in front of the right bench (185.) and in the right niche (193.).

⁹⁰ I suspect that the carver has misread the intended text; a good guess for the correct name of Arnth is "*arnθ anei larθial salvial clan*".

⁹¹ The inventory list of Briziarelli records among the tomb gifts "3 specchi graffiti, frammenti di strigili di ferro e poche e ordinare figuline" (SAIONI 2003, 3).

⁹² In *ET*¹ Pe 1.180 it is in the form *fa. ateiη[ei - - -]*; *ET*² has erroneously supplied it with the text of the urn, taken from *Lapidario* 2004, 23, No. 16, which means that we have in *ET*² the same inscription twice in a slightly different form (Pe 1.180 and 1.1052).

⁹³ This is possible in my uncertain reading of 180.; there would be the patronymic, but no gamonymic.

⁹⁴ NIELSEN 1999, 98-100.

If this is correct, the tomb founders could be *larθ cuiesa petui*⁹⁵ (194.) and *aule petvi*, son of *aule* and *apuni* (188.).⁹⁶ They could well have been brothers, but the parents of Larth are not recorded. The third urn on the rear bench belongs to *arnθ petvi*, son of *aule* and *śerturi* (189.). He may have been the son of 188. All the urns of the rear bench are undecorated. The three urns in front of the bench were all decorated with pelta and flower reliefs – the only decorated urns in the tomb. They belonged to the sister of Arnth *larθi petui ser-turial* (190.), to *[fa]sti tucunt(n)i petevis* (192.) and to her son *larθ petui larθial tucuntnal* (191.). I consider it probable that this Larth was the son of Larth Cuiesa Petui, who was, accordingly, married to Fasti Tucuntni.

On the right bench, the first urn belonged to *θana caia umprea petv[iś] puia* (187.). The patronymic of her son *arnθ petuvi* (186.) shows that she was married to Arnth, possibly 189. The son may have died as a child, as his ashes were put in a clay olla, placed in the rear corner (between the parents?). In the same corner was another olla with two inscriptions and evidently the ashes of two children: *arnθ petvi*, son of Arnth and Aneinia (181.), and *aule petvi*, son of Starnithi (182.; the name of the father has not been preserved). The urns of the mothers *laθi aneinia* (183.)⁹⁷ and *starniθi petuez* (184.) were placed side by side as the last urns on the bench. One father candidate is the second son of Caia *arnθ petvi χaial* (185.). He had the same praenomen (of the father) as his brother, who died as a child. There was no place for his urn on the bench, nor was it placed in the rear in front of the other floor urns, but in front of Aneinia's urn.

This leaves us with three female epitaphs: a daughter of the family married to a Nansti, *petvia nanstis* (193.), with her urn in the corridor niche; a wife of Petuve *velia veleθei* (195.), with her olla last on the bench; and finally, *vipia masui* (196.), without any apparent link to the family, with her “bathtub” urn of clay in the middle of the bench.

If my sketch of the kinship relations is not totally wrong, we have in the tomb two tomb founders, probably brothers, and their offspring, totalling in three generations. We can well date the inscriptions to a time span from the 2nd to the 4th quarter of the 2nd century BCE. The tomb was probably planned for more people, as the left bench remained empty. One gets the impression of close family relations. Against that background, it is surprising how many different spellings of the family name we have: *petvi*, *petui*, *petue(z)*, *petuve(s)*, *petevi(s)*.

Members of the family appear in the metronymics of the tombs of Anani (430.-431) and Alfi (626.). This tomb shows marriage relations with the families of *anei* (181., 183.), *starniθi* (182., 184.), *caia umprea* (185., 186., 187.), *apuni* (188.), *śerturi* (189., 190.), *tucuntni* (191., 192.), *nansti* (193.) and *veleθei* (195.).

The tomb of Vlesi (203.-211., 1375.)

The violated tomb was discovered in 1878 at Ponticello di Campo. It contained thirteen urns, three of them uninscribed, and five uninscribed ollas.⁹⁸ All the urns are exhibited in the *Lapidario* of the MANU. We have a tomb plan, but the family relations mainly remain unknown. We would normally look for the tomb founder

⁹⁵ For the strange name form, see Rix 1963, 93, 265; he regarded an inversion of the gentilicium and the cognomen as the best interpretation.

⁹⁶ The urn with 188. is possibly from a nearby tomb; *NSe* 1878, 125.

⁹⁷ Read by former editors as *aneinial*; the faintly drawn *L* at the end of the inscription clearly differs from the other deeply carved letters. If we accept it, we can also discern a faint *A* after it, giving a patronymic. The omission of the gentilicium is possible in a family tomb, but not found in this tomb. I therefore prefer to see here the mother rather than a sister of Arnth.

⁹⁸ The inventory list of Briziarelli only knew 12 urns, two of them uninscribed. The only urn with the lid sculpture of the female deceased (Inv. No. 207) was of terracotta and uninscribed. Briziarelli recorded among tomb gifts “specchio in bronzo semplice e una corniola” (SAIONI 2003, 2).

in the middle of the rear bench, where we find the urn of *au(le) vlesi*, son of Arnth and Tatni (208.). To his left was an uninscribed urn, and to the right the urn of *au(le) vlesi*, son of Aule and Casntini (207.). These are the only inscriptions with the metronymic. All six freeborn men of the family have the patronymic, but as the father was either Arnth or Aule, that does not help us further in the search for kinship relations. The two ladies of the family have the gamonymic. *θana vlesi* was married to *afle carcu* (209.), and *Tania Vlesia* (210.; written dextrorsum, but mostly with Etruscan letters) to *scarpe/Scarpus*, a *lautni* of a woman called *Scarpia* (211.). His urn is decorated with a low relief of Medusa and has a bilingual inscription. One wife married into the family, *Laetoria Vlesi* (1375.) had her place in the tomb. The three urns with bilingual or Latin inscriptions are the last burials of the tomb, as they were not placed on the benches, but on the floor. They are probably from the 2nd quarter of the 1st century BCE. No clear generations can be separated in the tomb. A good guess is that the first burials are from the 3rd or 4th quarter of the 2nd century BCE.

Among the other Perusian inscriptions, we encounter daughters of the family married to *vahruni* (696.) and *sentinate* (1188.; sons in 1182. and 1187.), and as mothers in the families of *hamqna* (1076.), *lucani* (1102.) and *petruni* (1149.).

The tomb of Vetī 1 (219.-223., 1343., 1376.)

The tomb was discovered in 1925-26 at Ponticello di Campo, and eight travertine urns are exhibited in the *Lapidario* of the MANU. One of the urns is in Latin (1376.), one is uninscribed (*Lapidario* 2004, 29, No. 46), and one Etruscan inscription is illegible (*Lapidario* 2004, 29, No 45). Three men and one woman bear the gentilicum *veti*. Larth (219.) and Laris (221.) are sons of Aule, not found in the tomb. *la. veti la. carcu* (220.) is evidently the son of 219. *larθi veti vipial* (222.) does not disclose her father. The three other women, *laθi caia θutnial* (223.), *hasti aunei* (1343.) and *Lartia Pomponia* (1376.) may be wives of the Vetī men, but without gamonymics, this is uncertain.

We have at least two generations⁹⁹ of men and women. The Latin inscription with Etruscan female praenomen points to the 1st quarter of the 1st century BCE. If Pomponia was the wife of 220. of the second generation, the tomb was probably built in the 3rd or 4th quarter of the 2nd century. Two of the urns have pelta and flower reliefs (220. and 221.), the others are plain. This supports the suggested dating.

The tomb of Vetī 2 (385.-393.) and 3 (395.-402.)

Discovered in 1843 near the Villa Palazzone, the two tombs of the family Vetī provided a total of seventeen urns with inscriptions. Five of the nine urns from the Tomb 2 can be seen in the *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni. Of Tomb 3, three urns are in the *gradoni* and two in the storehouse of Palazzone. The epitaphs are concise and do not reveal any relations between the two tombs, any more than with Tomb 1 of Ponticello di Campo.

In Tomb 2, six men and two women bear the name *veti*¹⁰⁰. The ninth deceased person, *veilia caia* (392.) may have found her burial here because her husband (?) and sons were buried in a tomb for men (see below, the tomb of Acsi). This may also explain why a *larθi śalvi caial śec* (402.) was buried in Tomb 3. Furthermore, in that tomb *fa. spuri veties* (398.) had become a member of the Vetī family through marriage;

⁹⁹ According to *Lapidario* 2004, 28, the tomb contained nine urns, belonging to three generations of the family and their wives.

¹⁰⁰ Larth in 391. has the form *vete* (as in 1040.-1043), and Laris (390.) probably spelled the name as *eti*. Veilia's name in 393. is read by the editors as *titi*, but I think that *veti* is rather certain.

the husband may be *la. vetie la.* (397.). She also brought to the tomb two female relatives, *spuri cafatial* (400.) and [--- *pum*] *pui spuries* (401.), possibly her sister and sister-in-law, and possibly for the same reason as 392. and 402.

The quality of the urns of both tombs is mediocre. There are no urns with lid sculptures. One urn with Medusa relief is preserved from both tombs (390. and 400.). In Tomb 2, four other urns have decorative reliefs either in the chest (391.) or in the lid (387., 389. and 393.); the remaining four were probably plain.¹⁰¹ In Tomb 3, 398. of *la. vetie la.* offers an interesting relief portrait of a young man in helmet (?) and cloak, with a stock in hand.¹⁰² The other urns have probably been plain.¹⁰³ The basic name form for members of the Vetii family was simply the praenomen and the gentilicium (385., 386., 395., 396., 397.), with the addition of the patronymic in 387., 388., 389. and 397. Three members of Tomb 2 bear the cognomen, two of them the name *aneiθura* (390. and 391.), connecting them with the Perusian Anei family.¹⁰⁴ Metronymics (400., 402.) and gamonymics (399. and 401.) appear only in Tomb 3 and with members coming from outside the family.

The palaeography of the urns is that of early and mid-2nd century BCE. The urn of Veilia Caiia (392.) has the cursive, C-like *V. R* has the loop of full height in 389., 390. and 400. The loop of two-thirds height appears in 391., 393., 395., 396. and 399., the loop of half height probably in 401. and 402. It may be that Tomb 2 was somewhat earlier than Tomb 3, but as no kinship relations between the deceased of the two tombs can be identified, one cannot say that Tomb 3 was opened after Tomb 2 had been filled up.

The tomb of Vetii Afle (438.-452.)

In the above-discussed three tombs of Vetii, only occasional cognomina have been encountered, but a large branch of the Vetii family bore the cognomen *afle*. The main tomb of Vetii Afle was discovered in 1843 near the Villa Palazzone, not far from the tombs of Vetii 2 and 3. Of the fifteen¹⁰⁵ urns, eleven can be seen in the *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni, two in the storehouse of Palazzone, and two are lost. This tomb contained both men and women. One urn is for a married couple (448.), and in two inscriptions the word *puia* is added after a man's name (439. and 451.), possibly indicating that the ashes of the wife were in the same urn.

larθi navesi veties (446.) had four children buried in the tomb, but since none of them has the patronymic, the father remains unknown (and there are no good candidates). *arza vetii naverial* (443.) probably died young, since the praenomen is in the diminutive and the same name was given to *ar. vetii afle navesial* (442.). While all other urns of the mother and children are plain, he has a flower decorating his urn. The other children are *la. vt. afle navesial* (444.) and *θania vetii naverial* (445.). The most remarkable urn of the tomb belongs to *ar. vetii afle ar.* and *θana petsnei* (448.). The lid has a female face (goddess?) between two peltae, and a woman rides on a sea monster in the chest relief. Of their sons, *ar. vt. afle petsnal* (449.) has a plain urn, *la. vetii*¹⁰⁶ *afle ar. petsnial* (450.) has on his lid a patera between two dolphins. *ar. petsna puia* (451.) is, in my view, Thana's brother, buried, possibly with his wife, in the tomb of his sister's family. One

¹⁰¹ This, *rude*, was recorded for 385. and 388. Of 386. and 392., we have no record of the monument.

¹⁰² There are some other relief portraits on urns: 425., a player of the traverse flute, 725., a beautiful face of a woman, 888., with mirror, 1282., with fan and flower, and 1422., with mirror. I cannot determine, which of them have mythological character, and which are images of the deceased.

¹⁰³ 395., 397. and 399 are preserved, whereas 396., 401. and 402. can be seen only in plaster casts on the wall of Palazzo Murena.

¹⁰⁴ See RIX 1963, 249. 1040. [- - -] *v]ete [anei]θura* on a lost cippus of unknown provenience is one more example.

¹⁰⁵ If the inscriptions 440. [- - -] *puia* on the chest and the disappeared 441. *θ[ana] veties* on the lid, both painted in black, belong to the same urn, the number of burials is 14.

¹⁰⁶ Earlier editors have read *vezi*, but the normal *vetii* seems rather clear in my autopsy.

further wife of the family has her urn in the tomb, *veliθnei vetiś* (452.). Her husband cannot be identified. *θ[ana] vetieś* (441.), if the painted inscription on this lost lid was correctly read, is a daughter rather than a wife of the family, with her gentilicium in the masculine genitive.

Apart from 448., the urns of the tomb are rather modest, only a few of them have simple decorative reliefs. Afle was a family cognomen, but only four men bear it, while three men and two women have only the gentilicium. The gentilicium is never omitted, and it is also used in the two gamonymics. It appears twice in the form *vetie* (441. and 446.), and it is twice abbreviated as *vt.* (444. and 449.). Only two generations can be securely distinguished, but there may have been at least one more. The date does not differ much from that of the previous tombs. My best estimate is from 2nd to 4th quarter of the 2nd century BCE.

Another concentration of Vetii burials was at Monterone, near the Villa Valiano (109.-117.). The urns with 114.-117. were discovered in 1858, probably from one tomb. In the case of 109.-113., we know only that they were copied in the Villa Valiano. Of the nine urns of this group, only one (115.) has been preserved. The deceased *θania veti uhtavia(l) triles*¹⁰⁷ has on her urn a lid sculpture and on the chest the Sacrifice of Iphigenia. Her mother was *lθ. utavi veti(ś)* (116.) and her brother *la. veti afle la. uhtavial* (113.). *se. veti afle la. veli(al)* (117.) seems to be the son of 113.

The five other Vetii inscriptions from Valiano do not know the cognomen Afle. An interesting pair belongs to *larθ veti aneinal* (109.) and probably his son *la. ve(ti) anei la. cusnal clan* (110.).¹⁰⁸ That seems to be a case of adopting the mother's gentilicium as cognomen (see below, p. 189). It would also connect the inscriptions of Valiano to those of Tomb 2 of Vetii, where two brothers bear the cognomen *aneiθura* (389. and 390.). This cognomen also probably appears in 1040. of unknown provenance.

We can now list the families connected through marriage to the Vetii of these five tombs: *anei* (109.), *cusnal* (110.), *maslni* (111.), *spuri* (399.), *uhtavi* (114., 115., 116.), *varna* (113.), *veli* (117.), *vipi* (222.), and possibly *aunei* (1343.), *caia* (223., 392.), and *Pomponia* (1529.). Women of the family are encountered in other Perusian tombs, including the tomb of Tins (661.-664.), and in a metronymic of the tomb of Cai Cutu (1313.). *A. Vettius A.f. Pinaria gnat(us)* (1414.) is also encountered in an urn of Pieve del Vescovo.

The tomb of Afle (456.-464.)

Before leaving the Vetii family, we must discuss the tomb of Afle. It is difficult to say, whether the two families had any connection. The gentilicium Vetii consistently appears in the name forms of the tomb of Vetii Afle, Afle being a family cognomen. In the latter tomb, Afle is consistently found in the place of the gentilicium. It appears once in the form *aufle* (463.). That a connection between the two families exists may be indicated by the cognomen *veti* in the name of *ar. afle veti vipial* (456.), the only cognomen in this tomb.¹⁰⁹

If the tomb of Vetii Afle was a modest one, that of Afle, discovered in 1844 near the Villa Palazzone, provided fine cinerary urns. Of the nine urns six have lid sculptures, one has a banquet relief on the lid tympanum (462.), one a portrait between two amphoras in the lid relief (456.), and only one lid the usual flower between two peltae (460.). All the known chests have mythological reliefs, three of them the Sacrifice of Iphigenia (459., 463. and 464.);¹¹⁰ Telephos and the baby Orestes appear twice (457. and 461.), and there

¹⁰⁷ The gamonymic is my reading instead of the *aviles* of earlier editors – the name of the father is Larth in her brother's epitaph 114.

¹⁰⁸ This is my reading from the plaster cast of Palazzo Murena.

¹⁰⁹ That it really is a cognomen and not an instance of inversion of gentilicium and cognomen, is emphasized by Rix 1963, 94.

¹¹⁰ See VAN DER MEER 1991, 120-21.

are two battle scenes (458. and 462.), and the Toilet of Penelope once (460.).¹¹¹ Two of the urns have disappeared, three are in the *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni, one in the *Antiquario* of the Tomb of Volumni, two in private possession, and one in the MANU.¹¹²

A central figure of the family may have been *se. afle la.*, married to *fa. hustnei arznal*. The urn has a lid sculpture of the couple, and both names are carved in the epitaph (458.). Fasti was given the epithet *atiu*, “mother”, which appears only in one other Perusian epitaph, 1428. of the Cacni-tomb, but there with the copula *-c*. The couple had one son, *la. afle se. hustnal* (459.), and one daughter, *afli hustnal šex farθana* (460.).¹¹³ I believe that their grandfather was *la. afle se. an[e]inal* (464.), with the fine urn attributed to “Maestro E” and consequently dated to the beginning of the 2nd century BCE.¹¹⁴ The same metronymic, but a different patronymic, appears in the name of *laris aufle larisal aneinal* (463.). It may be that either Sethre or Laris had married the widow of his brother. *tx. afles ulθial* (461.) and *ls. afle ulθial* (462.) were brothers, but, without the patronymic, their place in the family tree cannot be determined, nor can that of *ar. afle veti vipial* (456.) or *se. afle facual* (457.).

These four “unplaced” members of the family make the counting of generations difficult. The tomb seems to have been founded in the 4th quarter of the 3rd or the 1st quarter of the 2nd century BCE and then used until the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century. Except for Afli and Fasti Hustnei, all burials belong to men. The metronymics show other families connected through marriage with the Afle family: *anei* (463.), *facu* (457.), *ulθe* (461., 462.) and *vipi* (456.). Outside the tomb, we meet an *afli axuś* in 611.; the name appears in the gamonymics of 209., 547. and 1538. In the lost 780., we might have a sister of 463. and 464., if the supplemented reading *larθia afli arzn[iś] aneiñ[al] šex* is correct.

The tomb of Satna (225.-232.)

The tomb was accidentally discovered in 1968 at Ponticello di Campo; Anna Eugenia Feruglio made a preliminary publication in 1976-77.¹¹⁵ The quadrangular tomb chamber included eight urns, all with inscriptions. A. E. Feruglio gave the texts, and they were included in *Etruskische Texte*, but we have lacked an epigraphic publication up to now. I publish these urns in Vol. 2 with photographs and facsimiles of the inscriptions. The urns are located in the *Antiquario* of the Tomb of Volumni (225., 226., 227. and 230.) and in the storehouse of Palazzone (228., 229., 231. and 232.). Rich tomb gifts, listed in the paper of A. E. Feruglio, were found, which allowed her to date the tomb from the mid-2nd century to the beginning of the 1st century BCE.

On the rear bench of the chamber, we have evidently the three first burials, two brothers *la. satna lauxumnia* (228.) and *au. satna lauxumnia* (230.), with their mother *fasti laxumni satnas* (229.) in the middle. Fasti’s husband, the father of the brothers, seems to be buried elsewhere.¹¹⁶ All three urns have decorative reliefs with peltae and flowers on the lid tympana. Connected with the urn of the mother was a *balsamario*, which A. E. Feruglio dated not earlier than the 2nd half of the 2nd century, and a mirror of the

¹¹¹ The urn is now under the lid with 456. in the *Antiquario* of the Tomb of Volumni. The drawing of Conestabile (Tav. 71.1) places it under the lid 460. It is not rare for lids and chests to change places.

¹¹² MAGGIANI 2011, 190 and fig. 20, locates 464. to the MANU. I have not seen it there.

¹¹³ *farθana* is hapax in epitaphs, and the exact meaning cannot be known. *harθna*, evidently of the same origin, appears in the same position in *ET*² CI 1.2686. See below, p. 190.

¹¹⁴ MAGGIANI 2011, 190.

¹¹⁵ FERUGLIO 1977, 112.

¹¹⁶ FERUGLIO 1977, 112, writes that she must have been married to an *aule*, but I cannot see the reason for this assertion.

‘Lasa and the Dioscuri’ group, usually dated to the 2nd century BCE. In the tomb was also found a Roman bronze coin, the issue of which is dated to the period 217-155 BCE.

In front of the urn of Larth was the urn of his son [v]el *satna larθial* (227.), which had the lid sculpture of the deceased and a relief of the Sacrifice of Iphigeneia on the chest. From the same workshop, *la bottega dei Satna*, came the urn of Aule’s son *arnθ satna auleś* (226.), equally with the lid sculpture and a relief of the Death of Oinomaos on the chest. Its place on the left bench, not in front of the father’s urn, may depend on the similar design of the urns of the cousins. Next on the left bench was the urn of *θana ancari satnas* (225.), with finely painted reliefs of peltae and flowers. We may guess that she was the wife of Arnth. On the right bench, we have two more urns, that with 231. *ar. satna petruial*, with pelta and flower decoration, and the plain urn with 232. *arnθ zatna m(a)rxnial*. Without patronymics, we cannot determine their place in the family tree. The praenomen may indicate that 231. was the son of Arnth (226.), but in that case Thana (225.) would not be his wife (but possibly that of Vel). The third Arnth (232.) has another mother, Marchni, not buried in this tomb. He could be the son of the namesake 231., but that would bring a fourth generation (229. – 226. – 231. – 232.) to the tomb, which is unlikely, if it was built in the middle of the 2nd century and given that all the epitaphs are in Etruscan.

Both women have the unabbreviated praenomen, the gentilicium and the gamonymic (but not the metronymic). Of the six men, three have the praenomen unabbreviated, three abbreviated. Two have the fully written patronymic, four the metronymic. Hence, the epigraphical practice of the family seems to have been to give three name parts in the name form. We may observe the genitive *satnas* in <s>, but *auleś* in <ś>, as well as <z> in *zatna* (232.).

The tomb shows matrimonial links with the families of *ancari* (225.), *laχumni* (228., 229., 230.), *marχna* (232.) and *petru* (231.). Men of the Satna family are encountered on four urns of unknown provenance (1167.-1170.). In addition, it appears in the name of the patron in 1668. and in the metronymic of 571. It is also the cognomen of Tite (507.) and Pumpu (874.).

The tomb of Cai Carcu (233.-259, 1361.-1362.)

I have discussed this important tomb from Ponticello di Campo and published the inscriptions in *Studi Etruschi* 82, 2020, 175-209. The tomb was discovered in 1962. In the chamber tomb, some twenty pieces of pottery and three bronze objects were found in addition to the urns. A. E. Feruglio gave a complete list of the tomb gifts with a photograph, as well as two photographs from the interior of the tomb.¹¹⁷ She dated the tomb to the 2nd and early 1st century BCE. I cannot determine the exact number of inscribed urns. In the premises of Palazzone, twenty-six urns are attributed to the tomb, but probably three more urns have come from it.¹¹⁸ The numbers inside the urns of Palazzone together with the photograph in Feruglio’s paper provide enough data for sketching a general tomb plan.

The tomb founder, Vel Cai Carcu, was buried in the fine urn 233., with his and his wife’s lid sculpture. The urn was placed in an elevated position on the rear bench. His mother Thana Herini (242.) had her urn side by side with him. I assume that she had died earlier, and that the urn was brought to the new tomb from elsewhere. The inscription also seems to be later. Her sister Larthia Herinia (240.) was also buried in the tomb.

¹¹⁷ FERUGLIO 1976, figs. 77 and 75–76, p. 201.

¹¹⁸ KAIMIO 2020, 177.

Vel had two brothers, Laris (253.), married to Aneinei (241.), and Arnth (239.), married to Salvi (238.). Laris seems to have no children in the tomb, while Arnth and Salvi had a son Arnth (237.). Most burials belong to the family of the tomb founder Vel and his wife Thana Prucui (243.), who probably died much later, as the urn was found on the left side bench. They had four sons. Vel (235.), Laris (254.), Arnth (246.) and Larza (251.), who probably died young. Vel was married to Petru and they had two sons, Vel (235.) and Arnth (250.). Petru did not find a place in the tomb, and I suggest that Vel had divorced and remarried to [. . .]rθnei au. vahrial śec (236.), as their urns were placed side by side. Laris was married to Prucui (252.), possibly his cousin or another relative from his mother's side. Arnth's wife was Vuisia (247.), and they had a son Arnth (245.) and a daughter Thana (248.), married to Lethiu.

A number of persons cannot be placed in the family tree. Thana Cai, daughter of Vel and Nuthuni (244.) may be a daughter of the tomb founder from an earlier marriage, as her place was on the rear bench side by side with Vel. Thana Custurnei (249.) was possibly married to Arnth (250.), as the urns of married couples were often placed side by side. The husbands of Thana Huzei (255.) and Veilia Calatia (257.) cannot be determined. On basis of her daughter (258.), Veilia was married to Larth Cai Carcu, but no Larth is buried in the tomb. The persons of 259., 1361. and 1363. show no connection with the family. It is possible that they come in as a result of the reopening of the tomb.

On the basis of the tomb architecture and the tomb gifts, A. E. Feruglio dated the tomb to the 2nd and possibly early 1st century BCE.¹¹⁹ The urn types, lid sculptures and relief decoration (or lack thereof) fit these time limits well. The fine urn of the tomb founder (233.), with the lid sculpture of the banqueting married couple, could offer possibilities for more exact stylistic dating to support a date for the construction of the tomb. M. Nielsen dated the lid sculpture to the late second century,¹²⁰ but the internal chronology of the tomb would be simpler, if it would be dated to the early second century. After this urn, most urns in the tomb are modest. Two other urns have lid sculptures (235. and 246.), but many of them are plain.

The palaeography and the onomastics well fit with A. E. Feruglio's dating. The loops of *R* are of full height in the first urns and of two-thirds height in the majority, with only a few of half height.¹²¹ With the exception of the tomb founder's epitaph, male praenomina are always abbreviated. A peculiarity of the tomb is gamonymics with more than one name part – quite informative and helpful in building the family tree. All inscriptions are Etruscan. This determines the first half of the 1st century BCE as the *terminus ante quem*. Luckily, we have a rather reliable family tree for the deceased. There seem to be at least four generations buried in the tomb, which, on the average, means that the tomb was used for one hundred years, perhaps a little longer.

The tomb shows marriage links with the families of *anei* (241.), *calatia* (257., 258.), *custurna* (249.), *herini* (233., 238., 239., 240., 242., 253.), *lethiu* (248.), *nuθuni* (244.), *petru* (250., 256.), *prucu* (243., 246., 251., 252., 254.), *vahri* (236.) and *vipi* (242.). The only Cai Carcu at Perugia outside this tomb is *θana caia carcu sapices* (1630.) from Strozacaponi. The cognomen *carcu* is encountered twice in other inscriptions (209., 220.).

¹¹⁹ FERUGLIO 1977, 113.

¹²⁰ NIELSEN 2009, 90.

¹²¹ Although this indicates a clear development, an absolute dating on this basis remains uncertain. The tomb of the family Alfa is probably from the same period, but there all inscriptions except one have *R* with a loop of full height. In the tomb of the family Satna (225.-232.), also from Ponticello di Campo, though probably somewhat later than the tomb of Cai Carcu, *R* has consistently a half-height loop.

The tomb of Pumpu Plaute (260.-272., 1377., 1378.)

The tomb was discovered in 1792 at Ponticello di Campo. It provided fifteen urns, fourteen of which are exhibited in the *Lapidario* of the MANU.¹²² What makes the study of the family difficult is that the lids have changed place, that modern (or some centuries old) paintings cover part of the inscriptions, and that no plan of the tomb interior is preserved. Only small pieces of a family tree can be discerned.

The tomb provided the epitaphs of nine men and two daughters of the family plus four wives married to the family. All the men bore as praenomen either *larθ* or *laris*, in Latin *Lucius*. This does not make the search for kinship relations easier. That the family also used other praenomina is shown by the patronymics *vl.* (? , **261.**) and *ar.* (**269.**)¹²³. Seven of the nine men bore metronymics. On that basis, we know that *ls. pum-pu plaute herinial* (**266.**) and *larθ pum-pu plaute ls. herinial* (**265.**) were brothers. Both epitaphs are carved on lids with the sculpture of the reclining deceased. A. E. Feruglio saw in **266.** a work of the “workshop of Satnas”,¹²⁴ which would give a date in the 2nd half of the 2nd century BCE. The same chest relief, Battle near an altar, as in **266.**, is on another chest from the tomb. Evidently this, too, came from the “workshop of Satnas” and is from the same period. It is now under the lid with the reclining figure of *θana pum-puni plauti veltsnas* (**270.**). The lid is so much broader than the chest that they cannot belong together, and I cannot determine the correct lid for the chest.

For the husband of Herini and father of the brothers **265.** and **266.**, we have two candidates called Laris, *ls. plaute vl. asia[l]* (**261.**, reading uncertain), with a lid with pelta and flower relief,¹²⁵ and *ls. plaute (s)catrnia(l)* (**268.**),¹²⁶ with a modest plain lid (probably not belonging together with the chest beneath). One of them was probably married to *larθi ahsi plautes* (**263.**), who has her name carved on a lid gable decorated with a flower between two palm leaves. Their son was *la. pum-pu plute ls. ahsial* (**262.**), recorded on a plain lid. We observe that both parents used only the cognomen, while the son had re-introduced the gentilicium to his name form. But this does not solve the question of fatherhood. Laris (**268.**) had an elder brother *la. pum-pu plute la. scatrnia(l)* (**267.**), with the lid sculpture, likewise buried in the tomb.

One further kinship relation can be detected in the tomb. *fastia arzni pum-pus* (**264.**) was the mother of *L. Pomponius L.f. Arsniae gnatus Plautus* (**1378.**). I think that the other Latin epitaph, *L. Pomponius L.f. Plotus* (**1377.**), could well belong to the husband of Fastia and the father of **1378.** He has a peculiar urn. The chest relief shows the funerary building with the gate, pilasters and statues of two sitting deceased, probably a married couple. Many Etruscan letter forms in the Latin inscription date it to the period soon after the Social War.

The names of the other persons buried in the tomb offer no hints at kinship relations: *la. pum-pu plaute* (**260.**) and *fa. pum-pui plauti ar. pum. capznaś* (**269.**) were daughters of the family, while *θania veli plautes* (**271.**) and *fasti ancari plautes cafatial* (**272.**) were married into it. They both gave the gamonymic with the cognomen alone, as did **263.**, while **264.** used the gentilicium. Of the members of the family, **261.** and **268.** omitted the gentilicium, but the cognomen appears in all name forms. It was written with *-au-* ten

¹²² *Lapidario* 2004, 44-46, Nos. 130-43. The fifteenth inscription (**1378.**), on a cut lid gable, was placed on the wall of the Museum of Perugia, where I saw it in 1968. I have not found it in the storehouse of Palazzone, where most of the inscriptions from the wall are now.

¹²³ Instead of patronymic, *ar.* may be the praenomen of the husband *pum(pu) capzna*.

¹²⁴ FERUGLIO 1977, 115.

¹²⁵ On the chest, there is a mythological battle scene, but its pertinence to the lid is not certain.

¹²⁶ Later painting makes the reading of the metronymic difficult. This is my best reading, but Pauli has seen both *S* and *C* in the beginning and an *L* in ligature at the end.

times, with *-u-* twice (262. and 267.; cf. *Plotus* in 1377.). The feminine form of *pumpu* was *pumpui* in 269., *pumpuni* in 270. The genitive was spelled with *san* in 269., 271. and 272., with *S* in 263., 264. and 270. The palaeography, as far as it can be discerned under later paintings, is that of the 2nd half of the 2nd to the 1st half of the 1st century BCE. The loop of full height in *R* does not appear. There are two uncertain instances of the loop of two-thirds height (263. and 267.). On the other hand, the epitaph of the son of 263., 262., has clear Latin letter forms, including the misleading *M* and *P*, and must be dated to the 1st century, rather to its 2nd quarter.

The marriage links connect the family with those of *a(h)si* (261., 262., 263.) *ancari* (272.), *arzni* (264., 1429.), *capzna* (269.), *herini* (265., 266.), *scatni* (267., 268.), *veli* (271.) and *vetsna* (270.). No members of Pumpu Plaute are encountered at Perusia outside this tomb. As a gentilicium *plaute* appears twice (315., 1155.), as does *platia* (346., 1154.).¹²⁷ The omission of the gentilicium *pumpu* is possible in these instances, just as it was omitted in some epitaphs of the Pumpu Plute tomb. *pumpu* is one of the common gentilicia of the city.

The tomb of noble-women (285.-289.)

We now leave the necropolis of Ponticello di Campo and move to Palazzone, where this tomb was discovered in 1797. It provided eight urns, three of which were uninscribed, and rich tomb gifts, including golden jewellery and an unusually fine mirror. The three urns with lid sculptures are among the finest in Perusian urn sculpture. They are exhibited in the *Lapidario* of the MANU. The two other inscriptions (288. and 289.) were acquired by the MANU in 1971 from the Villa of Oddi-Baglione; I have not seen them. The tomb complex has been recognized as a “women’s tomb” and studied with its precious grave-goods by Marjatta Nielsen in 1999.¹²⁸

The eldest lady in the tomb may be *venθnei veltsnaś* (289.), with a rather simple flower-relief urn. Her daughter was *veilia veltsanei velimnaś* (287.). The epitaph is on the chest, which was decorated with different ornaments. It was carved in *grafia capitale* on two text fields with the form of arched gates. The female lid figure with a flower in the right, a fan in the left hand, is fine, but I am not convinced that the chest and the lid belong together. Another wife of the Velimna family was *fasti nacerei velimna[s]* (286.). Her lid with the inscription has a fine sculpture; the chest has a deep relief depicting the Madness of Athamas, and on the side flanks the Dioscuri were sculpted. This masterpiece is regarded as a work of “Maestro B”.¹²⁹ Both Veilia and Fasti seem to have a daughter buried in the tomb. *larθi meteli nufzrnaś veltsneal śex* (289.) must, however, be from Veilia’s first marriage. Her urn was more modest. Only the lid with a flower between two peltae and the inscription is preserved. Fasti’s daughter *velimnei nufzrnaś nacerial śec* (285.), had again a splendid monument, with a reclining woman with a flower in the right hand on the lid, and Odysseus and his companions fighting Scylla in the relief of the chest.

It is possible that this women’s tomb is connected to the famous tomb of Volumni, where no wives of the family were buried. The chronology is, however, problematic, as the tomb of Volumni was closed before the end of the 3rd century. My hypothesis is that the tomb of the noble-women may have been built in the mid-2nd century BCE, when Fasti (286.) died. The ashes of Veilia, the wife of an earlier Velimna, were brought in and a new lid with sculpture prepared for her stylistically different urn. At the same time, the

¹²⁷ I am not certain that *platia* is a phonological variant of *plaute*.

¹²⁸ NIELSEN 1999, 90.

¹²⁹ MAGGIANI 2009, 189.

modest urns of her mother and daughter from an earlier marriage found places in the tomb. The last burial in the late 2nd century was that of the daughter of Fasti (285.).

The tomb of Lensu (290.-291., 1379.-1381.)

After the magnificent urns of women, we shall discuss the modest tomb discovered at Palazzone in 1801. Five inscriptions are recorded, but I agree with M. C. Spadoni (*SI* 30, 159-60) that the chest with 290. *ar. lensu la.* and the lid with 1379. *Ar. Lenso La. fili* belong to the same burial and present a bilingual inscription.¹³⁰ The wife of Arnth was probably *fasti cvintia lensus* (291.). *A. Brutis Vel.f.* (1380.) on a roughly carved travertine urn is the only preserved inscription from the tomb. The other urns may not have been any finer; G. B. Vermiglioli used the same words: “*assai rozza*” for 1379. and 1380.¹³¹ *Bruttia A.f.* (1381.) on a disappeared lid probably refers to the daughter of 1380. A connection between Lenso and Bruttius cannot be seen. All inscriptions are evidently from the 1st half of the 1st century BCE, perhaps from the 2nd quarter, since the only preserved inscription (1380.) has serifs and triangular dots.

The tomb of Achu (292.-298., 1382.-1386.)

The tomb was discovered in 1840 in the necropolis of Palazzone near the Velimna tomb. It probably provided twelve urns, six of which have been preserved (five in the *gradoni*, one in the *Antiquario* of the Tomb of Volumni). Seven of the inscriptions were in Etruscan, five in Latin. No tomb plan is preserved, nor any records about possible tomb gifts.

The lost 292. and 293. provide approximately the same text *l. axunia cestnal*, possibly as a double publication of one inscription. This was the view of Rix, who suggested the reading *laxunia cestnas*, since the one-letter abbreviation for female praenomen is rare at Perusia.¹³² I prefer the gentilicium of the family of the tomb. *ET*² read in 294. *la. axu laxu(s) ces(tnal)*, a brother of 292., but I think that the reading of Pauli in *CIE* 3726 for 294. could be accepted, *la. axu la. lu(n)ces*, with the common Perusian cognomen. Hence, Larth would not have any visible kinship with 292.-293., but he could be the husband of *larthi casnia* (297.) and the father of *ar. axu la.* (295.) and *la. axu la. casnial* (296.). The urn of Larthi has disappeared, but the chest of Arnth and the lid of Larth have been preserved – it remains uncertain whether they belong together with the attached lid and chest. The chest of Arnth has a fine decorative relief with ivy leaves between two peltae. The lid of Larth is plain. The last Etruscan inscription of the tomb, 298., is again problematic. This lid has disappeared, but a plaster cast is inserted in the wall of the Palazzo Murena. In *ET*², the text is given as *caia puia laxus*, in accordance with G. B. Vermiglioli’s reading.¹³³ I am not satisfied with the text, especially after skipping *laxu* from 294. The gamonymic with the mere praenomen is rare indeed, but I cannot give a good alternative, other than a second instance of a praenomen siglum of one letter, *l. axus*.

Of the five Latin inscriptions, four have been preserved, and we have a good drawing of G. Conestabile of the fifth.¹³⁴ Both 1382. *L. Aconius L.f. Medicus*, and 1383. *Achonijs L.f. Medicus* had the same cog-

¹³⁰ SPADONI 2017a, 563-64. This was doubted by Pauli in *CIE* 3721.

¹³¹ VERMIGLIOLI 1804, 29.

¹³² RIX 1963, 129.

¹³³ The problem is that in *CIE*, two numbers (3730 and 4046) are probably drawn from copies of the same inscription. See RIX 1963, 107.

¹³⁴ CONESTABILE 1870, Tav. 89.1.

nomen (more probable than profession). They may have been father and son, but in Conestabile's drawing, the patronymic of **1383.** is quite clearly *C.f. 1384. Ursia A.f. Aconi* could be the wife of **1382.** and the mother of **1385.**, which I read as *A. Aconius L.l. Urs(ia) gn(atus)*. However, this inscription is palaeographically older than that of *Ursia*.¹³⁵ One further urn is recorded as coming from the tomb, that of *Aconia L.f. Quartilla annor(um) VI (1386.)*. It is of marble of Luni, nicely finished, and with an almost unique leaf lid. *SI 30, 162*, sees her as the sister of **1385.** and daughter of **1384.**, but since she died at the age of six years and the urn cannot be earlier than the 3rd quarter of the 1st cent. BCE (and probably even later), this is improbable.

The kinship relations of this tomb mostly remain unclear, and no sequence of generations can be reconstructed. The tomb is probably not earlier than the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century BCE., and the burials continue long after the Social War.

The tomb of Volumni (306.-313., 1389.)

So much has been written about this grandiose tomb, discovered in 1840 in the necropolis of Palazzone, that I only repeat the main lines of the present state of our knowledge, mainly based on the conclusions of G. Colonna in *L'Ipogeo dei Volumni*, surveying the 170 years following the discovery of the tomb.¹³⁶ The large tomb was built in the 4th quarter of the 3rd century. It was clearly intended for longer use, since there is space to house at least forty urns, but in its first phase, only six urns were placed there. The tomb founders are recorded in the wall inscription (**1389.**): Arnth and Larth Velimna, sons of Arzni. They belong to the third generation of the urns, which means that they brought the burials of their grandfather Thefri (**306.**) and father Aule (**307.**), possibly also those of their brother Vel (**309.** and **310.**), already dead, to the tomb. They also prepared new, magnificent urns for the ancestors, as well as urns for themselves (**308.** and **311.**), all produced in the same workshop. The last urn of this phase, from the same workshop, is the sitting statue of Veilia, the daughter of Arnth (**312.**). Arnth, holder of the signet ring like his father and grandfather, was evidently the head of the family, and his unmarried (?) daughter, probably deceased soon after the father, was the only woman buried in the tomb, whereas the wives, mother, and grandmother of the three brothers were buried elsewhere.

The fact that there were no more burials after Veilia means that the first phase of the tomb lasted only some decades. Since it is not probable that Veilia was the only descendant of the three brothers, i.e., that the family died out, it may have gone into exile or moved elsewhere for some other reason, possibly due to or after the Hannibalic War. The tomb was then opened once more for the bilingual urn of Publius Volumnius A.f. Violens (**313.**), probably in the 4th quarter of the 1st century BCE. He revived the name of the Roman consul, who had lived three centuries earlier, by means of a certainly false descent.¹³⁷ Some people who did not belong to the family may have been buried in the tomb during its centuries of abandonment (**1390.**).

Velimna – Volumnius is not a rare name in the other epitaphs of Perugia. We have already encountered it in three inscriptions of the tomb of noble-women (**285, 286., 287.**), possibly connected with this tomb designed for almost exclusively to men. The family may have left Perugia in the end of the 3rd century, but bearers of the name continued to live in the city through the whole 2nd and well into the 1st century BCE. It may be significant (but I cannot give an explanation) that it appears almost exclusively in the gamonymics

¹³⁵ The other editors (*CIE 3734; CIL XI 1981*) have seen the praenomen as *La.*, and instead of *Urs(ia) Ur(sia)*. As one would not expect a freedman to have a freeborn mother, *SI 30, 161* to *CIL XI 1981*, suggested *L.f.*, but *l(ibertus)* seems certain.

¹³⁶ COLONNA 2011, 107-126; CAMPOREALE 2012, 61-71.

¹³⁷ TORELLI 2017, 704. Torelli preferred a date around 50 BCE for the urn. For the cognomen *Violens*, see below, p. 223.

(168., 516., 774., 866., 987., 1052., 1114., 1242.). The wives of these husbands did not belong to the high society of the city. The name appears as cognomen of a Velchei (142.) and of a Vipi (600.), but never in the metronymics. Among the Latin inscriptions in Etruscan monuments, there are five instances of Volumnius (1448., 1473., 1474., 1475., 1476.), almost all in the names of freedmen.

The tomb of Vipi Alfa (318.-322.)

The tomb of Vipi Alfa was discovered in 1840 near the tomb of Volumni. Five inscriptions are recorded. One of the urns (322.) is in the *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni, and the front cut from another chest (321.) is in the storehouse of Palazzone. The other three have been lost, but the plaster casts are inserted into the walls of the Palazzo Murena. All the urns may have been plain.

The inscriptions do not tell much about the kinship relations, since there are no patronymics and only one metronymic. Two of the men have the praenomen Arnth, two Vel. The fifth urn belongs to *vipia apeinal* (322.), without praenomen and cognomen, but with the metronymic. The name of 321. *vel vipi alfa papa* is interesting, as, according to H. Rix, it displays two cognomina.¹³⁸ In a modest tomb with concise name forms like this, I would prefer the alternative that *papa* is here the appellative “grandfather”, used to separate the person from his namesake *vel vipi alfa* (320.).¹³⁹ The two partly preserved urns and the concise inscriptions give little hints at dating, but the tomb may have been used from the 2nd half of the 2nd to the 1st quarter of the 1st century BCE. A member of the family, *θana vipiś alfaś* (566.), married to a Vete, had her urn placed in the tomb of Vipi Vari.

The tomb of Ceisi (323.-327.)

The tomb of Ceisi was discovered two years later, in 1842, near the Villa Palazzone. It is recorded that at least six urns were found,¹⁴⁰ the finest one of which, with a relief of fighting warriors and women, was uninscribed (and lost). Of the five urns with inscriptions, three can be seen in the *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni. The two lost urns were described as “rough”, probably plain, as are the lids with 324. and 327. Instead, 326. is carefully carved on a fine chest with a Medusa relief inside a square.

There seem to be three generations. *la. cesi* (323.) was possibly married to *peθnei ceisiś* (324.). They had the son *ar. ceisi peθnal* (325.), possibly married to *larθi lutni ceisiś* (327.) and father of *arnθ ceisi arnθial* (326.). The modest family may have gained some prosperity, as the standard of the urns improves in the third generation. The lost and finest urn could have belonged to the wife of 326. This is just a guess, but the prosperity might have come from Clusium with Pethnei. This common Clusian name is encountered at Perugia, in addition to here, only in 1506. I think that the family lived in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 2nd century BCE, but as only one urn and two lids are preserved, exact dating is difficult. The name of the family is encountered only once in other Perugian tombs, in a metronymic of the Vipi Vercna family (505.).¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ RIX 1963, 77.

¹³⁹ In that case, one would expect that *papa* was added only later, after the death of the other Vel (cf. 719.). *papa* is on a second line and there are differences in the letter forms, but four letters are not enough to determine a second hand.

¹⁴⁰ There may have been more. An interesting visitor’s description of the tomb was written in 1854 by Mrs. Westrop, quoted in COLONNA 2011, 126-27: “All larger tombs were fastened with wooden doors under lock and key. In that of the Cesi family there were many cinerary urns, but only three had figures on them.”

¹⁴¹ The feminine form *ceisinei* (76., 990.) may come from *ceisi*, or rather from *ceisina* (1504.).

Tomb of Vipi Upelsi 1 (331.-338.)

The tomb was discovered in 1843 in the necropolis of Palazzone. It had nine urns placed on three benches of the quadrangular tomb chamber. Seven inscriptions are preserved in the *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni, one only in an old copy. There is a tomb plan. As often, the urn in the honorary position, in the middle of the rear bench, was uninscribed. But whereas usually the places on its two sides belong to the tomb founders, this is not the case here, or else the places of the urns were changed when new urns came in.

There are two brothers, *lar. vipi upelsi petrinal* (332.) and *au[le vipi u]pelsi petrinal* (333.). Both inscriptions were carved on lids. That of Larth has disappeared, that of Aule has a decorative relief of a flower between two peltae. The urn of Larth was placed second (from the rear) on the left bench, and that of Aule first on the right bench. Aule was married to *veilia trazlui upelsis* (335.). Her lid has a cone between two dolphins, and the urn was second on the right bench, beside that of her husband. Their son was *la. vi. upelsi au. trazlunial* (334.). His chest relief shows a warrior riding on a hippocamp, and its place was third on the left bench. *veil(i)a maslnei puia la(r)thial vipsis upelsis* (337.) was either his wife or the wife of his uncle Larth (332.). The theme of the chest relief is the battle between griffins and Arimasps. Her urn was placed in the tomb as the first on the left bench, which could possibly support the latter husband candidate.

Two other women, related to the wives of the family, are buried in the tomb. *larthi vetlnei trazlus* (336.) was probably the sister-in-law of Veilia Trazlui, and *larthi cai maslnis* (338.) the sister-in-law of Veilia Maslnei. If this is correct, we may have a partial answer to the question where the wives of men, whose family tombs were only reserved for men, were buried. There were tombs for women alone, but in this case, the wives of the Vipi Upelsi family arranged places for their sisters-in-law in their family tomb. When the tomb was opened, these two urns were on the rear bench, on both sides of the honorary place with the uninscribed urn.¹⁴² If that was their original position, the only explanation which I can see is that the families of the two brothers wanted to keep a close proximity on the side benches.

One plain urn is left, placed third on the right bench. The deceased was *seθre vipsis la. helvinatial* (331.). He could be the son of that Larth who was not married to Veilia Maslnei (332. or 337.), but I doubt it, because his mother *fasti helvinati upelsis* (486.) is buried in the tomb of Vipi Upelsi 2 (see below). There we also find the daughter of Aule and Veilia Trazlui (487.). Let us turn to that tomb before considering the chronology of the tombs.

The tomb of Vipi Upelsi 2 (484.-488.)

The second tomb of the family was discovered in 1846 near the Villa Palazzone, I cannot estimate how far from the first tomb. Like the first tomb, it had a rather small tomb chamber with five urns. From the preserved tomb plans, it appears that the fourteen Vipi Upelsi urns could all have found a place in one of the tombs. Two tombs could mean two branches of the family, but this is not clearly the case. In the second tomb, four of the five urns belong to women, the only man being *ar. upelsi la.* (484.). His urn has disappeared, as has that of *veilia vipi upelsi felcinalial* (485.), while the urn with 486. is in private possession, and those with 487. and 488. are conserved in *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni.

Of the four women of the tomb, two are daughters of the family, Veilia (485.) and *larthi vi. upelsi trazlunial* (487.), the daughter of Aule and Veilia and the brother of Larth, all buried in Tomb 1. None of the

¹⁴² BERICHILLO 2004, 209, considered it rather a sarcophagus.

two Upelsi daughters has the gamonymic, possibly because unmarried. But this second tomb cannot have been for solitary persons of the family, because the two other women, *fasti helvinati upelsis* (486.) and *larθi ancari upelsis* (488.), were married into the family, Fasti being the mother of Sethre (331.) of the first tomb. It is also note-worthy that two of the women, Veilia (485.) and Fasti (486.), had reclining lid figures. None of the women of the first tomb received such a worthy monument.

To conclude, the five persons of the tomb belong to the family, but no closer ties between them are discernible, while two of them have close ties to members buried in the first tomb. As one is the mother and the other a daughter, the two tombs should be somewhat contemporary. The tomb plan could indicate that the only man (484.) and the two ladies with lid sculptures were buried before the two other women, but this is not conclusive. The palaeography of both tombs points to the 2nd century BCE.¹⁴³ All the women bear the praenomen. The gentilicium *vipi* is omitted in 484. and in three of the four gamonymics (337. is an exception). It is abbreviated in 334. and 487. In the genitive ending, we have no instance of <s>; *san* is consistently used. As there are probably three generations of the family, we might with some caution date the opening of the tombs to the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century BCE and the closing to the 4th quarter of the same century.

The family was linked through marriage with the families of *ancari* (488.), *felcinati* (485.), *helvinati* (331., 486.), *maslni* (337., 338.), *petru* (332., 333.) and *trazlu* (334., 335., 487.). In other Perusian inscriptions, we find an Upelsi as the patron of a *lautni* in 606. In the Latin inscriptions, *Obelsianus* is the cognomen of L. Papirius in 1421.

The tomb of Pumpu Snute (339.-347.)

The tomb was discovered in 1843 near the tomb of Volumni. It provided, as far as is known, eight urns, three of which are preserved in the *gradoni* and one in the storehouse of Palazzone and one in the garden of Villa Pompei, three have disappeared. No tomb plan is preserved.

There are two brothers, *arnθ pu(m)pus snuteś arnθial* (341.) and *aule punpus snuteś arnθial* (342.), and possibly their father (and mother?) *arθ pu(m)pus snuteś puia velarie* (339.); the last name is corrected by editors to *velarei*.¹⁴⁴ The inscription of the father has letter forms of *grafia corsivizzante*, which is scarcely encountered after the 1st quarter of the 2nd century BCE. Other kinship relations cannot be identified between the deceased, although all belong to the family. The *etera*-inscription *pumpu snute etera* (345.) is strangely without the praenomen.¹⁴⁵ The two daughters of the family are *veilia snvti vetial* (343.) and *snuti huzetnaś* (344.), and the two daughters-in-law *fa. platia pumpus snute(ś)* (346.) and *laθi petruni snute(ś)* (347.).

The quality of the urns in this tomb varies considerably. The ashes of the father Arnθ, probably with his wife, were put in a clay urn, or rather an olla.¹⁴⁶ The urns with 342. and 345. are plain. Veilia (343.) has a plain lid, on which the epitaph was roughly painted in red, but – if they belong together, as it seems – a fine chest relief with two warriors (Arimasps?) waiting for a griffin to come out through a gate. The lid with

¹⁴³ In Tomb 1, 337. has in the facsimile of *CIE* a Latin *M*, but a closer study shows that there are two verticals and between them three oblique bars, a rare Perusian type of the 2nd century BCE; see below, p. 128. BERICILLO 2004, 209, dated Tomb 1 to the 3rd century.

¹⁴⁴ The spelling *-rie* is clear in the plaster cast of Palazzo Murena, but it may be a spelling error. 340. *pul* was copied by Conestabile on the same clay urn; its function is unclear.

¹⁴⁵ For this, see RIX 1963, 87-92.

¹⁴⁶ See BENELLI 2015a, 188, n. 34.

344. has a horse's (?) head protruding from the pelta tympanum. The orthography of the inscriptions is not solid. The gentilicium appears in the forms *pupu*, *punpu*,¹⁴⁷ *pumpu*, the cognomen in *snute* and *snvte*, *velarie* stands for *velarei*, and the praenomina are spelled *arθ*, *laθi*. I have dated the inscriptions from the 4th quarter of the 3rd to the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century BCE.

Marriage links can be seen with the families of *huzetna* (**344.**), *petruni* (**347.**), *platia* (*plaute?* **346.**), *velara* (**339.**) and *veti* (**343.**). The family is not known from the other inscriptions of Perugia.

The tomb of Apurthe (351.-357.)

The tomb, discovered in 1843 near the Villa Palazzone, contained six urns and one clay olla. All of them have inscriptions, but the monuments themselves are quite modest; the lost **354.** was the only "satis ornatum". Three of the inscriptions, two on the chest, one on the lid, can be seen in the *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni, and the clay olla in the *Antiquario*. Three urns have disappeared.

Six of the deceased were men. The only woman, *luscei aprθeś* (**357.**), was the mother of *au. aprθe lusceal* (**356.**). The syncopated forms of the gentilicium may show that Aule belonged to the last generation of the tomb, and the burial of his mother broke the "men's tomb" tradition. Since no patronymics are used in the inscriptions, we cannot know who the father and the husband of Luscei were. All the name forms of men are identical: abbreviated praenomen, gentilicium and metronymic. On this basis, we know that *au. apurθe curial* (**352.**) and *ar. apurθe curial* (**353.**, on the clay olla) are brothers, but the sequence of generations cannot be defined. The fact that the metronymics disclose five different mothers may indicate several generations, but may also be due to the burial of cousins and second cousins. The types of the preserved urns and the palaeography belong to the 2nd century, but a closer dating is not possible.

The metronymics give the following families connected through marriage: *auna* (**351.**), *cure* (**352.**, **353.**), *lusce* (**356.**, **357.**), *vatatial* (**354.**), *velcia* (**355.**). Two other inscriptions of the Apurthe family have been discovered in the necropolis of Palazzone (**594.** and **595.**). It is also encountered in **925.** and **1141.** of unknown provenance.

The tomb of Acsi (358.-384.)

In the same year 1843, the tomb of Acsi was discovered near the tomb of Volumni. It was one of the finest tombs of the Palazzone necropolis. Among the tomb gifts was a pair of bronze greaves of Greek production from the 5th or 4th century BCE. Both pieces had a south Etruscan dedication to Minerva. G. Colonna suggested that the greaves had belonged to the booty from Volsinii in 265 BCE.¹⁴⁸

The violated tomb provided sixteen epitaphs on urns and eleven on lead plates. The find was badly documented, and some of the urns vanished soon after the discovery. Luana Cencioli has recently given a description of the tomb and its preserved monuments.¹⁴⁹ Seven of the urns are now in the *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni, and three in private possession (Villa Palazzone). Of the inscribed lead plates, eight are preserved in the storehouse of Palazzone. The other inscriptions have disappeared, but we have drawings of G. Conestabile for the urns with **374.** and **383.**

¹⁴⁷ I think that this is the best reading in **342.**; *pumpu* of *CIE* and *ET*² would require too many ligatures.

¹⁴⁸ COLONNA 2005, 437-42.

¹⁴⁹ CENCIAIOLI 2011, 23-26. The lead plates are discussed in MASSARELLI 2014, 235-37.

This was a men's tomb. We can identify twenty-two different persons, all men. One more complicated instance is in **374.**, read as *ar. acsi ar. fatinial*. The drawing of CONESTABILE 1870, Tav. 68,1, however, clearly shows a reclining woman in the sculpture of the inscribed lid. We have instances where the sex of the lid sculpture and that of the epitaph are different, but in this case, the copy of the inscription would have space for additional letters [*lar*][*θi*]. The question must remain unsolved, but I prefer a purely men's tomb. This is supported by the fact that the wife of an Arnth Acsi (there are too many for an identification), mother of *la. aysi trilialś* (**372.**) and *se. acsi trilial* (**373.**), was not buried in this tomb, but in the tomb of Trile and Petru in a fine urn with lid sculpture and chest relief of the Death of Myrtilos (**588.**).¹⁵⁰ It is also tempting to see the mother of the men in **362.** and **363.** (see below) in *veilia caiia* (**392.**), buried in another tomb of the Palazzone necropolis, that of Vetī, without kinship relations to the other deceased of that tomb. All three inscriptions have the rare spelling *caiia*. The lost inscription of Veilia, with the cursive form of *V*, may be early enough for the mother of the two brothers. Two women of the family, *acsi hermes* (**517.**) and *acsi uvilaneś* (**518.**), were buried – without their husbands – in a fourth small tomb of the necropolis of Palazzone.

Three other urns of the tomb have the lid sculpture of the reclining deceased. *ar. aysi arnθal cveθnal* (**368.**) has a fine battle scene in the relief of the chest, the sides of which are also sculpted with amphora and grape bunch reliefs. His brother *aule acsiś cueθnal clan* (**367.**) has a more modest chest, with decorative relief showing two flowers.¹⁵¹ The father cannot be identified among the ten men called Arnth in the tomb. *ar. acsi la.* (**376.**) has the Duel between Polyneices and Eteocles in the chest relief. The father might be *larθ acsiś larθial* (**377.**), palaeographically one of the earliest urns of the tomb. The third urn with lid sculpture, that of *arnθ acsi capruntial* (**383.**), is preserved only in the drawing of CONESTABILE 1870, Tav. 21,1. The relief on the chest shows the Sacrifice of Iphigenia. A *larθi caprti* is recorded on the lead plate of *arnθ acsiś arnθial palpe* (**381.**). If *caprti* stands for *capr(un)ti*, the persons of the lead plate are the parents of **383.** The suggested father has the urn with **382.** (without the name of the wife). The chest has a Medusa relief inside a square. The inscription is written in letter forms close to *grafīa corsivizzante*, also indicating an early phase of the tomb.

The question of inscribed lead plates is interesting for the chronology of the tomb. They are known from four Perusian tombs.¹⁵² The tomb of Uhtave Velchei near S. Costanzo (**638.-640.**) differs from the other three in that the plates were connected to ollas. The two other tombs are that of Trile and Petru (**581.-588.**), connected by kinship relations to the Acsi tomb (see above), and that of Vipi Vercna (**491.-511.**). L. Cenci-aioli, who has studied the practice of lead plates, concluded that they either recorded the deceased in early, plain urns without carved inscription, or gave a more complete or correct name form, when the space on the urn was too limited.¹⁵³ She held that the practice was used “in un determinato periodo, in una particolare bottega, per una specifica committenza.” We have seven or eight cases in the Acsi tomb, where the person on the lead plate is not known from the inscriptions carved on the urns. *laris acsiś veiliaś caiial clan* (**362.**) and *larθ acsiś veiliaś caiial clan* (**363.**) are brothers (for a mother candidate, see above), as are *arnθ acsiś theθureś clan* (**379.**) and *larθ acsiś theθureś clan* (**380.**), *larθ theθu[reś]* (**378.**) being possibly their father.¹⁵⁴ The other instances are *larθ acsi arnθial* (**375.**) and *arnθ acsiś viscial clan* (**369.**), and probably *] acsiś ca[* (**366.**). The urns to which these lead plates were attached cannot be identified among the uninscribed urns

¹⁵⁰ MAGGIANI 2009, 191, fig. 23, attributes the urn to “Imitatore del Maestro di Myrtilos”.

¹⁵¹ For these monuments, see CENCIAIOLI 2011, 24.

¹⁵² In addition, we have one instance in Latin from Bettona (**1603.**) and one of unknown provenance (**1283.**).

¹⁵³ CENCIAIOLI 2011, 26. See also MASSARELLI 2014, 234-37.

¹⁵⁴ Thethure seems to be a cognomen, see RIX 1963, 56-57.

from the Palazzone necropolis. The three instances where we have both the lead plate and the inscription on the urn are *arnθ acsis aneinal clan* (360.) with 361., *arnθ acsis larθal carnal clan* (364.) with 365., and *arnθ acsi arnθial palpe* (381a.) with 382.¹⁵⁵ The urn of 361. is lost. 365. has a simple flower relief, 382. a Medusa relief of good quality, with two corner flowers and two corner pateras.

The palaeography of all the lead plates¹⁵⁶ is quite similar, with the loop of full height in *R*, oval *theta* and many forwards slanting letters. They are not necessarily by the same hand, but clearly were produced in the same workshop and during a rather short period. The different writing material makes a comparison difficult, but I think that the lead plates could belong to the 4th quarter of the 3rd century or at the latest the 1st quarter of the 2nd century BCE. Among the tomb gifts, mainly known from Conestabile's drawings, there was, in addition to the above-mentioned graves, a moulded vase and a Volaterran *kelebe* from the late 4th century.¹⁵⁷ These valuable vases may have been heir-loom objects of the family, when they were placed in the tomb, and they do not necessarily date the tomb to the end of the 4th century.

The urns with lid sculptures (see above) may belong to the second generation (cf. 381. with parents of 383.). But since the women are not buried in the tomb and the selection of male praenomina is small,¹⁵⁸ no family tree can be built. In addition to the above-mentioned instances, we have two brothers in *ar. axsi anial* (358.) and *la. acsi anial* (359.). Altogether, eleven different gentilicia appear in the metronymics; seven men do not give the mother's name, or it is broken. This gives the impression that the burials do not belong to one, agnatic line, but that also cousins and second cousins were buried in the tomb. This makes it difficult to determine the date the last burials were made. There are no inscriptions with clearly late names or letter forms belonging to the 1st century BCE. I propose to date the inscriptions to the period from the 4th quarter of the 3rd century to the 4th quarter of the 2nd century BCE.

The practice of recording the names of the deceased is not fully uniform. The spelling of the gentilicium varies between the aspirated *axsi* (358., 368., 371. and 372.) and the common *acsi*. Earlier editors have read *asi* in 361., on the basis of Pauli's facsimile, but I have emended it to *acsi*, as this normal form looks more probable in the plaster cast of the Palazzo Murena. The gentilicium appears thirteen times in the ground form, twelve times in the genitive, always spelled correctly with *san*. The praenomen is abbreviated nine times, and written in full in thirteen inscriptions. Two cognomina appear, *palpe* (381., 382.) and *θeθure* (378., 379. and 380.). While *palpe* may have its origin in Lat. *Balbus*,¹⁵⁹ *θeθure* is encountered only in this tomb. Of the other name parts, the metronymic (eighteen instances) is clearly more common than the patronymic (eleven instances). The appellative *clan* is added eight times.

One problematic urn remains, 384. with the text *lautn* (and nothing else) on the upper edge of the chest, which has a flower inside the square as decoration. There is no reason to believe that the inscription is unfinished. With the letter *N* in the form typical of *grafia capitale*, the urn is probably not among the latest ones in the tomb. Maurizio Matteini Chiari thought that it could be meant for the ashes of the *familiares* of the family in common.¹⁶⁰ This would be a unique practice, but I cannot present any better interpretation.

¹⁵⁵ The lead plate includes the name of the wife (381b.). MASSARELLI 2014, 237, saw that the lead plate was added to the urn when the ashes of the wife were brought in to it.

¹⁵⁶ I have had autopsy of the eight preserved plates on 9.5.2019.

¹⁵⁷ See CENCIAIOLI 2011, 25, and fig. 18.

¹⁵⁸ There are 11 men called Arnth, five Larth, one Laris, Aule and Sethre.

¹⁵⁹ RIX 1963, 227.

¹⁶⁰ MATTEINI CHIARI in *SE* 44, 1971, 236, No. 35.

The numerous metronymics offer good insight into the marriage relations of the Acsi family: *anei* (360., 361.), *ani* (358., 359.), *cai* (362., 363.), *caprunti* (383.), *carna* (364., 365.), *cveθna* (367., 368.), *fatini* (374.), *larzna* (370.), *tretna* (371.), *trile* (372., 373.) and *visce* (369.). In addition to the above-mentioned instances of the women of the family, we meet the name *acsi* as a cognomen in 1239. and possibly in the gamonymic of 1081.

The tomb of Tite Petruni (403.-413., 1391.)

The tomb was discovered in 1843 in the necropolis of Palazzone. In a simple quadrangular tomb chamber, thirteen urns¹⁶¹ were placed, three on the rear wall, four on both side walls, and two in front of the rearmost urns. The urns were praised by Conestabile for their sculptures, colours and gildings. The tomb gifts included a bronze mirror and two *strigiles*.¹⁶² Two of the urns were uninscribed; these and two of the inscribed urns are lost (403. and 405.-406.). Four urns are exhibited in the *Antiquario* of the Tomb of Volumni, two in its *gradoni*, and three are preserved in the storehouse of Palazzone.

The first burials in a simple tomb chamber were usually placed on the rear wall. In the middle stood the lost urn of *aule titeś petruniś* (403.), to the left *aule titeś petruniś veluś t. etera* (404.) and to the right *ls. tite patrui ls. casprial* (407.). We cannot see the kinship relations of these three men. The praenomen Aule does not appear in the other persons of the tomb or in their patronymics. The chest of 404. has a skilful decorative relief of four peltae and four leaves in a flower-like setting, with four corner pateras.¹⁶³ The lid sculpture of Laris (407.) has a garland and a patera in the right hand. On the chest relief, the Battle between Greeks and Persians is sculpted.

It is possible that *ls. tite petrui ls. vesta(rcnal ?)* (412.), second from the rear on the right wall, is a son of 407. He, too, has a lid sculpture, with a *krateriskos* in the right hand, but much more carelessly sculpted than 407. On the chest, the hunt of the Calydonian boar is depicted. On the left wall, there was in the middle the urn of *ve. ti. petrui ve. aneinal spurinal clan* and *velia clanti arznal*, called *tuśurθi*, probably “spouses” (408.). The couple is presented in the lid sculpture. A *kline* with drapery is in the relief of the chest. A similar urn, with the couple in the lid sculpture and *kline* on the chest, was prepared for their son *la. tite petrui ve. clantial* and his wife *fasti capznei ve. tarχisa χvestnal* (410.). It was placed on the right side of the parents. Another son, *ls. tite petrui veluś clantial* (409.), equally with a lid sculpture, but with the mythological relief of the Sacrifice of Iphigenia on the chest, was placed on the left side of the parents. The couple of 410. had a son buried in the tomb, *ve. ti. petrui la. capznal* (411.). The urn was placed in front of that of the parents. It has a lid sculpture of the deceased with garland and a patera in the right hand. The theme of the chest relief is unclear. In the drawing of CONESTABILE 1870, Tav. 44,2, we have the Sacrifice of Iphigenia, but the rather similar chest that is now beneath the lid presents the Madness of Athamas.¹⁶⁴

One more lid sculpture is in the urn of *vl. ti. petru. hamφnal* (413.). Without the patronymic, we cannot determine the kinship relation, but its place in the tomb in front of 412. could indicate that Vel was a son of Laris. The plain urn with the Latin inscription *L. Petronius L.f. Noforsinia* (1391.)¹⁶⁵ was placed on

¹⁶¹ CENCIAIOLI 2011, 26, mentioned 12 urns, but the tomb plan in *CIE* knows 13 urns. She gave a more detailed description of the urns on pp. 26-28.

¹⁶² See CENCIAIOLI 2011, 26-27.

¹⁶³ I have not found a parallel in other urns, but the same idea is on the chest of 336., from the tomb of Vipi Upelsi 1.

¹⁶⁴ CENCIAIOLI 2011, 28.

¹⁶⁵ The traditional reading is *Noborsinia*, but my autopsy gave clear *Noforsinia*, from Etr. *nufzrna*. So also, *SI* 30, 164-65.

the right wall first from the rear, a strange place for what one would consider the last burial of the tomb. We cannot identify his parents in the tomb.

All these urns belonged to men or married couples – one cannot be certain whether the urns with lid sculptures of a couple contained the ashes of the wife or not. But one woman was certainly buried in the tomb, *fasti titia petis* (405. on the lid, 406. on the chest). Her probably plain urn was placed last on the left wall. The inscriptions were painted in black. The interpretation of the name is problematic. It is traditionally supplemented *pet(run)is*, with the family cognomen in the masculine genitive (after the feminine form of the gentilicium). This supplement is possible, but not certain, as H. Rix shows.¹⁶⁶ Rix's argument was that **peti* for a gamonymic *petis* is not encountered, but we have *peṭial* in 1034., and the reading of the lost inscriptions is so unclear that, e.g., *ṽetis* is quite possible.

We can agree with Conestabile that this is one of the high-class tombs of Perugia. Seven of the eleven inscribed urns had lid sculptures, two of them with married couples. The family Tite Petruni of this tomb was connected by marriage to the Perugian families of Caspre, Anei Spurina, Arzni, Clante, Chvestna, Capzna, Vestarcna (?), Hamphna and Nufrzna, many of whom belonged to the upper social class of the city. Probably all the Etruscan inscriptions record both the gentilicium Tite and the cognomen Petruni (for 405.-406., see above), often abbreviated, but the Latin 1391. omits *Titius* and uses *Petronius* as gentilicium. The name forms usually contain both the patronymic and the metronymic. Of the letter forms, we may observe that no loop of full height in *R* is encountered. Most inscriptions have the loop of two-thirds height; *R* with loop of half height appears in 409. and 412. The Latin *P* in 1391. has open loop.

The tomb provides at least three generations of the family. The last inscription is in Latin, probably carved after the Social War, but rather soon after it. I think that the burials may have started in the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century BCE, but as two of the rear wall urns are lost, the start could be earlier.

Since both the name Tite and Petruni are among the commonest at Perugia, it is difficult to identify members of the family outside the tomb – in the gamonymics and metronymics, either the gentilicium or the cognomen was used, seldom both. The only *tite petruni* we can find is Laris in 1236. While the urns of the tomb were of high quality, the fate of the chest of this distant (?) relative was different: it was found in a farm “ora impegnata ad un vilissimo uso”.¹⁶⁷

Tomb of *lautni* (414.-419.)

This tomb was discovered in 1843 near the Villa Palazzone. None of the six urns has been preserved, but plaster casts of three inscriptions can be found in the Palazzo Murena. Probably all deceased were of unfree birth. *arnziu slaiṭeś latni* (414.) was married to *ṭana arzn(iu)ś puia* (415.)¹⁶⁸, and their son is *arnza arnzius slaiṭeś* (416.). The name *slaiṭe* is not known elsewhere (cf. *silaiṭeś* 1001.), but it must belong to the patron, probably that of all three persons. None of them bears a gentilicium.

la. veluś tinś lautni (417.) belonged to another family. His patron was *vel tinś*.¹⁶⁹ His wife was probably *larṭi vipi la. tinś* (418.). This woman may have been freeborn. I interpret *la. tinś* as gamonymic, where the husband uses the gentilicium of his patron. *la.* can also be patronymic. The third possibility, *la(utniṭa)* is

¹⁶⁶ RIX 1963, 81.

¹⁶⁷ VERMIGLIOLI 1804, 193.

¹⁶⁸ This reading *arznś* is clear in the plaster cast – it is hard to know, how the carver has shaped it. *ar(n)zius* of CIE 3886 and ET is not possible.

¹⁶⁹ The masculine genitive *tinś* also appears in 664. and the gentilicium may be indeclinable; see below, p. 158.

less probable. The name of the sixth person of the tomb is read as *au. lt. larθi. vels.* (419.). If this is correct, he was a *lautni* of Larth Velsna or Larthi Velsnei.¹⁷⁰

Not much more can be said about this lost tomb and its lost urns. The inscription copies date it to the 2nd century BCE. Evidently, *lautni* families were willing to share a chamber tomb.¹⁷¹

The tomb of Anani 1 (420.-423.) and 2 (424.-434.)

Tomb 1 was discovered in 1843, Tomb 2 five years later, both in the necropolis of Palazzone. I have no record about their distance from each other. Of the fifteen urns twelve have been preserved, nine in the *gradoni*, one in the *Antiquario* of the Tomb of Volumni and two in the storehouse of Palazzone.

In Tomb 1, three women, all called Fasti, and the husband of one of them were buried. Tomb 2 had eleven urns, all of men and members of the Anani family, but one wife is recorded with her husband in 433. It looks as if the family had one tomb for men, and second for the wives, but the situation is more complicated. The first tomb has evidently a married couple *fasti laxumni ananis* (421.) and *ar. anani ar. aθnu* (420.). *fasti lx. cemuriś puia* (422.)¹⁷² is not a wife of the Anani family, but probably a kinswoman of 421. The same praenomen means that she was not a sister but, for instance, an aunt or a brother's daughter. The third Fasti, *fasti asi saxus* (423.), seems to have no connection at all with the other persons. I have no theory about the composition of these burials.

In any case, a son of the married couple, *la. anani ar. laxumneal* (426.) is buried in Tomb 2. There was also the urn of *ar. anani la. aθnu* (425.), probably the grandfather of 426. His lid with the inscription is plain, as are those of his son, grandson, and daughter-in-law. But his chest (if belonging together with the lid) has in relief the well-known image of a player of the traverse flute.

Three pairs of brothers can be found in Tomb 2: *la. anani la. caial cnarial* (428.) and *au. anani la. cnarial* (429.); *la. an(a)ni la. petvial* (431.) and *ar. anani la. caial petvial* (430.); *la. anani la. veanial* (434.) and *au. anani veanial* (433.). On the lid of the last-mentioned Aule, the name of his wife *fasti vetesi* was also carved.¹⁷³ There is some space between the names, but I believe that they are executed by the same hand. The relief of a banqueting couple on the urn is further evidence that the urn was intended for husband and wife. Although there is no proof that the ashes of Fasti were really buried in the tomb, the tradition of purely men's tomb was weakened – as was that of purely women's tomb in Tomb 1.

The urns of the Anani tombs are either plain or with decorative reliefs. There are no lid sculptures nor mythological reliefs. With one exception (425.), all the men in Tomb 2 bear the metronymic. In addition to those already mentioned, the mothers include *capznal* (424.), *caial* (427.) and *petacial* (432.). Most men have the patronymic, only three lack it (424., 432. and 433.). The family used three male praenomina, Arnth, Larth and Aule, always in abbreviated forms. This, and the lack of urns of the wives, make the building of a family tree impossible. We cannot know, to how many generations the deceased belonged. I would date the inscriptions to the period from the 2nd quarter to the 4th quarter of the 2nd century BCE.

¹⁷⁰ *ET*² supplements *vel(t)s(naś)*. That name appears five times at Perugia, against three instances of *velsna*, which is not sufficient for the supplemented *T*.

¹⁷¹ For the phenomenon, see NIELSEN 1989b, 86, Table 6.

¹⁷² I think that *cemuri* is a better reading than *camuri* of the earlier editors. Both names are hapax.

¹⁷³ *vetesi* could be the pertinentive of *vete*, but I prefer the nominative, although *vetesi* is hapax. Parallel formations are, e.g., *navesi* (446.); *peteśi* (1079.) – *petisi* (1078.).

Outside the tombs, we find members of the family only twice, a Fasti Ananei in **904.** and the mother of Larth Petru in **1140.**

The tomb of Tite Marcna (465.-473.)

Not much can be said about this tomb, discovered in 1844 near the Villa Palazzone. Of the nine urns, three are preserved in the *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni, one is in private possession, but five have disappeared. Of the preserved urns, three have pelta reliefs on the lid tympanum, and one is plain. Five urns belong to men of the family, four to wives married to it, but no marriages between these persons can be confirmed.

Of the men, one only bears the patronymic, *au. tite marcna veluś* (**466.**). He could be the son of *vel tite marcnaś* (**465.**), but the letter forms of **466.** – best visible in the plaster cast of the Palazzo Murena – have some early features (especially *E, M*). Two metronymics appear. *au. tite marcna caial* (**467.**)¹⁷⁴ is probably the son of *larθi cai spitiui titieś* (**468.**).¹⁷⁵ The mother of *au. ti. marcna patl[nial]* (**469.**) may be in **470.**, for which the problematic copy gives *fasti atvli marcnaś*; the urn is lost. My suggestion for the gentilicium is *[p]atełni. fasti ti(ti) marχnei arzni(ś) patlneal śec*, buried in the fine urn **1245.** of unknown provenance, would thus be daughter of Fasti, sister of Aule. The two other wives are *curanei titieś* (**471.**) and *fasti velcznei marχnaś* (**472.**). The gamonymic is written in four different ways, *titieś*, *marcnaś*, and *marχnaś*. The aspirated form of the cognomen also appears in **467.**

In the palaeography of the inscriptions, there seem to be early features, which could date the tomb to the 4th quarter of the 3rd century and the two first quarters of the 2nd century, but with more than one half of the urns lost, this remains quite uncertain.

Families linked by marriage with the tomb were *cai spitu* (**467.**, **468.**), *patl[ni]* (**469.**, **470.**), *curana* (**471.**) and *velczna* (**472.**). In addition to the above-mentioned Fasti (**1245.**), members of the family are in **1231.** and **1248.**, both of unknown provenance.

The tomb of Veli (479.-483.)

This tomb, discovered in 1846 near the Villa Palazzone, contained six urns, one of them uninscribed, and one clay olla without inscription. We have a tomb plan. Only one of the urns (**482.**) is preserved in the *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni. Three plaster casts can be found in the Palazzo Murena.

All the urns were plain, and it may well be that the family had its origin in the freedman *velu aniś lautni* (**482.**). If this is correct, the gentilicium of the family, as such common at Perugia, was derived from the slave name *velu*, which comes from the praenomen *vel*.¹⁷⁶ On the left side of Velu's urn on the rear bench was *aule velieś* (**479.**), and on the right side *larθi velia* (**480.**). On the right bench was the urn of *fasti titlia* (**483.**), and on the right bench, somewhat remoted, that of *larce veli sentinatia* (**481.**). Without patronymics and gamonymics, their kinship relation to the deceased of the rear bench can only be guessed at.

Etruskische Texte dates these inscriptions to the 1st century BCE. This is possible, but we must observe that the only *R* in a reliable copy, that in the name of Larthi (**480.**), has full-height loop. The dating of lost inscriptions on plain urns is always uncertain.

¹⁷⁴ Earlier editors read *titi*, but side bars of *E* are partly visible.

¹⁷⁵ Earlier editors have read *pitiui*, but there are clear traces of an *S* before it.

¹⁷⁶ Rix 1963, 364.

The tomb of Vipi Vercna (491.-511.)

This large tomb was discovered in 1852 near the Villa Palazzone. It is one of the three Perusian tombs where the practice of lead plates was in use. The total number of urns was eighteen, eight of which had the epitaph on the lead plate, two also on the urn (494. and 501.). Only one lead plate has been preserved, as far as I know, 507. in the *Antiquario* of the Tomb of Volumni, but photographs of four others were published by Edoardo Galli.¹⁷⁷ Most of the urns have disappeared. In addition to the urn belonging to 507. in the *Antiquario*, five can be seen in the *gradoni* and one (511.) in the storehouse of Palazzone.

We have a tomb plan, so we start by looking for the first burials from the rear bench. In the middle, there were three urns, all with lead plates, one also with the urn inscription. The central urn was that of *au. vipiś se. vatinial clan* (506.). *larθ vipiś vercna setreś* (497.) on his left side, and *arnθ vipiś vercnaś* (lead plate 495.) – *arnθ vipi vercnaś* (chest 494.) on his right side may be his brothers. I assume that these are the tomb founders. Their sister *larθi vipi puia titeś satnaś vatinial śec* (507.) had her urn first on the left bench, and their mother *fasti vatini* [- ? -] (508.)¹⁷⁸ comes next on the left bench. Only two of these urns have been preserved; that with 494. has a decorative relief with flowers between two opposed peltae on the chest, and the urn of 507. is plain.

In the corners of the rear bench, we have *fasti aneinei* (511.) to the left, *θana atei vercnaś musenial* (500.) to the right. I dare to assume that they are wives of two of the brothers. Both have chests with reliefs. While that of Fasti is a simple one with a double-petal flower inside a square, Thana has a fine relief with a harp-player riding on a hippocamp. Aneinei does not appear among the metronymics of the tomb, but Thana Atei had a son, *la. vi. vercna atial* (498.) and a daughter *larθi vipi vercnei atial* (499.). Without the patronymic, we cannot know which of the brothers was the father and the husband of Atei. The urn of Larth was placed third on the left bench, and that of Larthi on the floor in front of the urn of her brother. Fourth on the left bench was the urn of *au. vi. vercn[a - ? -]*, with this mutilated inscription painted in black both on the lid (491.) and on the chest (492.). He may or may not have been one more son of Atei.

The only urn with lid sculpture belongs to *la. vi. vercna calisnial clan* (502. on the lead plate) – *la. vi. vercna vipiś ve. calisnal* (501. on the lid). I assume that *ve.* in the patronymic after the gentilicium comes from the cognomen, *ve(rcnaś)*, and not from the father's praenomen, *ve(luś)*, which would be strangely placed after his gentilicium. In addition, no suitable Vel is found in the inscriptions. *ve. vipi vercna ve.* (496.) is palaeographically younger, a brother rather than the father of Larth. The urn of Larth is last on the right bench, and that of Vel on the floor in front of it. Hence, we cannot identify the father, but the urn of the mother *larθ[i] calisnei* (504.) was placed on the floor in front of the rear bench. *seθre vipiś vercnaś calisnal* (503.) is one more son of Larthi and brother of Larth. The urn was placed second on the right bench.

The other deceased of the tomb cannot be located in the family relations. *au. vipi vercnaś* (493.) had his urn first on the right bench. He may have been the eldest son of the tomb founder Aule (506.), but, without the patronymic, this remains uncertain. Close to his urn, on the floor row, was the urn of *au. vi. vercna ceisial* (505.), but the patronymic is once again missing, and the mother is not among the burials. Two wives married to the family have their urns on the rear floor row. *larθi caia fuluni vercnaś* (509.), and *fasti scatia* (510.)¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁷ GALLI 1921, 158.

¹⁷⁸ The supplement *vatini[a* of *ET*² is unnecessary.

¹⁷⁹ I prefer this reading to the *scapia* of the earlier editors.

Starting with Fasti Vatini (508.), we have, I believe, at least three generations buried in the tomb. Two of the eight women are daughters (499. and 507.), the other six are wives of the family. Larthi's husband Tite Satna (507.) is not buried in the tomb. Larthi and her brother Aule (506.) are the only members of the family not using the cognomen Vercna. The gentilicium Vipi is omitted only in two gamonymics (500. and 509.), but it is abbreviated as *vi.* six times. All women bear the unabbreviated praenomen. The praenomen of men is abbreviated nine times, and written in full four times. The genitive forms *vipiś* and *vercnaś* are common (five and four instances).

The dating of the tomb is not simple. The practice of epitaphs on lead plates makes it different from other tombs, and few urns have been preserved. Especially on the lead plates, full-height loop of *R* is prevailing, and some other early letter forms (e.g., in *N*) appear. My best estimate is from the 4th quarter of the 3rd century to the 3rd quarter of the 2nd cent. BCE.

The metronymics and gamonymics connect Vipi Vercna to the following families: *anei* (511.), *atei* (498., 499., 500.), *calisna* (501., 502., 503., 504.), *ceisi* (505.), *fuluni* (509.), *scatia* (510.), *tite satna* (507.) and *vatini* (507., 508.). Outside the tomb, the name *vercna* is encountered in 534., 610. and 636., but since the gentilicium *vipi* is missing, we cannot be certain about the connection to the family.

The tomb of Faru (519.-524.)

The tomb of the family (Anei) Faru was located near the Villa Palazzone. It had six urns, in two series: two of Anei Faru with mythological reliefs, and four modest plain urns of Faru. These are practically the only appearances of the name Faru.¹⁸⁰ Usually, one would think that the gentilicium *anei* was omitted in four epitaphs, but the qualitative differences in the monuments may indicate other reasons, for instance, adoption to the Anei family, leaving the old gentilicium as cognomen. Both Anei Faru urns and two of the Faru urns are preserved in the *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni.

The Anei urns have the names *la. anei faru* (519.), with a good Medusa relief and four corner flowers on the chest, and *fasti aneinei farui* (520.), with a flower between two peltae on the lid, and a female demon riding on a sea monster on the chest relief (according to Conestabile's drawing Tav. 17.1). Larth and Fasti were probably sisters.

Of the four Farus, I think that the eldest was *larthi veti uari au. faruś puia* (524.), in spite of the obsolete spelling *uari*, which might also point to Latin interference. Her son was *ls. faru ls. vetial* (523.), probably married to *fasti ſerturi faruś* (522.), and her son was *ls. faru ſerturial* (521.). There would be three generations, with the form of the letter *R* developing from that with loop of almost full height in 524. to that with loop of half height in 521. One could imagine that this development happened from the 2nd to 4th quarter of the 2nd century BCE.

The tomb of Casni 1 (532.-549.) and 2 (550.-557.)

The two tombs of the family Casni¹⁸¹ near the Villa Palazzone provided at least twenty-five urns (with twenty-six inscriptions), but only eight of them have been preserved. Of the others, there are some plaster casts in the Palazzo Murena, but other information about the tombs is minimal. Hence, the conclusions remain sparse.

¹⁸⁰ One instance is known from Clusium, *ET*² Cl 1.2645.

¹⁸¹ For the decoration of the tomb, see BERICHILLO 2004, 227.

In Tomb 1, nine men and nine women were buried. Tomb 2 contained the ashes of five men and three women. Of the women, two were daughters of the family, *larθi casni vercnas* (534.), and *fa. casnia au. vipial* (543.). In the urn of Fasti, the epitaph of *trisinei tucuntines* (544.) was also carved. In this case, it seems probable that ashes of two women were really put in the same urn, as Trisinei may have been the sister-in-law of Fasti's sister-in-law *tucun[inei] casnis* (545.). This complicated relationship reflects the composition of Tomb 1. Different people with unclear kinship relation to the Casnis found there their grave place.¹⁸² One family nucleus can be found around the finest preserved urn, that of *au. casni ar. caial* (537.) with lid sculpture and chest relief of the Death of Troilos. His mother *caia casniz* (539.) has likewise a mythological relief on the chest, the Fight between griffins and Arimasps. The urn of the other son, *seθre casni caial* (538.), is lost. *fasti cai leθes* (540.) could possibly be the sister of Caia. She then brought to the tomb her husband *larθ leθes seθres* (541.), with a sea monster relief on the chest, and possibly their son (or a relative of Larth) *au. leθe la. + + + +* (542.).¹⁸³

Another link with the Lethe family comes through *aule petrus casnis puia leθi* (546.). From where does the new gentilicium Petru come? An uncertain guess is that the family of the mother-in-law adopted this Casni. In a lost urn 856., we have the name *petrui [l]eθes*, which could belong to the mother of Aule's wife Lethi. In any case, another Petru is found in the tomb, *θana petrui afles* (547. in the storehouse of Palazzone, on a lid with a flower between two peltae). *afles* could here be a cognomen in the masculine genitive rather than a gamonymic, since we have *arnθ petrus aufles* in 603. Here, *aufles* can also be patronymic, not cognomen (there are no other instances of *petru* with cognomen).

The other metronymics of the Casnis in Tomb 1 are *cauthial* (533.) and *acesial* (535.), and the other women, possibly wives of Casnis, but without gamonymics, are *θana veti* (536.) and *fasti aun[i/ei]* (549.). The connection of *larθ atnei* (548.) with the family is unclear.

Tomb 2 had the urns of five men of the Casni family and three women, two of whom were married into the family. Only one urn has been preserved, that of *veilia auclinei* (555.) with a relief of lion protome with a ring in mouth on the chest.¹⁸⁴ Veilia must be a sister of *laθi aclinei casni[š]* (552.), mother of *ar. casni ar. auclina(l). clan* (553.) and probably the wife of *ar. casni aules* (551.).¹⁸⁵ His father may be *au. casni* (550.). *seθre casni arηθa[l]* (554.)¹⁸⁶ may be the son of 551. or 553., or possibly of *ar. casni la. tatnia* (556.).¹⁸⁷ We cannot know the husband of *larθi setumi casni[š]* (557.).

No link between the two Casni tombs can be established. For dating the tombs, too few urns have been preserved, different generations cannot be separated, and no tomb plan is available. In some of the preserved urns, early letter forms can be seen, especially in the epitaph of Thana Vetii (536.), almost in *grafia corsivizzante*.¹⁸⁸ It is possible that the first burials are from the 4th quarter of the 3rd cent., but the conclusions are uncertain.

The family Casni appears outside these tombs only in the tomb of Achu, where Larthi Casni was married to Achu (296., 297.). Marriage links are found with the families of *acesi* (535.), *auclina* (552., 553.,

¹⁸² For constellation of collateral kinship patterns and cognates in tombs, see NIELSEN 1989b, 85, table 6.

¹⁸³ The best of the bad copies is in gypsum on the wall of the Palazzo Murena, and even that is quite unclear. The metronymic *a[n]ca[r]i[al]* suggested in *ET*² is scarcely possible, but for *caial*, there should be one more letter after *la*.

¹⁸⁴ Possibly imitating a doorknob of bronze. In three other chest reliefs with lion protome, 601., 1310. and 1320., the beast has a poniard in its mouth.

¹⁸⁵ The copies of this lost inscription rather give *M* as the last visible letter. Hence, *au. lem*[] is an alternative reading.

¹⁸⁶ *ET*² suggests *[l]arθia[l]* from *arīθa* of the copy.

¹⁸⁷ My suggestion based on the unpainted lines in Conestabile's plaster cast. *ET*²: *ar. casni [v]l. amnia[l]*.

¹⁸⁸ The *E* in 555. has also the forward slanting form.

555.), *auna* (549.I, *cai* (537., 538., 539.), *cauθi* (533.), *leθe* (546.), *petru* (546., 547.), *seturni* (557.), *tatni* (556.), *tucuntine* (545.), *vercna* (534.), *veti* (536.), *vipi* (543.).

Tomb of Vipi Vari (562.-567.)

The tomb was discovered in 1844 near the tomb of Volumni. It had six urns, three of which are preserved in the *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni. The plaster casts of the other three can be seen in the Palazzo Murena. In 565., the inscription was carved on the two oblique lists of the tympanum, which has a palmette between two leaves. *θana velti larθial vipiś varniś* (565.) was C. Pauli's uncertain reading; today, the letters are so faintly visible that I cannot confirm it. *varni*, if correct, could be an early variant of *vari*, Lat. *Varius*. H. Rix interpreted *larθial* as a part of the gamonymic,¹⁸⁹ but it can equally well be the patronymic. Thana had a son in the tomb, *ar. variś la. veltia(l)* (564.),¹⁹⁰ where the gentilicium was omitted. Velti's husband was either *la. vipi vari* (562.) or *la. vipi vari la.* (563.). *θana vipiś alfaś veteś* (566.), with the cognomen omitted, may have been a daughter of the family. That would explain her presence in the tomb. However, the name form is better understandable if *alfaś* was her cognomen and not part of the gamonymic. She would then be a member of the family of Vipi Alfa (318.-321.).¹⁹¹ Her urn has a fine Medusa relief. *larθi velśunia* (567.) was possibly the wife of Larth (562.).

One can discern three generations in the tomb; grandfather Larth (562.) – father Larth (563., with his wife Thana Velti, 565.) – son Arnth (564.). The letter forms, especially the loop size of *R*, may indicate that 562. and 563. are younger rather than older than 564. (and 567.), but since we only have plaster casts, the evidence remains vague. We are in the 2nd century BCE, that is the best one can say about the date of the tomb.

The tomb of Lecetis (568.-573.)

The six urns of this tomb, discovered near the tomb of Volumni, were once in the house of Rossi-Scotti, but only one lid in private possession and the plaster casts of the Palazzo Murena have been preserved. The urns were modest, “sine sculpturis” (*CII* 1215), but 572., if correctly identified from the photograph of Marcello Barbanera,¹⁹² has a rough lid sculpture. The gentilicium *lecetis* is not encountered outside this tomb, and with the masculine genitive *lecetisal*, it is not a typical Etruscan formation. I believe that it was formed from the slave name *lecusti*¹⁹³, the name of the freedman *lecusti caspres latni* (573.) buried in the tomb. If this is correct, he would be the tomb founder. He was probably married to *larθi leunei la. satn[a]l* (571.), who belonged on both the father's and the mother's side to well-known Perusian families. Their son was *ar. lecetis leunial* (570.), the first bearer of the new gentilicium, and without the patronymic, because the father was a *lautni*. Arnth was married to *veilia atnei lecetisal* (569.), and their son, *la. lecetis ar. atnial* (568.) probably married *θana felani lecetisal* (572.).¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ RIX 1963, 72.

¹⁹⁰ Other editors read the patronymic as *lai.*, but the *I* is, in my opinion, one of the many extra lines on the uneven surface.

¹⁹¹ The tomb of Vipi Alfa contained the urns of four men and one woman. Hence, it was not a purely men's tomb, which would better explain Thana's burial in another tomb.

¹⁹² BARBANERA 1990, Fig. 16.

¹⁹³ Probably from the ethnic *Ligustinus*, see RIX 1963, 312. It could also be of Greek origin, from the stem *leuk-* or *lyk-*. For instance, *Leucates* could give a reason to transform *lecusti* to *lecitis*.

¹⁹⁴ Her gentilicium is read by earlier editors as *veiani*, but in the plaster cast *felani* is clear.

We have here three couples from three generations of a family of unfree origin. The tomb offers a good instance of the social development at Perugia. Freedmen of the Caspre family are known from other epitaphs, all with the same name form: [*a*]tunes caspres latni (979.), velθur caspres lautni (980.), both with finely decorated urns, now in the *Lapidario* of the MANU.¹⁹⁵ Our Lecusti married a daughter of Leuna and Satnei, and their son a daughter of Atnei. Contacts between these two families are demonstrated by *fasti leunei se. atneis* (1100.). Although the urns of the Lecetis tomb are lost, I would fairly safely date it to the period from the 3rd quarter of the 2nd to the 1st quarter of the 1st century BCE.

The tomb of Petru and Trile (581.-589.)

This tomb, close to the Villa Palazzone, is the third in this necropolis providing lead plates with the name of the deceased. Five women and one man were buried there. In fact, the urns were only five, since *larθi petruī luesnaś* (589.) was recorded only on a cippus, and her progeny is not found among the deceased.¹⁹⁶ In addition to this cippus, two urns are preserved in the *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni. All the lead plates and three of the urns are lost, as far as I know.

Larθi of the cippus was Petruī, as were three of the other women of the tomb. One of them, *petruī trileś* (583. with the lead plate 584.) was married to a Trile. Her urn has on the lid the typical flower between two peltae, and on the chest the mythological relief of Scylla with the oar.¹⁹⁷ The husband was not buried in the tomb. In that sense, this was a women's tomb, with the exception of her son, *larθ trile larisal petruī clan* (581. with the lead plate 582.). One possible explanation is that he died young, before founding a family of his own. *larθi trili acsiś* (588.) must be his sister. Her fine urn has a lid sculpture and on the chest relief the Death of Myrtilos. Adriano Maggiani attributes it to the "Imitatore del Maestro di Myrtilus" and dates it to the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century BCE.¹⁹⁸ Her two sons are not buried in this tomb, but in that of her husband, the tomb of Acsi (372. and 373.; see above). Two other women had their urns in the tomb, *θana petruī ateiś* (585. with the lead plate 586.), and *petru[i] θurm[nas]*¹⁹⁹ (587.). As their mother is not buried in the tomb, they may be sisters rather than nieces of 583.

However, I do not believe that Larθi Petruī of the cippus (589.) would be one more sister. The letter forms are quite early, with full-height-loop *R* and *theta* with a dot in the centre. As her urn is missing, the cippus may have been brought from some other tomb to honour a remarkable lady of the family. It seems that the urns belong to two generations and are from the 1st and 2nd quarters of the 2nd century BCE.

Petru is one of the common gentilicia of Perugia, but members of the Trile family are encountered outside this tomb (and the two sons of 588. in the tomb of Acsi) only once, in the husband of Vetī (115.) in the small tomb of Vetī Afle. Marriage links of the tomb of Petru and Trile include the families of *acsi* (588.), *atei* (585., 586.), *luesna* (589.) and *θurmna* (587.).

¹⁹⁵ *Lapidario* 2004, 27, No. 36, and 54, No. 195.

¹⁹⁶ Pauli in *CIE* 4047 considered that 1144. is her son, but the reading]*luesne larisal petruī* [cannot be confirmed. *ET*²:]---*ne lariśal petruī* ç[. I was able to read the metronymic, but not much more.

¹⁹⁷ In this case, the belonging together of the lid and the chest is confirmed by the fact that the head of the oar breaks the inscription on the lid.

¹⁹⁸ MAGGIANI 2011, 191.

¹⁹⁹ *ET*²: *petru θurm[nas]*.

Tomb of Cacni 1 (617.-621.)

We now leave the necropolis of Palazzone.²⁰⁰ The tomb of Cacni was excavated by monks of the Benedictine Monastery in 1843 close to S. Pietro, in the necropolis of Frontone. It probably included five urns, one of which is lost (620.), three in the *Lapidario* of the MANU, and one (619.) in the storehouse of Palazzone.²⁰¹

The spouses *au. cacni ar. axual* (617.) and *larθi hamφnei cacniś cacnial* (618.) both had urns with lid sculptures. The chest of Aule has a relief of Centauromachy. The chest of Larthi is lost. We observe that the mother of Larthi was also Cacni, so we probably have a cousin marriage. Their daughter was *cacnei calisnaś hamφnal* (619.), with plain lid and chest, and her daughter *lθi. calisnei perpratez* (620.). The son of Larthi *ls. cai perprathe calisnal* (621.) represented the fourth generation of the tomb. He had a plain lid, with Medusa between two columns on the chest.

The families linked by marriage to the family Cacni buried in this tomb, Hamphna, Perprate and Calisna, are all well-known Perusian families,²⁰² but no other liaisons between them can be found in the epitaphs of Perugia. This was not purely women's tomb, but only one husband of the three women found a place in the tomb. The lid sculpture of Aule is dated by Nati to the 2nd half of the 2nd century BCE, and the Medusa relief of Laris to the first decades of the 1st century BCE. However, four generations require more than one hundred years. I would not date Aule's urn much earlier, at most to the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century. This means that Laris' urn must be from the period after the Social War, probably from the 2nd quarter of the 1st century BCE. This family strongly persisted in the use of Etruscan.

The tomb of Cacni 2 (1425.-1441.)

This tomb was discovered and illegally emptied in 2003 at Elce, just outside the city wall. The urns and tomb gifts were saved by an operation of the *carabinieri* in 2013. The recent edition of Gabriele Cifani and the articles of E. Benelli and R. Massarelli²⁰³ entitle me to confine myself into concluding remarks. G. Cifani dated most of the inscriptions, and E. Benelli reconstructed a family tree.

The tomb consisted of one chamber, and in it were placed one sarcophagus and twenty-two urns, seventeen of them with legible inscriptions. No tomb plan is available. The tomb was not a purely men's tomb, but there is only one urn of a woman (1428.) and one urn for a married couple (1427.). They belonged to the third generation of the tomb. Before and after them, only men were buried (or the women received uninscribed urns). The oldest urn seems to be that of *arnθ cacniθ* [. . .] (1425.),²⁰⁴ dated to the mid-3rd cent. This urn has a lid sculpture of good quality. The inscription is on the stucco-covered urn above a square, in which there may once have been painted decoration or text. If this Arnth (I call him Arnth I) presents the first generation of the tomb (or second after the deceased in the uninscribed sarcophagus), the level of the funerary monuments decreases in the next generation, to which *arnθ cacniś arnθial atranial* (1426., Arnth

²⁰⁰ In that necropolis, a small tomb with three urns (453.-455.) offers the name *cacni*, but it was apparently the cognomen of the Anei Cacni family.

²⁰¹ For a detailed description of the urns, see NATI 2008, 132-34. CIE 3400 and BENELLI 2015a, 179, n. 13, believe that 707. *fas. atnei ar. veianial* came from this tomb. There are no common names.

²⁰² See BENELLI 2015a, 179-180.

²⁰³ CIFANI 2015, 125-76; BENELLI 2015a, 177-98; MASSARELLI 2019. 79-82.

²⁰⁴ I can discern the right lower part of a *san*, not observed by editors, before the break. They have not noticed that the name was probably first painted, with a black *A* on the right side of the carved inscription, and *R*, *N* and *theta* beneath it.

II), probably a son of Arnth I, seems to belong. His urn is plain, but the inscription is finely carved (except for the careless line division in *a|rnθial*).

A son of this Arnth may be *ar. cacni ar. atusnal* (1427., Arnth III)²⁰⁵, who was buried together with *θana aneinei tuśnui*. The lid has a sculpture of the married couple, and the chest a decoration with two flowers. *aneinei tuśnusa atiuc* (1428.),²⁰⁶ carved on the lower edge of a chest with relief depicting Nereid on a sea monster, is problematic. E. Benelli thoroughly pondered the alternatives, and finally preferred to see her as a sister of Thana, with *tuśnusa* as cognomen.²⁰⁷ Hence, Arnth III had brought to this otherwise exclusively men's tomb not only the ashes of his wife, but also those of his sister-in-law and mother-in-law (*atiuc*). *au. cacni ar. aneinal* (1431.) was a son of the married couple. He has a lid sculpture, and on the chest a relief of Centauromachy and a separate frieze with Eteocles and Polyneices. With good reason, E. Benelli assumed that the Arnth of the finest urn in the tomb, but with mutilated inscription (1430., Arnth IV), was the eldest son of the married couple.²⁰⁸ His urn has a high relief attributed to the "Master of Oinomaos", dated to ca. 210-190 BCE.²⁰⁹ But then we have problems with the brothers *larθ cacniś arnθial anial* (1429.) and *laris cacni arnθial anial clan* (1432.). E. Benelli suggested that they were sons of Arnth in the Oinomaos urn, i.e., members of the sixth generation of the tomb.²¹⁰ That is, however, not possible because the letter forms of 1429. are clearly earlier than those on the urns of the sons of Aneinei.²¹¹ We have two alternatives. All four brothers – NB, with different praenomina – may have had the same mother, but the metronymic was for some reason written twice as *anial*, twice as *aneinal*.²¹² However, it is more probable that either Arnth I (1425.) was married, before or after Atrani, to an Ani, or that Arnth II (1426.) was married, before or after Atusnei, to an Ani, or else that Arnth III (1427.) was, before Aneinei, married to an Ani. In any case, I would reduce one generation from the estimate of E. Benelli.

In the next generation, we have one son of Arnth, *ls. cacni ar. vipial* (1434.), with a lid sculpture with bare upper body, and the Sacrifice of Iphigenia on the chest relief. The father was probably Arnth IV buried in the Oinomaos urn (1430.). But I cannot choose the correct fathers for the sons of Laris. *laris cacni larisal caial* (1433.) has a flower between peltae on the lid, the Sacrifice of Iphigenia on the chest. This could point to 1434. as the father, but the same theme is also found on the urn of *laris cacni herinal* (1436.)²¹³, brother of *arnθ cacni larisal herinal* (1435.)²¹⁴, with Arimasps fighting a griffin in the chest relief. We can assume that Caia and Herinei were the wives of 1432. and 1434., without knowing precisely to whom each was married. The same problem continues in the following generation, where we have two sons of Laris and Cutui, *ar. cacni ls cutual* (1437.)²¹⁵, with a banquet relief on the lid, Scylla on the chest, and *laris cacni cutual* (1438.), with a lid sculpture (clothed upper body) and a griffin on the chest, and a son of Laris and Reziui, *ls. cacni*

²⁰⁵ *R* in the patronymic is in square brackets in the editions, but rather clearly visible on the stone.

²⁰⁶ I wonder whether there was a praenomen or not. A hole in the surface before *aneinei* could hide one letter. But if the hole was on the stone before the inscription, the tiny letters *lθ* visible above the hole could give the praenomen, possibly added afterwards.

²⁰⁷ BENELLI 2015a, 183-188.

²⁰⁸ Only *ar[* is visible. But under it, two letters can be seen, possibly *ne[*. The inscription may have been, e.g., *ar[nθ cacni arnθial a]ne[inal]*.

²⁰⁹ BENELLI 2015a, 181; CIFANI 2015, 134.

²¹⁰ BENELLI 2015a, 181.

²¹¹ MASSARELLI 2019, 81-82.

²¹² In the tomb of Acsi, both *anial*, *aneinal* and *anial* occur as metronymics (358.-361.), but as there are several Arnths among the sons, they cannot be brothers.

²¹³ The two first letters of the metronymic are in square brackets by the editor, but a sufficient part of them is visible on the stone.

²¹⁴ The editor saw *cac[n]+*, but both *N* and *I* are partly visible.

²¹⁵ The editor: *+r*, but part of both *A* and *R* are visible.

ls. rezual (1440.)²¹⁶, with an ox head relief on the chest. *ar. cacni ar. hustnal* (1439.)²¹⁷, with Medusa on the chest, could be the son of 1435. *vl. cacni pre[s]enti[al]* (1441.)²¹⁸ does not reveal the father.

The composition of the tomb is strange, in that in the three first generations (or four with the sarcophagus), no brothers seem to be buried in it, only a series of Arnths. It is possible that the tomb was first built by Arnth III and his wife Aneinei (1427.), and that Arnth brought to it the ashes of his father and grandfather (and the sarcophagus of the great-grandfather). After Arnth III, three or possibly four generations were buried in the tomb. If the urn of Arnth III and Aneinei is from the 4th quarter of the 3rd century BCE., I would date of the next generation, 1429. to the same quarter, and 1430., 1431. and 1432. to the 1st quarter of the 2nd century. In the following generation, 1433., 1435. and 1436. can be dated to the 2nd and 3rd quarters, and of the following generation 1438., 1439. and 1440. to the 4th quarter of the 2nd century BCE. It is not impossible that some urns (1441.?) come from the 1st quarter of the 1st century BCE. My datings do not much differ from those of Cifani in the *editio princeps*.

No connection between the tomb of Cacni 1 of Frontone and the tomb of Cacni 2 of Elce is discernible. That of Elce is older, but both may have been open until the 1st century BCE. The Cacni family of Tomb 2 had marriage contacts with the following families: *anei (tuśnu)* (1427., 1428., 1431.), *ani* (1429., 1432.), *atrane* (1436.), *atusnei* (1427.), *cai* (1433.), *curuna* (1439.), *cutu* (1437., 1438.), *herini* (1435., 1436.), *presenti* (1441.), *rezu* (1440.), and *vipi* (1434.).

A third small tomb of Cacni was discovered in 1844 near the Villa Palazzone. It contained three urns (453.-455.), with ashes of two men and one woman (454.), probably the wife of *la. cacni* (453.). The gamonymic gives the cognomen *fulu*, not encountered in other members of the family. The other man of the tomb was called *au. anei cacniś auleś* (455.), with *cacni* as the cognomen of the family *anei*. One would normally expect that such a small tomb would contain the urns of a family, but the relation of an Anei Cacni to the Cacni couple is not clear. In the tomb of Cacni 2, Thana Aneinei was married to Arnth Cacni (1427.), and they had a son Aule (1431.). No sons of Aule are found in the Tomb 2. One could suggest that the family of Aule's mother adopted his eldest son, who got the name Aule Anei Cacni. He was then buried in the tomb of a relative, possibly a brother. We know two further Anei Cacnis from finds of unknown provenance (909. and 910.). In particular the cippus 909. is rather early, and this may speak against the suggestion above.²¹⁹ Finally, we find members of the family Cacni in 1348., as husband in 67. (the tomb of Rafi 1), 1671., and in the metronymic of 1216.

The tomb of Titui (622.-627.)

This tomb, close to the Monastery of S. Pietro, was discovered in 1844 together with the tomb of Cacni 1. Six inscriptions from the tomb were recorded, but little is known about the monuments, and even what we know is rather confusing.²²⁰ Only one urn has been preserved, that of *thana alfi tituiś petvial śec* (626.), with a relief of Scylla fighting Odysseus' men.²²¹ Of the other inscriptions, Pauli in *CIE* attributed three to clay ollas (622., 623. and 626.), while Nati, based on Vermiglioli's report, knew only one olla. Fabretti in *CII*

²¹⁶ My reading; the editor: + *cacni l+ rezual*.

²¹⁷ My uncertain reading; the editor: ++ *ca[c]n[i] lr. curunal*.

²¹⁸ My uncertain reading; the editor: *ar. cacni pr[es]nti[a]*.

²¹⁹ For these inscriptions, see BENELLI 2015a, 180.

²²⁰ See NATI 2008, 135.

²²¹ NATI 2008, 135. *Lapidario* 2004, 11, No. 8, connected the inscription to the urn 1064.

(1526-1527), and editors after him, knew for Thana Alfi, wife of Titui, one epitaph on an olla (625.), and another on an urn (626.), which is scarcely possible.

Hence, in this unclear situation, we can base conclusions only on the inscriptions as they are recorded in the copies. Thana Alfi (626.), mentioned above, was probably married to *la. titui la.* (623.), and their son was *ve. titui la. alfial* (624.). The other men are *ar. titui ar.* (622.) and *ar. titui la. falasial* (627.), who might (or not) be the brother of 623. With only one monument preserved (and with uncertainty about which monument it is), I would not venture any closer dating than the 2nd century BCE.²²²

The tomb of Tins (653.-668., 1392.)

The tomb was discovered in 1765 at Piscille,²²³ located between the town of Perugia and the necropolis of Palazzone. We know sixteen urns and two cippi from the tomb. Three are now in the *Lapidario* of the MANU (654., 661. and 662), and four in the garden of Meniconi–Bracceschi (658., 660., 666. and 1392.),²²⁴ but eleven urns are lost.²²⁵ Seven of the epitaphs belonged to women, probably all married to the family,²²⁶ and eleven epitaphs to its male.

Some evidence for a family tree can be discerned. *larθi lunci* (667.) was married to an *ar. tins̄*. Perhaps the best candidate of the three possible men with this praenomen (654., 657. and 668.) for this early phase of the family is *ar. tins̄ ve.* (654.), with a fine chest relief, where a female demon in the middle holds two sea-horses.²²⁷ They had two sons, *ar. tins̄ ar. luncial* (665.), with a plain urn, and *vel tins̄ ar. luncial clan* (666.), who had on the lid tympanum the same scene as his assumed father, but this time we have on the chest Scylla in the place of the female demon. Vel was married to *veti velus̄ tins̄ lun[cial]* (probably his cousin; 664.), with a plain lid and a chest decorated with a flower. They had two sons buried in the tomb, *ve. tins̄ vetial clan* (661.), with a lid sculpture and a relief of the Madness of Athamas on the chest, and *ar. tins̄ vl. vetial* (662.), equally with a lid sculpture and the Death of Oinomaos sculpted on the chest relief. A cippus with the same inscription (663.) was discovered later, but probably comes from this tomb.

Two women buried in the tomb had a lid sculpture on their urns. *larθia caia huzetnas arnθalisa cafati(al) sec* (658.) had no link in her name to the Tins family.²²⁸ Her lid is preserved in bad shape in the Meniconi–Bracceschi garden, but the chest is lost. We have, however, Vermiglioli's description of the relief: a woman (goddess?) with a baby in her arms, holding two horses, surrounded by other people.²²⁹ The resemblance to the images of 654. and 666. makes it plausible that she belonged to the progeny of Arnth Tins and Larthi Lunci. The same metronymic in *ar. tins̄ ar. cafatial* (657.) is a further argument for this. But how are we to interpret Larthia's name? In a normal instance, *huzetnas* would be a cognomen in the masculine genitive form, but it can also be the gamonymic. If so, she could be a stepsister of Arnth, daughter of the same

²²² NATI 2008, 135, dated his candidate for 626. to the 1st half of the 2nd century BCE.

²²³ According to Vermiglioli, the tomb was at Casaglia.

²²⁴ Republished by BARBANERA 1990, 162-181.

²²⁵ The cippus 669. should be in the MANU but I have not succeeded in finding it.

²²⁶ The lost 653. is problematic. The copies give it in the form *tins̄ ar. tinis*. The editors usually reject the last name. I think that the most plausible solution is to see here a woman married to her cousin. We have no example of the feminine form of *tins̄*. The masculine genitive *tins̄* appears in 417., 418., 664., but I would not consider *tinis* impossible, especially after *tins̄*.

²²⁷ *Lapidario* 2004, 54, No. 179, dated it to the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd century BCE.

²²⁸ BENELLI 2015a, 187, n. 32, also wondered how this woman found a place in the tomb.

²²⁹ VERMIGLIOLI 1804, 118.

mother and a Cai. But I would not exclude the possibility that the name of the Tins family was originally Cai Tins. For some reason, only this woman preserved the original gentilicium. In any case, the father of Larthia is Arnth,²³⁰ who could be the son of Vel and Vetī (662.).

One more son of an Arnth was *vl. tins ar. atunial* (655.). The disappeared lid was probably plain, but on the chest was, according to Vermiglioli, the Calydonian boar hunt.²³¹ The mother *θa. atunia la. calaθin[ial]* (656., her metronymic being uncertain) may have been the wife of Arnth in 657. Two more women, probably married into the family, were found in the tomb, *θana velnea au. sruznal šex* (660.) and *larθi velia* (or possibly *veiza*; 669.). In both instances, the reading of the gentilicium is uncertain. The fact that Thana has one of the four lid sculptures of the tomb might indicate that she was the wife of Vel (661.). *ve. tins veleθial* (659.) and *ar. tins ar. vipial* (668.) have no obvious mothers in the tomb, but the reading of several female gentilicia and metronymics of the tomb is uncertain. *larθi vipi la. tins* (418.) might be the mother of 668., but her social status makes this unclear. She was buried in the tomb of *lautni* (414.-419.; see above), where we also find *la. velus tins lautni* (417.).

Finally, we have the Latin inscription of *C. Iventius C.f.* (1392.). Both the lid and the chest have decorative reliefs with peltae, flowers and vegetable ornaments, preserving Etruscan elements, but approaching the Roman decorative concepts. The gentilicium is a translation loan from Tins. The urn and inscriptions are, however, quite late, probably from the 3rd quarter of the 1st cent. BCE,²³² and we must ask, whether or not the use of the tomb was continuous. It is difficult to find the father Gaius amidst the burials of the tomb. *Gaius* was often chosen instead of *arnθ*,²³³ but even if this was the case, there are too many candidates in the tomb. It seems probable that the Etruscan inscriptions of the tomb belong to at least four, possibly five generations. If the tomb was opened in the 1st quarter of the 2nd century BCE, the sixth generation could well go as far as the 3rd quarter of the 1st century. With so many lost urns and modest copies, no certainty can be achieved.

The marriage links of Tins of this tomb include the families *atuni* (655., 656.), *canθini* (656.), *cafate* (657., 658.), *huzetna* (658.), *lunce* (664., 665., 666., 667.), *veleθi* (659.), *veli* (669.), *velnea* (660.), *veti* (661., 662., 663., 664.) and *vipi* (668.). The above-mentioned patron and husband (or patron) in the tomb of *lautni* (417. and 418.) are the only members of the family outside this tomb.

The tomb of Alfa (716.-729.)

I have studied the tomb of the family Alfa, discovered in 1973 at Madonna Alta, and published its inscriptions in *Studi Etruschi* 82, 2020, 198-208. The tomb was built with great rectangular blocks of travertine. It had a central pillar and a gabled roof. Around the walls, travertine slabs formed low benches, on which most of the urns were placed. A. E. Feruglio listed, in addition to the urns, twenty items of grave-goods, including late Hellenistic ceramics, one small lead pyxis and one bronze mirror. The grave-goods could be connected to specific burials only in a few instances, partly because the original places of the urns may have been changed when new burials came in. Feruglio dated the tomb to the second century BCE, but

²³⁰ RIX 1963, 54, n. 88; 105, doubted the form *arnθalisa*, rare at Perugia, but it is quite clear in the plaster cast.

²³¹ VERMIGLIOLI 1804, 118.

²³² *SI* 30, 150-51, dated it to the mid-1st cent. BCE.

²³³ KAIMIO 1975, 174.

stated that “non è escluso in base ad alcuni materiali che essa possa scendere anche all’inizio del I secolo a.C.”²³⁴

Two of the sixteen urns were uninscribed, probably belonging to the parents of the tomb founder Vel Alfa (720.), son of Vel and Temuni. His brother Larth (723.) was also buried in the tomb, but without family. The urn of Vel was on the left bench, first from the rear, while that of Larth had a more modest place on the right bench. The wife of Vel was Fasti Petru (725.), and they had one son buried in the tomb, Vel (726.). Another lineage seems to be derived from Aule Alfa, son of Usni (722.); the kinship relation between Vel and Aule is unclear. Aule had two sons, Aule (719.) and Larth (716.), and this Aule had three sons, Aule (718.), Larth (717.) and Vel (724.). As 719. and 718., father and son, were both Aule Alfa, son of Aule, the word *apa*, “father,” was subsequently painted on the epitaph of the father Aule. Veilia Arznei (728.) and Thana Ancari (729.) were two wives married into the family. As the metronymics are rare in the epitaphs of this tomb, their husbands are unknown.

Most urns are modest, and there are no lid sculptures. The tomb founder’s urn has only common decorative flower and pelta reliefs, but her wife Fasti Petru has on the chest a special, coloured portrait relief. On palaeographic grounds alone, I would date the inscription of the tomb founder to the late 3rd or early 2nd century BCE. According to A. E. Feruglio, however, an olla not earlier than the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century was connected to the founder’s urn. Hence, we must probably attribute some early letter forms (*M*, *V*) to a local or “family” tradition, especially as they still appear in the epitaphs of the founder’s son (726.) and brother, who probably died later (723.). We may also observe in the inscriptions of the third and fourth generations such early features as a dot in the centre of *theta* (716.) and full-height loop in *R*. Four generations were probably buried in the tomb (the uninscribed urns included), from the 1st quarter of the 2nd century to the 1st quarter of the 1st century BCE.

The marriage links of the tomb include the families of *ancari* (729.), *anei* (721.), *arzani* (728.), *petru* (725., 726.) and *temune* (720. and 723.). Alfa is common as cognomen at Perugia, but *alfei la*. in 1531., of unknown provenance, is the only instance of it as gentilicium outside this tomb.

The tomb of Tite Vesi (734.-743.)

This tomb with ten spectacular urns was discovered in the 16th century near S. Sisto. Seven of the urns can be seen in the *Lapidario* of the MANU, one (740.) in the Museum of Berlin; two (737. and 742.) are lost. One woman, *veilia capevani* (737.), mother of *vel vesis capevanial clan* (736.), is buried amidst nine men of the Tite Vesi family.²³⁵ Seven of the men bear the metronymic, all different, so there are no brothers in the tomb. Six men have the patronymic (two sons of Vel and Aule, one of Arnth and one of Sethre), but as six men bear the praenomen Vel, two Aule and one Sethre (and none Arnth), that does not help much in the search of father–son pairs. All in all, I am somewhat at loss to explain how such a collection of names was brought together to one tomb.

Françoise-Hélène Massa Pairault solved the question by suggesting that in the family, the son never got the praenomen of the father.²³⁶ On this principle, she built a family tree in two branches, starting with the

²³⁴ FERUGLIO 1977, 111–12.

²³⁵ MASSA PAIRAULT 1994, 80, thought that the chest with reliefs of the Sacrifice of Iphigenia, now under lids with male inscriptions (734. and 739.) must belong to female burials, the lids having been changed. I cannot agree with the view that certain mythological themes belonged exclusively to men or women. See below, p. 107.

²³⁶ MASSA PAIRAULT 1994, 82.

brothers *au. titeś vesi manias clan* (740.) and *vel titeś vesiś arnθial* (735.) and containing five generations down to *au. tite vesi vel. caceinal* (734.).²³⁷ She supported this family tree by the stylistic analysis of the urns and by some palaeographic criteria.²³⁸ I think that her family tree, although possible, was based excessively on vague criteria, and five generations should probably be reduced to four at the most; this means more than two branches.

In her stylistic analysis, F.-H. Massa Pairault identified two workshops at Perugia, one “Hellenistic” and one “*unicum*”. She dated the earliest urns (735. and 740.) to 180-160 BCE and the latest ones to the first decade of the 1st century BCE.²³⁹ The analysis of A. Maggiani did not essentially differ from hers. He attributed the urn of Berlin with the ashes of *au. titeś vesi manias clan* (740.)²⁴⁰ to “Maestro A” and dated it to the 4th quarter of the 3rd century BCE.²⁴¹ He ascribed the same master and date to the urn of *vel titeś vesiś arnθial* (735.).²⁴² In three other urns, the men of the lid sculptures had bare upper bodies: *au. tite vesi vel. caceinal* (734.), *se. ti. vesi ve. vipial sehtmnal* (738.), and *ve. ti. vesi au. hermial* (741.), attributed by A. Maggiani to “Maestro D”.²⁴³ The upper body of *ve. tite vesi se. cusithial* (739.) was clothed. It is very probable that Sethre (738.) was the father of Vel (739.).

The palaeography does not offer much help. The inscriptions are compact. There is no loop of full height in *R*. The early 735. has already the loop of two-thirds height, but that letter appears only in two inscriptions. One can note the appearance of both the ladder-type (738.) and the round *H* (741.). The gentilicium is omitted in 736. and 742., abbreviated in 738. and 741. The cognomen is never omitted or abbreviated. The gentilicium appears in the genitive in 735. and 740., the cognomen in 735., 736. and 742. In 743., I consider that the final *san* after the interpunctuation represents the appreciative epithet *śanis* for the deceased.²⁴⁴ On a purely epigraphic basis, I would date the opening of the tomb to the 1st quarter of the 2nd century BCE, in agreement with F.-H. Massa Pairault, but I do not oppose the dating of Maggiani one quarter earlier. The closing of the tomb, without clear generations, is even more difficult to determine. Nothing points to the 1st century BCE.

The tomb of Tite Vesi included many of the finest urns of Perugia.²⁴⁵ This does not *per se* make them one of the leading families of the city, as F.-H. Massa Pairault tried to show through the connections of the metronymics.²⁴⁶ No member of the family is encountered at Perugia outside the tomb. Four other persons have the gentilicium *vesi* (1037., 1038., 1503. and 1520.). It is possible that some Tite Vesi would hide behind the numerous metronymics *titial* or the not so many gamonymics *titeś*, but this is not probable, since no

²³⁷ MASSA PAIRAULT 1994, 84.

²³⁸ Her basic division of the inscriptions into an early and a late group was based on the interpunctuation by colon or single dot; MASSA PAIRAULT 1994, 80. Although certain chronological distinction can be discerned between the different modes of interpunctuation (see below, p. 134), this division is too categorical.

²³⁹ MASSA PAIRAULT 1994, 87.

²⁴⁰ The editors, including the facsimile of Danielsson in *CIE*, have read *manias*, while the drawing of BRUNN – KÖRTE, 2, 2, Tav. 216, has clearly *manial*. The photograph of the Museum of Berlin is not clear for the inscription, but rather favours the rarer form *manias*.

²⁴¹ MAGGIANI 2011, 187-88, Fig. 11 a-b.

²⁴² MAGGIANI 2011, 188, Fig. 13.

²⁴³ MAGGIANI 2011, 190.

²⁴⁴ See KAIMIO 2020, 180-81. The same abbreviation appears in 240., where the interpretation as the genitive of the gentilicium is not possible.

²⁴⁵ CRISTOFANI 1977, 78, presented a strange view that five of the deceased were “individui di rango servile” (735., 736., 740., 742., 743.), evidently misunderstanding the gentilicia in the genitive as patron’s names.

²⁴⁶ MASSA PAIRAULT 1994, 87-90.

one buried in the tomb omitted the cognomen *vesi*. The metronymics of the tomb show marriage links with the families *cacei* (734.), *capevani* (736., 737.), *cusiθe* (739.), *herme* (741.), *mani* (740.) and *vipi sehtmni* (738.).

The tomb of Cai Vetī (784.-791.)

The tomb was discovered in 1822, together with the next five tomb complexes and the above-presented tomb of Rafī 2, from a necropolis probably at Stroz Zacapponi.²⁴⁷ A. Fabretti wrote that nearly 200 inscriptions were found in the excavations, but only one of them (806.) came to the Museum of the University, the others being dispersed around the world.²⁴⁸ Ten years after the find, Vermiglioli copied more than 140 inscriptions at the find place, but one-half of them were either sold or dispersed.²⁴⁹ In these six tombs from 1822, fifty-six inscriptions are published (784.-834.) here; we can add the complex of mainly Latin inscriptions (845.-846., 1414.-1421.) from the same excavations. It is probable that many inscriptions of unknown provenance originate from this necropolis (e.g., 1202., 1221., 1222.). But if A. Fabretti's or even G. B. Vermiglioli's information is correct, a great number of inscriptions lies hidden in unknown places.

Of the eight urns of the Cai Vetī tomb, five lids are preserved in the storehouse of Palazzone, the others are lost. The lids are modest, only one has on the tympanum a relief of trifolium between two peltae (787.). This was a tomb for men only. The epitaphs are concise, four patronymics and four metronymics, all different, are encountered.

No certain pieces of a family tree can be built. *ls. veti ls. ti[t]ial* (784.) and *au veti larisa(l)* (785.)²⁵⁰ may have been brothers or father and son. *au. cai veti lepreca(l)* (786.)²⁵¹ may be the father of *se. cai veti au.* (787.). *la. cai veti* (788.) can be the father of *tχ. veti la.* (789.). The metronymics, in addition to *titial* and *lepreca(l)*, are *metelial* (790.) and *vesnal* (791.). There are few dating criteria, but the tomb was probably from the 2nd half of the 2nd century BCE.

The tomb of Velczna women (792.-797.)

The tomb of Velczna women was one of the 1822 finds (see above). It had six urns, one of which is exhibited in the *Lapidario* of the MANU (797.). Three lids are preserved in the storehouse of Palazzone, and two inscriptions (794. and 795.) are lost.

Of the women, four were daughters of the family and two married to the family. None of the daughters bore the gamonymic, and this may possibly, but not necessarily, mean that they died unmarried. Three had the praenomen *larθi(a)*, the fourth was called *ar(nθi)* (795.), a rare name at Perugia.²⁵² There are two metronymics, *mesial* (794.) and *petrnal* (795.). All these daughters seem to have had modest, plain urns, as had *θana varnei velcznaś leθial śex* (796.). Hence, the sixth urn of the tomb must have been spectacular in

²⁴⁷ DEFOSSE 1981, 51-53; *Etruskische Texte* favoured Pieve del Vescovo. For different candidates, see BENELLI 2015a, 190, n. 43; NATI 2008, 25.

²⁴⁸ FABRETTI in *CII*, p. 134.

²⁴⁹ For a quotation, see *SI* 30, 170

²⁵⁰ Other editors *lari(sal)*. At the left edge of the stone, after *I*, an inverse *S* and the right part of *A* are faintly visible. I think that they are original but cannot exclude the possibility of later supplementing.

²⁵¹ Other editors read *lemreca(l)*, based on the name appearing 574.-576. (*ET*²: scr. *levreca*). I think that the third letter is probably *P* (painted *V*, but the lower side bar is in a hole), giving a labial variant for *lemreca*.

²⁵² RIX 1963, 75; 205, n. 23.

comparison to the others. *θα. paniathi velχznaś spurinial* (797.) had a lid sculpture and a chest relief of Centauromachy. We know her mother and grandmother from the area of Perugia. The urn of *θana tatnei spurinaś* (1221.) was found in the same year 1822 as the tomb of her granddaughter, but the location is unknown, as is the provenance of her daughter's urn, with the inscription *spurinei paniathes tatnal* (1222.). The modest urns of the mother and grandmother offer no clue to how Thana's urn so clearly differs from the other pieces in the tomb.

We cannot discern generations in the tomb, but the presence of three namesake women indicates that they belong to different generations. I estimate that the date of the tomb does not much differ from the previous tomb of Cai Veti, but the urn of Thana Paniathi may come from the 1st century BCE. We do not know where the men of the Velczna family were buried. Outside the women's tomb, the name is encountered in the metronymics of *amθni* (901.) and *surti* (1197.), and in the gamonymic of *aneinei* (914.).

The tomb of Velthurna (798.-805.)

This tomb, discovered in 1822, is recorded to have had eight urns, belonging to five men of the family, one daughter and two wives. Four of them are preserved in the storehouse of Palazzone, four are lost.

As things stand, no clear kinship relations between the deceased can be shown. *la. velthurna la. śerturial clan* (802.) could be the son of *la. velthurnaś vipial* (800.), but the common praenomen is not a strong tie. *se. velthurna setre* (804.) could be the son of *se. velthurnas auleś* (798.), but the last name part could also be the metronymic *setre(al)*, which would make *lθ. setri velthurnaś* (803.) his mother. I prefer the latter alternative. The patronymic *setre(ś)* would have the rare spelling with *T* instead of *theta*, and it would be almost fully written, while the praenomen is abbreviated. The fifth man of the tomb was *vel velthurna vel. crampial* (799.), the daughter of the family *θana velthurnas pumpunial* (801.), and another wife is *atrania velthurna(ś)* (805.).

All four preserved lids are plain. My dating estimate, always on an uncertain basis, remains in line with the previous tombs. Two members of the family are encountered outside the tomb, in the metronymics of *ar. vuisi* (1070.) and *sauturini χvestnaś* (1174.). The marriage links of this tomb are with the families *atrane* (805.), *crampa* (799.), *pumpuni* (801.), *śerturi* (802.), *setre* (803., 804.) and *vipi* (800.).

The tomb of Venete (806.-814.).

We are still in the finds of 1822, probably from Strozaccapponi. Nine urns are attributed to this tomb, seven men and one woman of the family, plus a son of a daughter married into the Hamphna family (811.). The placement of this spectacular urn of Larth Hamphna in the tomb of his mother's family is surprising.²⁵³

The urn of *se. venete la. leθial clan* (806.) was, according to Fabretti (*CII* 1397), the only one of the 1822 finds to reach the "Museum of the University". It is now in the *Lapidario* of the MANU. The inscription is on the lid, with a female face between two peltae. The relief of the chest shows the Sacrifice of Iphigenia. His brother *la. venete la. leθial* (807.) bore the epithet *etera* in his name form, as does *ar. venete ar.* (808.), on a plain urn, now in the storehouse of Palazzone. A possible father of 806. and 807. is *la. venete śanis* (812.),²⁵⁴ with the appreciative epithet used for deceased. The urn is lost. The three other men of the

²⁵³ For extended family tombs with bilateral and cognatic kin, see NIELSEN 1989b, 85, Table 6.

²⁵⁴ The reading *mania(l)* of *CIE* and *ET*² is to be rejected, since COLONNA, *SE* 73, 2007, 342, discerned the epithet *śanis* in several epitaphs, appreciating an elder member of the family. He interpreted it "(divus) parens". See also KAIMIO 2020, 180-81.

family are *ar. venete aθnu* (809.), *la. venete vatinal* (810.), both on plain urn lids in the storehouse of Palazzone, and] *venete atuśna[l cla]n* (814.), on a lost urn. The urn of the only woman, *veneti narial* (813.), is also lost.

Then we have the spectacular urn of *larθ hamφna auleś venetial clan* in the Museum of Berlin (811.). The lid sculpture presents a married couple, but the wife is not mentioned in the inscription (nor in the other epitaphs of the tomb). The Death of Oinomaos is sculpted on the relief of the chest. The work is attributed by Maggiani to “Maestro C” and dated to the beginning of the 2nd century BCE.²⁵⁵ This date, also supported by the palaeography, would make it among the first burials in the tomb, possibly together with 812., if this Larth is really the father of 806. and 807. Again, the generations of the tomb remain unclear, and not many monuments are preserved, but I think that the tomb was used until at least the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century BCE.

The tomb shows marriage links with the families of *atuśnei* (814.), *hamφna* (811.), *leθe* (806., 807.) and *nari* (813.). The only appearance of the name *venete* outside the tomb is the cognomen of *larθ axu* in 681.

The tomb of Rezu (830.-839.)

This last tomb of the 1822 finds had ten urns, of which one is displayed in the *Lapidario* of the MANU (833.), four are kept in the storehouse of Palazzone, and five are lost. There were five men, two daughters and three wives of the family. The monuments were modest. In those that are preserved, we have one rough banquet relief on the lid tympanum (833.),²⁵⁶ one tympanum decoration of a flower between two amphoras (834.), and three plain lids.

All kinship relations inside the tomb remain uncertain. [*tit*]ia *rezuś* (837.) is probably the mother of *la. rezu titial* (836.), if the supplement is correct. *ar. resu alfial* (834.) might be the father of *au. rezu ar.* (830.) and *larθi rezui ar.* (833.); at least the letter forms would fit such a relative dating. *la. rezu* (831.), *θana rezui ve. arzniś vipial śex* (835.), and the two wives *larθi se. vesi. rezuś* (838.), *urnati rezuś* (839.), all on lost urns, presented in their name forms no connections to the other persons of the tomb.

The tomb offers only few dating criteria. It seems to fit into the same picture as the three other tombs found in 1822, that is, 2nd half of the 2nd and 1st quarter of the 1st century BCE. The tomb of Rafi 2 and the tomb of Venete seem to be the oldest ones in this necropolis.

The tomb of four women (852.-855.)

I discuss in this chapter family tombs with at least five deceased, but I gladly make an exception to the rule in the case of the women’s tomb, discovered in 1927 near the Villa Barbellini at S. Lucia (north-west of Perugia). In the tomb were buried great-grandmother, grandmother, mother, and daughter. All the urns are exhibited in the *Lapidario* of the MANU.

The tomb started with the plain urn of *leunei venθnaś axratial śex* (855.).²⁵⁷ Her daughter was *venθnei arzniś leunal śex* (854.), in a plain urn. The third generation is represented by *θana arznei paniaθeś* (853.).

²⁵⁵ MAGGIANI 2011, 189, fig. 17 and 17 a.

²⁵⁶ The chest beneath, with a relief on the departure to the Underworld, does not, in my opinion, belong to the lid. On the upper edge, there is an inscription, which *CIE* 4174 b read as [*la*]ruzu *rezyal*, thinking that a young son was buried in the same urn. *ET* ignored this inscription, of which I was able to read, at the most,]uzu r++[.

²⁵⁷ The second last letter of the gamonymic is partly visible (in square brackets in *ET*²). *A* and *E* are possible; of these, I prefer *A* (so also NIELSEN 1999, 97).

The chest was decorated by a large flower inside a square, while the lid is plain. Her daughter *larθi paniaθi arznial śec* (**852.**)²⁵⁸ has a spectacular chest relief. A parting scene with musicians and female demons, two Vanths, is sculpted, with the heroized effigy of the woman in the centre and the tympanum of a temple above her head. This, according to M. Nielsen, “might all point to the existence of certain cultic tradition, official or private, inherited from mother to daughter.”²⁵⁹

M. Nielsen’s view seems reasonable. This was not a tomb for the wives of a family. No sisters of the four women were buried in it. No sign of their husbands or fathers can be found in the Perusian epigraphy.²⁶⁰ No patronymics were given, but three of the women have the metronymic and three the gamonymic. One further question is whether the tomb was already founded by the great-grandmother for her successors, or whether some of the daughters founded it and brought to it the ashes of her predecessors. This question remains open.

M. Nielsen dated the youngest urn with the departure relief to appr. 100 or early 1st century BCE, and then backwards so that the urn of Leunei was from appr. 170 BCE.²⁶¹ The palaeography supports a dating from the 1st to the 4th quarter of the 2nd century BCE.

The tomb of Petru Lethiu (875.-882.)

Eight urns of Petru Lethiu are in a private collection at Lucca. Their provenance is unknown, but they probably came from one tomb. It was, then, a tomb of men. All inscriptions present the cognomen *leθiu* (in **879.** *leθeu*). The gentilicium *petru* is twice omitted (**880.** and **881.**) and twice abbreviated (**877.** and **882.**). Five different metronymics appear, *teperial* twice, showing that *lart petruś leθiu teperial* (**875.**) and *au. leθiu au. teperial* (**880.**) were brothers. The former has on his chest, if belonging to the plain, inscribed lid, the only mythological relief of the tomb (Battle near an altar). His brother’s urn is plain. The other metronymics are *leθial* (**876.**), *met[elia]l* (**877.**), *apunial* (**878.**), and *cutual* (**881.**). As the praenomen of all men (and their fathers, if given) was either Larth or Aule, no further kinship relations can be determined.

Nor do the urns give much help in dating the tomb. In the *editio princeps*,²⁶² A. Maggiani dated **875.** with the mythological relief to the 1st half of the 2nd century BCE. He thought that this Lart could be a *lautni* of a *leθe* called *petru*, who, by receiving the citizenship, used the *lautni*-name as gentilicium and based his cognomen on the patron’s name. He was possibly married to a daughter of the patron, and their son would then be *au. petruś leθiu leθial* (**876.**). Maggiani also held that the omission of the gentilicium by Lart’s brother *au. leθiu au. teperial* (**880.**) indicated a younger branch of the family, to which *au. leθiu cutual* (**881**) also belonged. I see the omission of the gentilicium as much more common in family tombs than Maggiani did. Maggiani’s hypothesis also encounters some other problems. Petru is not encountered as a *lautni*-name at Perugia. Lart has a normal metronymic, his brother a patronymic, not typical of freedmen. Instead, I think that *leθiu* was originally the name of a *lautni* of the Petru family. I have emended the problematic **1291.** of unknown provenance to the form *leθiu petruś anei(ś)*. This emendation is supported by a new find published by L. Cencioli, *petru(i) aneinia* (**1494.**).

²⁵⁸ *ET*² read *arznal*, but *arznial* is clear.

²⁵⁹ NIELSEN 1989b, 88-89.

²⁶⁰ BENELLI 2015a, 190, n. 43, noted that there are family ties between the women and the persons buried in the necropolis discovered in 1822 (784-839). The common names are *venθnal* (**819.**), *arznis* (**835.**) and *paniaθi* (**797.**).

²⁶¹ NIELSEN 1999, 97.

²⁶² *SE* 50, 1982, 275-80, Nos. 20-27.

As things stand, A. Maggiani's dating of the tomb, from the early 2nd to the early 1st century BCE, is the best we can offer. Petru is a common name at Perugia. *leθiu* is encountered outside the tomb, in addition to the *lautni* name in **1291.**, in the gamonymic of Thana Caia in **248.**

The tomb of Thurmna (883.-893.)

The location of this tomb is nowhere recorded. Nine of its urns were in the palace of Meniconi and thereafter in the garden of Meniconi–Bracceschi, but only one urn (**890.**) and one lid (**889.**) have been found there. Two more urns clearly connected with the tomb are in the Villa Poliseno (**892.** and **893.**). The drawings and descriptions of many urns by G. B. Vermiglioli, G. Conestabile and Brunn – Körte indicate that they were quite spectacular. Only one of them (**887.**) seems to have had a lid sculpture. But in the choices of subjects for the chest reliefs, there seems to have been a thematic program, with the arched gate(s) of the Underworld in the centre. In front of the gate was shown the deceased with a demon (**883.**), or Kharun (**884.**), or dancers (**886.**), or two slaves with the funerary amphora (**891.**), or two griffins coming out through the gates (**890.**).

We can look for a core of the family in the two brothers, *au. cai θurmna se. raplial* (**883.**) and *ar. θurmna se. raplial* (**884.**). Their mother was *larθi rapli θurmnaś petrua(l)* (**885.**). The father might be *setre cai θurmna au.* (**892.**), if the urns of the Villa Poliseno come from the same tomb. It looks palaeographically older. Curiously, the carver was uncertain as to the aspiration: not only the praenomen misses the aspiration, but also the cognomen was first started with *T*, then clumsily corrected to *theta*. *ET*² had for the other urn lid of the Villa Poliseno the reading *larθia raplia θurmnaś* (**893.**). The new photograph, however, supports the *viplia* of O. A. Danielsson's facsimile instead of *raplia*. Hence, we avoid the problem that the mother of the brothers, recorded in the lid **885.**, would appear on two lids. In addition, the gamonymic *θurmnaś* is now changed to the metronymic *θurmnial*.

An interesting instance is *larθi petruī θurmnaś netei* (**886.**). The first thought is that she was the grandmother of the brothers, or rather the wife of one of them through cousin marriage. In these instances, *netei(al)* is the metronymic from an else unknown name. H. Rix, however, accepted C. Pauli's translation "mother-in-law" for this *hapax*.²⁶³ I am, however, doubtful, mainly because *θurmnaś* is in the form of a gamonymic, not appearing, as far as I can see, with other kinship terms (see below, p. 195).

The other relations between the deceased remain unclear. *au. θurmna ar. marsi[al]* (**887.**) might be the son of **883.** His lost urn was the only one with a lid sculpture that A. Fabretti considered as female (*CII* 1337). A banquet relief was on the chest. The chest relief of [- - - *θur*]mana *larθial* (**888.**) had also a female subject, a woman looking in the mirror. Palaeographically, it can belong to the oldest inscriptions in the tomb. *cai creice θurmnaś lautni* (**889.**) had a connection to the family, but it is difficult to see why *veilia veleθia ateis caial* (**890.**) and *la. cai uhtave veluś surnial* (**891.**) have found a place in the tomb. Both had the gate theme on the reliefs of the chest.

Three men of the family bore the gentilicium *cai*, which was omitted in two name forms (and in the three gamonymics). We can probably discern three generations in the tomb. With practically all urns lost and the placement inside the tomb unknown, we face once again the lack of dating criteria. Let us put it this way: there are no hints in the direction of the 3rd or 1st centuries BCE. The tomb shows marriages of Thurmna with families of *marsi* (**887.**), *petru* (**886.**), *raple* (**883.**, **884.**) and *vipli* (**893.**). An elder brother of **887.** is in **1088.** *ar. θurmna marsial*. According to the inventory of Walter Briziarelli, the lid came from the necropolis

²⁶³ RIX 1963, 111.

of Monterone.²⁶⁴ It is possible that it was from this tomb, and Briziarelli's note would thus give the location of the tomb. An inscription of unknown provenance records *vel θurmna* (1089.). Its letter forms are clearly older than those in the epitaphs of the tomb, most probably from the 3rd century BCE. At the other end we have the Latin inscription *A. Thormena A.f. Pisto(ria) gn.* (1422.).²⁶⁵

The tomb of Cai Cutu (1297.-1338., 1393.-1398.)

This large tomb was discovered in 1983 at Monteluçe, Via Madonna del Riccio. It is reconstructed in the basement of the MANU. It contained one sarcophagus and fifty urns, forty-two of which had an Etruscan and six a Latin inscription, while two were uninscribed. Only male members of the family were buried in this tomb. The edition of the inscriptions by A. E. Feruglio in 2013²⁶⁶ included an analysis for the reconstruction of a family tree, to which I have little to add.²⁶⁷ I repeat here the main results.

The tomb had three chambers and an "atrium". On the rear of the central back chamber was the uninscribed sarcophagus, evidently of the father of the tomb founders. Four brothers, sons of Vel and Aneinei, probably built the tomb: *arnθ caiś cutuś velusa* (1297.), *vel caiś cutuś veluś aneinal* (1298.)²⁶⁸, *larθ caiś cutuś* (1302.)²⁶⁹ and *seθre velusa* (1303.). The urn of Arnth is spectacular, with a fine lid sculpture, possibly produced by the same workshop as the urns of the tomb of Velimna.²⁷⁰ Vel had a Medusa relief on the chest. The urns of Larth and Sethre had only decorative elements. The urns of Arnth and Vel were placed on the right side of the central chamber, in the wall row closest to the back wall, and those of Larth and Sethre on the left side, in the wall row closest to the back wall. The other urns on the right side belonged to *arnθ cutuś larθial velsnal* (1299.), third in the wall row, *arnθ cutu veluś lusnal* (1300.) second, and *arnθ cutu arn.* (1301.) third in the second row. They were obviously sons of Larth, Vel and Arnth. The first urn in the second row was without inscription.

On the left side, *larθ larθial* (1304.), had a place as third in the wall row. The three sons of Arnth, *arnθ cai cutu arnθial feθiunial clan* (1305.), *larθ cai cutu arnθial feθiunial clan* (1306.), and *vel caiś cutuś arnθial feθual clan* (1307.) were placed in the second row, together with a son of Sethre, *arnθ cutu seθreś larθial titiaś clan* (1308.).²⁷¹ His brother *aule cutu seθreś tital clan* (1311.) was placed in the right back corner of the atrium, because the central chamber was filled up.

The four founder brothers had thus eight sons buried in the tomb. Arnth had two sons with the name Arnth, probably because the first son (1301.) died young. Only the sons of Arnth (except 1301.) preserved the gentilicium Cai in their name forms, the other branches already used Cutu as a gentilicium. The progeny of Arnth joined this practice in the following generation. There is only one Cai Cutu among the other mem-

²⁶⁴ SAIONI 2003, 116.

²⁶⁵ Another inscription (1423.) in Latin letters is closer to the Etruscan name, but only *jurmn[* is legible.

²⁶⁶ FERUGLIO 2013, 199-235.

²⁶⁷ The family tree is drawn in BENELLI 2017c, 208.

²⁶⁸ I believe that this is the correct reading, since the last letter of the first line is *san*. Feruglio saw there *sa*, while *ET*² ignored it and took from the beginning of l. 2, which is on the chest, the ending *-sa*. The unclear marks starting l. 2 – far from the continuation – stand probably for *ve*: the painter intended to write anew the whole name on the chest, but changed his mind and wrote the metronymic alone.

²⁶⁹ In the photograph, parts of all letters in the cognomen can be discerned, probably followed by a cross.

²⁷⁰ TORELLI 2017, 687.

²⁷¹ The name form has peculiarities: the unabbreviated genitive of *larθi* is rare, since it can be confused with that of *larθ*, and the normal genitive of the mother's gentilicium is *tital*, as in the brother's name (1311).

bers of the family, *vel cai cutus vel. luscial clan* (1319.).²⁷² The urns of this third generation of the tomb were modest, mainly plain. The space on the tomb bench had become tight, and the inscriptions of the three sons of Arnth in the second row were, for better visibility, painted in black on the roofs of the lids.²⁷³

In the fourth and fifth generations of the tomb, the picture gets unclear. All four brothers of the second generation had a son called Arnth, but luckily, there is only one Larth (son of Arnth, 1306.), one Vel (son of Arnth, 1307.), and one Aule (son of Sethre, 1311.). I think that, on this basis, we can proceed to the fourth generation. Five urns were placed in the right chamber. Three of them belonged to sons of Aule (1311.), son of Sethre and Titi, with his urn in the corner of the atrium closest to the right cella. His wife was then a Velczeni, and the sons were *au. cutu au.* (1317.), who probably died young, as the name was anew given to *au. cutu au. velcznial* (1316.), and *ar. cutu velcznial* (1314.). The two other men in this chamber were *au. cutu ar. theprial* (1315.), son of one of the Arnths, and *au. cutu vetial* (1313.)

Only one man has the patronymic Larth (but many name forms omit the patronymic), *aule cutu la. salvia(l)* (1325.), buried against the rear wall of the left chamber. He may be the son of Larth in 1306. and belong to the fourth generation.²⁷⁴ For a son of Vel (1307.), we have two candidates, of whom I prefer *vel cai cutus vel. luscial clan* (1319.), since he bears the gentilicium *cai* like his father. The other candidate is *ve. cutu ve. samre titial* (1323.) in the left cella. It is, naturally, possible that Vel had remarried, or that the word *samre* somehow explains the two different mothers.²⁷⁵ The urn with 1319. was placed against the rear wall of the atrium, on the left side of the gate to the central cella. That with 1323. was first from the rear on the right wall of the left cella.

Then we have sons of Arnth, without knowing which of the four Arnths of the third generation was the father: *sethre cutu ar.* (1320.), in the left back corner of the atrium, and *vel cutu arnθ.* (1321.), third from the rear on the right side of the left cella. Sethre had a connection to *vel cutu nuhrtinial* (1310.): both had on their chest reliefs a lion head with a poniard in the mouth, a rare theme in Perusian urns.²⁷⁶ Sethre and Vel could well be brothers, sons of Arnth Cutu and Nuhrtini, but of which Arnth, cannot be solved.

The left chamber had against the walls six more urns, which, I think, belonged to the fifth generation. *vel cutu au. viscial* (1322.) and *au. cutu viscial* (1324.) cannot be sons of Aule of the third generation, who was married to Velczeni. On the same basis, *se. cutu au tetnal* (1326.) and his brother *au. cutu tetnial* (1312.), with his urn in the gateway to the right chamber, belonged to the fifth generation. For *la. cutu vl. talpal* (1327.) it is possible that his name was misspelled (or misread). I think that *titial* is an alternative reading for the metronymic, which would probably make him a brother of *ve. cutu ve. samre titial* (1323.). *vel cuntu aneia(l)* (1328.) can be a brother of *A. Cutius Af. Aneinia gen.* (1383.).²⁷⁷ More problematic is the relation with *au. cutu au. aneinial* (1309.). The urn was in the gateway to the central chamber which does not necessarily mean an early burial. He may otherwise be a third brother, but he had the same praenomen as 1383. It is possible that the praenomen of the Latin brother was changed when he received the Roman citizenship.

²⁷² I do not accept Feruglio's view (FERUGLIO 2013, 221) that the name was *caicutus*, representing a transition from *cai cutu* to *cutu*. There are no interpunctuations in word divisions of the inscription. Hence, Vel had both the gentilicium and the cognomen.

²⁷³ I believe that at least the inscriptions 1305. and 1306., possibly also 1307., all painted in red, were by the same hand, possibly made at some time after the burial. The inscription 1306. is also on the chest, with the same name in a concise form.

²⁷⁴ He was probably not a brother of *A. Cutius Sa(l)via* (1393.), who must belong to the fifth or sixth generation. In addition, they had the same praenomen.

²⁷⁵ For its significance, see FERUGLIO 1913, 223-24, with further references. I believe that it is a cognomen.

²⁷⁶ The same theme is in 601. In 555., the lion has a ring in its mouth

²⁷⁷ I would accept *gen(itus)*, although not attested elsewhere. *SI* 30, 252-54, No. 32: *g{e}n(atus)*. Instead, I believe that the patronymic was spelled *Afil*. The Latin epigraphic practice had not yet become familiar.

When we come to the urns in the second row of the left chamber or in the atrium, the search for kinship relations becomes hopeless. My best estimate of the size of the four first generations in the tomb is: I – 1, II – 4; III – 8; IV – 11. If this is close to the correct numbers, appr. twenty-five men were left for the following generations, which means that there were probably members not only of the fifth, but also of the sixth generation. We must remember that, descending so far from the founder of the family, the generations already overlap by age among themselves. There is a great number of metronymics in the two last generations, also showing how dispersed the family had become: *lutnial* (1330.), *perial* (1331.), *rutzneal* (1332.), *acrial* (1333.), *catrnil* (1334.), *pumpual* (1335.), *harnstial* (1336.), *petinatial* (1338.), *Sa(l)via* (1393.), *Peti.* (or *Peri.*, 1384.), *Maenatia* (1386.), *Pisentia* (1398.).

The quality of the urns was mediocre or even modest after the fine lid sculpture and chest relief of Arnth (1297.). Of his three brothers, Vel (1298.) had a first-class Medusa relief on the chest, Larth (1302.) and Sethre (1303.) only decorative reliefs. Typical of the four brothers – and in fact of the whole tomb – was that while the urns themselves were of rather good quality, the execution of the inscriptions was clumsy, in two instances only painted, without carving. In the next generation, five of the eight urns were plain, three decorated. In the following generations, we meet two urns with lid sculpture, those of *la. cutu acrial* (1333.) and *la. cutu au. catrnil* (1334.), both of mediocre quality. One chest, belonging to *vel cutu arnθ*, (1321.), had a mythological relief, a female demon riding on a sea monster. Further, there are fifteen urns with decorative reliefs and sixteen plain urns.

When we investigate the dating of the tomb, we can start calculating either from the start or from the end. I would start from the 3rd and 4th quarters of the 3rd century BCE with the four sons of Vel, who was brought to the tomb in the unscripted sarcophagus. *A. Cutius A.f. Tro. Pisentia Hastia natus* (1398.), with good serifs at the bar ends and with the tribe mark, was probably the last burial in the tomb. There are not many urns which I would date to the 1st cent. The family ties had become less tight. In general terms, I would date the third generation to 1st and 2nd quarters of the 2nd century, fourth generation to 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 2nd, fifth and sixth from the 3rd of the 2nd to the 3rd quarter of the 1st century BCE. The pottery of the tomb is still unpublished, but it may well reach into the Augustan age.

As I have already listed the metronymics indicating matrimonial links of the family, all that remains is the search for family members elsewhere than in this tomb. *[la]rθ cutuś seθreś [la]utneterś* (649.), on a cippus discovered in 1781 under the main altar of S. Costanzo, is thought to be a brother of 1308. and 1311.²⁷⁸ The letter forms are clearly older, from the 3rd century BCE. The connection is still possible, if he died in his early years.²⁷⁹ With almost fifty men in the tomb, lots of mothers, wives and daughters must have been buried elsewhere. But only a few of them seem to have left epitaphs, or else their tombs still await discovery. In addition, the name *cutu* alone does not testify membership of the family (no *cai cutu* is found outside the tomb). *cutu* was at any rate a cognomen of the *anei* family (847.). As things stand, two *cutui* are met in our material, Thana (647.) and Fasti (1501.) married to Auna. *larθi semθni* (274.), discovered in a small tomb at Ponticelli, is the only wife of a Cutu. In the metronymics, *cutual* is encountered in the tombs of Lethiu (881.) and Cacni 3 (1437., 1438.), *cutunial* in the tomb of Rafi 1 (72.) and in the small tomb of Tantle (692.).

²⁷⁸ NATI 2008, 72; BENELLI 2015a, 190, n. 44.

²⁷⁹ *lautneterś* could support that; see below, p. 193.

The tomb of Casceli (1483.-1487.)

Five Latin inscriptions are attributed to this tomb, discovered in 1840 near the tomb of Volumni. Two inscriptions are preserved in the *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni, three are lost. All the name forms show Etruscan interference, but the gentilicium *Cascelius* cannot be directly connected to any Etruscan family. It is, however, possible that the name was taken on receiving Roman citizenship, and I suggest that the Etruscan name behind it would be *casni*. The best argument comes from another tomb of the Palazzone necropolis, that of Casni 1, where one of the deceased was called *au. casni cauthial* (533.). *cauthial* is hapax in Etruscan, but we have the same name in *C. Cascellius Cauthia* (1483.). It is fully possible that Aule and Gaius were brothers. A second argument comes from a third tomb, also located near the tomb of Volumni, that of Achui. *la. axu casnial* (296.) indicates a connection between the Achu and the Casni families, which would also be found in *Thania Achonia Casceli* (1485.), probably the wife of *Sex. Casscelius C.f. Leonia gnatus* (1484.).

The two other urns (both lost) of the tomb belonged to *Hastia Alfia L.l.* (1486.)²⁸⁰ and *Lartia Varna* (1487.). Their connection with the family is not apparent. There is a problem with the dating of the tomb and the inscriptions. The inscription of Gaius (1483.) had clear serifs and cannot be earlier than the 2nd quarter of the 1st century BCE. The palaeography of the lid of Sextus (1484.) could indicate an earlier date, but he seems to be the son of Gaius. Only the plain lids of these two men are preserved, so we find no support from the urns. We may observe the wavering gemination (*Cascellius* – *Casscelius* – *Casceli*), but aspirates are marked in *Cauthia*, *Thania* and *Achonia* (but not in *Lartia*). The best explanation may be that Gaius lived a long life, and all the inscriptions belong to the 2nd quarter of the 1st century BCE.

The tomb of mainly Latin inscriptions from the 1822 find (845.-846., 1414.-1421.)

The abundant find in 1822 at Strozaccapponi (see above, p. 61) brought to light a complex with probably ten urns. It is unclear whether they came from one tomb, or whether G. B. Vermiglioli combined them because of the Latin inscriptions. Some of the names show kinship relations. Four of the inscriptions are preserved, six lost.

There are possibly two bilingual inscriptions, both disappeared, *ar. mesi | Mesia Arun. L.f. Tetia gnata* (846.), and *larθi zetnei anis | Sentia Anni* (845. and 1417.). In 846., the Etruscan gentilicium is adapted as such to the Latin name, but the rare female praenomen was transformed to cognomen.²⁸¹ The second bilingual is, in accordance with Pauli (*CIE* 4185), often considered as two separate inscriptions, and the Etruscan part read as *larθi vetnei anis*. There is, however, reasonable evidence that the lid with the Etruscan text was placed on the chest with the Latin one.²⁸² In addition, a plaster cast of the Etruscan inscription in the Palazzo Murena strongly supports the reading *zetnei*, which, in the Romanization process, could easily find the form *Sentia*. *Sentia* may have had a sister-in-law in *Remmia Anni* (1416.).²⁸³

Among the urns, which can be studied in the storehouse of Palazzone, [...] *Clandius Vel. f. Vessia cnatus* (1418.) had a brother in the lost *L. Cl. Vessia* (1419.).²⁸⁴ The origin of both gentilicia is identifiable in the

²⁸⁰ *SI* 30, 157, would emend it to *L.f.*, since a freedwoman could not in Latin bear a praenomen. But the same volume of *SI* presents a parallel case, *Hastia Scribonia Philicae l. Erotis*, *SI* 30, 274-75, No. 57 = 1649.

²⁸¹ I do not know why *SI* 30, 172, changes the order of the copy to *Arun(tia) Mesia*.

²⁸² For the discussion, see *SI* 30, 172-73.

²⁸³ *SI* 30, 172, suggests *Remnia*, based on the Clusian name *remni*.

²⁸⁴ *SI* 30, 171, has seen the praenomen siglum *L.*, which I could not discern. *Lucius* is, however, improbable, as two brothers could not have the same praenomen (unless the other has died young). In *CIE* 4188, the praenomen is read as *C.*

good Perusian names *clanti* and *vesi*. *A. Vettius A.f. Pinaria gnaf[us]* (1414.)²⁸⁵ had the Perusian gentilicium *veti*, but *Pinaria* has no an Etruscan counterpart. The third inscription of the storehouse has the text *Veltia* (1415.) on a plain lid with evened text field; on the chest is a relief probably depicting Penelope's toilet. In the *Lapidario* of the MANU is kept the urn of *Arsinia Ampudi* (1420.), with flower and garland decoration on the lid and Medusa on the chest. Thanks to several ligatures, the inscription offers different possibilities for reading and interpretation. I would agree with the interpretation of *SI* 30, 171,²⁸⁶ that the lady has the Etruscan gentilicium *arzni* in Latinized form, and the gamonymic of the Latin gentilicium *Ampudius*. *L. Papirius L. Arsi Obelsianus* (1421.) may be *Arsinia*'s relative. *SI* 30, 172, supplements the middle names as *L(uci filius) Arsi(na gnatus)*. Another possibility is to consider *L. Arsi* the *pater naturalis*, while the name *Papirius* would come from the adoptive father.²⁸⁷ The deceased had in any case a connection with the Perusian *vipi upelsi* family (332.-336., 484.-488), which offered the cognomen.

We can rather safely date all these inscriptions to the two first quarters of the 1st century BCE.

The tomb of Sortes (1457.-1462.)

The tomb was discovered in 1921 at Monteluca. A simple tomb chamber contained one uninscribed urn on a stone block and seven urns with Latin inscriptions.²⁸⁸ The inscriptions start with *D. Sortes L.l. Dionisius* (1457.).²⁸⁹ The gentilicium *Sortes* continues the Perusian name *surte*, derived from the epithet of Apollo *suri*, "black".²⁹⁰ Decimus had two sons buried in the tomb, *A. Sortes D.f. Fas. Ceat.* (1458.), and *L. Sortes D.f. Nic.* (1459.). The cognomen of Lucius, *Nic(er)*, presented, according to a general view, a Latin translation of the Etruscan word behind the gentilicium.²⁹¹ More problematic is the second line in Aulus' epitaph. The general view sees here the metronymic *Fas(tia) Cea(r)t(ia)*;²⁹² I am doubtful, especially with regard to the gentilicium.²⁹³ In the next generation, in the name of *L. Nigidius L.f. Sors scriba aed. cur.* (1460.), the translated cognomen of the father had advanced to a new gentilicium of the family. The name *Nigidius* may have longer traditions at Perugia.²⁹⁴ The old gentilicium was now taken as cognomen. No further members of the family were found in the tomb. *Q. Aufidi C.f. Tro. Bucinae* (1461.) and *A. Quintius A.f. Tro. Priscus* (1462.) had their urns placed there, possibly after the Sortes family had died out.

A lot has been written about this family and tomb, which reflect so well the progress of the Romanization. A new contribution to the discussion may be offered by the still unpublished tomb No. 37 of Strozacaponi, discovered in 2008. It had four urns, one without inscription, two in Etruscan, one in Latin.

²⁸⁵ My reading in the last word, where other editors have only seen *G*.

²⁸⁶ *SI* reads *Arsina* but *Arsinia* is onomastically better and possible, since the right bar of the preceding *N* is detached from the middle bar.

²⁸⁷ So, DOER 1937, 169; KAIMIO 1975, 164-65.

²⁸⁸ In my view, the inscription in *Lapidario* 2004, 59, No. 206, painted in large red letters, was Latin, not Etruscan, as Cipollone suggests. Reading the text remains impossible.

²⁸⁹ The family tree in COLONNA 2009, 111, sees in 1457. not the father, but a freedman of 1459., probably because Colonna does not see that the family would be of unfree descendance. But the letter forms of 1457. are clearly earlier than those of 1459.

²⁹⁰ See COLONNA 2009, 109.

²⁹¹ See COLONNA 2009, 111-12, with further references.

²⁹² See *SI* 30, 276-77, No. 60.

²⁹³ I was tempted to find a cognomen *Fasceat(us)*, but, after discussion with H. Solin, I rejected this idea. See SOLIN – MANDATORI 2017, 182.

²⁹⁴ Perugia may have been the home city of Cicero's friend P. Nigidius Figulus, praetor in 58 BCE. C. Nigidius was praetor in ca. 145 BCE. See COLONNA 2009, 111-12, esp. n. 78 with further references.

The first urn belonged to *larθia pistis tlapus lu.* (1645.). I interpret the name form as one of *lautnitha*, supplementing the two last letters *lu(tniθa)*.²⁹⁵ Her daughter was *velisa surtia pistis sex* (1646.). The position of the third person, *A. Sortes Sort. l. Pistrus* (1644. (published in *SI* 30, 277-78, No. 61) is less clear. He might have been a freedman of Velisa Surtia (1646.), *Sort(iae) l(ibertus)*. But the rare praenomen *velisa* (instead of *veilia*)²⁹⁶ may indicate that she died quite young. Her gentilicium must come from the father, Larthia's husband. Aulus could then be a freedman of Larthia's husband, but I prefer the family unity and see in him Larthia's husband, Velisa's father, who lived longer (or was prompter to change the language into Latin). This would mean that we have one more patron *surte*, giving his gentilicium to his freedman *Aulus*, as did the patron of Decimus. In Aulus' name form, the patron was given in the Etruscan way by the gentilicium *Sort(is ?) l(ibertus)*, while Decimus had it in the normal Latin way with praenomen. Interestingly, Aulus also seems to have continued in his cognomen the nomenclature of the family, if the otherwise unknown *Pistrus* is connected to *pistis*.

I think that all the urns of the Strozaccapponi tomb should be dated to the 2nd quarter of the 1st century BCE. The Monteluca tomb was probably founded in the 1st quarter of the 1st century. L. Nigidius was probably buried in the 3rd quarter of the 1st century, and the two persons unrelated to the family after the Perusine War (41/40 BCE).

The tomb of Anei Marcna (1449.-1456.)

This rich tomb No. 29 of Strozaccapponi, also called *Tomba del letto funebre*, was discovered in 2008 and is exhibited in the *Antiquario* of Corciano. It had eight painted urns, funeral beds and tomb gifts of bronze, iron, ceramic and silver. The urns have been published by Luana Cencioli in 2015,²⁹⁷ and the inscriptions – in an unsatisfactory way – by Maria Cappelletti in 2014.²⁹⁸

M. Cappelletti gave the central position in the tomb to *ls. anei marcna ls. cestna(l)* (1451.), “capo di famiglia”.²⁹⁹ His urn is plain. His brother (not son, as Cappelletti held)³⁰⁰ is *aule anei marcna cestna[l]* (1452.) with lid sculpture and a wonderful, coloured farewell scene on the chest. Laris has three children buried in the tomb: *ls. anei marc. ls. secstial* (1449.), with plain urn like that of the father; *θan. aneinei secstial* (1454.), with lid sculpture (of a man!), and the Battle on the walls of Thebes on the chest; *lθ. aneis marχn. ls. secs(tial)* (1455. – a woman, not a man, as Cappelletti said), with a face between two amphoras on the lid, and a Nereid riding on two sea monsters on the chest.

While Aule seems to have had no children, the tomb contained family members of a Larth, possibly another brother of Laris, but buried elsewhere.³⁰¹ His wife was *θa. ca. lauxumesi velenial sec* (1453.),³⁰² with lid sculpture and Scylla on the chest relief. Her urn was placed nearest the back-wall

²⁹⁵ This spelling is common at Clusium, but also encountered at Perugia in 681. A metronymic *lu(esnal)* is also possible.

²⁹⁶ *veliza* appears at Clusium, but this is the sole instance at Perugia. Velisa could be a *lautni* name, but the gentilicium and the metronymic indicate rather a freeborn.

²⁹⁷ *I colori dell'addio. Le urne e i letti etruschi di Strozaccapponi*. Perugia 2015.

²⁹⁸ CALANDRA ET AL. 2014, 88-93. See MASSARELLI 2019, 83-90.

²⁹⁹ Its place in the tomb is not fully clear. Cappelletti gave it the number 3, but in the photographs of CENCAIOLI 2015, 11-13. it is not visible, probably because it was hidden behind the higher urn 1452.

³⁰⁰ On the basis of her reading *cesχna*. It is possible it was written thus – the right side bar is very short – but in that case it was an *error lapicidae*.

³⁰¹ MASSARELLI 2019, 85, saw this Larth in *lθ.* of 1455., whom I consider a woman.

³⁰² The form *lauxumesi* is strange, a masculine pertinence. It might be an error for *lauxumei*, but a Perusian parallel exists, *petrusi* 1351. See below, pp. 163-64.

on the right bench, probably meaning that she belonged to the first generation together with Aule and Laris. She had two sons in the tomb, *ls. anei marcna la. (1450.)*,³⁰³ with lid sculpture and Centauromachy in the chest relief, and *la. an. marçna la. cai(al) (1456.)*, who died at the age of four: *III s.*, one of the exceptional age indications in Perusian epitaphs.³⁰⁴ His urn was decorated with ox heads, one on the lid gable between two grape bunches, another on the chest between two peltae and below two hanging garlands.

M. Cappelletti saw in the tomb three generations, meaning a time span of 60-70 years. She dated the bronze *fulcra* of the funeral beds to the period 150-100 BCE, while some grave goods might also be from the 1st half of the 1st cent. BCE.³⁰⁵ I have reduced the burials to two generations. Two brothers and probably the wife of a third belong to the first generation, three children of Laris and two of Thana (and Larth) to the second. A good estimate is that the first generation was buried in the 4th quarter of the 2nd cent., the second generation in the 1st quarter of the 1st cent. BCE.

Anei was a common gentilicium at Perugia, but the branch Anei Marcna is only known in this tomb. Marcna was probably the most common cognomen in the city, above all in the family Tite Marcna, but also in the families of Cai, Veti and Laucri. The tomb of Anei Marcna shows matrimonial links with the families of *cestna (1451., 1452.)*, *sestia (1449., 1454., 1455.)* and *cai lauxume (1453., 1456.)*.

Summary of the family tombs

I have collected into this table the main data of the family tombs.

Tomb	Pp.	Location	Bur.	DA	UI	Lat.	M	W	GN	Founding	Q
Rafi 1	17-19	Cimitero	39	4	-	5	23	16	5	1st q. of 2nd c.	Mo
Rafi 2	19-21	1822-f.	15	5	-	-	7	8	4	1st q. of 2nd c.	F
Rafi 3	21	Casaglia	3	1	-	-	3	-	2	3rd q. of 2nd c.	F
Surna	21-23	Monterone	16	5	-	1	10	6	3	3rd q. of 2nd c.	Me
Cire	23-24	Monterone	15	11	-	-	7	8	5	4th q. of 3rd c.	Mo
Vipi	24-25	Montevile	14	10	2	-	12	-	2	2nd q. of 2nd c.	P
Velchei	25	Montevile	9	1	-	-	5	5	3	3rd q. of 2nd c.	Me
Larci	25-26	Montevile	8	6	-	-	4	4	?	?	?
Vipi Ancari	26	Casaglia	12	12	-	-	3	7	?	?	?
Anei	26-27	Casaglia	12	11	6	1	5	1	?	?	?
Selvathri	27	Ponticello	5	-	-	-	-	5	4	2nd q. of 2nd c.	F
Petvi	27-28	Ponticello	18	3	3	-	8	8	3	2nd q. of 2nd c.	P
Vlesi	28-29	Ponticello	18	8	8	2	7	3	3	3rd q. of 2nd c.	Mo
Veti 1	29	Ponticello	8	-	1	1	3	4	2	4th q. of 2nd c.	Mo
Veti 2	29-30	Palazzone	9	4	-	-	6	3	2	1st q. of 2nd c.	Me
Veti 3	29-30	Palazzone	8	3	-	-	4	4	2	2nd q. of 2nd c.	Me
Veti Afle	30-31	Palazzone	15	2	-	-	9	7	3	2nd q. of 2nd c.	Mo
Afle	31-32	Palazzone	9	2	-	-	7	2	3	4th q. of 3rd c.	F
Satna	32-33	Ponticello	8	-	-	-	6	2	3	2nd q. of 2nd c.	F
Cai Carcu	33-34	Ponticello	29	-	-	-	14	15	4	1st q. of 2nd c.	Me
Pompu Plaute	35-36	Ponticello	14	1	-	2	9	6	3	3rd q. of 2nd c.	F
Noble women	36-37	Ponticello	8	-	3	-	-	5	3	2nd q. of 2nd c.	S
Lensu	37	Palazzone	5	4	-	3	3	2	2	2nd q. of 1st c.	P
Achu	37-38	Palazzone	12	6	-	5	6	6	3	3rd q. of 2nd c.	Me

³⁰³ The reading of the gentilicium is uncertain, *ani* is equally possible.

³⁰⁴ The other appears in the tomb of Cai Carcu, **243**.

³⁰⁵ In CENCIAIOLI 2015, 2-4.

Tomb	Pp.	Location	Bur.	DA	UI	Lat.	M	W	GN	Founding	Q
Volumni	38-39	Palazzone	7	-	-	1	6	1	5	4th q. of 3rd c.	S
Vipi Alfa	39	Palazzone	5	3	-	-	4	1	3	3rd q. of 2nd c.	Mo
Ceisi	39	Palazzone	6	3	1	-	3	2	3	3rd q. of 2nd c.	Mo
Vipi Upelsi 1	40	Palazzone	9	2	1	-	4	4	2	2nd q. of 2nd c.	Me
Vipi Uplesti 2	40-41	Palazzone	5	2	-	-	1	4	2	2nd q. of 2nd c.	F
Pumpu Snute	41-42	Palazzone	8	4	-	-	4	5	3	4th q. of 3rd c.	Me
Apurthe	42	Palazzone	7	3	-	-	6	1	2	2nd q. of 2nd c.	P
Acsi	42-45	Palazzone	22	12	-	-	22	-	4	4th q. of 3rd c.	F
Tite Petruni	45-46	Palazzone	13	4	2	1	10	4	3	2nd q. of 2nd c.	S
<i>Lautni</i>	46-47	Palazzone	6	6	-	-	4	2	2	3rd q. of 2nd c.	?
Anani 1	47-48	Palazzone	4	1	-	-	1	3	2	3rd q. of 2nd c.	Me
Anani 2	47	Palazzone	12	2	-	-	11	1	3	3rd q. of 2nd c.	Me
Tite Marcna	48	Palazzone	9	5	-	-	5	4	3	4th q. of 3rd c.	Mo
Veli	48	Palazzone	5	6	2	-	3	2	2	4th q. of 2nd c.	P
Vipi Vercna	49-50	Palazzone	18	12	-	-	10	8	3	4th q. of 3rd c.	Me
Faru	50	Palazzone	6	2	-	-	3	3	3	2nd q. of 2nd c.	Mo
Casni 1	50-51	Palazzone	18	11	-	-	9	9	3	4th q. of 3rd c.	Me
Casni 2	51-52	Palazzone	8	7	-	-	5	3	3	2nd q. of 2nd c.	Me
Vipi Vari	52	Palazzone	6	3	-	-	3	3	3	2nd q. of 2nd c.	Me
Lecetis	52-53	Palazzone	6	6	-	-	3	3	3	3rd q. of 2nd c.	P
Petru & Trile	53	Palazzone	6	3	-	-	1	5	2	1st q. of 2nd c.	F
Cacni 1	54	Frontone	5	1	-	-	2	3	4	1st q. of 2nd c.	F
Cacni 2	54-56	Elce	24	-	6	-	17	1	7	4th q. of 3rd c.	S
Cacni 3	56	Palazzone	3	-	-	-	2	1	1	2nd q. of 2nd c.	Me
Titui	56-57	Frontone	6	5	-	-	4	2	2	2nd q. of 2nd c.	P
Tins	57-58	Piscille	18	11	.	1	11	7	5	1st q. of 2nd c.	F
Alfa	58-59	Mad. Alta	16	-	2	-	11	3	4	1st q. of 2nd c.	Mo
Tite Vesi	59-61	S. Sisto	10	2	-	-	9	1	4	1st q. of 2nd c.	S
Cai Vetii	61	Strozzac.	8	3	-	-	8	-	3	3rd q. of 2nd c.	P
Velczna women	61-62	Strozzac.	6	2	-	-	-	6	3	3rd q. of 2nd c.	Mo
Velthurna	62	Strozzac.	8	4	-	-	5	3	3	3rd q. of 2nd c.	P
Venete	62-63	Strozzac.	9	7	-	-	8	1	3	1st q. of 2nd c.	P
Rezu	63	Strozzac.	11	5	-	-	6	5	3	3rd q. of 2nd c.	Me
Four women	63-64	S. Lucia	4	-	-	-	-	4	4	2nd q. of 2nd c.	Me
Petru Lethiu	64-65	?	8	-	-	-	8	-	3	1st q. of 2nd c.	Mo
Thurmna	65-66	?	11	7	-	-	7	4	3	1st q. of 2nd c.	Mo
Cai Cutu	66-68	Monteluca	51	-	3	6	48	-	6	3rd q. 3rd c.	Me
Casceli	69	Palazzone	5	3	-	5	2	3	2	2nd q. of 1st c.	P
Latin	69-70	1822-f.	10	6	-	8	4	6	2	1st q. of 1st c.	Mo
Sortes	70-71	Monteluca	8	-	1	7	7	-	3	1st q. of 1st c.	Mo
Anei Marcna	71-72	Strozzac.	8	-	-	-	5	3	2	4th q. of 2nd c.	F
			724	252	41	49	443	248			

Table 1. The family tombs

Tombs: The tombs are given in the same order as in the preceding discussion. This is why I have omitted the inscription numbers, which one can see in the headings of the tomb descriptions.

Pp. gives the pages in which the tomb is discussed.

Location: 1822-f. is used for the abundant necropoleis discovered in 1822, probably at Strozzacaponi. Ponticello = Ponticello di Campo. Mad. Alta = Madonna Alta. Strozzac. = Strozzacaponi.

Bur. = Burials: The number of burials is given as well as possible, by the amount of cippi, sarcophagi, urns and ollas, but this number is necessarily inexact. A cippus does not always mean a burial in the tomb. Several urns have contained the ashes of two persons, but the double burial cannot always be known. This also explains why the number of burials does not always tally with number of uninscribed + men + women.

DA = Disappeared: Here I give the number of urns, of which no evidence has appeared after World War II. It should help to realize the limits of our knowledge. It does not mean that the monuments are lost for ever. We know that many of the “lost” urns may be hidden in private collections.

UI = Uninscribed: A part of the urns were uninscribed. In the early finds, they have usually not been recorded and cannot be listed. They would increase the number of burials. In some cases (Tomb of Cacni 2), this figure includes fragmentary urns, which may originally have been inscribed.

Lat. = Latin: As the use of Latin is relevant, I have given the number of Latin epitaphs (including bilinguals).

M = Men.

W = Women. The gender is not in all instances determinable, but I have given my best estimate.

GN = Generations. How many generations of the family were buried in the tomb, is clear only if we can build a reliable family tree. All tombs of the list are not purely family tombs. Some have collected people with a different tie, and generations cannot be calculated. Consequently, the number given is only my best estimate. I dislike question marks, but the uncertainty in this column is evident.

Founding: When was the tomb built, or the first ashes hidden in it? What is said above about the level of uncertainty also concerns this column, but I believe that my best estimate (in some instances my best guess) could be helpful.

Q = Quality of the monuments. I have used the scale S = spectacular, F = fine, Me = mediocre, Mo = modest, P = poor. I have tried to evaluate the average level of the monuments. One spectacular urn does not give an S for the tomb if most other urns are plain. Naturally, this is a personal judgement, and is particularly difficult if most urns have disappeared (probably a major part of the disappeared urns were plain).

The sixty-five tombs discussed above have included 724 burials. One-third of the monuments (252) have disappeared. We know forty-one monuments without any inscriptions. 443 men and 248 women (36%) are recorded in the inscriptions. The share of women is smaller than in our total material, because of some large tombs for men only – without the newest finds, the tombs of Cacni 2 and Cai Cutu, the share would be 39%. The number of Latin inscriptions is forty-nine, and they were found in fifteen tombs.

One must remember that – with a few exceptions – only the tombs with at least five burials were included. Hence, we cannot count the average size. The tomb of Cai Cutu with fifty-one burials is the biggest, followed by the tomb of Rafi 1 (39), those of Cai Carcu (29), Cacni 2 (24) and Acsi (22). As it seems, most of the tombs were founded in the 2nd century, and probably none in the first half of the 3rd century BCE. The tomb of Cai Cutu, which I date to the 3rd quarter of the 3rd century, may be among the oldest. At the other end, I have dated the founding of the tomb of Casceli to the 2nd quarter of the 1st century BCE. The tomb of Cai Cutu also lasted the longest time, with probably seven generations buried in it.

Certain peculiarities of the Perusian family tombs were observed. The Etruscans sometimes separated the burials of men and women in different tombs.³⁰⁶ In my list, there are seven tombs for men only, four for women only. Equally common were tombs of men, where one wife, often in a double urn with her husband, and possibly one daughter were buried. Such tombs are those of Afle, Volumni, Apurthe, Tite Petruni, Anani 2, Cacni 2 and Tite Vesi. In the same way, several tombs of women made an exception in the case of one man (or a son who died young): Vipi Upelsi 1, Anani 1, Petru & Trile and Cacni 1. The praxis of reserving certain tombs for men only can be seen in the fact that in many family tombs open for women, relatives of

³⁰⁶ For a table with the different kinship patterns in family tombs, see NIELSEN 2002, 104. It includes comparisons between different towns of Etruria.

the wives married to the family could find their burial. This phenomenon was observed in the tombs of Cire, Vetii 2, Vetii 3, Cai Carcu, Vipi Upelsi 1, Casni 1 and 2, and Cacni 2.

The tomb of Volumni is now interpreted as follows: the tomb founders ordered new, spectacular urns for their father and grandfather as well as for themselves (and one daughter), all from the same workshop. Also in the tombs of Cai Carcu and of Noble-women, urns or ashes of parents and grandparents were transferred from other tombs. In many other tombs, the first urns or sarcophagi were uninscribed, probably brought in from earlier tombs of the family. We have seen this in the tombs of Cire, Vipi, Vipi Uplesi 1, Cacni 2, Alfa, Cai Cutu and Sortes. At the other end, old family tombs were reopened after a period of abandonment, either by members of the same family, as in the case of the Velimna tomb, or by strangers, as probably in the tombs of Anei, Cai Carcu, Tins and Sortes.

From a prosopographical point of view, we observe that the indirect name parts record more people of Perugia than the burials themselves. I can only give approximative figures: ca. 285 of the 691 recorded persons included the patronymic in their name form, meaning that we know the praenomen and gentilicium of their fathers. The mother is given in ca. 370 name forms, and the husband in ca. 150 female name forms, usually with the gentilicium alone. This would mean a total of over 800 new persons, but the real number is smaller, because in family tombs, we have spouses, sisters, and brothers with the same parents, who can also have their own epitaphs. A rough estimate is that the indirect name parts double the number of identifiable individuals of the epitaphs (see the Person Register at the end of this volume).

From this material, I have collected the FTI corpus of 317 male and 175 female epitaphs, for which I consider the dating within the limits of one quarter-century (plus/minus one-quarter) possible. This corpus with its approximate dating provides the basis for the analysis of the various features of the Perugian funerary monuments and their inscriptions.

The types and decoration of the cinerary urns

We have some information about the support on which 1,676 inscriptions are written. Of these, 812 were carved on urn lids, 666 on chests, and nineteen on both the lid and chest, continuing from one to the other.³⁰⁷ Furthermore, seventy-eight were found on cippi, fifty-six on ollas, twenty-seven on lead plates, thirteen on stelas, five on tomb walls; and sixteen epitaphs on unknown monument types (either chest or lid). The choice of the support for the inscription was not much dependent on the sex of the deceased. In the epitaphs carved on the chest, the share of men, 58%, was somewhat higher than in those on lids (54%). The share in the ollas (56%) is well in line with these. In the cippi, the men have a share of 62%.

In certain instances, the same person could receive two epitaphs. One could be in the cippus and the other in the urn (e.g., **512.** and **513.**), or in the lead plate and the urn (e.g., **361.** and **364.**). In several instances, the same text was carved both on the lid and on the chest (**25.-26.**; **309.-310.**, **491.-492.**; possibly **180.** and **1052.**; **292.-293.**).

I have given a tentative dating to 1,181 inscriptions. In this dating, the supports of the inscriptions are divided according to the following table:

Quarter-centuries	2nd-3rd q. of 3rd c.	4th q. of 3rd c.	1st q. of 2nd c.	2nd q. of 2nd c.	3rd q. of 2nd c.	4th q. of 2nd c.	1st q. of 1st c.	2nd q. of 1st c.	3rd-4th q. of 1st c.
Lids	-	11	30	108	149	166	105	35	6
Chests	4	20	63	93	88	79	52	18	28
Lids and chests	1	1	1	2	3	5	-	4	1
Cippi	4	7	22	6	2	-	4	1	-
Ollas	-	-	1	4	4	9	6	1	-
Lead plates	-	1	23	2	2	-	-	-	-
Stelai	-	-	2	-	3	1	1	-	-
Walls	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

Table 2: Monument types

The cippi and the lead plates belong to an early phase of the Hellenistic epitaphs. The ollas are, as a group, rather late, but their dating has been harder to determine than that of the other groups. Of the urn inscriptions, at the beginning of the tradition, the chest was the favoured support, but from the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century onwards, the lid bore the majority of the inscriptions. In the Roman period, the chest was again used more than the lid as the support of the inscription.

The number of preserved cippi, stelas, ollas or lead plates is not sufficient for a typological study. Hence, I concentrate on the urns, emphasizing that in this study of the urn types, my point of view is epigraphic. I discuss the inscribed urns alone, with the intention of finding support for the context, social sta-

³⁰⁷ In addition, this was probably the case in some incomplete epitaphs the beginning of which was evidently on the disappeared lid or chest, e.g., **1509.** *puia ca.* on the lid would require the name of the woman on the lost chest.

tus and date of the epitaph and of the deceased. The typology would certainly change after a study of the complete material, uninscribed urns included, but this has been beyond my resources. In any case, it is my wish that this study might form a basis for further typological studies of the Perusian funerary monuments.

A cinerary urn had two parts, the lid and the chest. Although the inscription in nearly all instances was either on the lid or on the chest, both parts are relevant for my scope. We should, however, know that the inscribed part and the uninscribed part belonged together, in order to be able to draw conclusions on the basis of the uninscribed part. In old finds, the lids may have changed places, and there are numerous inscribed lids without chest and chests without lid. It is only in the recently found urns that we can mostly trust in this connection, but I have included in my material rather freely other instances, too, where the inventory number, the measurements, and the form in the exhibition of the museums do not create major suspicions. This means that in the following discussion, in rough figures, 185 uninscribed lids and 344 uninscribed chests are included in the typological study. On the other hand, over 200 lids and over 300 chests with inscription have disappeared. Only the text is preserved in old manuscripts, without any information about the type of the lid or the chest.

The lids

The Perusian urn lid had either the sculpture of the deceased in reclining or semi-reclining position on it, or it had an architectural form with gabled roof (“a doppio spiovente”). At Perugia, and only there, one gable is towards the front, whereas, for instance, at Clusium the long side is towards the front and usually bears the inscription. With the above-mentioned caveats, I have defined the type of 781 lids of inscribed urns. Of these, 144 (18%) have the sculpture of the deceased banqueting on the lid, while 637 (82%) lids belong to the gabled-roof type. But I am certain that the real ratio was even more uneven. The chances for a sculpture lid to survive or at least leave information were much higher than those for a simple gabled-roof lid. One may assume that most of the lost lids belonged to the gabled-roof type. In the urns with a Latin inscription, we know only six lids with the sculpture of the deceased.

The lid sculptures

The Etruscan urn type with the sculpture of the banqueting deceased on the lid is best represented at Volterrae, Clusium and Perugia, but it has naturally a counterpart in the sarcophagus lids of south Etruria, above all from Tarquinia and Tuscania. As my scope (and competence) is in epigraphy, I leave the stylistic analysis of the sculptures to experts and concentrate on certain typological features, which, supporting the stylistic analysis and supported by it, may help in forming a frame for the chronology of the monuments and their inscriptions. Even in this typological study, one must note that the bad preservation status of many lid sculptures as well as the lack of autopsy in many instances, where I work with photographs alone, makes the numbers given below necessarily inexact, but hopefully relevant. I have chosen to discuss in greater detail 130 lids belonging to five married couples,³⁰⁸ fifty-seven women and sixty-eight men.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁸ 408., 410. and 1427. with the names of both the husband and the wife recorded on the epitaph, 233. with the husband’s name alone, 1357. with the wife’s name alone. In addition, 458., in private possession, without a published photograph, but described by M. MATTEINI CHIARI in *SE* 44, 1976, 237, No. 36, had a married couple.

³⁰⁹ These figures do not include ten sculpture lids, for which no photograph or drawing has been available. Most of them have been indicated by Vermiglioli, Conestabile or Brunn – Körte. This list, not discussed in my detailed study, includes 463., 771., 849., 889., 987., 1114., 1160., 1179., 1180., 1297., and 1466. In some instances, the sculpture and the epitaph seem to belong to different

Modern scholars who have studied the urn sculptures include Anna Eugenia Feruglio, Gianna Dareggi, Françoise-Hélène Massa Pairault, Marjatta Nielsen and Adriano Maggiani.³¹⁰ A natural starting point for a stylistic analysis is offered by the fine urns of the tomb of Volumni. The oldest sculptures, possibly by a Clusian artist, were influenced by the portrait of Alexander the Great by Lysippos as well as by the tendencies in the early Diadochi portraits. This led to a date after 250 BCE.³¹¹ After the workshop of this first master, Maggiani succeeded in identifying five artists with their workshops (“maestri A-E”), down to the first quarter of the 2nd century BCE.³¹²

The study of parallel groups of lid sculptures from Volaterrae, Clusium and south Etruscan sarcophagi has made significant use of the clothing of the banqueting deceased. The oldest sculptures present the men with bare head, nude upper body and stomach, with the cloak covering the lower part of the body. Perhaps in the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century, the practice of covering the head with the hem of the cloak became common, but the nude upper body together with the veiled head is a Perusian speciality. It was only in the late 2nd century BCE that the chiton came to cover the upper part of the body.³¹³ In identifying different stylistic groups, the coiffure, the wreath, the garland, the veiled head and the jewellery are equally used.³¹⁴ In the sarcophagi of south Etruria, the development of the supine posture to the reclining banquet posture offers a rather clear basis for dating. This development happened during the 3rd century BCE, and since most Perusian urns are later, the supine posture is rare.³¹⁵

Most of the sculptures have attributes in the right hand, sometimes in both hands: ceramic vessels, mostly a *patera umbelicata*, but book scrolls, flowers, fans, garlands etc. also appear. These attributes had a symbolic value. At Volaterrae, when changing a male sculpture to that of a woman, the face was accepted as such, but the attribute was normally altered, for instance, from a *phiale* to a round mirror-box.³¹⁶ The attributes might also be connected to certain stylistic phases.

I now return to the group of Perusian lid sculptures. The posture of the deceased offers no surprises. In my material, I have ascribed one female sculpture (**996**, Fig. 1) to the “supine type”. In my scale 1 (supine) – 5 (upright), the middle group 3 with fifty-three lids is the largest, but in the case of men, the group 4 is almost as great. I ascribed three men and three women to the most upright group; my example is **1187**. (Fig. 2). Most of the sculptures are looking forward, less than one-third look sideways to the right. The forward-looking group is larger in the case of men than of women.

The south Etruscan development from a supine to a more upright posture was not visible at Perugia. The differences between the quarter-centuries in the FTI-group or in the entire tentatively dated material are not remarkable. Against my expectation, the nearly upright group (evaluated as 4) is the greatest in the two first quarters of the 2nd century. In the 3rd quarter, three lids out of four belonged to the groups 2–3, and

sexes. E.g., **1160**. and **1180**. among the lost sculpture lids, were described by VERMIGLIOLI 1804, 172, 179, as fine female figures, but the inscriptions belonged to men. It has been assumed that the relatives did not care too much about the sculpture but chose from the workshop one piece, which then was only lightly finished. In my statistics, I follow in such instances the sex of the epitaph.

³¹⁰ DAREGGI 1972, 17, 19-29; FERUGLIO 1977, 110-17; 2002, 478-90; MAGGIANI 1985, 35-36; 2011, 183-94; MASSA PAIRAULT 1994, 84-87; NIELSEN 2009, 79-95; 2010, 150-69.

³¹¹ MAGGIANI 2011, 185.

³¹² MAGGIANI 2011, 187-90.

³¹³ MAGGIANI 2011, 184.

³¹⁴ A detailed analysis on this basis of the Volaterran lid sculptures in NIELSEN 1975, 284-89, 291-95, 302-15.

³¹⁵ This is also the case at Volaterrae, see NIELSEN 1975, 284-85.

³¹⁶ NIELSEN 1975, 317.

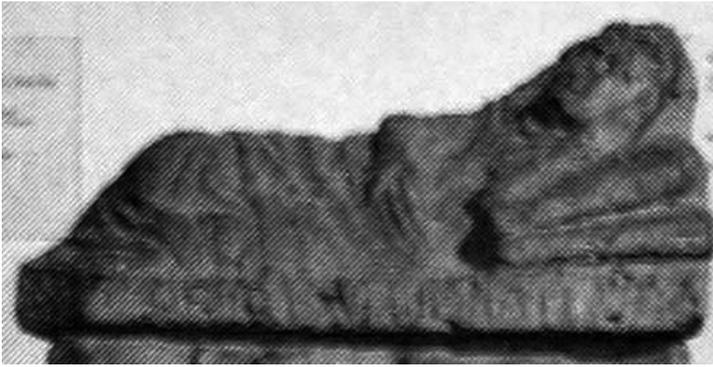


Fig. 1 (996.)



Fig. 2 (1187.)

after that, the more upright postures (4–5) became still rarer. The sideways looking group was largest in the two first quarters of the 2nd century, but never as large as the forwards looking group.

There is some variation in the posture of the arms. The banqueter normally leaned the left elbow and forearm on two cushions, while the right arm and hand rested on the lifted right knee (e.g., **226**. Fig. 3). In one group, the left forearm was lifted from the cushion and touched the chin or held the garland (e.g., **246**. Fig. 4). Thirteen women and ten men present this type (17% of the material). In women, the hand touched the chin in most instances, and in men it usually held a garland. Most instances (13 out of 23) seem to come from the two last quarters of the 2nd century. The right arm was only rarely lifted towards the head. The best-known instances came from the tomb of Volumni in the urns of the banqueting Arnth Velimna (**311**.) and the sitting Veilia (**312**.). The man in **48**. and the woman in **1174**. raised the right hand to the head, and the man in **819**. held the garland in his right hand. On the lids of married couples, **233**. and **1357**., the right arm of the man embraced the wife. In some instances, the right hand rested on the stomach instead of the knee, holding the fold of the cloak (men in **235**., **1334**., **1450**., women in **996**. – Fig. 1 – and **1142**.).



Fig. 3 (226.)



Fig. 4 (246.)

The deceased could be characterized by placing different attributes in his or her hands. In women, when the left forearm was resting on the cushion, the hand was usually empty (31 instances). Of the different attributes, the fan was most popular (six instances), while a flower, the most common attribute of the right hand, is met only once in **658**.³¹⁷ In men, even the resting left hand usually held the garland (21

³¹⁷ If we can trust Vermiglioli's information (VERMIGLIOLI 1804, 118). Next to nothing is visible in modern photos.

instances), or else it was empty (16 instances). The patera is met six times, and book scroll on two lids: **4.**, **226.** (Fig. 3).

The resting right hand of women was often empty (ten instances – in men six instances), but usually it held an attribute. The attribute is not always easily definable, especially from photographs – a patera and a flower may look very alike. As it is, I have calculated in women eighteen flowers, seven pateras, four fans, three garlands, one kantharos (**1671.**) and one book scroll (**1358.**). Two men have book scrolls (**246.** - Fig. 4 - and **346.**), but they were more interested in drinking: thirty-one of the identifiable instances held a patera, and nine had some other drinking cup. There are two instances of garlands (**413.**,³¹⁸ **985.**), but are there any men with a flower? One candidate is **912.** (Fig. 5), but I think that the object was rather a small garland – a long garland around the neck was held by the left hand in front of the mouth and nose. A special “attribute” appears in **1048.** (Fig. 6), where a miniature servant was bringing more food in a kettle. Servants are often met in the banqueting reliefs of the lid gables (see below), but in the Perusian lid sculptures, this is a unique instance.



Fig. 5 (912.)



Fig. 6 (1048.)

The legs were not of any special interest for the sculptors. Both legs were bent backwards, and the feet mostly disappeared under the cloak or in the backside of the lid. There is some variation in the position of the right knee, which was not always lifted, but rested twisted on the left knee (12 female and 16 male instances, e.g., **412.**, Fig.7). Legs and feet were carefully carved only in the finest lid sculptures, especially in those of the tomb of Volumni. There are slightly more female sculptures with feet visible (13 against 9 male), possibly because it was more natural to hide the feet beneath the cloak of men. The men with bare upper body were normally built; I have seen some obesity in five instances (**5.**, **42.** – Fig. 8 –, **734.**, **1205.** and **1434.**) of the forty-nine men with bare upper body.



Fig. 7 (412.)



Fig. 8 (42.)

³¹⁸ This lid sculpture of Vel Tite Petruni has a female head, evidently added in modern times. His garland around the neck was exceptionally long, held with both hands.

The proportions of the body were not always natural in the sculptures: either the upper or the lower part was reduced. Here we see a clear difference between women and men: in men, the natural proportion was twice as common as the reduced type, while reduced proportions were somewhat more common in women than the natural ones. Moreover, in women the reduction more often concerned the upper part of body – for instance, in the Fig. 2 of **1187.** –, whereas in men, nearly all instances reduced the lower part of the body.

I have estimated the age of the person in the lid sculptures, so that forty-eight faces belonged to young persons (21 women, 27 men), twenty-five to middle-aged persons (8 women, 17 men) and seven to older people (three women, four men). In the rest of the instances, the head is broken or too mutilated. An idealizing tendency is apparent in the figures.

In both women and men, the head was somewhat more often veiled by the fold of the cloak than bare. Four women and thirteen men wore a wreath on the veiled head (e.g., **80.**, Fig. 9); in addition, six men had a wreath and seven women a diadem on the unveiled head (e.g., **233.**, Fig. 10). I have not had sufficient basis for estimating the length of the hair or the coiffure.



Fig. 9 (**80.**)



Fig. 10. (**233.**)

The normal clothing of women consisted of a chiton and a cloak. In men, the cloak alone, leaving the upper body bare, was the normal clothing (49 instances). The chiton covered the bust in nineteen instances. A certain chronological development can be seen, to the extent that we can rely on my tentative dating. The view that the bare upper body of men belonged to an earlier period than the use of chiton under the cloak finds some support from our material. However, as late as in the 4th quarter of the 2nd century, there are more instances without than with the chiton. It was only in the 1st century BCE that nearly all men wore the chiton.³¹⁹ The exceptions are **819.**, **1473.** (Fig. 11) and possibly **1334.** (from the tomb of Cai Cutu), for which the photograph is not clear enough.

At least some drapery was carved in the cloths of all the sculptures. It seems that finished drapery more often appeared in women's clothing – for cloaks, it was often enough to mark some folds (e.g., **824.**, Fig. 12), but the chitons remained almost unnoticed without drapery. Nearly all the women had a ribbon binding the chiton under the breast; often there were also cross-ribbons on the chiton. I have found one woman (the above-mentioned Lusia in **1424.**) and one man (the husband of the married couple in **1427.**) who wore the ribbon around their waist.

³¹⁹ SCLAFANI 2010, 167, held, mainly on the basis of Clusian material, that the bare upper body in Etruria belonged to the 3rd century, and that from 190-180 BCE onwards men of the lid figures wore the chiton under the cloak. Perugia was, however, an exception. MAGGIANI 2011, 184, saw correctly male figures with chiton appear first in the late 2nd and in the 1st cent. BCE, although there are also earlier instances.

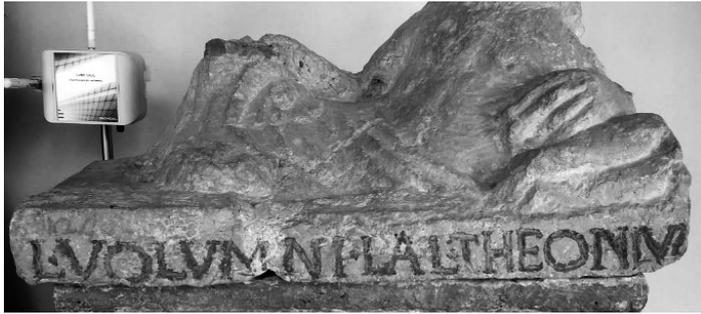


Fig. 11 (1473.)



Fig. 12 (824.)

Jewellery is not easily perceptible in travertine sculptures, but one might say that it was not common in the Perusian lid sculptures. Unsurprisingly, it appeared mainly in women: necklaces and bracelets seem to be more common than earrings, diadems or rings. In men, some instances of a bracelet (e.g., 912.) and a ring are observable, but the men mainly decorated themselves with a garland around the neck. Of the sixty-five observable sculptures, I calculated forty-seven with and eighteen without a garland. In women, a garland around the neck is encountered three times, 970., 1287. and 1454. (Fig. 13), but none of these lid sculptures shows a clear female figure. It is possible that, in lack of anything better, the relatives have taken male lids, which were slightly worked up to fit the female deceased.³²⁰



Fig. 13 (1454.)

Lid sculptures on urns with Latin inscription

The tradition of lid sculptures continued to the first century BCE, as the six urns with Latin inscriptions show. One of the urns (1466.)³²¹ has disappeared without leaving any drawings. It is interesting that at least two of the urns belonged to freedmen (1473. and 1466.), and 1474. was probably the wife of 1473. It is possible that *Lusinia* [- - -] *Iotae* (1424.) is also the daughter of a freedwoman or the wife of a freedman. Stylistically, the lid sculptures were quite different, from the delicate, “Aphrodite-like” portrait of Thania Caesinia with rich jewellery (1474.; Fig. 14), to the rude, schematic sculpture of L. Annaeus (1522.; Fig. 15).

³²⁰ This is most evident in 1454. from *Tomba del letto funebre* of Strozacaponi. It is, however, worth noting that in all the instances, the attribute in the right hand is female: a fan in 970., a second garland in 1287., and a flower in 1454.

³²¹ CONESTABILE 1870, 460, No. 286, recorded the lid sculpture.



Fig. 14 (1474.)



Fig. 15 (1522.)

The sculpture of Lusinia (1424.) may have been originally prepared for a man.³²² The posture of the deceased is closer to “supine” than “upright”, the left shoulder is close to the cushion. Volumnius Theopilus (1473., Fig. 11) had a bare upper body, surprising at such a late date. The attributes are unclear, but 1473. and 1522. seem to have a patera in the right hand, 1424. a *skyphos* in the left hand and possibly a garland in the right hand.

Gabled-roof lids

More than four fifths of the lids, where the type is known, have the architectonic gabled-roof form (“a doppio spiovente”). It made the cinerary chest a house urn (“urna-casa”), common throughout Etruria in the Hellenistic period. But it also preserved elements of the *kline*-type, since a group of lids had the banqueting deceased carved on the tympanum. The fact that many travertine urns had legs under the chest (see below, pp. 116-17) preserved the memory of the wooden chests.³²³ The Perusian gabled-roof lid differed from the normal type in that the gables were in the front and in the back, not in the sides.³²⁴ Among the inscribed urns, I know only seven exceptions to this rule (454., 716., 719., 1304., 1306., 1311., 1634.).

The front gable (tympanum) offered good space, not only for the inscription, but for different kinds of decoration. However, of the 634 gable-roofed lids with defined type, 393 (62%) were left plain, without decoration. I have divided the reliefs of the decorated lids into four main types. The banquet relief is met in twenty lids (3%). The second group is formed by tympana with two peltae on the oblique sides rising over the roof flats and thus forming a decorative profile for the front side of the urn. I give for this group the siglum PR (pelta relief). It is represented by eighty-seven instances (14%). The third group, TPR (triangular pelta relief), has also pelta decoration, but inside the triangular gable. It is met in forty-one instances (6%). The fourth group, TTR (triangular tympanum relief), with ninety-three lids (15%), has other decorative elements inside the usually listed tympanum. The figures 16, 17 and 18 show representants of the three groups (90., 1316. and 1456.). The three last-mentioned groups are divided into numbered subgroups.

³²² NIELSEN 1999, 102; NIELSEN 2010, 158.

³²³ In general, see DAREGGI 1972, 16.

³²⁴ This difference was already emphasized by Pauli in *CIE*, p. 415, and also used by him in defining the origin of inscriptions.



Fig. 16 (90.)



Fig. 17 (1316.)



Fig. 18 (1456.)

The tympanum with banqueting relief

I start with the banqueting reliefs, which form a link between the tympanum lid and the sculpture lids. This type, encountered only at Perugia, has recently been presented with a catalogue of thirteen pieces by Maggiani (57., 107., 177., 271., 272., 462., 825., 827., 833., 896., 1143., 1281., 1359.).³²⁵ I can add seven reliefs to his corpus (43., 250., 750., 866., 1029., 1437., and 1665.).³²⁶ With the exception of 866. and 896., the inscription is on the lower list of the lid. The new instances do not change Maggiani's view, that, in this type, the majority belongs to women: only six (43, 107., 250., 462., 1437., 1665.)³²⁷ of the twenty instances record a male deceased. The relief form leaves more space for additional elements, usually on the right side of the *kline*, but the small size of the tympanum makes the details fewer, and it is, for instance, difficult to distinguish whether the attribute in the right hand of the banqueter is a flower or patera. The oblique sides of the tympanum could be listed, as in 1143. (Fig. 19), they could have the pelta form (250., 271., 1281.), and there could be volutes in the corners (825., 896.).³²⁸

³²⁵ MAGGIANI 2009, 194-96, Figg. 28-40. His No. 2 is not *ET* Pe 1.1027, but *ET*² Pe 1.1281 (*ET*² Pe 1.1360 is a double publication of it).

³²⁶ In addition, two lids, for which no photograph is available, seem to belong to this group: 486. (described by G MASCIARRI in *SE* 44, 1976, 242, No. 42, and 1048., described by BRUNN – KÖRTE 1916, 131.

³²⁷ In addition, the ashes of a son *laruzu* are buried in his mother's urn in 833., and the sex of 1359. remains unknown.

³²⁸ MAGGIANI 2009, 194, wanted to connect its inscription to the lid with 898. (*CIE* 4202; *ET*² Pe 1.898). I found this lid in the storehouse of Palazzone, with a flower between peltae on the tympanum, so there is no connection.

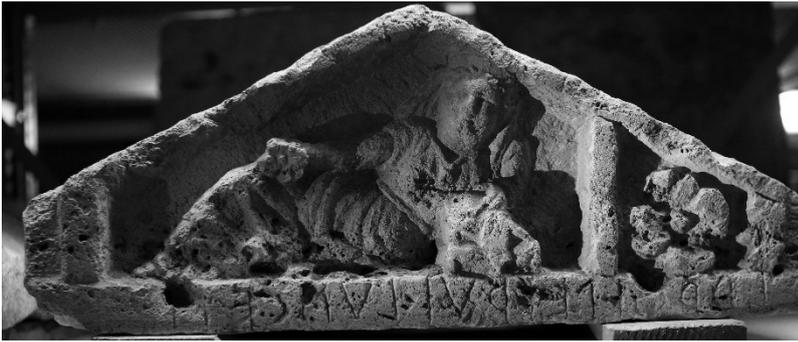


Fig. 19 (1143.)

Of the attributes or additional elements, I have, according to my best judgement,³²⁹ calculated in the right hand of the deceased ten pateras, seven flowers and two drinking cups; the right hand in **462.** seems to be empty. Left-hand attributes are scarcely observable; in **827.**, I discern a fan. But quite often, other elements of the banquet are sculpted. In **1359.**, we have a servant and a table on both sides of the *kline*. In **43.** and **866.**, the right part of the tympanum shows a servant and a table. A servant was also on the right side in **896.** and on the left side in **272.**, where the right side was filled with an amphora. Tables can be seen on the right side in **57.**, **107.**, **271.**, **462.**, **750.** and **825.** In **57.** and **462.**, the table clearly had three curved feet. On the tables, one can discern wine jugs (**57.**, **1359.**) or bread (**43.**, **271.**, **825.**). Amphoras are also seen in **57.**, **272.** and **833.** A large bird kept company with the banqueter in **177.** Finally, we have a dolphin on both sides of the *kline* in **827.**

All the inscriptions in this type were Etruscan. None of them seems to be earlier than the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century, and the type was still known after the Social War, as **250.** from the tomb of Cai Carcu shows.

The pelta reliefs

The pelta was a light shield of wood and leather, which gave the name to *peltastai*, light troopers. Herodotus (7.75) connects it to Thracians; it also belonged to the weaponry of the Amazons (Plutarch *Pomp.* 35). Why was it so popular as a decorative element of the Perusian urn lids? It did not belong to Etruscan armour, at least as far as I know. It sometimes appeared in the battle scenes of the chest reliefs (e.g., in the fight of an Arimasp against a griffin in **539.**, Fig.20), but it had no prominent position in them. M. Barbanera saw its origin in the symbol of the last *agon*, protecting the road to the Underworld, full of monsters.³³⁰ Nati, emphasizing its connection to warriors of the extreme parts of the known world, preferred to see in it a symbol of the *virtus* of the deceased.³³¹ It evidently had some protective function against evil spirits; but should it not in such a function be turned in the lids with the protective, curved side outwards? In the Hellenistic period, I see it in purely decorative function. Its form well fits to the low equilateral triangle, giving to the profile of the tympanum a clear top, corner volutes and middle peaks to the long sides.

³²⁹ Which, in some points, differs from that of Maggiani, who, for instance, in **271.** and **272.** saw a patera, whereas I prefer a flower.

³³⁰ BARBANERA 1990, 185.

³³¹ NATI 2008, 111.



Fig. 20 (529.)

Between the two peltae was left a triangular field for further elements. The curved sides of the peltae made this field narrower, and sometimes the peltae themselves were narrowed to decorative lists of the oblique sides of the tympanum (see below, type PR 16, Fig. 38).

In my material, the various elements in the central field provide seventeen subgroups. Some of them include only one instance, but it is probable that further examples can be found among the uninscribed lids.

PR 1: Empty central field. There are four instances of this, **718.**, **918.**,³³² **1206.**, **1385.** (Fig. 21). The top of the Latin **1385.** has two volutes, while the normal PR type has a sharp top.



Fig. 21 (1385.)

PR 2: A rose-like flower in the central field. This was by far the most common type in our material, with forty-three instances.³³³ In most instances, the flower had four petals, the edges of which could further be two-parted. There is one instance of a flower with six petals (**1047.**) and some with eight petals (**898.**, **1299.**). The flower in **1235.** was pressed by the peltae into a triangular form. **1298.** had a fine flower in high relief. The figures 22, 23 and 24 show **981.**, **898.**, and **1298.**



Fig. 22 (981.)



Fig. 23 (898.)



Fig. 24 (1298.)

³³² **918.** is preserved only in the copy of VERMIGLIOLI 1804, 214.

³³³ **14.**, **82.**, **205.**, **237.**, **253.**, **284.**, **288.**, **333.**, **377.**, **393.**, **400.**, **422.**, **423.**, **515.**, **520.**, **583.**, **654.**, **722.**, **736.**, **859.**, **867.**, **898.**, **911.**, **946.**, **981.**, **1147.**, **1157.**, **1227.**, **1235.**, **1241.**, **1289.**, **1298.**, **1299.**, **1305.**, **1308.**, **1319.**, **1418.**, **1428.**, **1433.**, **1436.**, **1492.**, **1540.**, **1630.**

PR 3: A flower with a leaf above. I assign some variants to their own groups, although the instances are rare. In this case, represented only by **743**. (Fig. 25), the empty space is filled by a leaf.

PR 4: A violet-like flower in the central field. Three instances, **347**. (with a leaf above, Fig. 26), **1303**. and **1321**.

PR 5: A trefoil leaf in the central field. Four instances, **322**. (with a piece of the stalk visible), **389**., **467**. (Fig. 27), and **1054**. The trefoil does not look like a clover; the form of the central field preferred pointed leaves.

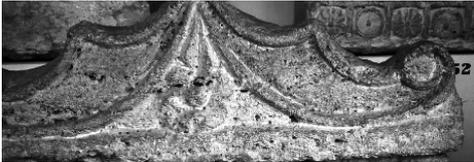


Fig. 25 (743.)



Fig. 26 (347.)



Fig. 27 (467.)

PR 6: An acanthus flower in the central field. Six instances, **391**. (Fig. 28), **404**. (could also be a calla), **1310**., **1429**., **1432**., **1590**.

PR 7: A palmette in the central field. One instance, **882**. (Fig. 29).³³⁴

PR 8: A tree (cypress?) in the central field, Three instances, **67**. (Fig. 30), **1136**., **1222**.



Fig. 28 (391.)

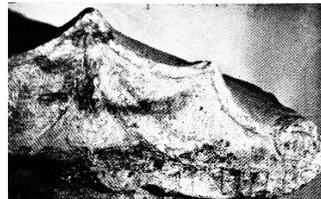


Fig. 29 (882.)



Fig. 30 (67.)

PR 9: A tree between two fishes in the central field. One instance, **1439**. (Fig. 31).

PR 10: A flower between two dolphins in the central field. One instance, **725**. (Fig. 32). **1206**. may be an additional instance, but only one dolphin and some parts of the flower can be discerned.

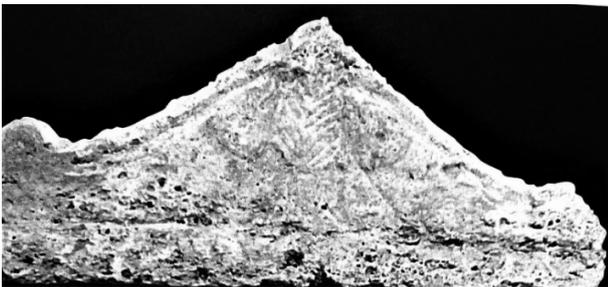


Fig. 31 (1439.)



Fig. 32 (725.)

PR 11: The lion protome in the central field. One instance, **240**. (Fig. 33).³³⁵

PR 12: Head of an unidentified animal (an ox protome?) in the central field. One instance, **344**. (Fig. 34).

³³⁴ The rather unclear photograph, *SE* 50, 1984, 278, No. 27, Tav. 41, leaves open the option of a flower.

³³⁵ The face of the lion was increasingly humanized in the 2nd cent. BCE; MORANDINI 2018, 240.



Fig. 33 (240.)



Fig. 34 (344.)

PR 13: A human face in the central field.³³⁶ Six instances, **29.**, **142.**, **448.** (Fig. 35), **806.**, **1137.** (with a palmette above the portrait), and **1614.**

PR 14: A Gorgoneion or Medusa in the central field. Two instances, **180.** (Fig. 36), **952.**



Fig. 35 (448.)

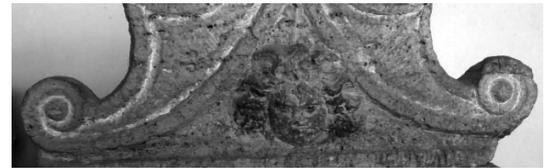


Fig. 36 (180.)

PR 15: A spear head in the central field. One instance, **1244.** (Fig. 37).

PR 16: A shield between two flowers and two *aryballoi*. One instance, **1302.** (Fig. 38).

PR 17: A flower between two sea monsters. One instance, **26.** (Fig. 39).



Fig. 37 (1244.)

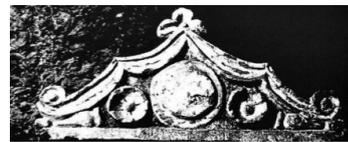


Fig. 38 (1302.)



Fig. 39 (26.)

Reliefs with peltae inside the tympanum

This type differs from the previous one, in that the two peltae are sculpted in relief inside the triangle of the tympanum, not on its oblique sides. We have forty-one examples of this less ornate type. I have divided them into five subgroups.

TPR 1: Empty central field. Five instances, **55.**, **61.**, **1377.**, **1515.**, and **1687.** **1687.** (Fig. 40) had no relief, but the two peltae were painted on the tympanum. In **1377.**, a curtain-like profile was carved in the central field.



Fig. 40 (1687.)

³³⁶ An example without an inscription is in NATI 2008, 111.

TPR 2: A flower in the central field. Twenty-seven instances,³³⁷ most with a heraldic rose with four petals. In **200.**, there were eight, and in **1029.** five petals. In Fig. 41, we have **243.**

TPR 3: A trefoil in the central field. Six instances, **225.** (Fig. 42), **468.**, **657.**, **675.**, **787.** and **980.** The three first are clover-like. In **980.** and **675.**, the leaves have sharp tops, and in **675.**, another trefoil is added to the centre with short, rounded leaves.



Fig. 41 (243.)



Fig. 42 (225.)

TPR 4: A plant or a tree between two peltae. In the two instances, **1392.** (Fig. 43) and **1315.** (Fig. 44), the peltae were no longer forming and limiting the field for the decoration, but additional elements filling the corners of the tympanum. The lid of **1392.** continued the Etruscan pelta tradition, but the vegetable and lily decoration in the central field more resembled the Roman decorative models. The inscription is in Latin.



Fig. 43 (1392.)



Fig. 44 (1315.)

TPR 5: One pelta between two flowers and two *aryballoi*. One instance, **868.** (Fig. 45).



Fig. 45 (868.)

Tympanum triangle reliefs

Without the peltae, the space on the tympanum was somewhat larger and open to richer variation. In most instances, there were lists on the oblique sides, but these lists were missing in every fourth instance (marked “no lists”). In both types, there could be volutes in the corners of the tympanum (**211.**, **1399.**, **1440.**, **1512.**, and **1565.**). This group contains ninety-three lids.

³³⁷ 33., 49., 140., 106., 190., 191., 200., 220., 230., 243., 245., 255., 256., 261., 460., 472., 487., 500., 1029., 1316., 1326., 1414., 1493., 1517., 1550., 1625., 1683.

TTR 1: Empty listed central field. Two instances, **1422.** and **1512.** (with volutes in the corners).³³⁸

TTR 2: A flower in the central field. Twenty-one instances: **19., 26., 45., 47., 63.** (no lists),³³⁹ **84.** (no lists), **209.** (no lists), **229., 326.** (with eight petals), **442., 494.** (Fig. 46), **611., 707.** (no lists), **1144., 1301., 1314.** (no lists), **1565.** (no lists, volutes in the corners), **1596., 1621., 1648.** and **1664.** (volutes in the corners). A central flower was also popular in the in the pelta reliefs. In this type, the main part of the central field remained empty without the peltae. Hence, we have different additions fitting to the corners of the tympanum:

TTR 3: A flower between two grape bunches, seventeen instances: **192., 211.** (volutes; Fig. 47), **247., 254., 260., 370., 433., 434., 451., 610., 642., 1265., 1322., 1329., 1394., 1399.** (volutes) and **1440.** (volutes).



Fig. 46 (494.)



Fig. 47 (211.)

TTR 4: A flower between two amphoras, thirteen instances: **89., 92., 295.** (Fig. 48), **329., 367., 536., 720., 834., 1102., 1320., 1339., 1382.** and **1382.**



Fig. 48 (295.)

TTR 5: A flower between two aryballoi. Two instances, **429.** (Fig. 49) and **748.**

TTR 6: A flower between two palm leaves. Six instances, **241.** (no lists), **263., 1259., 1312., 1511., 1516.** (Fig. 50).



Fig. 49 (429-)



Fig. 50 (1516.)

TTR 7: A flower between two garlands. Two instances, **886., 1420.** (no lists; Fig. 51).

³³⁸ I have not given a type code to the strange, key-like figure in the empty central field of **1605.**

³³⁹ It looks as if there had been birds, probably swallows, on both sides of the flower, which then were cut away. Did the customer not like them?

TTR 8: A flower between two more flowers. Three instances, **514**. (leaves added to the side flowers), **1442**. (Fig. 52) and **1514**. (the lateral decorative attributes may be leaves rather than flowers).



Fig. 51 (1420.)



Fig. 52 (1442.)

TTR 9: A flower between two dolphins. Four instances, **248**. (Fig. 53), **834**., **941**., **1344**.

TTR 10: A cone between two dolphins. Two instances, **335**. and **385**. (Fig. 54).



Fig. 53 (248.)



Fig. 54 (385.)

TTR 11: A patera between two dolphins. Two instances, **450**. (Fig. 55) and **933**. (no lists).

TTR 12: Two dolphins. One instance, **299**. (Fig. 56).



Fig. 55 (450.)



Fig. 56 (299.)

TTR 13: A lily between two dolphins: One instance, **208**. (Fig. 57).

TTR 14: A female face, probably Gorgoneion, between two dolphins or fishes. Two instances, **877**. (Fig. 58) and **1313**. (Fig. 59).

TTR 15: A female face between two amphoras. Four instances, **456**., **950**. (Fig. 60), **1576**. and **1455**. (the two last without lists on the oblique sides).



Fig. 57 (208.)



Fig. 58 (877.)



Fig. 59 (1313.)



Fig. 60 (950.)

TTR 16: Two amphoras. One instance, **1510**. (no lists; Fig. 61).

TTR 17: A palmette between two trefoils. One instance, **565**. (Fig. 62).



Fig. 61 (1510.)



Fig. 62 (565.)

TTR 18: An ox's head between two grape bunches. One instance, **1456**. (Fig. 63).

TTR 19: A portrait medaillon. Two instances, **1228**. (no lists) and **1583**. (no lists; Fig. 64).



Fig. 63 (1456.)



Fig. 64 (1583.)

TTR 20: A *krater* between two amorines. One instance, **76**. (no lists; Fig. 65).

TTR 21: Mythological reliefs. Three instances, **979**. with two griffins (no lists; Fig. 66), **666**. with Scylla and two seahorses (no lists; Fig. 67), and **1369**. with unidentifiable theme (Fig. 68).

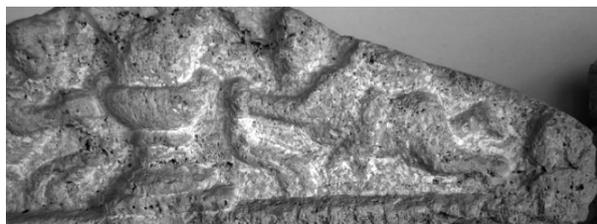


Fig. 65 (76.)



Fig. 66 (979.)



Fig. 67 (666.)



Fig. 68 (1369.)

TTR 22: A patera in the middle. One instance, **1307**.

TTR 23: A patera between two amphoras. One instance, **85**. (Fig. 69).



Fig. 69 (85.)

One further tympanum decoration, but no longer in the Etruscan tradition, was that on the lid of P. Volumnius Violens, the late burial in the tomb of Volumni (313.). The tympanum with profiled mouldings has a Gorgoneion in the middle, surrounded by vegetable ornaments.

The chronology of the lid types

I have studied the chronological sequence of the different lid types both in the FTI-group and in all lids for which a tentative dating, based on different criteria, mainly depending on genealogy, onomastics, palaeography and language, rather than the urn type, is given. Both give a similar general image; in the tables below, the numbers of all the dated lids are given. Their dating is less secure, but the mass is larger and the possible distortion caused by spectacular or unisex family tombs loses its weight. Hence, the tables include 680 dated lids, the type of which is known.³⁴⁰ In addition, the type of 100 lids without sufficient criteria for dating is known. Furthermore, there are over 300 lids of inscribed urns, which have disappeared, and the type of which is undetermined. One may remember that the tables also contain uninscribed lids, when the connection to the inscribed chest is certain or probable.

The first table gives the number of lid types as divided into quarter-centuries:

Quarter-centuries	2nd–3rd q. of 3rd c.	4th q. of 3rd c.	1st q. of 2nd c.	2nd q. of 2nd c.	3rd q. of 2nd c.	4th q. of 2nd c.	1st q. of 1st c.	2nd q. of 1st c.	3rd–4th q. of 1st c.	Undated
Lid sculpture	2	9	13	26	34	27	18	5	-	5
Banquet scene	-	-	-	-	8	9	2	1	-	1
Raised pelta relief	1	4	14	24	19	11	3	-	1	10
Peltae within tymp.	-	-	2	3	7	16	6	2	-	3
Other decoration	-	1	6	18	21	21	17	5	2	4
Plain	1	1	17	44	59	99	69	22	4	77

Table 2. Lid types

In the second table, the occurrence of the types is described by the percentage of each quarter century of the dated instances (I have connected the figures of the three last quarters of the 3rd century and those of the three last quarters of the 1st century):

Quarter-centuries	2nd–4th q. of 3rd c.	1st q. of 2nd c.	2nd q. of 2nd c.	3rd q. of 2nd c.	4th q. of 2nd c.	1st q. of 1st c.	2nd–4th q. of 1st c.	N
Lid sculpture	11%	9%	19%	25%	20%	15%	4%	138
Banquet scene	-	-	-	40%	45%	10%	5%	20
Raised pelta relief	6%	18%	31%	25%	14%	4%	1%	77

³⁴⁰ In fact, a few less, since my Excel table counts persons with epitaphs, not physical monuments. The five lids with the epitaphs of a married couple are thus counted twice, but this does not much effect the figures

Quarter-centuries	2nd–4th q. of 3rd c.	1st q. of 2nd c.	2nd q. of 2nd c.	3rd q. of 2nd c.	4th q. of 2nd c.	1st q. of 1st c.	2nd–4th q. of 1st c.	N
Peltae within tymp.	-	6%	8%	19%	44%	17%	6%	36
Other tymp. dec.	1%	6%	19%	23%	23%	18%	8%	93
Plain	1%	5%	14%	19%	31%	22%	8%	316

Table 3. Distribution of each type to quarter-centuries.

The third table contains the percentages of each type inside the dated lids of each quarter-century:

Quarter-centuries	2nd–4th q. of 3rd c.	1st q. of 2nd c.	2nd q. of 2nd c.	3rd q. of 2nd c.	4th q. of 2nd c.	1st q. of 1st c.	2nd–4th q. of 1st c. each
Lid sculpture	65%	25%	23%	23%	15%	16%	12%
Banquet scene	-	-	-	5%	5%	2%	2%
Raised pelta relief	22%	27%	21%	13%	6%	3%	2%
Peltae in-side tymp.	-	4%	3%	5%	9%	5%	5%
Other tymp. dec.	4%	12%	16%	14%	11%	15%	17%
Plain	9%	33%	38%	40%	54%	60%	62%
N	23	52	115	148	183	115	42

Table 4. Percentage of types per quarter-century

We can state that the lid types offer no clear dating criteria for individual urns and their inscriptions. The best criteria are that the banqueting reliefs start in the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century, and that the pelta reliefs inside the tympanum (TPR) start in the 1st quarter of the 2nd century. Lid sculptures appear during the entire tradition. Their high share in the 3rd century depends on the tomb of Volumni and some other family tombs. After the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century, the share of lid sculptures diminished, but remained high, if we look at the decorated urns alone. The share of plain, undecorated lids was namely growing strongly after the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century. This can partly depend on easier dating of the late epitaphs, but the trend is so clear and also visible in many family tombs, that there must be cultural and/or economic factors behind it.³⁴¹

The pelta relief rising above the roof flats (PR) is also encountered during the entire tradition. The earliest instance in my material seems to be the lid of Vel Cai Cutu (**1298.**), dated by me to the 3rd quarter of the 3rd century. One should, however, observe the diminishing share of this type after the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century. In the 1st century it was rare indeed. The tympanum triangle relief (TTR) with different decorative elements had a slow start, but an increasing curve. I have dated one lid, that of Thana Vetii from the tomb of Casni 1, to the 4th quarter of the 3rd century, mainly on palaeographic grounds. It had on the tympanum a flower between two amphoras (TTR 4). In the 1st century, this TTR-type was most common among the decorated urns.

Looking at the minor types within the main groups, I first admit my disappointment concerning the dating opportunities of the lid sculptures. Without the aid of stylistic criteria, my effort to find chronological trends in the typology has not been successful. The instances, as divided into eight quarter-centuries, became too rare for reliable conclusions. But this also seems to depend on the fact that the different features discerned above were not limited to certain periods. The model cartoons had a long life-span in the workshops.

In the lid sculptures, the trend from the more supine to the more upright posture, discerned, for instance, in the sarcophagi of Tarquinia, did not become evident in this material. Rather upright posture is met in the 1st quarter of the 2nd century (e.g., **741.**), and rather supine posture in the 1st quarter of the 1st century

³⁴¹ A similar development was visible in the Clusian urns. BENELLI 2001, 253-54, held that this could depend partly on consumption laws.

(e.g., 178.). I would also be cautious when using the bare or clothed male torsos as dating criteria. Still in the 4th quarter of 2nd century, more men have bare upper body, with a garland around the neck, than a chiton. The different attributes in the hands of the sculptures do not offer better criteria. It might be significant that both the garland around the neck (ten instances out of twenty) and the patera in the right hand (eleven instances out of twenty) are especially common in male sculptures in the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century. In the following quarter, the numbers are two garlands and five pateras in fifteen sculptures.

Of the types of tympanum decoration some results seem possible, although only a few types offer a sufficient number of instances. The most common single type, PR 2 (a flower between two raised peltae) seems to belong to the three first quarters of the 2nd century (thirty out of the thirty-two dated instances), while TPR 2, a flower between two peltae inside the tympanum, was a little later, popular especially in the 3rd and 4th quarters of the 2nd century (thirteen out of the thirty dated instances). Of the decorations inside a listed tympanum, a flower between two grape bunches (TTR 3) was popular from the 2nd quarter of the 2nd to the 1st quarter of the 1st century (sixteen instances). A flower alone (TTR 2) with thirteen instances has a somewhat earlier curve. Dolphin decorations (TTR 9-13) gained some popularity in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 2nd century (eight instances).

The chest reliefs

Of the epitaphs, 663 were carved on the chest (581 Etruscan and 82 Latin), and nineteen on both the lid and the chest. However, 330 of these have disappeared, leaving no documentation about the chest decoration. We can guess that a major part of these urns were plain, but their share remains uncertain. On the other hand, I have included in the study 278 chests (249 Etruscan, 29 Latin), where the inscription is on the lid, but the connection of the chest to it is considered probable.

I have divided the chests into plain and decorated, and the decoration into mythological reliefs, banquet reliefs, farewell reliefs and into non-narrative, decorative reliefs. The most common type is that with mythological reliefs, 238 chests (33%); 169 chests have decorative reliefs (23%), eighteen chests banquet scenes, and twenty-two farewell scenes; finally; 273 chests (38%) are plain. It is evident that these figures do not reflect the original urn production. I have already stated that the share of plain chests would increase thanks to the disappeared and undocumented instances. But one can also assume that the more richly decorated urns were given epitaphs more often than the simple plain chests.

Mythological reliefs

The mythological themes on the Perusian chest reliefs have been thoroughly studied from G. B. Vermiglioli onwards. The work of H. Brunn and G. Körte is still fundamental, and there are many modern studies by A. E. Feruglio, M. Nielsen, M. Cipolloni, A. Maggiani, F.-H. Massa Pairault and others (see the Bibliography). Once more, I have to be content with a schematic presentation of the themes in inscribed urns and to leave a deeper stylistic analysis to experts.

Typically, in the urns with mythological reliefs on the chest, the inscription was carved on the lid. With the exception of the Medusa reliefs inside a square, the relief did not often leave an upper edge convenient for the epitaph. In 158 instances included in our material, the inscription is on the lid, in seventy-six

on the chest. We can compare these numbers with the urns with decorative reliefs: 101 on the chest, sixty on the lid.

Depending on the grouping of the themes, approximately forty different mythological themes appeared in the inscribed urns.³⁴² There were two clear favorites: the head of Medusa or Gorgoneion with forty-three instances and the Sacrifice of Iphigenia with thirty-one instances. The iconography of these two favorites clearly differed from each other. While the relief of the Sacrifice of Iphigenia filled the whole front side of the chest, leaving no space for the inscription (**1205.** was the only inscription on the upper list of the chest; in all other instances it is found on the lid), the head of Medusa was usually in a square in the middle of the front side. There was much space, not only for the inscription (22 on the chest, 16 on the lid), but also for decorative attributes, e.g., four flowers or knobs in the corners, as in the fine urns of the tomb of Volumni. In most instances, the head of Medusa was benevolent, far from frightening.

I give a list of the mythological themes with occurrences in our material. The list is organized in alphabetical order of the central figure or tribe, followed by themes without an identified central figure. The dates given are based on my estimate, which tolerates a deflection of one quarter-century.

Amazonomachy: Amazons fighting on the Greek side in the Trojan War. One instance, **911.**, male, 2nd quarter of 2nd cent.

Amycus killed by Pollux: The boxer king of Bithynia was killed by Pollux, representing the Argonauts. One instance, **736.**, male, 1st quarter of 2nd cent.

Arimasps against griffins: The Scythian Arimasps, in the fight against griffins, represented the “world’s end”, the ultimate north. Nineteen instances from the 3rd quarter of the 3rd cent. to the 1st quarter of the 1st cent. (majority from the 1st and 2nd quarters of the 2nd cent.). Nine male (**330.**, **387.**, **455.**, **541.**, **1003.**, **1252.**, **1297.**, **1435.**, **1438.**) and ten female (**14.**, **25.**, **240.**, **314.**, **317.**, **337.**, **343.**, Fig. 70; **539.**, **890.**, **1215.**).

Athamas’ madness: The Boeotian Athamas was struck by jealous Hera with insanity, because his wife Ino took care of Dionysus. Athamas slew his son Learchus. Six instances from the 4th quarter of the 3rd to the 1st quarter of the 1st cent. Four male (**267.**, **411.**, Fig. 71; **661.**, **842.**) and two female (**286.** and **1281.**).



Fig. 70 (343.)



Fig. 71 (411.)

³⁴² For graphics of the appearance of mythical themes on the urns of the *Lapidario* of the MANU, see PILO -GIUMAN 2015, 102.

The Calydonian boar hunt: The chthonic boar, sent by Artemis to ravage Calydon (Aetolia), was hunted and killed by several heroes, among them Meleager and the huntress Atalanta. Six instances, from the 2nd quarter of the 2nd to the 1st quarter of 1st cent. On three male (89., Fig. 72; 412., 655.) and three female urns (159., 284., 1202.).

Capaneus at the walls of Thebes. In the siege of Thebes, Capaneus mounted a ladder and shouted that not even Zeus could stop him from invading and burning the city. Zeus killed him with a thunderbolt. Three instances from the 4th quarter of the 2nd and 1st quarter of the 1st cent.; two on urns of women, 1454. (Fig. 73) and 1671., one urn of a man, 77.



Fig. 72 (89.)



Fig. 73 (1454.)

Centauromachy: At the wedding of Pirithous, the king of Lapiths, and Hippodamia, the Thessalian man-horses tried to abduct the bride, but were beaten by Lapiths, with the assistance of Theseus. Eleven instances from the 2nd quarter of the 2nd cent. to the 1st quarter of 1st cent. Seven male (90., Fig. 74; 374., 617., 1183., 1334., 1431., 1450.) and four female urns (750., 797., 935., 1258.).

Echetlus the Plough-fighter: During the battle of Marathon, a peasant appeared in the Athenian troops and killed many Persians with his plough. One male (1665., Fig. 75) and one female instance (914.) from the 3rd quarter of the 2nd cent.



Fig. 74 (90.)



Fig. 75 (1665.)

The Duel of Eteocles and Polynices: After Oedipus left Thebes, the rule passed to Eteocles and Polynices, who could not share power but finally killed each other. Two male, **305.** (Fig. 76) and **376.**, and one female instance, **626.**, from the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 2nd cent.

Gigantomachy: The battle between Giants, offspring of Gaia, and the Olympian gods. Two instances, both female (**938.**, Fig. 77, and **1214.**) from the 3rd and 4th quarters of the 2nd cent.



Fig. 76 (304.)



Fig. 77 (938.)

Hercules: Hercules is one of the favourite characters on the Etruscan mirrors and gems, but in my material of inscribed urns, he is almost unknown. The only instance comes from a lost urn (**1160.**), described by Vermiglioli as depicting a nude rider with a long spear fighting Hercules.³⁴³

The Sacrifice of Iphigenia:³⁴⁴ Artemis prevented the departure of the Greeks to Troy, unless Agamemnon first sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia. According to some versions, Artemis saved Iphigenia by placing at the last moment a deer on the altar (**822.**, Fig. 78) and moving her to Tauris.³⁴⁵ This scene, rarely



Fig. 78 (822.)



Fig. 79 (227.)

³⁴³ VERMIGLIOLI 1804, 179.

³⁴⁴ An analysis of the reliefs and a full catalogue of the pieces (with or without an inscription) is in PILO – GIUMAN 2015, 103-121. See also SANNIBALE 1994, 172-76.

³⁴⁵ For the plays of Euripides and Ennius, see VAN DER MEER 1991, 121-27, For the symbolic value in the funerary context, see *ibid.* 133-34.

depicted in Greek art,³⁴⁶ was a clear favourite of the Perusian chest reliefs. Of the thirty-one instances, seventeen come from urns of men,³⁴⁷ thirteen from those of women³⁴⁸ (one, **1358.**, of unknown sex). The tentatively dated twenty-seven instances are from the 1st quarter of the 2nd to the 1st quarter of the 1st cent. One half is from the 3rd quarter of the 2nd cent., after which the theme became rare. Photograph of **227.** is in Fig. 79.

The bound Marsyas: The Satyr Marsyas with his flute was defeated by Apollo's lyre in a playing contest. The loser was skinned alive. One instance, the Latin **1369.** from the 1st quarter of the 1st cent.

Medusa (or Gorgoneion): Medusa, one of the three Gorgons, was beheaded by Perseus, who then donated the evil-averting head to the shield of Athene. The winged head of Medusa with snakes as hair petrified those who looked into her eyes. There had been a development from terrifying Gorgoneia of the Archaic period, with ugly teeth and so on, to the "beautiful" Gorgoneion of the Hellenistic period. The Perusian Medusa, starting from the stylish rather than monstrous Gorgoneia on the chests of the Velimna tomb, is a product of this development. She has a few snakes between the head wings, but they are not threatening. She has big eyes, but so stony that they scarcely turn anyone into stone (**519.**, Fig. 80; **1520.**, Fig. 81). Our material contains forty-three instances, twenty-four on urns of men,³⁴⁹ eighteen on urns of women,³⁵⁰ while the sex of **1496.** remains uncertain. The instances cover the whole period of the Perusian urns, but when compared with the reliefs of the Sacrifice of Iphigenia, there are more late urns (from the 4th quarter of the 2nd to the 2nd quarter of the 1st cent.).



Fig. 80 (**519.**)



Fig. 81 (**1520.**)

Minos and the baby Minotaur: Minos, the king of Crete, asked from Poseidon a white bull, saying that he would offer it in sacrifice to the god. But Minos kept it, and his wife had intercourse with the bull. She gave birth to the Minotaur, which Minos tried to kill when it was an infant. One instance, **1287.**, probably from the 3rd quarter of the 2nd cent.

³⁴⁶ PILO – GIUMAN 2015, 101, 113.

³⁴⁷ **3., 227., 260., 383., 409., 463., 464., 734., 739., 806., 815., 1205., 1433., 1434., 1436.**

³⁴⁸ **115., 192., 271., 486., 660., 822., 825., 952., 970., 975., 1142., 1242., 1666.** The sex distribution is also analysed in PILO – GIUMAN 2015, 116.

³⁴⁹ **12., 46., 55., 87., 208., 211., 218., 253., 294., 306., 308., 309., 310., 312., 326., 382., 391., 519., 621., 712., 743., 905., 1298., 1335., 1439.**

³⁵⁰ **69., 85., 92., 269., 283., 312., 400., 422., 566., 611., 928., 950., 1106., 1188., 1197., 1420., 1520.**

The death of Myrtilos: Myrtilus was Oinomaos' (see below) charioteer, who sabotaged his master's chariot. As a prize, Pelops had promised him the first night with Hippodamia, but when Myrtilos tried to seduce her, Pelops killed him. One instance, **588.**, chest of a man, from the 3rd quarter of the 2nd cent.

The death of Oinomaos: Oinomaos, the king of Pisa in Elis, killed the suitors of his daughter Hippodamia after defeating them in chariot races. Pelops and Hippodamia asked Myrtilos to change the bronze linchpins of Oinomaos' chariot to ones of beeswax. The chariot broke and Oinomaos was dragged to death by the horses. Seven instances from the 4th quarter of the 3rd cent. to the 4th quarter of the 2nd cent., on urns of four men: **226.** (Fig. 82). **662.**, **811.** and **1430.**, and of three women: **827.**, **1174.** and **1358.**

Orestes pursued by the Erinyes: Orestes killed his mother Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus, but went mad and, pursued by the Erinyes, took refuge at Delphi. Seven instances, from the 1st quarter of the 2nd to the 2nd quarter of the 1st cent. Five instances on chests of men: **246.**, **250.** (Fig. 83), **467.**, **875.**³⁵¹ and **953.**, and two on those of women, **178.** and **783.**



Fig. 82 (226.)



Fig. 83 (250.)

Telephos threatening the infant Orestes: The king of Mysia was wounded by Achilles' spear, and the wound could be healed only by the spear which had wounded it. Telephos seized Agamenon's son Orestes as hostage, and was cured by Achilles at Argos (the version in Euripides' *Telephos*). Three instances, the male **233.** and **461.** (from the 1st and 2nd quarters of the 2nd cent.), and the female **264.** (from the 1st quarter of the 1st cent.).

Recognition of Paris: At Paris' birth, it was prophesied that he would cause the downfall of Troy. Priam gave the baby to his herdsman to be killed, but he educated the child as his own son. His beauty and intelligence, however, betrayed him to Hecuba and Cassandra. Two instances on urns of women, **992.** from the 3rd quarter of the 2nd cent., and **1424.** from the 2nd quarter of the 1st cent.

Penelope and Odysseus: Probably after his return to Ithaca, Odysseus thoughtfully follows the toilet of Penelope on the urns with **580.** and **1399.** (Fig. 84). On **1415.** (Fig. 85) he is hidden behind a tree, and on **460.**, only the servants of Penelope can be seen. The urns belonged to women and come from the 3rd quarter of the second and the two first quarters of the 1st cent. On **816.** (female, 4th quarter of 2nd cent.), a woman makes toilet in front of musicians, but one cannot say whether or not she is Penelope.

³⁵¹ MAGGIANI (*SE* 50, 1982, p. 276) saw in it rather 'assassinio all'altare'.



Fig. 84 (1399.)



Fig. 85 (1415.)

Scylla fighting Odysseus' men: In the *Odyssey*, the female monster Scylla, hunting in the Strait of Messina, snatched and devoured six of Odysseus' men. In the urn reliefs, she is hitting warriors with an oar. Eight instances from the 1st to the 4th quarter of the 2nd cent. Four chests of men, **329.**, **1128.**, **1245.**, **1280.**, and four of women, **80.** (Fig. 86), **176.**, **285.** and **1099.**

Scylla alone:³⁵² The monster with snake legs ending in fish tails, sometimes with wings, sometimes with an oar in its hands, filled the front of the chest even without warriors. Ten instances from the 1st quarter of the 2nd to the 1st quarter of the 1st cent, seven chests of men, **50.**, **79.**, **666.**, **913.**, **1265.**, **1437.**, **1491.**, and three chests of women, **583.**, **1453.** and **1680.**

The ambush of Troilus. Achilles ambushed the Trojan prince Troilus behind a puteal and killed him as he rode. This scene, with a long iconographic tradition in Greece³⁵³ and well known from the *Tomba dei Tori* of Tarquinia, is the theme of seven chest reliefs from the 4th quarter of the 3rd cent. to the 4th quarter of the 2nd cent. Four of the chests belong to men: **537.** (Fig. 87), **740.**, **824.**, **869.**, and three to women: **57.**, **177.**, **263.** Massa Pairault saw in this theme a possible anti-Roman tendency. Lysippos' sculpture of Alexander the Great on horseback may have been a model of Troilus as he rode.³⁵⁴



Fig. 86 (80.)



Fig. 87 (537.)

Some mythological scenes of the reliefs are not easy to recognize:

³⁵² BOOSEN 1986, 7-12, 26-28.

³⁵³ PILO – GIUMAN 2015, 101.

³⁵⁴ MASSA PAIRAULT 1994, 91.

Battle near an altar. In many reliefs, two of the attackers have pelta shields. Massa Pairault saw in the scene Orestes and Pylades escaping the warriors of Thoas, the king of Tauris, to the altar of Apollo.³⁵⁵ Eleven instances from the 1st quarter of the 2nd to the 1st quarter of the 1st cent., eight male: **266., 270., 413.** (Fig. 88), **458., 738., 875., 1333., 1432.**, and two female instances, **180., 996.** In **368.**, the attacker is a horsman with long spear. The relief in **528.**, with the *omphalos* of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, is close to this type. In the damaged **261.** with four fighting men, no altar is visible. According to Vermiglioli, the disappeared **1267.** depicted an old and a young armed man leaning their feet on an altar.³⁵⁶

Two men fighting with a beast: The scene is on a man's urn from the 2nd quarter of the 2nd cent., **616.** (Fig. 89).



Fig. 88 (413.)



Fig. 89 (616.)

Historical battle scenes: The battle against Gauls is met on seven chest reliefs from the 1st quarter of the 2nd to the 1st of the 1st cent., four on urns of men: **235.** (Fig. 90), **501., 659., 1229.**, and three of women: **559., 1085., 1356.** The battle between Greeks and Persians has three appearances, all on men's urns from the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 2nd cent.: **407., 462.** and **1313.**

A woman with a baby: According to Vermiglioli, the lost chest **658.** depicted a woman with a baby in her arms, surrounded by two horses and other people.³⁵⁷



Fig. 90 (235.)



Fig. 91 (735.)

³⁵⁵ MASSA PAIRAULT 1994, 91.

³⁵⁶ VERMIGLIOLI 1804, 13.

³⁵⁷ VERMIGLIOLI 1804, 118.

Monster from the *puteal*. Different interpretations: the evocation of Olta by Porsenna,³⁵⁸ *nekyomanteia* of Odysseus calling up the soul of Elpenor.³⁵⁹ One instance on the early urn of a man **735**. (Fig. 91)

Rider on a hippocamp:³⁶⁰ A popular theme on the Perusian urns was riders on a sea monster or a hippocamp. The rider could be a demon or a human being. I have in my material nineteen examples of this theme (some of them only in Vermiglioli's or Conestabile's description, the chests being lost). They cover the period from the 4th quarter of the 3rd to the 1st quarter of the 1st cent. In this case, there is a gender bias: eleven urns were chosen for a female deceased, only seven for men (one uncertain instance). The riders were also more often female (thirteen instances) than male (six instances).

This type sheds an interesting light on the use of cartoons by the workshops. I believe that there was originally one basic cartoon for a female rider, and one for a male rider. In the female cartoon, the rider headed towards the right, in the male cartoon towards the left – there is no exception to this rule in the preserved reliefs. The male riders wear Celtic helmets. In other respects, there is some variation, due either to different copies of the workshops, or rather to the liberty permitted to the artisans. In most instances, I would call the animal a hippocamp with the head of a horse, but in some instances, the head is deformed to a more monstrous type (in Figg. 92 and 93 the heads of **247**. and **429**.).

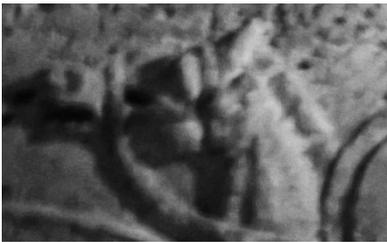


Fig. 92 (**247**.)



Fig. 93 (**429**.)

The hippocamp may have the forelegs of a horse, curved wings in their place, or both. The backpart of its body is screwed, more like that of a snake than of a fish, and it ends in what resemble crab shears. The female rider may be with or without wings, like a goddess, a Nereid or the deceased herself (in Figg. 94 and

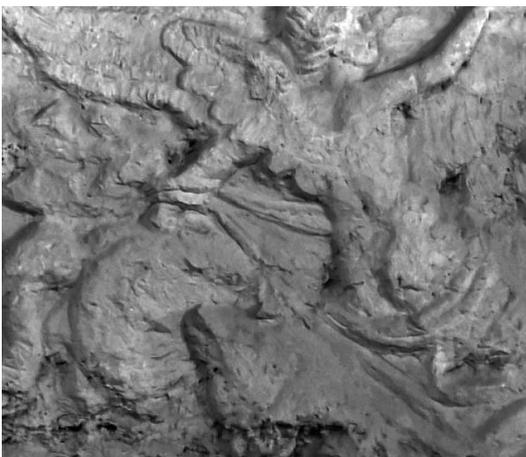


Fig. 94 (**429**.)



Fig. 95 (**1455**.)

³⁵⁸ The traditional interpretation, last presented in *Lapidario* 2004, 5.

³⁵⁹ See MASSA-PAIRAULT 1994, 91-95.

³⁶⁰ BOOSEN 1986, 135, 161-62.

95 the riders of **429.** and **1455.**). The full list of female riders consists of **243., 448., 514., 520., 1189., 1271., 1428., 1455.** on urns of women, **245., 429., 1181.** and **1321.** on urns of men; the sex of **1497.** is unknown.

I give in Figg. 96-100 the five male riders (**247., 299., 334., 349.** and **500.**). The urns **299.** and **334.** belonged to men, the three other to women.



Fig. 96 (**247.**)



Fig. 97 (**299.**)



Fig. 98 (**334.**)



Fig. 99 (**349.**)



Fig. 100 (**500.**)

In **299.**, the hippocamp has forelegs, otherwise wings. The shield in **349.** is quadrangular, and it was changed to a lyre in **500.** In the lost urns, there may have been greater variation, if the old descriptions can be trusted. In **955.**, a seamonster should have been depicted between two warriors, and in **1187.**, the rider was with a knife.

It is evident that these reliefs allude to the last journey of the deceased, although the rider looks often like a demon, goddess or hero rather than a mortal. The role of hippocamps or seamonsters³⁶¹ in the last journey

³⁶¹ Or "Löwen mit Flossenvorderbeinen"; BOOSEN 1986, 226.

also appears in two similar reliefs, **654.** (Fig. 101) and **1234.** (on chests of men, from the 1st and 2nd quarters of the 2nd cent.), where a winged, bare-breasted goddess, probably Vanth, held in reins two hippocamps.³⁶² Two winged animals also appear in **890.** (drawing of Brunn – Körte in Fig. 102³⁶³), but instead of the goddess, we have there the gates of the Underworld.



Fig. 101 (654.)

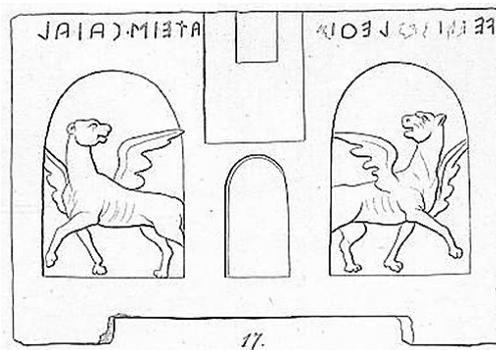


Fig. 102 (890.)

The passage to the Underworld: Other images of the passage to the Underworld are rare in the Perusian urn reliefs. We have one relief of the passage in a boat, **1228.** (drawing of Brunn – Körte in Fig. 103). In **817.** the deceased, afoot, with a shield and a horse, was probably led by Vanth. In **833.** (Fig. 104), the deceased, afoot, was followed by a slave bearing his shield and leading his horse. Both urns belonged to women.



Fig. 103 (1229)

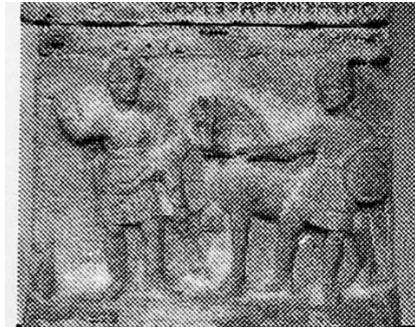


Fig. 104 (833.)

The gate of the Underworld. The arched gate on the chest (**1270.**, Fig. 105), sometimes between two trees (**1008.**, **1312.**), alluded *per se* to the hidden Underworld.³⁶⁴ But the deceased can also be depicted in front of the gate, like the architect Arnth Rafi in front of the gate resembling the Porta Marzia of Perugia, possibly his masterpiece (**48.**, Fig. 106). In the lost relief of **883.**, a man stood in front of the arched gate with a demon. The portrait of a young man in **1383.** had a half-open gate behind him (Fig. 117). The man is leading his horse in **1614.** In **1173.**, a great statue of a woman stood behind the gate, the upper body raising above the wall. Much smaller statues, probably of spouses, are placed on both sides of the gate in **1377.** (Fig. 107). In the lost **886.** two dancers, one with syrinx, were in front of the gate.³⁶⁵ **884.** is also lost; it depicted Charon

³⁶² Or sea monsters; while the beasts in **1234.** have horse ears, those of **654.** rather indicate some other sea monster. In both reliefs, the beasts look sideways; the goddess looks in **654.** to the left, in **1234.** to the right.

³⁶³ BRUNN – KÖRTE 1916, 223, Tav. 150,17.

³⁶⁴ The gate can naturally have other connotations, too. See, in general, NIELSEN 2008, 68-69.

³⁶⁵ VERMIGLIOLI 1804, 133-34.

guarding the gate.³⁶⁶ A painted gate was on the chest of Arnth Velimna (311.),³⁶⁷ with winged goddesses sitting on both sides of it. In two instances, the funeral amphora was pictured. In the lost 891., it was between two slaves, in 453. (Fig. 108), a mourner and possibly a musician were added. Of the gate reliefs, eleven are on urns of men, seven on those of women. Many of them are from the 1st cent. – four have the epitaph in Latin – but there are instances from all quarters of the 2nd cent.



Fig. 105 (1270.)



Fig. 106 (48.)

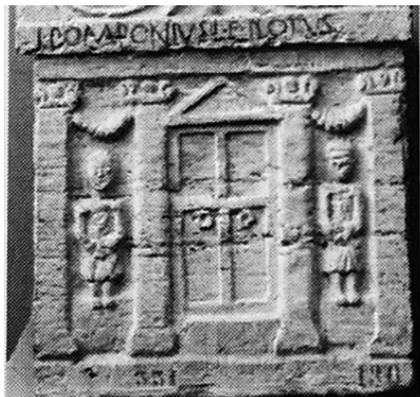


Fig. 107 (1377.)



Fig. 108 (453.)

The gender of the deceased and the choice of the mythological motif. One noteworthy feature, apparent from the inscribed chests, is that the gender of the deceased seems to have very little influence upon the choice of the mythological motif. As the proportion of women's urns in the total material is appr. 42%, their shares in the most popular groups, Medusa (18 out of 42), the Sacrifice of Iphigenia (13 out of 29) and Scylla (7 out of 20) are in line with this.³⁶⁸ However, the group "Rider on hippocamp" was favoured by women, as eleven of the urns belonged to female burials, and six to male burials. In the group "Arimasps fighting griffins", ten urns belonged to women, nine to men. All the urns with Penelope's toilet seem to belong to women.

³⁶⁶ VERMIGLIOLI 1804, 132.

³⁶⁷ In the 19th century, Vermiglioli and Conestabile could still discern inside the painted gate figures of earlier, deceased family members; NIELSEN 2008, 68-69.

³⁶⁸ MASSA PAIRAULT 1994, 87, attributed in the tomb of Tite Vesi the three chests with the Sacrifice of Iphigenia to women on the basis of this theme. This meant that the chest and the lid with 739. (Vel Tite Vesi) could not belong together. My numbers do not support her view.

The banquet reliefs

The banqueting deceased was carved not only on the lid sculptures or tympanum reliefs, but also on the reliefs of the chest. I have in my material seventeen examples, but in two instances, **666.** and **1350.**, the belonging of the urn to the lid with the inscription is far from certain, and for the lost **887.**, we have only G. B. Vermiglioli's summary description of the urn. Three of the urns belong to married couples (**408.**, **410.** and **433.**), eight to men (**33.**, **237.**, **303.**, **515.**, **666.**, **819.**, **887.**, **1322.**) and six to women (**54.**, **76.**, **272.**, **1350.**, **1474.**, **1517.**). According to my dating, they start in the 1st quarter of the 2nd cent.; **1474.** is the only instance from the 1st century BCE.

In three instances, **408.**, **410.** and **1474.** (Fig. 109), the lid and the chest form a unity: The banqueting couple (**408.**, **410.**) or girl (**1474.**) is on the the lid, while the urn relief continues the *kline* with the leg pillars and the drapery. In **272.** (Fig. 110), the urn relief repeats the image of the gable relief of the lid. The woman has a patera in her right hand, and there is a low table in front of the *kline*. Instead of one servant on the lid, she has now got a pair of servants.



Fig. 109 (1474.)



Fig. 110 (272.)

In the other banquet reliefs, we have a couple served by two slaves in **1322.** (from the tomb of Cai Cutu). Three reliefs show a man with patera in the right hand and one (**33.** and **54.**) or two servants (**237.**, Fig. 111). In **54.** (Fig. 112) the figure is male, but the inscription on the urn belongs to a woman.³⁶⁹



Fig. 111 (237.)



Fig. 112 (54.)

³⁶⁹ The lid in the photograph does not belong to the chest. The painted inscription is on the right side of the chest – there was clearly no space on the front side.

The farewell scenes

Finally, we have in our material three farewell (or wellcome) reliefs. Two of them are quite alike, **1357.** (Fig. 113) and **1452.** (Fig. 114). In both instances, the spouses are shaking hands in the center, both with a servant at their sides. The deceased are shown to the right, Thania in **1357.** with a fan in her hand, her maid with a square box, Aule in **1452.**, with his servant holding his shield. The same square box can be seen in the maid's hand in **1452.** The husband of Thania in **1357.**, probably living after her death, seems to be ready for a journey with his servant, who is waiting with a 'pilgrim bottle tied as a knapsack on his back'.³⁷⁰ Without the inscriptions, it would be difficult to say which of the persons in the relief had died and which was the survivor. The third farewell relief, **852.** (Fig. 115), has a different atmosphere. The deceased woman was in the centre, holding her hand on the shoulder of a naked boy, possibly her son. The other naked boy belonged to the group of musicians. Two female demons attended the scene in front of a temple or a funeral building.



Fig. 113 (1357.)



Fig. 114 (1452.)

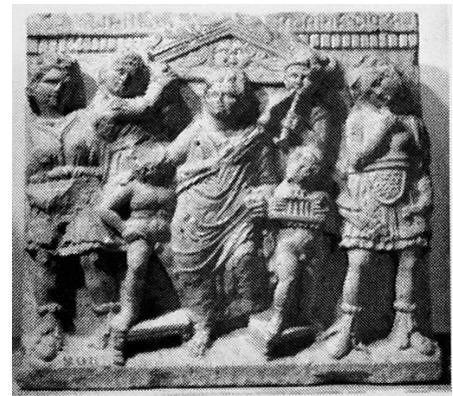


Fig. 115 (852.)

I will end this section of figurative chest reliefs with a series of urns with human faces or busts. One gets the impression that they have been prepared or chosen to characterize the deceased, perhaps also his or her appearance. We have two front side portraits, the long-haired woman in **724.** (Fig. 116) and the glad-looking young man in **1383.** (preserved only in Conestabile's drawing, Fig. 117). In the latter, the open doors behind the face may connect this picture to the gate reliefs, or refer to the Roman custom of placing ancestor busts in a cupboard (the Latin inscription confirms the late date).



Fig. 116 (724.)

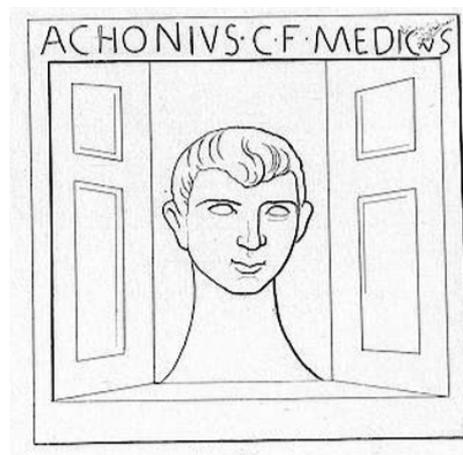


Fig. 117 (1383.)

³⁷⁰ NIELSEN 2009, 92.

The other four portrait reliefs are shown in profile, the person looking to the right, with an attribute in hand(s). In **425.** (Fig. 118), the person plays a traverse flute. The reliefs of **888.** (Fig. 119) and **1422.**, possibly coming from the same tomb of the Thurmna family, are preserved only in drawings. The rather similar pictures show a woman with a mirror in her hand, but, to the extent that the inscriptions can be interpreted from the copies, both urns belong to men. In **1282.** (Fig. 120), the attributes are a fan and a flower.



Fig. 118 (425.)

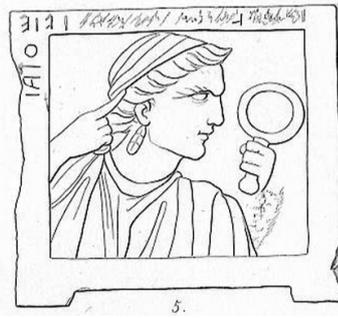


Fig. 119 (888.)



Fig. 120 (1282.)

The decorative reliefs

Many of the mythological reliefs included decorative elements. As I have mentioned, the head of Medusa mostly left empty space to be filled. Hence, we have Medusa between two peltae (**55.**, **218.**, **294.**, **979.**), between two columns (**621.**, **1188.**, **1520.**), between two amphoras (**422.**) and between two gates (**208.**). In the four corners of the square panel with the Medusa relief there may be pateras (**306.**, **307.**, **308.**, **310.**, **312.**, **458.**), flowers (**519.**, **905.**) or two pateras and two flowers (**382.**). The griffin relief of **1297.** of the Cai Cutu tomb has four lion heads in the corners, and another, **330.**, has four flowers in the corners. Many other reliefs bear friezes of different kinds, flowers, garlands, peltae, pateras, triglyphs, crosses, at the upper or lower edge or both.

The chest reliefs with decorative elements alone offer an even more manifold typology than the decorative lid gables. I have tried to create some kind of typology, once more stating that it is based only on chests with inscriptions or connectable to lid inscriptions. I have divided the types into three groups and given them the codes DF = decorative flower reliefs, DP = decorative pelta reliefs, and DO = other decorative reliefs. In the above-discussed groups of chest reliefs, the sex of the deceased had only little influence on the choice of the relief type, and only a few fashions connected to a certain period could be discerned. Hence, I do not handle these issues separately for each type, but come to the questions after the type presentation.

The flower reliefs

DF 1: One big flower in the centre of the front side. Seven instances: **32.**, **230.** (with double circles of petals = d.p., Fig. 121), **351.** (d.p.), **664.**, **726.**, **894.**, **977.**

DF 2: One flower inside a square. By far the most common decorative relief type with forty-four examples (**204.**, Fig. 122).³⁷¹

³⁷¹ 45., 82., 204. (d.p.), 205., 220. (d.p.), 229., 278., 289., 338. (d.p.), 345., 347., 384., 393., 442., 451., 452., 511., 517., 560., 722., 767., 853., 859., 906., 1084., 1110., 1130., 1144., 1169., 1244., 1255. (d.p.), 1301., 1307., 1308. (d.p.), 1309., 1319., 1330., 1338., 1344., 1385., 1398., 1515., 1519., 1648.

DF 3: Two flowers inside a square. Three instances, **23.**, **367.** (Fig. 123) and **1427.**



Fig. 121 (230.)

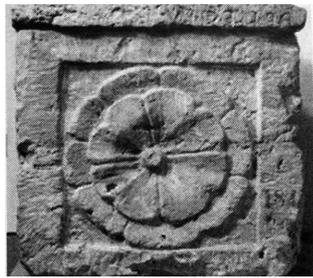


Fig. 122 (204.)



Fig. 123 (367.)

DF 4: A big central flower with four corner flowers (or in some instances pateras, as it is often impossible to see the difference). Nine instances, **49.**, **140.**, **200.**, **876.**, **935.**, **1033.** (with grape bunches on the side edges), **1117.** (Fig. 124), **1289.** and **1429.**

DF 5: A big flower between two peltae. We have seventeen examples of this common type (**1516.**, Fig. 125).³⁷²

DF 6: Like DF 5, but the peltae are turned outwards. Two instances, **191.** (Fig. 126) and **1473.**



Fig. 124 (1117.)



Fig. 125 (1516.)



Fig. 126 (191.)

DF 7: Two flowers between two peltae. One example, **221.** (Fig. 127).

DF 8: A flower under garland(s) between two peltae. Eight instances: **225.** (one garland), **241.** (two garlands), **256.** (three with flowers inside, Fig. 128), **265.** (three), **980.** (three), **1314.** (two), **1331.** (two), **1687.** (two),.

DF 9: A compass rose. Three instances, **1132.** (Fig. 129), **1394.**, **1606.**



Fig. 127 (221.)



Fig. 128 (256.)

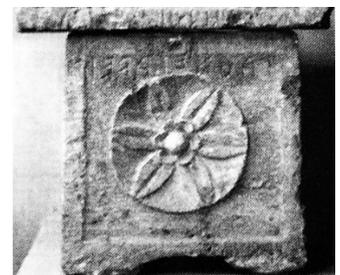


Fig. 129 (1132.)

There are further variants with a central flower between different decorative elements, all represented among the inscribed urns by one or two examples alone:

³⁷² 64., 68., 143., 190. (d.p.), 209., 231., 255., 454., 613., 867., 1044., 1363., 1364., 1418., 1504. (d.p.), 1625., 1667.

DF 10: A flower between two dolphins: **1184**. (Fig. 130). The dolphins are popular in the lid decorations, but this is the only instance on a chest in our material (in addition to the voyage in a boat **1228**).

DF 11: A flower between two ox's heads, with three garlands: **1440**. (Fig. 131).

DF 12: A flower between two sheaves (?; both with two rings, the function of which remains unknown). One example, **47**. (Fig. 132).



Fig. 130 (1184.)



Fig. 131 (1440.)



Fig. 132 (47.)

DF 13: A flower between two amphoras. Two instances, **19**. and **720**. (Fig. 133).

DF 14: A flower between two pilasters. **296**. (Fig. 134).



Fig. 133 (720.)



Fig. 134 (296.)

The pelta reliefs

The most popular pelta relief, with a flower between two peltae, as well as three other pelta reliefs with flowers, have been presented among the flower reliefs (DF 5–8).

DP 1: Two opposed peltae. One instance, **718**. (Fig. 135).

DP 2: Two crossed peltae. One example, **254**. (Fig. 136).

DP 3: Two opposed peltae with sheaves or leaves between them. Ten instances, **63**. (Fig. 137), **228**, **300**, **391**, **423**, **494**, **595**, **695**, **868**, **878**.



Fig. 135 (718.)



Fig. 136 (254.)



Fig. 137 (63.)

DP 4: Two peltae with an ox's head between them. Four instances, **53.** (Fig. 138), **561.**, **1352.** and **1456.** (with two garlands).

DP 5: Two peltae with a compass rose between them. Two examples, **61.** (Fig. 139) and **1508.** (with a drop frieze at the upper edge).

DP 6: Two outwards-turned peltae with leaves between them. One example, **295.** (Fig. 140).



Fig. 138 (53.)



Fig. 139 (61.)



Fig. 140 (295.)

DP 7: Two outwards-turned peltae with a pole (?) between them. One instance, **1649.** (Fig. 141).

DP 8: Two outwards-turned peltae with an amphora between them. One instance, **67.** (Fig. 142).

DP 9: Two opposed peltae in a slanting position, a small flower between them. Three instances, **88.**, **248.** (Fig. 143), **450.**



Fig. 141 (1649.)



Fig. 142 (67.)



Fig. 143 (248.)

DP 10: Two opposed peltae with a thunderbolt between them. Three instances, **106.**, **428.** (Fig. 144) and **430.**

DP 11: Four peltae and ivy leaves in a decorative composition. Five instances, **336.** (Fig. 145), **404.** (with four corner pateras), **908.** (Fig. 146), **1299.** and **1306.**



Fig. 144 (428.)



Fig. 145 (336.)



Fig. 146 (908.)

Other decorative relief types³⁷³

DO 1: Squares imitating the structure of wooden chests, with inlaid panels. Four examples, **945.** (two squares inside each other, Fig. 147), **1140.** (three squares), **1425.** (one square), **1627.** (one square).

DO 2: A square with four corner flowers. One instance, **377.**

DO 3: A shield inside a square. One instance, **1061.**

DO 4: A patera inside a square. One instance, **866.** (Fig. 148).

DO 5: An architectural frieze of metopes. Two instances, **1303.** (three flowers), **1459.** (flowers, shields, onions; Fig. 149).

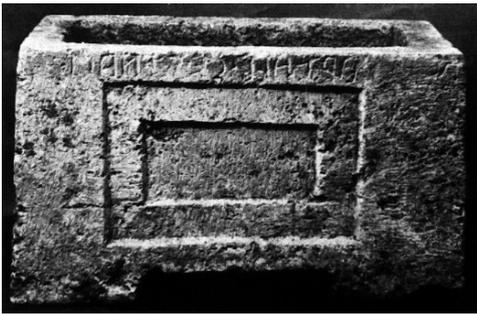


Fig. 147 (945.)



Fig. 148 (866.)



Fig. 149 (1459.)

DO 6: A symbolic decorative figure. Two instances, **1616.** (Fig. 150) and **1617.**

DO 7: Columns. Two instances, **1302.** (two Aeolic pilasters, Fig. 151) and **1372.** (four Ionian columns).

DO 8: A square with leaves. Three examples, **536.** (Fig. 152), **722.,** **1147.**



Fig. 150 (1616.)



Fig. 151 (1302.)



Fig. 152 (536.)

DO 9: Acanthus leaves in a square. Two instances, **558.** and **1392.** (Fig. 153).

DO 10: A lion's head. Four instances, **555.** (a ring in the mouth, imitating a door knocker?), **601.** (a poniard in the mouth), **1310.** (poniard, Fig. 154), **1320.** (poniard, four corner flowers).³⁷⁴

DO 11: An ox's head between two cypresses. One example, **1510.** (Fig. 155).



Fig. 153 (1392.)



Fig. 154 (1310.)



Fig. 155 (1510.)

³⁷³ I did not give a type code to the typically Roman decoration of the late **1574.**, with a wreath and two Amorines.

³⁷⁴ See MORANDINI 2018, 239-241. She presents three unscripted urns with the same theme (Tav. LIX a, b, c).

DO 12: An amphora between two columns. Three instances, **1442.** (Fig. 156), **1567.**, **1588.**

DO 13: A lozenge-shaped shield between two amphoras. One instance, **1441.** (with two garlands, Fig. 157).

DO 14: Different decorative elements filling the front side. One example, **287.** (Fig. 158).



Fig. 156 (1442.)



Fig. 157 (1441.)

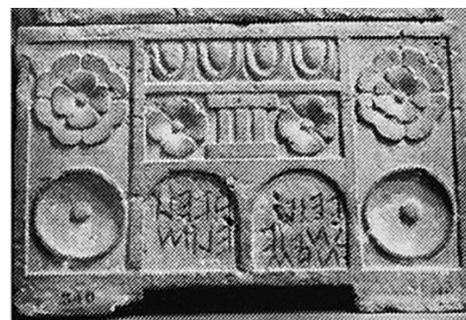


Fig. 158 (287.)

The chronology of the chest reliefs

In the FTI-group, I have classified the decoration of 370 chests. Their allocation to different quarter-centuries is as follows:

	3rd q. of 3rd c..	4th q. of 3rd c.	1st q. of 2nd c.	2nd q. of 2nd c.	3rd q. of 2nd c.	4th q. of 2nd c.	1st q. of 1st c.	1st q. of 1st c.	3rd-4th q. of 1st c.
Mytholog. relief	2	8	17	29	31	29	22	1	-
Banqueting scene	-	-	1	5	3	2	-	-	-
Farewell scene ³⁷⁵	-	1	-	2	2	2	-	-	1
Decorative relief	1	3	16	21	16	18	9	-	-
Plain	-	2	11	22	21	35	9	3	1

Table 5. Chest reliefs in the FTI-corpus.

As the family tombs may give an upper-class picture, I add the table of all the chests that I have tentatively dated:

	2nd-3rd q. of 3rd c..	4th q. of 3rd c.	1st q. of 2nd c.	2nd q. of 2nd c.	3rd q. of 2nd c.	4th q. of 2nd c.	1st q. of 1st c.	1st q. of 1st c.	2nd-4th q. of 1st c.
Mytholog. relief	2	10	21	43	61	43	31	4	-
Banqueting scene	-	-	1	5	5	6	-	1	-
Farewell scene	-	1	2	5	5	2	4	-	2
Decorative relief	1	7	18	37	30	38	22	6	4
Plain	2	2	20	36	34	64	41	17	7
Total	5	20	62	127	135	153	98	28	13

Table 6. Chest reliefs in dated inscribed urns.

The tables show that the mythological reliefs have preserved a strong position during the entire tradition. In the FTI-group, they occur in over half of the instances both in the 3rd century and in the 1st quarter of the 1st century. The peak lies in the 3rd quarter of 2nd century. The much rarer banqueting reliefs belong

³⁷⁵ In these tables, I have included in "Farewell scenes" the reliefs of the last journey and at the gate of the Underworld, as well as the portrait reliefs.

to the 2nd century. The farewell reliefs continue to the 1st century. The decorative reliefs are met during the entire tradition, but it is only in the 1st century that their number exceeds that of the mythological reliefs. The undecorated, plain chests appear from the beginning of the tradition to the end. Their share is under 30% up to the 4th quarter of the 2nd century, when it rises to 42 %. In the latest chests, the majority is plain. These tables show certain trends, but do not offer help in dating individual urns.

Have certain mythological motifs or decorative models of the chests been especially popular in a certain period? Not much can be presented:

3rd century: Half of the twelve mythological reliefs present Medusa, but they come, with one exception, from the tomb of Volumni. Decorative reliefs are rare. The only type with two appearances is DF 3, two flowers in a square, which is met only once subsequently.

1st quarter of 2nd century: No clear favourite among mythological motifs, “Battle near an altar” and “Arimasps against griffins” are met three times. The share of Medusa decreases, in the two first quarters of the 2nd century seven instances, in the two last seventeen instances. Among the decorative themes, the bloom of DF 2, a flower in a square panel, begins with almost half of all instances.

2nd quarter of 2nd century: The “Sacrifice of Iphigenia” is more popular with eight appearances (only one earlier example). “Riders on hippocamp” and especially “Arimasps against griffins” were popular. All four lions’s heads (DP 10) were from this quarter-century – the six ox’s head reliefs (DF 11, DP 4 and DO 11) were later. The decorative figure of four peltae and ivy leaves (DP 11) was popular.

3rd quarter of 2nd century: The “Sacrifice of Iphigenia” reaches its peak (twelve instances), and Medusa is back (ten instances). This and the following quarter are the time when most Scylla reliefs were produced. The decorative reliefs with two opposed peltae became popular, DP 3 (with a sheaf between them) provided five instances, and DF 5 (with a big flower between them) four instances.

4th quarter of 2nd century: No new favourites among the mythological motifs, but the reliefs with opposed peltae with a flower between them (DF 5 and 8) became more popular with fifteen instances.

1st quarter of 1st century: The spread of mythological themes is broad, but Medusa and Centauro-machy were the only themes which appear more than twice. Of the decorative models, DF 2 (flower inside a square) is the only one which appears more than once.

Urn legs

The travertine urns of Perugia are commonly seen to continue the tradition of wooden chests used as cinerary urns.³⁷⁶ In the humid tomb chambers, wooden chests needed legs to raise the bottom from the floor or the stone benches. For stone urns, the legs had no similar function, but the tradition continued. Generally, one could think that, as time passed, this additional element in the carving of the urns would disappear and, consequently, the legs (or lack of them) could offer a chronological criterion for the urns.

It is not always easy to say whether the urn has had legs or not. Looking at the photographs above on p. 115, it is easy to state that **287**. (Fig. 158) has legs, and **1442**. (Fig. 156) has not. But the bottom part was often broken, and in **1510**. (Fig. 155), a judgement is not possible. I have tried to make my best judgements, often based on photographs, and have reached following numbers.

³⁷⁶ DAREGGI 1972, 16; NIELSEN 2010, 153.

I have calculated in my material 223 (43%) urns with legs and 290 (57%) without legs. Let us first use the language of the inscription as a chronological criterion when testing the hypothesis of disappearing legs. In chests with Etruscan inscriptions, the figures are 208 (46%) with legs, 241 (54%) without. In the much smaller number of Latin urns, the figures are 15 (23%) with legs, 49 (77%) without. The occurrence of legs in the urns tentatively dated to different quarter-centuries is as follows:

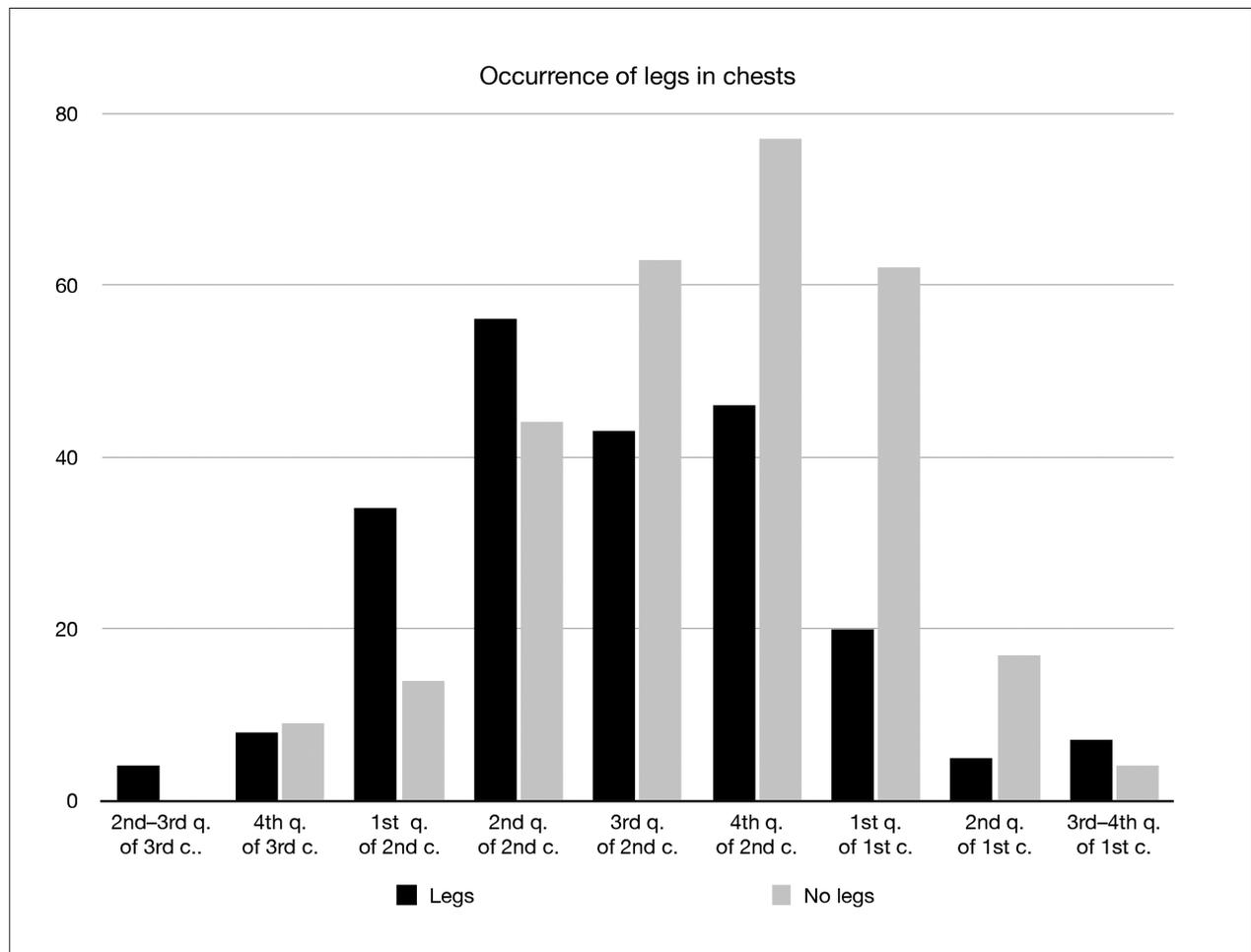


Table 7. Occurrence of legs in chests.

A trend from urns with legs to the type without legs is visible, with the turning point in the middle of the 2nd century. But the type with legs was tenacious and actually never disappeared, as can be seen from the fifteen Latin urns with legs. The bilingual urn of P. Volumnius (313.), which in this study can be seen as the end of the tradition, had legs.

The impact of gender on the choice of the urn type

Was there any difference in the choice of the urn type between male and female deceased? This could be the shortest chapter in this volume: Practically none! But it is better to present figures. I have sufficient data for a type analysis of 764 lids and 723 chests. The share of female epitaphs in both groups is 42%. It is good to notice that over one half of the epitaphs falls outside this analysis, mainly because the monuments are lost, but also because the inscriptions are on ollas, cippi, lead plates and stelai, or because the sex cannot be defined in a partly broken inscription.

Did one of the sexes have larger urns? The Table 8 is based on the width of the support of the inscription.

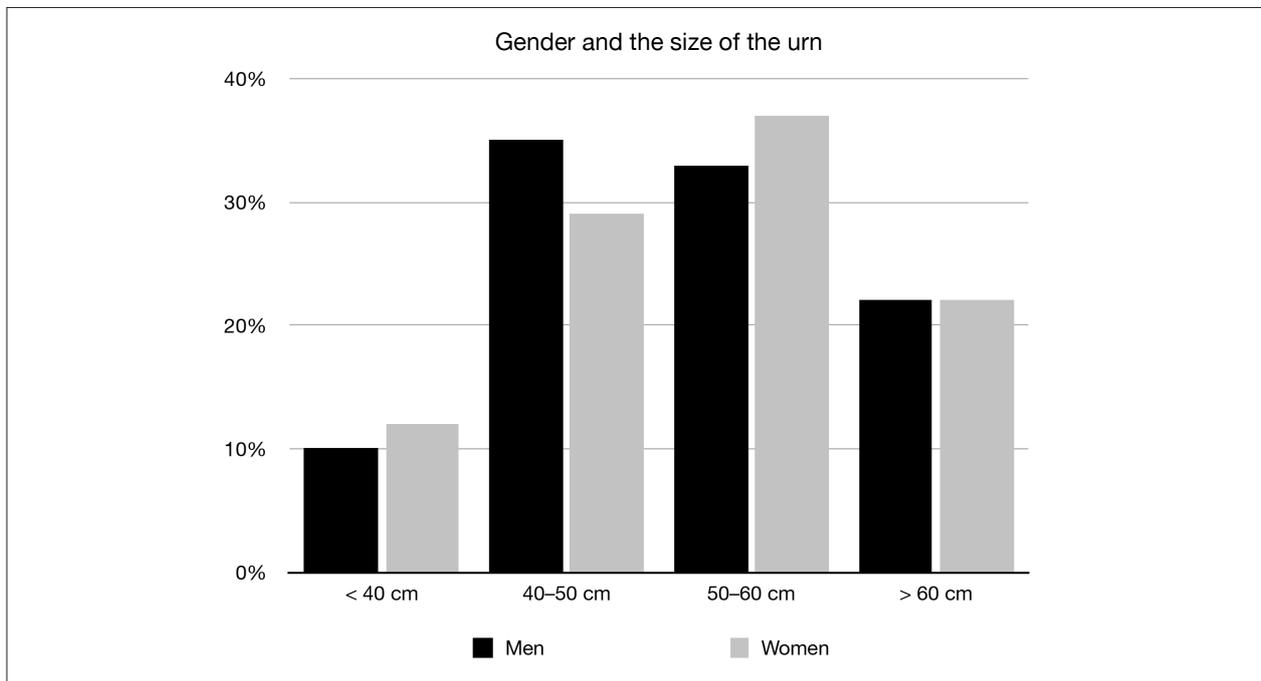


Table 8. Gender and the size of the urn

Did one of the sexes have finer urns? I also estimated the quality of the support on which the inscription was carved, from A (best) to the undecorated class E.

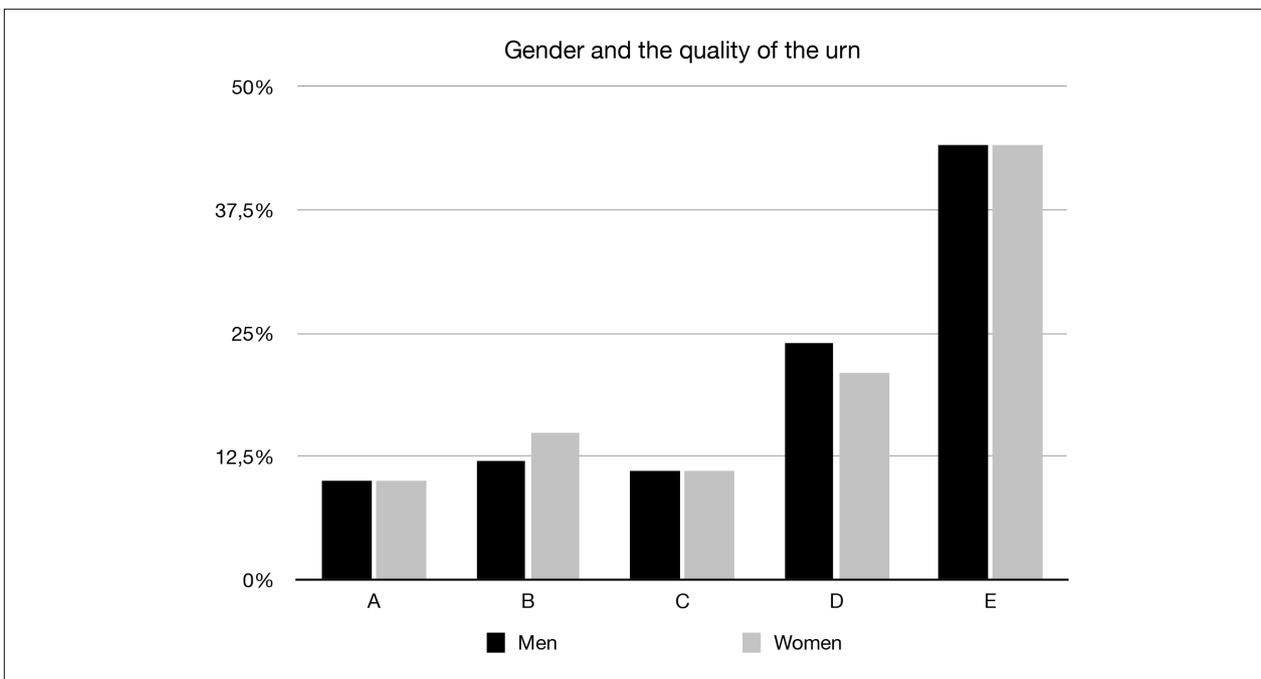


Table 9. Gender and the quality of the urn

The sex is definable for 764 preserved (or documented) lids of inscribed urns, 324 (%) for women, 440 (58%) for men. The shares of the defined main type groups are:

Sex	Lid sculpture	Pelta relief (PR)	Peltae inside tympanum (TPR)	Triangle tympanum decor. (TTR)	Plain	Banquet relief	Total share
Women	41%	42%	37%	40%	43%	67%	42%
Men	59%	58%	63%	60%	57%	33%	58%
Total number	143	85	38	92	388	18	764

Table 10. Share of women and men in lid types.

It may be surprising to see how egalitarian the choice of lid was between the sexes. The only group with a clear deflection – and in favour of women – is the small group with a banquet scene (see above, pp. 85-86). The share of women on lids with the sculpture of the deceased is approximately the same as on plain lids. Of women 18%, of men 19% received the lid sculpture, while 51% of women, 50% of men had the plain lid.

We noticed that in the attributes of the lid sculptures, there was a distinction between men and women. Drinking vessels were more common for men, flowers for women. But in the attributes of the decorative reliefs, no difference can be seen. I counted 130 reliefs with flowers, and 42% of them belonged to women, corresponding to the women's share of all lids. Amphoras and pateras appear in seventeen reliefs, seven of women, ten of men.

The chest types are defined as follows for 303 (42%) female and 420 (58%) male urns:

Sex	Mythol. relief	Banquet relief	Farewell relief	Decorative relief	Plain	Total share
Women	46%	44%	32%	35%	43%	42%
Men	54%	56%	68%	65%	57%	58%
Total number	238	18	22	169	276	723

Table 11. Share of women and men in chest types.

There is no difference between men and women in the choice of a decorated or a plain, undecorated chest. Mythological reliefs were more common on the urns for women, decorative reliefs on the urns for men, but the deviations are not great. In the rarer types, one may observe that “farewell reliefs” (including the last journey and the gate reliefs) were more common on the urns for men. We also noticed that two mythological themes, “Rider on hippocamp” and “Toilet of Penelope”, were more common on urns for women.

In the discussion of the family tombs, we noticed certain family traditions in the choice of urn types, mythological themes and decoration modes. The tomb of Volumni, where most urns were produced by one workshop within a short period, was a special case. But we may, for instance, observe the predilection for lid sculptures in the tomb of Rafi 2, and for urns of married couples in the tomb of Tite Petruni. However, I would agree with Nielsen that there was no large selection of cinerary urns in the workshops visited by the mourning relatives after the death. We even have instances where a male lid sculpture had to be chosen for a woman.³⁷⁷ In instances where the family wanted fine urns, perhaps better characterizing the deceased, they may have been prepared much later, even for two generations at the same time.³⁷⁸ At the other end, even the simplest travertine urns must have been beyond the resources of a large part of the population. But the preserved urns do not give evidence for a society with strong class and gender differences.

³⁷⁷ E.g., 1424.; see NIELSEN 2010, 158.

³⁷⁸ For the tomb of Volumni, see LIPPOLIS 2011, 142-45. For the tomb of Tite Petruni, see NIELSEN 2010, 156.

Etruscan palaeography

Method

I have chosen for my palaeographic study an approach from the inscriptions of over fifty family tombs. I have excluded from the list of large (over five epitaphs) family tombs (see above, p. 75) those tombs, where generations could not be separated, but I have included some smaller tombs. Furthermore, I excluded inscriptions which are lost without a reliable facsimile or copy. Hence, my primary corpus consists of 458 Etruscan inscriptions, nearly one-third of the total number of the Etruscan inscriptions. I call it in this chapter the DFTI corpus.³⁷⁹ The main argument for my choice is that in the family tombs, the tomb plans and the possibility of building family trees and discerning generations offer dating criteria independent of the palaeography. I have given all these inscriptions a date estimate, using as the first criterion the positions of the deceased inside the family, secondly his funerary monument, and only thirdly my total impression of the inscription, which also includes its letter forms. My dating range is a quarter-century, and I have allowed myself an error tolerance of one-quarter of a century.

My secondary corpus contains all inscriptions for which I have the autopsy and/or a photograph and/or a reliable facsimile. I call it in this chapter the SDI corpus (“Sufficiently Documented Inscriptions”). With the family tomb inscriptions included, this corpus consists of 1081 Etruscan inscriptions, more than two thirds of the total number. Most of these inscriptions (843) have also a tentative date, but in dating the singly found inscriptions and those of unknown provenance, the letter forms have played a greater role than in the family tombs. Outside this corpus remains the lost inscriptions for which no reliable facsimile is preserved, and the inscriptions for which the text alone was published and which I have not been able to see. For certain rare letter forms, I have included in the discussion the typographic presentation of *CIE*, with the assumption that the editors have used the exceptional form with good reason.

I do not pretend that my corpora would be statistically representative for all inscriptions produced in the Hellenistic period at Perugia. It is obvious that the best documented inscriptions also come from the better workshops of the city. The family tombs represent at least the medium social class of Perugia, whose linguistic behaviour may differ from that of the whole population.³⁸⁰ But this is the material which we have. Let me make two important remarks on the structure of the corpora. It appears that the *floruit* of family tombs at Perugia was in the 2nd century BCE. Many tombs may have been opened in the 3rd century, but with only a few burials. The burials of many tombs continued to the 1st century BCE but again with rarer

³⁷⁹ “Documented Family Tomb Inscriptions”. In other parts, e.g., in the onomastic study, the level of documentation (at least a reliable facsimile) is not so important, and the whole corpus of “Family Tomb Inscriptions” (FTI) can be used.

³⁸⁰ Benelli observed at Clusium that immigrant and people of modest social rang were the first to abandon Etruscan and start using Latin; BENELLI 2017c, 210-11.

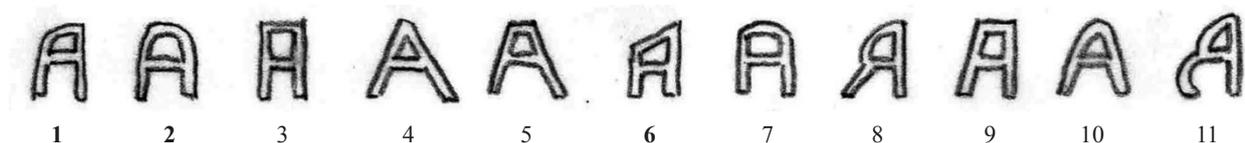
monuments. Consequently, my date estimates in the DFTI corpus place twenty-seven inscriptions to the 3rd and fifty-seven to the 1st century, while 406 inscriptions would come from the 2nd century. In the SDI corpus, the share of the 2nd century does not much diminish. Hence, it looks more probable that the major part of the Etruscan epitaphs of Perugia indeed came from the 2nd century than that the structure of the family tomb corpus was severely distorted. The second remark concerns the sex distribution. Due to some large men's tombs, the proportion of women, 35%, is lower in the DFTI corpus than in the entire material (43%). In fact, women have a share of 48% in the epitaphs of the SDI corpus that do not come from family tombs. But the sex distribution of the deceased has hardly significance in the palaeographic study.

One warning, which concerns all the tables and statistics of this analysis part, must be expressed. During the long process, I have changed my interpretation or my dating of an epitaph, new inscriptions have been added and other rejected. I have tried to make the appropriate changes to the tables, but the reader must understand that I have probably forgotten some places where the inscription was discussed or included in the figures. The changes after counting the tables have not been so many that my naps would affect the results, but a certain inexactness in the figures should be tolerated.

I first discuss the different forms of each letter, and then the different "hand styles". I mark the main types by bold numbers, the rarer types by normal numbers. Not all obsolete forms were probably intentional; they may also depend on mistakes or bad carving. The carver may, for instance, have started another letter, but then corrected it.

A

This letter has the largest variation in the late Etruscan palaeography. At Perugia, I have discerned eleven different types of the side bars (many of them quite rare):



In principle, all of them can appear with ascending, horizontal, or descending middle bar, making the number of different possibilities threefold. When I speak about ascending or descending bars, I am looking in the writing direction, in Etruscan inscriptions from right to left. I have coded the ascending middle bar with additional number 1, horizontal with 2, and descending with 3, e.g., type **1** (vertical right bar, curved angle in the left bar) with descending middle bar is coded as **13**. I found the same variation in my study of the south Etruscan cippus inscriptions. Two or more variants often appeared in one inscription, and it was not possible to define a chronology for the variants of this letter.³⁸¹ The most popular form at Tarquinia and Caere was type **1** with descending middle bar, at Tuscania type **6** with descending middle bar parallel with the upper bar.

In the Perugian family tomb inscriptions (DFTI-group), type **1** with horizontal middle bar (= **12**) dominated from the 1st quarter of 2nd century onwards, when its share of all types appearing in the inscriptions was in all quarters between 45% and 51% (the number of inscriptions is too small after the 1st quarter of the 1st cent. BCE). In the 3rd century, this corpus includes only twenty-seven inscriptions, but of these,

³⁸¹ KAIMIO 2017, 109.

not more than six show this type, rarer than type **6** with descending middle bar (= **63**; in eleven inscriptions) and type **1** with descending bar (= **13**; in eight inscriptions). In all types taken together, the middle bar was descending in two instances of three in the 3rd-century inscriptions, but after that, the horizontal middle bar dominated even more clearly (69%–81%). With a look at Adriano Maggiani's table "Tipi II Etruria settentrionale",³⁸² our results are in agreement for the 3rd century, but for the 2nd century Maggiani still had the descending middle bar, in a clear minority at Perugia.

Our secondary SDI corpus (all inscriptions with sufficient documentation) supports this picture. The top three consists of type **12** (in 526 inscriptions), type **13** (in 155 inscriptions) and type **22**, with rounded top and horizontal middle bar (in 102 inscriptions). The last-mentioned type appeared in the 1st quarter of the 2nd century and was somewhat popular until the end of the Etruscan inscriptions.

Hence, some general trends can be seen in these most popular types, but no criteria for dating. Let us now see whether the appearance of the rarer types would offer better criteria. In Maggiani's table, the Latin type with oblique side bars (type 4 of this study) was presented for the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE. At Perugia, the type was rare. The SDI corpus knows it in thirty inscriptions, of which most are dated to the three last quarters of the 2nd century. One could assume an increasing curve, but only two inscriptions dated to the 1st century (**580.**, **727.**) possibly had this type.³⁸³ Type 8, where the left bar turns in its lower part to the left, either curved or angular, is interesting. In the SDI corpus, we encounter it twenty-nine times. It was an early type: six of the inscriptions are dated to the 3rd century and twelve to the first half of the 2nd century (six of the instances are not dated). Type **6** with four bars, two vertical and two parallel descending connecting bars (the lower one can be horizontal) was popular in the 3rd century, with fifteen instances in the SDI corpus. It appears consistently in the 2nd century but is rarer than types **1** and **2**. In the 1st quarter of the 1st century, it still shows fifteen instances, and this time the horizontal middle bar prevails.

I end this presentation with the total figures calculated from the SDI corpus: type **1**: in 804 inscriptions; type **2** – 189; type 3 – 19; type 4 – 29; type 5 – 6; type **6** – 136; type 7 – 9; type 8 – 30; type 9 – 16; type 10 – 8; type 11 – no instance.³⁸⁴ This letter can have different forms in the same inscription. In **217.**, *veilia · caia · | menznial* (Fig. 159), dated by me to the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century, four *As* appear, the first carved as type 42 (but painted as type 102), the second like type **21**, the third as type 32, and the slanting fourth as type **12**.



Fig. 159 (217.)

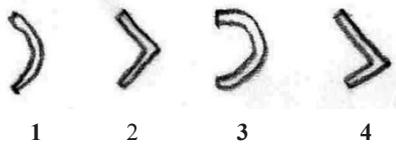
C

The variation in this letter mainly concerns the narrowness and the angularity. I have discerned four different types:

³⁸² MAGGIANI 1991, 188.

³⁸³ The first *A* of **580.** is of type 62. The painted inscription **727.** of the tomb of Alfa is almost entirely vanished.

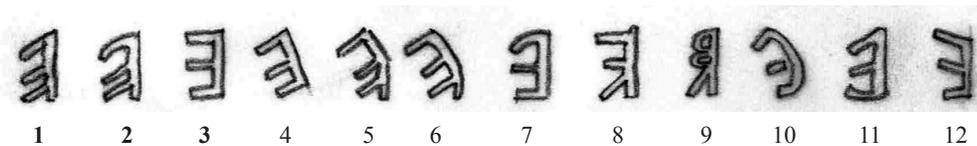
³⁸⁴ The only instance in the entire material is in **1189.**, which has disappeared, but a rather good plaster cast exists in the Palazzo Murena.



In the southern cippus inscriptions, the angular form was rather common; no chronological difference could be seen between the narrow type **1** and the more sinuous type **3**.³⁸⁵ At Perugia, the DFTI corpus contains eleven instances of the angular type **2**, eight of which from the early period, the second half of the 3rd and the 1st quarter of the 2nd century. Types **1** and **3** both appeared in over one hundred inscriptions. In the 1st quarter of the 2nd century, the narrow type **1** was favoured (26 instances against 11 of the type **3**), in the three following quarters, the figures were equal, but again in the 1st quarter of the 1st century, the narrow type prevailed (19 – 8). Type **4** (twice in **1525**.) was obsolete.

E

The variation in *E*, after the few cursive forms, mainly came from the direction of the side bars. Maggiani's table saw that horizontal side bars became common in the 2nd century in the north.³⁸⁶ In my study of the southern cippus inscriptions, the horizontal bars were in the majority at Tarquinia, and descending bars at Volsinii, but no clear chronological order could be observed.³⁸⁷ At Perugia, I have discerned twelve different types:



The main types are **1**, **3** and **2**. The slanting and cursive forms **4**, **5**, **6** and **10** mainly belong to early inscriptions. Of the thirty-three instances in the SDI corpus, thirteen were from the 3rd century and ten from the 1st quarter of the 2nd century, but there were some late instances, type **4** in the bilingual **72**. and type **6** in **353**.³⁸⁸, both in olla graffiti, which possibly explains the cursive forms. Of these types, No. **4** was encountered in thirteen and No. **6** in twelve inscriptions, while No. **5** (four instances, **280.**, **339.**, **354.** and **726.**) and No. **10** (three instances, **774.**, **1049.** and **1256.**) were rare.

Type **3** with horizontal side bars resembles the Latin letter, and one could think that the Roman interference would have favoured it. In the DFTI corpus, it appeared in sixty-nine inscriptions, while type **1** with descending side bars was met in 233 epitaphs. The share of the “Latin” type did not grow towards the end of the Etruscan inscriptions. In the 1st century, type **1** appeared in nineteen, type **3** in six inscriptions. The forms with curved uppermost bar were rather common in the 2nd century. Type **2** with descending side bars was met in twenty-eight inscriptions, most of them from the 2nd quarter of the 2nd to the 1st quarter of the 1st century. Type **7** with horizontal lower bars appeared four times in the 2nd and four times in the 1st century.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁵ KAIMIO 2017, 109.

³⁸⁶ MAGGIANI 1990, 188.

³⁸⁷ KAIMIO 2017, 16, 84.

³⁸⁸ Also, in the lost **406.**, if the facsimile of *CIE* is reliable.

³⁸⁹ **738.**, **912.**, **1265.**, **1315.** from the 2nd, **211.**, **411.**, **412.**, **1444.** from the 1st cent.; **1022.** is not dated.

This letter has also some special forms. Type 8 with strongly descending lowest bar is met only in the facsimile of Danielsson for **1141**. Type 11 with the lowest bar twisting upwards appeared in two late inscriptions of the Cai Cutu tomb (**1332**. and **1335**.). Type 12 with the uppermost bar directed upwards is met in **239**. of the Cai Carcu tomb. The curious type 9 with two loops and one descending bar was found in the olla **592**. (Conestabile's copy). This form is met at Clusium, and the olla may in fact be of Clusian origin.³⁹⁰ It has also parallels in the form of *V* in two Volsinian and one Tarquinian inscription.³⁹¹

V

The forms of *V* follow in great lines those of *E*. I have discerned twelve types:



The best examples of the cursive forms 9 and 11 came from the inscriptions of the tomb of Cai Cutu (type 9 in **1297**. and **1298**., from the 3rd quarter of the 3rd century; type 11 in **1299**. from the 1st quarter of the 2nd century) and of the tomb of Alfa (type 11 in **723**. and **726**., from 3rd quarter of 2nd century). For type 9, seven other examples can be presented.³⁹² Two other inscriptions had *V* of type 11.³⁹³ Type 8 appears only in Pauli's typographic copies (**291**., **643**. and **1097**.), possibly presenting type 9. For type 5, in which the upper part of the vertical is twisted, only one clear example is preserved (**4**.).

Types **1** and **3** were clearly the most popular for *V*, and the variant of type **1** with curved upper bar (type **2**) comes third. In the 4th quarter of the 3rd century, no form with horizontal bars was found in the DFTI corpus, while type **1** appeared in eleven inscriptions. In the 2nd century, the dominance of type **1** with descending side bars was even clearer than in the letter *E*: Q1 type **1** – 19, type **3** – 9; Q2 type **1** – 34, type **3** – 6; Q3 type **1** – 44, type **3** – 10; Q4 type **1** – 23, type **3** – 7. In the 1st century, the share of the form with horizontal side bars still went down (as in the letter *E*): twelve instances of type **1**, three of type **3**. One of the relevant results of this study is that *E* and *V* with horizontal side bars never became dominant with the progress of Romanization. On the contrary, their share started to weaken at the end of 2nd century.

Of the special forms, the type 4 with curved upper bar and shorter, strongly descending lower bar appeared eleven times. Type 6 with lower bar curved to the line, familiar from some cippi of Caere,³⁹⁴ appeared in the late **56**., **797**., **866**. and **1328**. Type 7 with curved upper and horizontal lower bar offered nine instances. The form with upper loop (type 10) appeared in the same **592**., where *E* with double loop was encountered (for the possible Clusian origin, see above): There are some instances at Perugia where Etruscan /v/ was transmitted by <u> (type 12), no doubt under Latin influence. The only instance which can be checked comes from the tomb of Faru, *larθi veti uari* in the negligently carved **524**. I have dated the inscription to 2nd quarter of 2nd century, but the date remains uncertain. Two other instances come from lost inscriptions, *uel* in **795**. and *ulesial* in **1149**.

³⁹⁰ I thank E. Benelli for this hint.

³⁹¹ The cippi *SECI* 46 and 910, and the vase inscription *ET*² Vs 6.5.

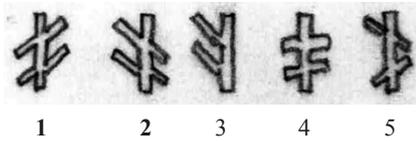
³⁹² **339**., **536**., **631**., **669**., **673**., **1050**. and **1071**. I have dated the four first-mentioned to the 4th quarter of the 3rd cent., **1071**. to the 1st quarter of the 2nd cent.

³⁹³ **774**., and **1213**., both dated by me to the 1st quarter of the 2nd cent. For **1074**., we have only the typographic copy of *CIE*.

³⁹⁴ *KAIMIO* 2017, 50.

Z

This letter was not common, but its forty-three appearances in the DFTI corpus showed a chronological trend. The two basic forms were that with a vertical and two parallel bars crossing it, either descending (type 1) or ascending (type 2):



The first instances had ascending bars (types 2 and 3). In the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century, we meet type 1 with descending bars, but type 2 still dominated in the 3rd quarter of 2nd century (four instances of type 1, eight of type 2). In the 4th quarter of the 2nd century, type 1 is more common (six instances against five of type 2), and in the 1st century, type 1 is found in five instances, type 2 only in one. The larger SDI corpus supports this development, and it will be confirmed by the much richer material of *T*, with comparable forms.

Of the rare forms, type 3 with ascending bars starting from the vertical appeared four times, and type 4 with horizontal bars twice in the DFTI.³⁹⁵ With so few instances, chronological difference cannot be determined, but the parallel instances in *T* seem to give support to the earliness of type 3. Type 5 only appeared once in the negligently carved lid inscription 747.

H

H can also appear at Perugia in the middle of words, not only as initial letter, like in many other areas.³⁹⁶ In late Etruscan palaeography, it has two main forms, the ladder type, dominant in the south, and the round type with a diameter, common in the north:³⁹⁷



The material remains too small for further conclusions. In the DFTI corpus, the letter is met thirty-two times, twenty-three of the round form, nine of the ladder type. First appearances come from the 1st quarter of the 2nd century, with two round letters (types 2 and 3) and two ladders (types 4 and 5). We have more instances in the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century, five with the round form (two of type 3, one of types 1 and 2, one unclear³⁹⁸), four of the ladder type (three of type 4, one of type 5). After this, only three instances of the ladder were found (against eleven round letters), one of them in the bilingual inscription of P. Volumnius Violens (313.) from late 1st century BCE. The SDI corpus contains fifty-five round and twenty-three ladder types.

³⁹⁵ Type 3 in 46., 184., 307. and 853.; type 4 in 344. and 371. In the secondary corpus, there are additional instances 6., 1054., 1247. and 1389. for type 3, 314., 637., 697. and 1035. for type 4.

³⁹⁶ See RIX 1963, 127, n. 69; AGOSTINIANI 2002, 305-09; CALDERINI – MASSARELLI 2013, 184.

³⁹⁷ For the appearance of these two types in the tomb of Hepni at Asciano, see MAGGIANI 1984, 151, 155-56, with a note on their appearance in the epitaphs of Perugia.

³⁹⁸ In the lost 891., Fabretti's copy gives in *uhtave* a circle without middle bar (a similar instance is in *herini* of 673.). This form belongs to *theta*; the middle bar may have been unmarked or invisible.

The direction of the diameter in the round type seems to make no great difference. We have in the DFTI corpus five ascending, four horizontal and twelve descending middle bars. The descending type may gain dominance in late inscriptions like in *Z* and *T*, but the instances are rare indeed. In **1675.**, two short bars were added to the horizontal middle bar to shape a cross form (type 6).

Theta

The round form of theta made it in full height broader than most other letters. Therefore, it was often placed above the line, or on the line, but clearly lower than the other letters. I have separated these two graphical modes as distinct types **3** and **4**, after the letters of full height (types **1** and **2**):



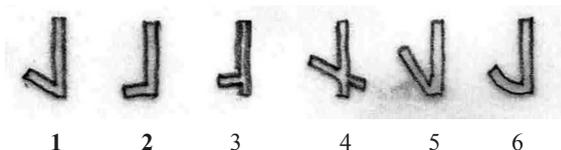
As soon as richer material was available, in the 4th quarter of the 3rd century, the high-up type **3** took the dominant position in the DFTI inscriptions: nine instances against one of type **1** of full height and two of the low type **4**. In the 1st quarter of the 2nd century, the figures were nineteen of type **3**, nine of type **1** and six of type **4**; then in the 2nd quarter twenty of type **3**, six of type **1** and eight of type **4**. Later, the full-height type gained in popularity: in the 3rd quarter, types **1** and **3** had both sixteen instances (type **4** six instances), in the 4th quarter type **1** has sixteen, type **3** twenty-two instances (type **4** four instances), and in the 1st quarter of the 1st century, type **1** six and type **3** ten instances (type **4** did not occur).

The angular type **6**, rather common in the south, especially at Volsinii,³⁹⁹ appeared in the entire material ten times, once with the middle dot (**1041.**, type **8**). It was often connected with other angular forms, as in the inscription of Aule Velimna (**307.**) and the chest inscription of Arnth Cutu (**1308.**). When that inscription was continued on the lid with his mother's name, the letter forms were roundish. While the chest inscription was carved and painted in black, the continuation was painted in black without carving.

The dot in the middle may be an archaism. In the DFTI corpus, it appeared in six inscriptions, of which **589.** and **1297.** were dated by me to the 3rd century, **377.** and **390.** to the 1st quarter, **244.** to the 2nd quarter and **160.** to the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century. The oval form (type **7**) occurred in twenty inscriptions. Many of them were in the lead plates of the Acsi tomb (**375.-383.**). The few examples of type **5** seem to be due to misspellings: the carver has started another letter with a vertical, but then corrected it to *theta*.

L

As the letter *I* did not show any variation, we can go to *L*, also with little variation.



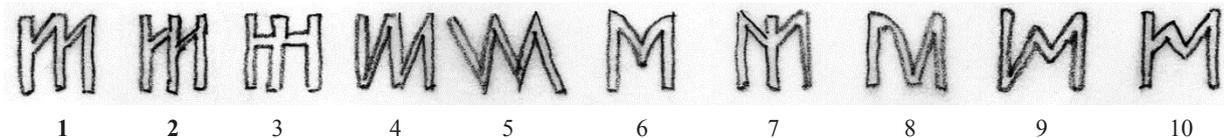
The basic form, type **1**, with ascending side bar from the bottom, is clearly dominant. The variants appear in the DFTI corpus thirty-one times, while type **1** is represented by 316 examples. The Latin form

³⁹⁹ KAIMIO 2017, 82.

with horizontal side bar appeared in the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century, with a share over one tenth in the 4th quarter of the 2nd and the 1st quarter of the 1st century. The other variants appear occasionally in the 2nd century.

M

This letter characterized the *grafia regolarizzata* of A. Maggiani, “a cinque segmenti, organizzati sulle tre aste rigorosamente verticali”, as contrasted with the five oblique bars of equal length in *grafia capitale*.⁴⁰⁰ The variation in late Perusian epigraphy is great:



We first observe type 5, representing *grafia capitale*. The DFTI corpus contained five examples dated by me to the 4th quarter of the 3rd century (**307.**, **308.**, **311.** and **312.** from the tomb of Volumni, and **466** from the tomb of Tite Marcna) and one dated to the 1st quarter of the 2nd century (**287.** from the tomb of Noble-women). In the entire material, we find five more instances (**1.**, **280.**, **287.**, **1231.** and **1389.**). The interesting types 9 and 10, with two verticals and three shorter oblique bars between them, leading to the bottom in type 9, to the middle of the left vertical in type 10, also belong to the early variants. Type 9 is met twice in the tomb of Volumni (**306.**, **309.**), type 10 twice in the tomb of Alfa (**720.**, **723.**) and probably in four other inscriptions (**632.**, **842.**,⁴⁰¹ **1051.**,⁴⁰² and **1117.**). The letter in **337.** from the tomb of Vipi Upelsi is close to type 9, but the oblique bars are curved.⁴⁰³ Type 4, where three of the bars are vertical, the oblique bars between them coming from top to bottom, does not appear in the DFTI, but is found nineteen times in the SDI corpus (often in the less reliable facsimiles). Most of them seem to be rather late.

The dominant form has three verticals connected from top to middle by two descending bars (type **1**). In the DFTI corpus, we have one instance from the 4th quarter of the 3rd century (**740.**).⁴⁰⁴ In the next quarter, more than half of the instances were of this type, and it maintained that position subsequently. Type **2** with oblique bars starting below the top gained ground from the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century onwards, while type 3 with horizontal connecting bars was rare indeed, without any clear instances in the DFTI. In **197.**, the only representative of type 7, the right connecting bar is descending, the left ascending, possibly through Latin influence. But types 6 and 8, resembling the Latin form of this letter,⁴⁰⁵ were rare. The best candidate was **262.** from the tomb of Pumpu Plaute (type 8). For **478.** and **587.**, we have only Pauli's typographic copies. In **812.**, we have to read the Etruscan word *śanis* instead of *ET*²'s *manīa(l)*.

N

The forms of *N* usually followed that of *M*. The following types have been discerned:

⁴⁰⁰ MAGGIANI 1990, 188-89. For the development in the tomb of Marcni at Asciano, see MAGGIANI 1984, 147-50.

⁴⁰¹ I have no autopsy of this urn of Vel Mlevi in the Museum of Berlin.

⁴⁰² The facsimile of *CIE* does not correctly render this letter.

⁴⁰³ The facsimile of *CIE* gives the Latin form for the first letter in *maslnei*, but that is not correct.

⁴⁰⁴ I have no autopsy of this urn of Aule Tite Vesi in the Museum of Berlin, and the facsimile in *CIE* is not clear. The urn is dated by MAGGIANI 2009, 187, to 3rd quarter of 3rd cent.

⁴⁰⁵ However, one must remember that the Latin *M* had oblique side bars.

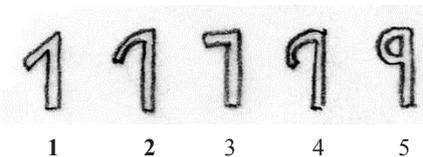


In the DFTI corpus, the cursive forms of types 5 and 7 occurred in the 3rd century and in the 1st quarter of the 2nd century. In the 3rd century, type 5 was dominant with nine examples, as compared with eight instances of type 1 and two of types 2 and 4. Three instances of type 7 (342., 362. and 1506.) are not very clear. I have dated them to the 1st quarter of the 2nd century. In 362. the right bar is also oblique, but coming much lower than the two other bars, distinguishing it from the capital type 5.

In the 2nd century, the dominance of type 1 was as clear as that of the parallel type 1 of *M*. In the 1st quarter, it was presented by thirty-two inscriptions. The capital type 5 still had six instances, but type 2, a variant of type 1 with the middle bar starting below the top of the vertical, was more common with eight appearances. Type 4 could be an upright variant of type 5 or represent the Latin form of the letter. It appeared in the 4th quarter of the 3rd century in two instances, growing to five (2nd quarter of 2nd cent.) and eight (3rd and 4th quarters) instances, but no longer in the 1st century (four instances). Type 1 was met in the 2nd century in altogether 157 inscriptions of the DFTI corpus, against forty-two instances of type 2, three of type 3 and five of type 6. In the 1st century, the figures were twenty-three of type 1, ten of type 2, one of type 3, and four of type 4. Type 8 appeared in two olla inscriptions (552. and 947.) and in one cippus inscription (1077.).

P

The variation in this not so common letter concerned its hook:

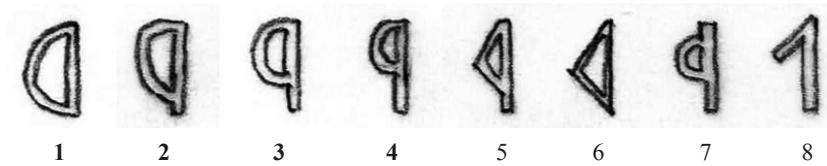


Type 1 dominated, but the curved form type 2 gained popularity in the 4th quarter of the 2nd century (type 1 twenty-four instances, type 2 eleven instances in the DFTI corpus), and the two main types had equal figures in the 1st quarter of the 1st century (seven and eight). The horizontal hook (type 3) appeared five times in the 2nd century in the DFTI inscriptions. Sometimes the curved hook was close to an open loop (type 4), resembling the Latin Republican form. A good example is 1253., where *R* and *P* in the name *turpli* were quite similar.⁴⁰⁶ In 262. from the tomb of Pumpu Plaute, the second line, at least as it was painted in the 19th century, displayed one example of each of types 2, 4 and 5.

R

Of single letter forms, the size of the loop of *R* is most used in palaeographic dating of late Etruscan inscriptions. This necessarily means, that it has also influenced the dating of the inscriptions of my DFTI and SDI corpora, and we must be aware of a possible vicious circle in the study of the development of the forms.

⁴⁰⁶ In fact, I believe that *turpli* was written. The lines closing the loop of the third letter in Pauli's facsimile are later scratches.



I have discerned four loop sizes, from the loop of full height (type **1**) to that of half height (type **4**), via loop of full height with a short tail (type **2**) and that of two-thirds height (type **3**).⁴⁰⁷ The table below shows the appearances in the DFTI corpus.

	2nd–3rd q. of 3rd c.	4th q. of 3rd c.	1st q. of 2nd c.	2nd q. of 2nd c.	3rd q. of 2nd c.	4th q. of 2nd c.	1st q. of 1st c.	2nd q. of 1st c.
Type 1	2	11	23	8	8	4	1	-
Type 2	-	-	6	4	5	3	-	-
Type 3	-	1	12	35	25	15	8	1
Type 4	-	1	9	20	33	50	27	1

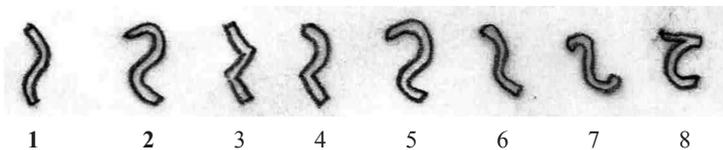
Table 12. Height of the loop of *R*.

The table clearly shows that the transition from the loop of full height in *R* to that of half height took a long time at Perugia, the whole of the 2nd century. The above-mentioned risk of a vicious circle does not change this conclusion. The first instances of the loop of half height may have appeared in the 4th quarter of the 3rd century,⁴⁰⁸ and the last instance of the loop of full height is met in the 1st quarter of the 1st century, from the tomb of Alfa, where only one inscription showed the half-height loop.⁴⁰⁹ It is possible that the epigraphic tradition in a certain place or in a certain family was more conservative than in general. But this instance also warns against a too prompt dating on basis of one feature alone.

As stated above, the angular forms were not common at Perugia. In the DFTI corpus, the angular loop of full height (type **5**) occurred twice in the 1st quarter of the 2nd century (**465.**, **1308.**), with a short tail (type **6**) once in the 3rd quarter of the 3rd century (**1426.**) and twice in the 2nd century. In the SDI corpus, a total of fourteen angular forms of *R* are found. The rare form with the suspended loop (type **7**) appeared in **240.**, **1168.** and **1208.**, and that with the P-like hook (type **8**) in the late **1664.**, probably by mistake.

S

The letter with two curves into opposite directions was not always easy to carve on the stone.



In the forms of the parallel letter *C*, the narrow type dominated in the 1st quarter of the 2nd century, after which the narrow and the broad types had rather equal shares. In *S*, the narrow type **1** had an equal position with type **2** in the few instances of the 3rd century. After that, the broader and more sinuous type **2** clearly dominated. In the 2nd century, type **2** had in the DFTI corpus 114 examples, type **1** twenty-four

⁴⁰⁷ For the development of the form in the tomb of Marconi at Asciano, see MAGGIANI 1984, 148-49.

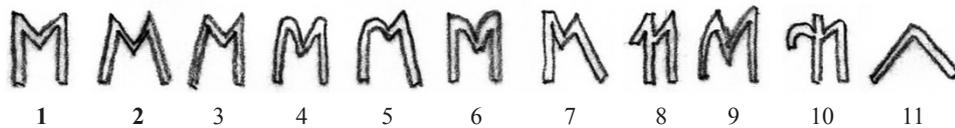
⁴⁰⁸ If we can trust Fabretti's copy of **97.** from the tomb of Cire.

⁴⁰⁹ I have dated both the last inscription with the loop of full height **728.** and the only one with the loop of half height **729.** to the 1st quarter of the 1st century. See KAIMIO 2020, 208.

examples. The angular form (type 3) was somewhat common from the 4th quarter of the 3rd century to the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century (fourteen instances). The variant with curved upper part and straight lowest bar (type 4) appeared for the first time in the 3rd quarter of the 3rd century in the urn of Arnth Cai Cutu (1297.), and after that, nine times in the DFTI inscriptions. Type 5 with large upper part had three instances, the slanting type 6 fifteen instances, and the more sinuous type 7 eleven instances in the SDI corpus. The straight upper bar (type 8) is only encountered in 1356. from the women’s tomb of Casaglia.⁴¹⁰

San

There is great number of variants in the form of this letter:



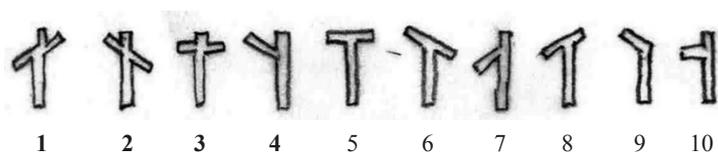
The main forms are type 1 with vertical side bars and type 2 with oblique side bars. Type 2 is earlier. In the 3rd century, it appeared in the DFTI corpus twelve times, type 1 only three times (735., 740. and 306., which had one letter of both types). In the 1st quarter of the 2nd century, both types are met in seventeen inscriptions, but after that, the vertical side bars clearly dominated (in the inscriptions of the DFTI corpus, a total of sixty-one instances of type 1, sixteen of type 2).

Of the numerous variants, type 3 with vertical right, oblique left side bar appeared evenly in most quarters, altogether fifteen times, while its counterpart, type 7 with oblique right bar, was only met twice (524. and 1319.). Types 4 and 5, with curved left angle, offered three and six examples. Of type 6, with curved middle bars, we have one instance from the 4th quarter of the 3rd century, in the same 735. where type 1 appeared for the first time.⁴¹¹ In the three last quarters of the 2nd century this type occurred altogether twelve times in the DFTI inscriptions. These three types are close to the “MacDonald” type, but we have no pure example of it.

Then we have some strange, if not misshaped forms. In type 9, the right bar is vertical, the other curved. We have four instances: 871. (cippus), 1033., 1311. (Cai Cutu tomb) and 1526. I have dated them all to the first half of the 2nd century. In some forms, there seems to be a vertical in the middle, either so that the letter resembles *M*, as in 1637. and 1541. (if the letter really is *san*), or so that the left part stays unfinished, Type 9 (cippus 589.) and type 10 (1329. from the tomb of Cai Cutu) could be corrected from some other letter.⁴¹² Finally, we have type 11 in 726. from the tomb of Alfa, resembling “*m simplificata*” of Cortona.⁴¹³

T

The variation comes from the place and direction of the traversing bar:



⁴¹⁰ The inscription is dated by NIELSEN 1999, 101, to the early 2nd cent., but the other inscriptions of the tomb seem to be clearly later.

⁴¹¹ The dating to 4th quarter of 3rd cent. is by MAGGIANI 2011, 188. On a purely palaeographic basis, I would prefer 3rd quarter of the 2nd cent.

⁴¹² However, two inscriptions that are difficult to read, 1541. and 1637., may have this letter drawn with three verticals, like *M*, but connected with one descending and one ascending middle bar.

⁴¹³ See MAGGIANI 1990, 193.

The main types **1** and **2** differ from each other by the descending versus ascending traversing bar. The descending bar (type **1**) was characteristic of the Clusian inscriptions.⁴¹⁴ The chronological development is clear and like that in *Z*:

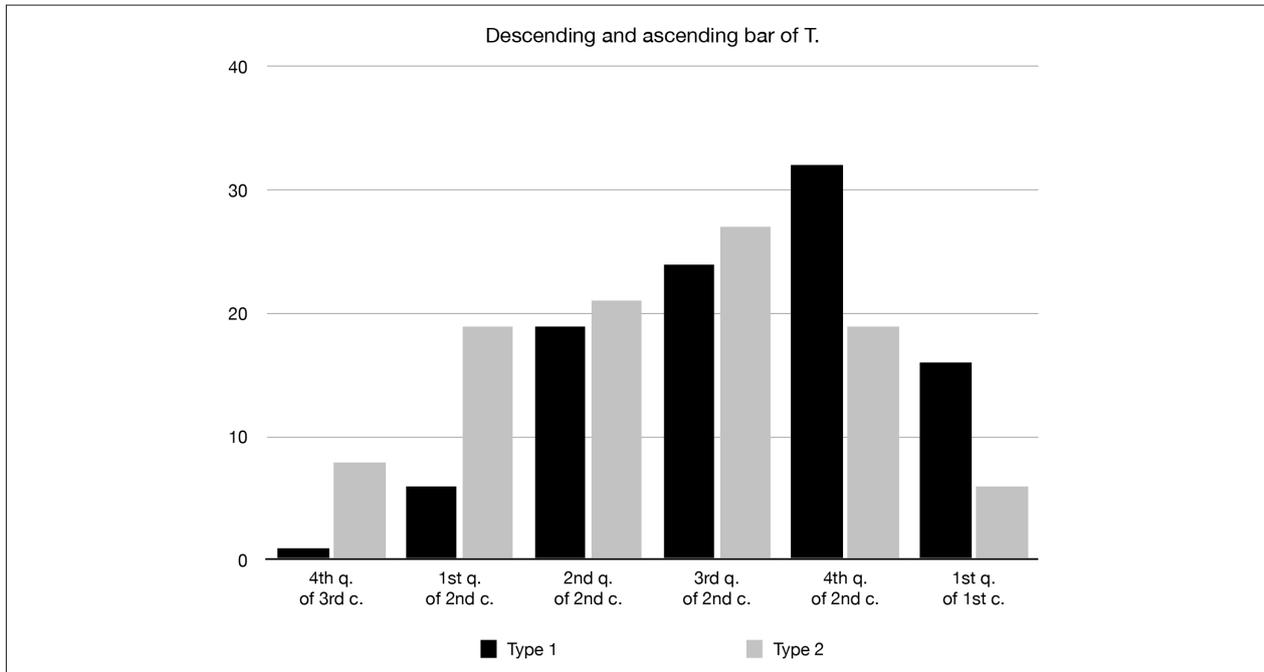


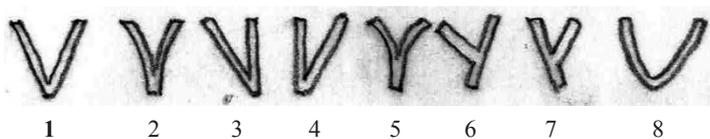
Table 13. Descending and ascending bar of *T*.

We have again the situation where both types were met during the whole late tradition, but the dominance of the ascending bar turned in the 4th quarter of 2nd century to the dominance of the descending bar, possibly under Clusian influence. Type 3 with horizontal bar was met in the DFTI corpus fifteen times in the 2nd century (peak in the 2nd quarter) and once in the 3rd and in the 1st century. Type 4, with ascending bar starting from the vertical, is often considered typical of Perusia. It already appeared in the urn of Vel Cai Cutu (**1298**, 3rd quarter of 3rd cent.) and then throughout the 2nd century, peaking in the 2nd quarter (ten examples in the DFTI). The percentage of these four main types, as calculated from the SDI corpus, was: type **1** 41%, type **2** 35%, type **3** 6%, and type **4** 15%. Only 3% remained to the other six types.

The Latin type 5 with the horizontal bar at the top of the vertical was met in the entire material eight times, mainly in late inscriptions. Of the other rare types, type 6 offered five and type 8 six examples. Type 7 appeared twice (**637**, and **1511**), possibly as misspelling with *P* instead of *T*. The only instance of type 9 came from a typographic copy of Pauli (the lost **777**). Type 10 appeared in the cippus inscription **1207**.

U

The basic form has several variants, more depending on the way of carving than on different styles:

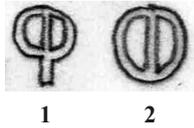


⁴¹⁴ Pauli in *CIE*, p. 416.

In the SDI corpus, type 1 occurred in 508 inscriptions, the other types a total of forty-nine times. Only types 3 and 4, with either the right or the left bar in vertical position, appeared more than ten times.

Phi

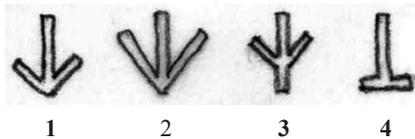
Two types were met in the Perusian epitaphs:



The letter occurred in the entire material twelve times, with six instances of both types. Ten of the examples were in forms of the gentilicium *hamφna*. The other names, *φelnaś* (1270.) and *φuriś* (1271.), with the letter of type 2, are both hapax.

Chi

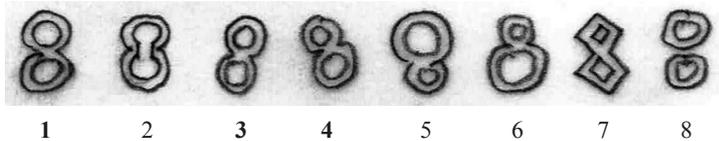
Another rare letter had four variants:



In the DFTI corpus, type 1 with the side bars from the bottom dominated with twenty-five examples. In the 4th quarter of the 2nd century and in the 1st quarter of the 1st century type 3, with side bars from the middle of the vertical, gained a certain popularity (seven instances). In four inscriptions, the side bars rise up uncommonly high (type 2), and in the negligently carved 747., the straight side bar was horizontal (type 4).

F

It was not always easy to carve one circle above another, and the variants may not have been intentional:



In the DFTI corpus, the dominance of the basic type 1 was clear in all quarters (altogether seventy-one examples). The only other types with several instances were the slanting types 3 and 4. In the hand styles in general, there were tendencies to backwards or forwards slanting (see below), but this letter mostly differed from the general style of the inscriptions. Type 3 appeared eleven times in the two last quarters of the 2nd century, and type 4 thirteen times from the 1st quarter of the 2nd century to the 1st quarter of the 1st century. Of the less common types, type 2, where the side halves do not touch in the middle, was met in six inscriptions. We have three instances of type 5 and two of type 6. Type 8 is represented by 721. from the Alfa tomb. The angular type 7 was met in the second line of Aule Velimna's epitaph (307.) and in 1233.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁵ The facsimile in *CIE* of this lost inscription gives round circles for *F*, but the plaster cast of Palazzo Murena has preserved the angular form.

Dots of interpunctuation

Discerning dots in inscriptions on travertine urns is often difficult, and my results must remain uncertain. The main choice has been between no dot, one dot, or a colon. In the DFTI corpus, no dot was the preferred choice in the scanty material of the 3rd century: fifteen inscriptions without dots, six with the colon, five with the single dot. In the 1st quarter of the 2nd century, the share of “no dots” was still one fourth, but it diminished quarter after quarter. At the same time, the single dot overtook the colon.⁴¹⁶ Its share went up to 70% in the 4th quarter of the 2nd century. Of the rarer types, we have in this corpus six instances of a triangular single dot, the first in the epitaph of the “gatebuilder” Arnth Rafi (48.). Triple colon appears twice, in the lead plate 507. and in 66. of the Rafi tomb. In the whole material, we have one example of a drawn triangle in 867., of a circle dot (rather rectangular) in 754., and of a cross dot in 953.

Serifs

In Latin epigraphy, serifs (extensions at the bar ends of letters) appear in the 2nd half of the 2nd century and become regular in the mid-1st century BCE.⁴¹⁷ In Etruscan inscriptions, there seems to be an early phase not later than the appearance into the Latin epigraphy. It is visible, for instance, in the inscription of *L'arringatore* (ET² Pe 3.3), and in some Clusian and Caeretan inscriptions. A second phase then comes in the last Etruscan inscriptions, obviously under influence of Latin epigraphy.⁴¹⁸ At Perugia, I have traced irregular serifs in ten inscriptions: 48. and 55. (from the tomb of Rafi 1), 225. (from the tomb of Satna), 259., 326., 1022., 1045., 1140., 1361. and 1440. (from the tomb of Cacni 2). The first instances might be from the middle of the 2nd century. It is possible that the restored painting has reinforced the impression of serifs, as in 48. (detail in Fig. 160). No inscription had regular serifs. In 326. (detail in Fig. 161) only the initial letters of the names received serifs.



Fig. 160 (48.)



Fig. 161 (326.)

Ligatures

In the Etruscan epitaphs of Perugia, I have found twenty-six instances of ligature of two or more letters. Many of the instances were at the end of the inscription, especially in the ending of the metronymic *-ia*̄. As this ending was often abbreviated, possibly for phonological reasons, as *-ia*, it is not always easy to discern the ligature, or it remains uncertain. For instance, in 222., read *vipia(l)* by earlier editors, the side bar of *L* can be seen: *vipia*̄. In 883., editors have, on basis of Pauli's typographic copy, read *raplial*, but the plaster cast in Palazzo Murena gives *raplia*̄. Most of the instances are rather late, but I have dated 634. (with ligature of the three last letters in *caenal*) and 640. (*cusperiena*̄) to the 1st quarter of the 2nd century.

⁴¹⁶ The way in which MASSA PAIRAULT 1994, 80, used the colon and single dot as a chronological marker in her analysis of the tomb of Tite Vesi (see above, p. 60) is too categorical.

⁴¹⁷ GORDON – GORDON 1957, 128.

⁴¹⁸ I thank E. Benelli for this view. See BENELLI 2015c, 191-92; KAIMIO 2017, 53.

The execution of the inscription

It is surprising how careless the execution of the inscriptions on the Perusian cinerary urns was, when compared with the quality of the urns themselves. The epitaph was an essential part of the funerary monument. I cannot give any exact share, but clearly more than one half of the cinerary urns at Perugia were inscribed. In this respect, the situation differs from that of, e.g., Volaterrae. But in the design of the urns, it looks as if the placement of the epitaph was only seldom considered. In plain urns, it was no great problem. But while in the cippi of Tarquinia, much cheaper funerary monuments, a special text field was evened, often framed, and prepared with guidelines, I know only one Perusian urn lid with a specially evened text field (**1415**, with the Latin epitaph *Veltia*).

This meant that in decorated urns the epitaph was carved on lists.⁴¹⁹ In gable-roofed lids, the lower list of the tympanum was usually chosen for the epitaph, but it was often only 2-4 cm high. In lids with the sculpture of the deceased, the mattress was often the only place for the inscription, which was possibly broken by hems of the bed cloth. On the chests, the decorative elements and the head of Medusa were usually placed inside a square panel, leaving an upper list for the epitaph. But the mythological reliefs often covered the whole front side of the chest. Some inscriptions were carved between the shapes of the relief.

Furthermore, it looks as if the epitaph was seldom designed and drawn with coal on the space available. The carver just started from the right edge. If the space was short and the name long, he solved the problem as well as he could. He might add letters above or under the last word, or he abbreviated the last name, or continued the inscription vertically on the left list of the chest, or around the corner, or on the mattress of the lid sculpture (**1453**).

The great majority of the inscriptions were carved and painted in red. We must be somewhat cautious: especially in the 19th century, the texts were made better visible with red painting (not always correct), and it is impossible to know whether there was original colour or not. The DFTI corpus did not show remarkable differences between quarter-centuries. The share of other colours than red was larger in early inscriptions (in the 3rd century and the 1st quarter of 2nd century). In the 2nd century, the share of carved inscriptions without painting was 10% (with the above-mentioned caution), and that of painted inscriptions without carving likewise 10%.

In the 458 inscriptions of the DFTI corpus, I have coded twenty-five corrected and nineteen uncorrected misspellings, i.e., every tenth text included an error, but over half of them were corrected by the carver himself. The share of misspelled inscriptions seems to be higher in the 2nd half of the 2nd century and the 1st quarter of the 1st century. The misspellings can be divided into six types. The most common type seems to be omission of a single letter; abbreviations or omission of final letter(s) due to insufficient space (see below) are not included here, but only spellings like *rfi* for *rafi* (**58**). There are also instances of extra letters (anaptyctic vowels are not counted as misspellings), like *anei{e}* in **162**. Misspellings are graphic, when the carver has chosen a wrong letter or started a new line from a wrong place. The letters may also be in wrong order, like *crusel* instead of *crusle* in **172**.

The phonological misspellings are difficult to distinguish from phonological variation, for instance, syncopated and unsyncopated forms. I have included in this type the common spelling of the initial syllable *ve-* as *e-*, but it may have a phonological basis, not only the sequence of two similar letters (see below, p. 143). In principle, the spelling of <s> with <ś> and that of <ś> with <s> was a misspelling, but the op-

⁴¹⁹ For statistics of inscriptions carved on the chest or on the lid, see Table 2, above p. 77. Chronologically, one can observe a change of preference from chest inscriptions to lid texts.

position between these two graphemes was disappearing in late Etruscan epigraphy. An interesting instance is in **357.**, where the carver probably spelled the gamonymic as *aprθeś*, but then added an inverse *S* between *E* and *san*, probably hesitating about the correct spelling. The sixth type of misspelling was due to the confusion of the carver, who could not identify the name that was to be written. Either the copy or the oral information remained unclear, and the carver spelled what he thought possible. I think that this was the case, for instance, in **163.**, carved *arnθ anei larθiaśvia clan* (without interpunctuation or spaces between words). I think that the name was *arnθ anei larθia(l) ś(al)via(l) clan*, but five *al/la*-combinations have confused the carver's concentration.⁴²⁰



Fig. 162 (**163.**)

A more common problem for the carver was the insufficient space. In the DFTI corpus, I have coded sixty-nine instances, without chronological differences. In fourteen instances, the carver has added the last letters above the text, in fifteen instances under the text, and in eighteen instances either around the corner or vertically on the left edge of the chest. In thirteen instances, he just abbreviated the last word.⁴²¹ In some instances, the final letter is clearly smaller than the others (e.g., **425.**), or the spelling is tightened (e.g., **791.**, **1309.**).

I have evaluated the quality of the execution of the inscription with a scale from 1 (low) to 5 (high). The inscriptions with sufficient documentation (at least a reliable facsimile) were only evaluated. It is naturally a subjective evaluation, and during the long study, it has been difficult to keep the standard the same. I have tried to consider the design, the regularity of the letter size and the carving, and to ignore the level of preservation. I did not quite achieve the Gauss curve. Only six inscriptions in the entire material reached the highest score (**305.**, **326.**, **901.**, **967.**, **1671.** and **1687.**), while twenty-three received the score 1. On the other hand, the group with score 4 was larger than that with score 2.

An interesting result of this evaluation was that the best inscriptions were not found on the finest urns (also evaluated from 1 to 5). Of the six high-class inscriptions, two were on urns of high quality (**326.** of Arnth Ceisi with a good Medusa head, **1671.** of Thana Husetnei with lid sculpture), but the deceased did not belong to the high society of Perugia. One of the six, **305.**, belonged to a *lautni* Tlapu. In the family tombs, where the level of the urns was in general higher than the average, no inscription received the highest score, but no less than twelve the lowest score. The average was, however, 3.3, higher than the average 3.1 of the whole material.

⁴²⁰ The editors have supplemented it *larθiaś via(cial) clan*, and I have not changed this in my edition. However, the metronymic with praenomen is rare, and the supplemented gentilicium almost unknown.

⁴²¹ When the last word is a metronymic, lack of the final *L* may also be due to its phonological weakening. I shall return to this question in the phonological section.

Different hand styles

The great majority of the Hellenistic Perusian epitaphs were written in the *grafia regularizzata* of A. Maggiani. In some, there were capital or cursive letter forms (see above, letters *E, V, M, N*), but the whole ductus only seldom represented *grafia capitale* or *grafia corsivizzante*. I take four examples:



Fig. 163 (287.)



Fig. 164 (1299.)

287. (*veilia veltsnei velimnaś*) may serve as an example of a hand style which is close to *grafia capitale*. All names begin with large, upright *V* and *E* with clearly descending side bars. *M* and *N* are forwards slanting, with five and three oblique top-to-bottom bars. *San* is broad, with strongly oblique side bars. The inscription is also an example of poor design. For once, there would have been two clear text fields in the decorative gates. The carver decided to continue the lines from one gate to the other. Both word divisions failed, and one letter went to the other gate. The carver had planned two lines, but even that failed: the last three letters were left to a third, tight line.

1299. (*arnθ cutuś larθial velsnal*) came from the tomb of Cai Cutu, where many inscriptions were painted in black without carving. The forms of *V* and *E* are cursive, that of *V* not far from the *C*. *T* is slanting backwards, balancing the side bar from the vertical. The side bars of *san* are strongly oblique. The left bar of *A* has a small twist. The middle bar of *N* starts below the top. The letters of the horizontal line are regular and quite fine. The problems begin with the vertical line. *Theta* becomes much larger than in the first line, and the space gets tight. Then the carver (or rather scribe) forgets an *L*, adds it between *E* and *S*, but there is no place for the final *L*. What direction should it take after the second turn-out?



Fig. 165 (536.)



Fig. 166 (382.)

536. (*θana veti*) has no lack of space, with its short name. The forms of *V* and *E* are cursive, and the whole inscription has a rather cursive touch. Practically all the letters are slanting, one *I* backwards, one forwards. The small *theta* does not give a strong start to the inscription.

382. (*arnθ acsi arnθial palpe*), from the tomb of Acsi, has divided the name on three lists around the square with the head of Medusa. Carving in a vertical direction has caused great difficulties. The side texts are strongly backwards slanting, spaces between letters uneven, and many letters misshaped. But the horizontal text above the square is not much better. The touch is cursive, but the realization clumsy.

One common feature in Perusian funerary inscriptions was slanting script or letters. They may slant forwards as well as backwards. Often the beginning may slant backwards, the end forwards.



Fig. 167 (47.)



Fig. 168 (240.)

In **47.** (*ar. rufi ar. caial*) from the tomb of Rafi 1, the whole text is backwards slanting, while in **240.** (*larθia herinia s(anis)*) from the tomb of Cai Carcu, the beginning is backwards slanting, the end forwards. The narrow list of the tympanum may be one reason for the slanting. There seem to be more instances of forward slanting in early and backwards slanting in late inscriptions, but the material is not sufficient to furnish statistical significance.

Some epitaphs were designed to fill the whole space of the plain tympanum. The intensive text was possibly decorative, but not easy to read.



Fig. 169 (755.)

My example is **755.** from Strozzacapponi, *zecunta vipia*. The letter height follows the form of the tympanum. The space between letters is minimal, especially in the centre, where the descending oblique lines continue from one letter to another.

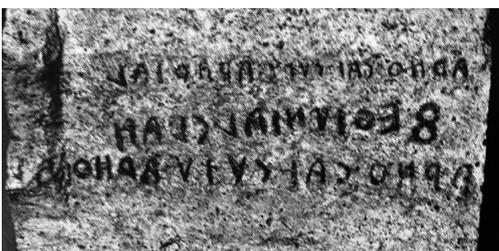


Fig. 170 (1305.)

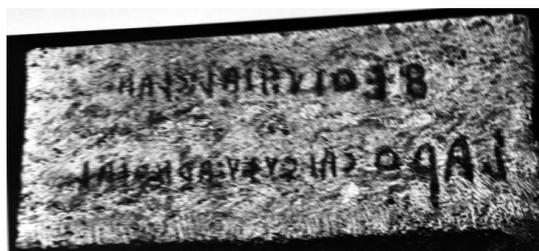


Fig. 171 (1306.)



Fig. 172 (1307.)

In carved inscriptions, it is difficult to discern individual hand styles, texts made by one and the same carver or workshop. I have suggested that the three painted inscriptions (1305.-1307.) on the roof flats of tightly placed urns in the tomb of Cai Cutu were by the same hand, but this was a special case. In the lead plates of the Acsi tomb (379-381. below), one can also discern an individual hand style, which clearly differs from the lead plates of the Vipi Vercna tomb (507. below).



Fig. 173 (379.)

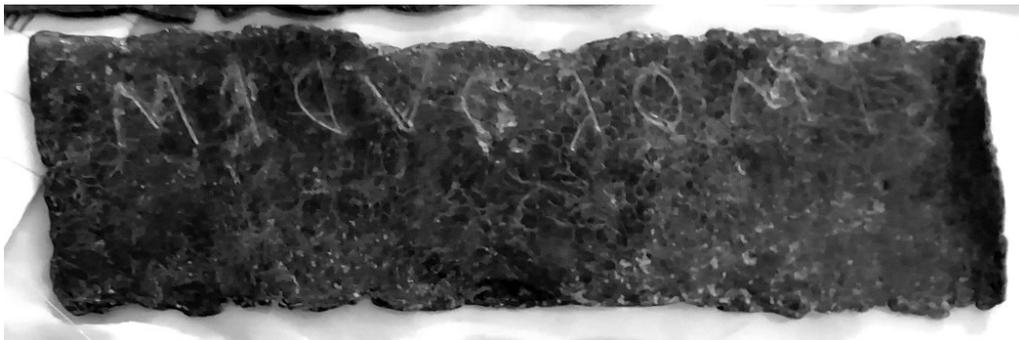


Fig. 174 (380.)



Fig. 175 (381.)



Fig. 176 (507.)

The chronological markers in the palaeography of the Etruscan inscriptions

I have not found any marker whose appearance or absence would as such date a Perusian inscription. Even the loop of full height in *R* can be encountered as late as the 1st quarter of the 1st century (728. of the tomb of Alfa). But the study has produced a good list of trends and preferences, which may assist, together with other criteria, in dating inscriptions:

A: Descending middle bar was preferred in the 3rd century, horizontal after that.

E, V: Cursive forms mainly belonged to the 3rd century. Horizontal side bars were common in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of 2nd century; their share diminished after that.

Z: Ascending bars dominated, but descending bars were preferred from the 4th quarter of the 2nd century onwards.

Theta: Full-height letter was slightly preferred from the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century onwards. Before that, the letter above the line had the dominant position.

M, N: Capital forms mainly belonged to the 3rd century or the 1st quarter of the 2nd century. In *N*, the Latin form (which could also be capital) was somewhat popular in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 2nd century but did not gain ground after that.

P: The curved hook was somewhat popular in the 4th quarter of the 2nd and the 1st quarter of the 1st century.

R: The loop of full height was preferred until the 1st quarter of the 2nd century, that of two-thirds height in the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century, the loop of half height from the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century onwards.

San: Oblique side bars were preferred until the 1st quarter of the 2nd century, after that the vertical side bars.

T: Ascending bar dominated until the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century, descending bar from the 4th quarter of the 2nd century onwards.

Interpunctuation: “No-dot” was preferred in the 3rd century, colon in the 1st quarter of the 2nd century, single dot after that.

One must note that the list only presents preferences, based on the statistics from the DFTI corpus.

The Etruscan phonology

When we speak about phonology, we must, as always, remember that we are handling written, not spoken material. In addition, the corpus under discussion consists almost exclusively of names, which may behave in a different phonological way than the “living” words of a language. On the other hand, many personal names of Perugia had their origin in the Italic languages and/or were continued in the Latin nomenclature of the town. This offers a possibility to compare the written shape of the name in two languages. But again, both in Etruscan and in Latin, the personal names could not be freely chosen, since they were under censorial control. The best source for a phonological study of inscriptions is often internal variation. We believe that variation, diachronic as well as synchronic, in the writing of the same words or endings also reflects phonological development or variation. But we must be aware of the spelling errors, graphemic conventions and idiolects of the scribes.

Vowels, semivowels, and diphthongs

<a>/<e>: The few instances of this variation, best known in the declension of the word *clan*, may be misspellings (or misreading) rather than phonological. The name *petruni* appeared twice in the form *patruni* (407. and 601.).⁴²² Micozzi published the metronymic of 1489. in the form *urinetial*,⁴²³ but in his photograph, I see a clear second foot of *A* and a horizontal middle bar, giving the normal form *urinatial*. In 578., I likewise correct the *leθari* of earlier editors to *leθeri*, as it was spelled in the metronymic of her daughter (579.). The name *leθari* was Clusian; it is possible that the common *leθe* influence the Perugian form. The variation in *peteci* (283.) – *petacial* (432.) – *petceś* (282.) may be due to different anaptyctic vowels, *petce* being the basic form in late Etruscan. In name pairs like *tatni* (five instances) – *tetni* (1312., 1326., 1670.) and *zatna* (232., variant of *satna*) – *zetna* (five instances), the question is rather of two different name stems.

A further instance is, I believe, in the epithet *śanis* of uncertain meaning (see below, pp. 193-94). We have two occurrences in our material, *śanis* in 812. and *śenis* in 1542., and the epithet is probably behind the abbreviation *ś()* in 240. and 741. The same word is met with the negation *ei(n) śenis* in the inscriptions of two *lautneteri* (871. and 896.; see below, pp. 192-94). Two Caeretan occurrences of the word (*ET*² Cr 5.2; *SE* 73, 2007, 339-44, No. 76) support /a/ as the original vowel of the stem.

<e> / <i>: This variation is mainly met in the endings and suffixes. The instances from the word stems are rare. The variation is found in the names of the father *petisiś* (gamonymic in 1078.) and the daughter

⁴²² In 601., *ET*² has chosen the reading *petruni* instead of *CIE*'s (4062) *patruni*; in *SE* 44, 1976, 242-43, No. 43, Tav. 47, the preferred reading was *paruni*. The urn lid is in private possession, and I have not seen it, but the photographs, drawings and facsimile lead me to believe in *patruni*.

⁴²³ *SE* 77, 2014, 315-16, No. 22.

petesi (1079.: cf. *peθesi* 677.). No other instances of the name are met in Etruscan. In 468., the earlier editors have read *larθi cai pituii*, connecting the cognomen to *petui*.⁴²⁴ However, the plaster cast in the Palazzo Murena clearly gives the reading *spituii*, in connection with the Tarquinian name *spitu*. The cognomen *leθiu* was once written *leθeu* (879) in the family tomb of Petru Lethiu, possibly under the influence of the basic name *leθe*.

The so-called *Vornamengentilia* had mostly at Perugia the ending *-i* irrespective of the *-e* ending of the praenomen: *cai, vipi, larci, veti* (at Clusium *cae, vipi, larce, veti*). *larce larci ar.* (148.) shows the difference.⁴²⁵ *tite* and *cneve* preserved the masculine ending *-e*. There was some wavering. I discuss the instances here, although they could be morphological just as well as phonological. The writing *vete* is met six times. Masculine *titi* in 467. remains uncertain. The topmost sidebar of *E* for the normal *tite* is visible (autopsy 2018). *cnevi* instead of *cneve* appeared in 1006., *ciri* in 100. besides nine instances of *cire*, all from the same tomb.⁴²⁶ As common as these names were, the deviating instances were rare and scribal errors rather than having a phonological basis. The feminine ending *-e* in *capane* (213. and 214.) was supplemented by earlier editors to *capane(i)*, in *statsne* (1223.) to *statsne[i]*, but I am not sure about such standardization.⁴²⁷ Phonologically, the endings could be explained by further monophthongization of /ei/ (from /ai/; see below). One may also note variation before the final sibilant: the individual name [*a*]tunes (979.) pro *atunis*, the gamonymic *petuez* (184.) pro *petuis*.

The feminine ending *-ia* appeared in some instances as *-ea*. We have the praenomen *veilia* written as *veilea* in 1193., *θania* as *θaniea* in 1017. Among gentilicia, *velnea* is met in 38. and 660., *velea* in 17., *umprea* in 187., *arlenea* in 926., *atunea* in 1640., and the genitive *tlecχineaś* in 1257. The variation was much more common in the genitive ending *-ial*. In the metronymics, we have *veltsneal* (288.), *lusceal* (356.), *laχumneal* (426.), *helvereal* (512., 513.), *cafate[al]* (779.), *percumsneal* (826.), *titeal* (1057., 1058.), *velθineal* (1099.), [*ves*]trecneal (1113.), *φacsneal* (1191.), *patneal* (1245.), *rutzneal* (1332.) and *arzneal* (255., 1389.). We cannot exclude the possibility that this variant is partly connected with the feminine in *-nei*, for which we have seen above some instances > *-ne*. But this phenomenon is also well-known, especially at Volsinii,⁴²⁸ in the genitive forms of the male praenomina *larθ* and *arnθ*. Their forms in *-eal* were rare at Perugia: *larθeal* (389.), *θeal* (772.), *arntθeal* (1269.) and *arnθeal* (1677.).

<u>/<i>: The instances come from gentilicia ending in *-uni/-ini*. *fatuni* (732., 733.) was written *fatini* in 374., *fatin[i]* in 1523. The connection of the gentilicium stems *atin-* and *atun-* is somewhat uncertain. Both were rather common at Perugia. The best, but not conclusive evidence for the connection comes from the necropolis of Strozze, where we have *atinei* (1651.) in tomb No. 49, *atuni* (1639.) and *atunea* (1640.) in tomb No. 32.

<o>/<u>: <o> did not belong to the Etruscan alphabet, but we meet it in one late inscription, 1664. *tania: petronia: at.*, in a mixture of misunderstood Etruscan letters (and three Latin A's). *R* was like Etruscan *P*, *O* like Etruscan *theta* above the line. The reproduction of <u> of Etruscan names in Latin will be discussed below in the chapter on Latin inscriptions.

⁴²⁴ RIX 1963, 254 and n. 10.

⁴²⁵ It is unclear whether the praenomen siglum *lar*: (e.g., 149. *lar. larci*) referred to *lar(θ)*, *lar(is)* or *lar(ce)*.

⁴²⁶ Confirmed by autopsy of Rix, RIX 1963, 205, n. 22.

⁴²⁷ I have autopsy of 213. (2018), and the reading is certain.

⁴²⁸ See VAN HEEMS 2011, 80-84; KAIMIO 2017, 88; ADIEGO 2011, 64; BELFIORE 2012b, 426-27.

Semivowel /j/: The variation *larθal* – *larθial* (see below) has been sometimes explained by the palatalization of aspirated stops.⁴²⁹ I believe that the variation was part of the more general optionality of the genitive endings *-al* and *-ial*, phonologically /lar^hial/ rather than /lar^hjal/. But we have other examples of an extra <i> written after a consonant and before a vowel, possibly representing /j/. It can come after an aspirated stop, *larθiia* (639), or unaspirated stop: *spitiui* (468.), probably to Tarquinian *spitu*; *pianiaθe* (781.) pro *paniaθe*, *pruciui* (252.) pro *prucui* in the same tomb, *hasticiu* (1103.)⁴³⁰ pro *hasticu* (753.), *creicie* (1687.) – *creice* (889., 1335.), *nuštiiia* (1249.), *larstiialisa* (690. – *larstial* in 691.), but also after a nasal, *θaniia* (1249.), or rhotic, *triile* (581.). In the four last-mentioned instances, the following vowel was /i/, thus giving a digraph <ii>, probably for /ji/. The digraph is also met three times in the name *caiiia(l)* (362., 363., 392.), this time probably for /ij/.⁴³¹ <i> is omitted in *feθual* (1307.) for the usual *feθiu*, *feθiuni* (1305., 1306., from the tomb of Cai Cutu). Between /e/ and /a/, the semivowel was preserved in genitives in *-eial*: *aceial* 140., *teleial* 1031., *titeial* 1158., but probably disappeared in *veane* (see below) from *veiane*.

Semivowel /w/: While Latin had only one grapheme for the vowel /u/ (/u:/) and the semivowel /w/, the Etruscan alphabet separated /u/ and /w/. In the Perusian inscriptions, there are some instances, where they were mixed, possibly, but not necessarily, under Latin influence: *snvti* (343.), *uari* (524.), *velθvrna* (805.), and probably *ulesial* pro *vlesial* in 1149.⁴³² But in vowel combinations, the variation had probably a phonological basis. The praenomen *aule* preserved the diphthong, but the original form *avile* was sometimes reflected in the spelling: *avleś* (1002.), the uncertain siglum *av.* in 1359., and the gentilicium *avulni* in 1198. The spelling *śaluvi* for *śalvi* is met in 105.

The Perusian gentilicium *petvi*, possibly syncopated from *petevi* (gamonymic in 192.),⁴³³ presented a wide spectre of different spellings. In the tomb of Petvi (181.-196.; above pp. 27-28), *petvi-* was the normal spelling (eight times). But whereas the name of Arnth was written *petvi* (189.), that of his sister was *petui* (190.), as was that of Larth (191.), the son of *petevi* (husband of 192.). *petui(al?)* also appeared in 194. The spelling *petuvi* was met in 186., and in the gamonymics, we have the genitives *petuez* (184.) and *petuveś* (195.). Outside the tomb, the spelling *petvi* was consistent (22., 430., 431., 626.).⁴³⁴ Other names with variation were *cveθn-* (368., 995., 996.) – *cueθn-* (367., 994.) and possibly *rezu* (eight times) – uncertain *rezval* (833.).⁴³⁵ A different instance was *capuan(ial)* (982.), as compared with *capevan-* (596., 736., 737., 970.). In 982., the ethnic name was obviously under Latin influence.

The Umbrian velarization of the word initial /l/ to <v> probably connects the name *vatini* (506.-508., 598., 810.) to *Latinus* and, together with the palatalization of /k/, the common *vuisi* to *Lucius*.⁴³⁶ The word initial combination <ve> was often written with <e> alone: *eti* (390.) in the tomb of Vetii; *vestrcnaś* (25.) – *estrcnaś* (26.; the same person), *eturiś* (10.) pro *veturiś*, *eaneś* (896.) pro *veaneś*, *eiza* (699.) probably for *veiza*, *entnei* (1010.), *en[t]naś* (1009.) pro *ventnei*. The typographic reproductions of *CIE* from Conestabile's copies give [v]ercnaś in 495. and 503., normalized in the editions to *vercnaś*. The instances may be spelling errors in a sequence of two similar letters, but a phonological explanation cannot be excluded.

⁴²⁹ RIX 1984, 206. For a discussion, see WALLACE 2008, 30-31.

⁴³⁰ The parentheses *hastic{i}u* of earlier editors are unnecessary.

⁴³¹ This gemination is more common in the archaic inscriptions. A major part of the late Etruscan appearances comes from Perugia. See BELFIORE 2011, 42; 2012b, 427-30.

⁴³² The editors have given in this lost inscription *vlesial*, but the manuscripts *ulesial*.

⁴³³ RIX 1963, 254.

⁴³⁴ The reading *pe[t]uis* in the lost 1152. is corrected by CALDERINI – MASSARELLI 2013, 258, to *tetiś*.

⁴³⁵ I have not included the variants *cisuita* (999.) – *cisvita* (998.), as I suggest a new reading for the latter *cistaś*, possibly for *cis(ui)taś*.

⁴³⁶ MEISER 2009, 148; AGOSTINIANI 2002, 314.

Diphthongs

/ai/: The Etruscan diphthong /ai/ changed to /ei/ in the 4th cent., and further to /e/ before the sound /v/.⁴³⁷ The language of Perugia was consistent in this change. We do not, for instance, find an only feminine ending in *-nai* of gentilicia in *-na*. *cneve* was always written with <e>. <ai> often appeared in the name *cai*, but it was probably dissyllabic, from *ca-e* with suffix *-i*. /ai/ was probably a real diphthong, when the gentilicium was extended by *-ni* to *caini* (634., 959., 960., 1166., 1186., 1260.), but the analogy of *cai* preserved it. In other words, the appearance of the diphthong was so exceptional that the name *slaiθe* (414., 416.) is striking. *silaiθe* in 1001. must be the same name. It looks as if *I* after *S* was added afterwards (autopsy 2019), probably indicating that the scribe was uncertain about the name. The people in 414.-416. were of unfree origin, and *s(i)laiθe* may well be a foreign name. The north Etruscan name *pupaini* (once with <ei>, *pupeinal* ET² AS 1.99) is met only once at Perugia and had the spelling *pupani* (1507.). It cannot be given a phonological explanation.

/ei/: This diphthong was extremely common in the Perugian inscriptions. It may be original, developed from /ai/, or from the suffix *-i* added to name stems in *-e*, not only in feminine forms, but also in masculine gentilicia like *anei*, *atei*, *velχei*. Examples of further monophthongization to /e:/ were rare (for feminine forms ending in *-e*, see above), and they could be spelling errors. In the tomb of the family Ceisi (323.-327.), the name was written *cesi* in 323. The gentilicium *sveitu* was common all over Etruria, but the only Perugian instances had the spelling *svetu* (1218.), *svetui* (1219.).⁴³⁸

<ea>: This vowel combination was probably dissyllabic in Etruscan, as in the above-mentioned instances, where the endings *-ia*, *-ial* had taken the form *-ea*, *-eal*. The gentilicium *cearθiś* (278., 279., 280.) presents the same development, as compared with *ciarθi* (ET² Ar 1.9, 1.93, AS 1.224). A different origin is met in the common gentilicium *veiane*, from the name of the city Veii,⁴³⁹ which had at Perugia the form *veane* (20., 433., 707., 754., 1015.). The exceptions were *vieanial* (434.), obviously a scribe's error, and *veiani* (572.), *veian[i]al* (865.), the only instances with the elsewhere common spelling.⁴⁴⁰ The name may have originally had the semivowel /j/ and not the diphthong /ei/.

Umbrian /ou/: The name **Roufos* of Umbrian origin became a common gentilicium at Perugia. In Umbrian phonology, the monophthongization of /ou/ resulted in /ō/.⁴⁴¹ In the tomb of Rafi 1 (45.-75.), the gentilicium of the family was written fourteen times *raf-*, four times *rauf-* (56., 60., 65., 69.), four times *ruf-* (45., 47., 49., 50.) and once *rfi* (58.). The variation was not diachronic. *raf-* was met in all generations of the tomb. The appearances of *rauf-* are somewhat later than those of *ruf-*. Thus, we cannot see in the variation the progress of the Umbrian monophthongization of the *rouf-* stem. Meiser explained *raf-* as a result of very open pronunciation of /o:/ in the Umbrian dialect of Perugia.⁴⁴² But that does not explain *raufi*. The original diphthong was perhaps somehow understood in the articulation, and the closest digraph was chosen, or, alternatively, the digraph was chosen by some writers to reflect a long vowel mid-way between Etruscan /a/ and /u/. In the tomb of Rafi 2 (815.-829.), the spelling *raf-* was met thirteen

⁴³⁷ See WALLACE 2008, 35.

⁴³⁸ The reading of the lost 1219. remains uncertain, but *svetu* in 1218. is clear.

⁴³⁹ RIX 1963, 308.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. *veiaθial* 77. In 572., earlier editors have given *veiani*, but in the clear plaster cast of the Palazzo Murena, the first letter is *F*, and the name should be read *felani*.

⁴⁴¹ MEISER 2009, 148.

⁴⁴² MEISER 2009, 149; WALLACE 2008, 32, 36.

times, *rauf-* once (822.),⁴⁴³ while *ruf-* was unknown. Outside the family tombs, the spelling *rauf-* was as common as *raf-*, each occurring five times (plus *raufnei* 561.); *ruf-* was met in 711. and 1049. *aufle* (463., 602., 603., 1068.) may have its origin in the Italic **oufilos*.⁴⁴⁴ *ufleś* (1233.) is connected to it, but I am not certain that the common *afle* (20 times) was a variant of *aufle*. In general, the praenomen *aule* and the gentilicia connected with it preserved the diphthong.

Umbrian /au/: The result of the Umbrian monophthongization was the same /o:/ as in the case of /ou/. We encounter the same variation as in *rufi* in many names with original /au/, not all of them of Umbro-Sabellic origin.⁴⁴⁵ In the tomb of Pumpu Plaute (260.-271.), the spelling *plaut-* was the normal, eight times, *plut-* appearing in 262. and 267. The female *platia* (cognomen in 276., gentilicium in 346., 1154.) was possibly from <*plautia*. The stem *lauχum-*, connected with the praenomen *laχu*, had usually <a>, seven times, but we meet *lauχumnial* in 228., 1287.,⁴⁴⁶ *luxumni* in 478.⁴⁴⁷ *śauχnate* (126.), *sauχnate* (127.) is related to *saxu* (423., 1175.). The cognomen *laucane* (118., gamonymic *laucanis* 1150.), has the form *lacane* in 19. The stem *sauturin-* gave ten instances with <au>, but then in 1172., we have *saturini*, although the reading is not certain. *auclina* (472., 553.), *auclinei* (555.) had also the form *aclinei* (552.), and *uclina* (1261.) is probably a variant of the same name.

Wallace held that the monophthongization of /au/ came from Umbrian influence and mainly concerned names of Umbro-Sabellic origin. As an argument, he used the purely Etruscan words *lautni*, *lautniθa*. But the same phenomenon, even if rare, is also met in those words. Co-freedmen of *velθur caspres lautni* (980.) were called [*a*]tunes *caspres latni* (979.) and *lecusti caspres latni* (573.). *latni* was also the spelling in 414. and 732., *lutnita* in 681.⁴⁴⁸

<eu>, <ue>: The diphthong <eu> was familiar at Perugia above all in the gentilicium *leuna*, appearing altogether fifteen times. Rix thought that the masculine form was *leu* (cognomen *leusa* ET² Cl 1.2579, 2580), feminine *leunei*, as all forms in *leun-* had come from feminine names.⁴⁴⁹ Since then, the situation has changed, and we have three Perusian epitaphs of men with the gentilicium *leuna* (1098., 1641. and 1654.). A connection to Greek λέων remains uncertain. The other names with <eu> were *pleura* (348., 350.), *pleuri* (259., 1634.); *reustial* (1492.) and *eusi* (1684.). In these names, the spelling <ev> did not appear. <ue> may have been dissyllabic. Nearly all instances come from the common gentilicium *luesna* (nine instances). After a stop, the spelling with <v> also appears: *cueθnal* (367.), *cueθnei* (994.), but *cveθnal* (368., 995., 996.).

Syncope and anaptyxis

Consonant clusters caused by the strong accent on the first syllable in the 4th cent., were common in the names of the Perusian epitaphs. A certain conservatism of nomenclature, or formation or borrowing in a later period, had helped some common names to preserve the vowel of the second syllable. A good example is *petruni*, which in over thirty instances preserved the vowel of the second syllable. But we also meet the syncopated form *petrnei* (604.), *petrnal* (332., 795.), *petrnial* (333.). The feminine nominative *petrnei* and

⁴⁴³ Possibly also 1202., if from this tomb; see DAREGGI 1969, 472; BENELLI 2015a, 190, n. 43.

⁴⁴⁴ RIX 1963, 66.

⁴⁴⁵ BELFIORE 2012b, 424-26.

⁴⁴⁶ ET²: [*la*]χumnial: in the plaster cast of the Palazzo Murena, [*l*]auχumnial is clear.

⁴⁴⁷ For a discussion of the possible Umbrian origin of the name, see MEISER 2009, 156-60.

⁴⁴⁸ It is uncertain whether the gentilicium *lutne* (327., 1330., 1507.) had a connection to this word.

⁴⁴⁹ RIX 1963, 186, n. 99.

genitive *petrnal* may, however, indicate that the forms belong to a family of **petrna*, possibly immigrants, since in the tomb of Hepni at Asciano, we met *velia petrnei* (ET² AS 1.63) and her daughter and son with the metronymic *petrnal* (ET² AS 1.76, 86). The feminine of *petruni* at Perugia was always *petruni*, genitive *petrunial*.

The consonant clusters were sometimes dissolved by an anaptyctic vowel, or one of the liquids, nasals or rhotics took a syllabic function.⁴⁵⁰ I present here Perugian instances, where a name had two different spellings due to these phenomena. The syllabic consonant was /r/ in *vestrcnaś* (25., 26.). The anaptyctic vowel <e> followed <r> in *vestrecn(e)al* (1113., 1272.), while an <a> preceded it in *vestarcnal* (412.). In the tomb of Lemrcna, we have *lemrcna* (574.), *lemrcnei* (576.), but *lemrecnaś* (575.), and, in the tomb of Vetī, *lemrecna* (786.).⁴⁵¹ *nufrzna* (five times) presented the anaptyctic form *nufurznaś* in 285. (cf. Latin *Noforsinia* 1391.). In 774., *velimuna* is met for *velimna*. Then we have a series of names where the unsyncopated form was the normal, but single syncopated forms appeared. In the tomb of the Apurthe family (351.-357.), *aprthe* (355., 356.), *aprtheś* (357.) were met, *aprthe* also in 594. *urnati* from *urinati* appeared in 839., *ancria* from *ancari* in 907. The emendations of *Etruskische Texte ur(i)nati*, *anc(a)ria* are, in my view, unnecessary. *caterina* (749.) seems to be an anaptyctic form of *catrnei* (1489.), *catrnil* (1334.), or vice versa. *sautri* (994.) stood for *sauturinal*. *mrɣnial* in 232. looks like a carver's error, but the inscription was otherwise carefully carried out.

Syllabic <l> of *aclni* (1130.) was opened in *aclinei* (558.). *vetlnei* (336.) and *puplnal* (1163.) had no anaptyctic variants at Perugia (*puplina* was common at Clusium). Syllabic <n> of *casntini* (feminine; 207.) was opened in *casunti* (897.), that of *harnstial* (1336.) in the Latin *Harnustia* (1564.). *tucuntni* (192.), *tucuntnal* (191.) was opened in *tucuntineś* (544.); the common *arzni* in *arzanei* (728.); the common *capna* in *capane* (213., 214.). In the tomb of Anani, the gentilicium was once syncopated to *anni* (431.). Finally, we have syncopated forms in *pacsniā* (89.) pro *pacsinial* (1073.), *ulsnia* (1267.) – Clusian *ulsinal* (ET² Cl 1.432), *velznei* (1516.) – *velzinaś* (1017.), *ceisnial* (1535.) – *ce[i]sinial* (990.), *ceisinei* (76.), and *usnil* (722.) – *usuna* (1269.).

Consonants

Aspiration of stops

The opposition between aspirated and unaspirated stops was not clear in late Etruscan.⁴⁵² Most instances of variation appeared in /t/ - /tʰ/. The initial aspirated stop of *θana* was spelled with <t> in *tana* (70., 135.), *tania* (1664.), where the first *A* is corrected from Latin *H*. In an initial consonant group, we have *θlecinia* (1256.), but *tlecɣineaś* (1257.).⁴⁵³ Inside the word, the variation appeared between two vowels in *perpraθe* (621.) *perpraθial* (644.) – *perpratez* (620.), *perprati* (645.). I cannot say whether this name was an old ethnic name or not. In the other names of the ethnic formation *-ate/-aθe* or *-ite/-iθe*, no variation inside the name was visible, but some names used the aspirated, others the unaspirated ending. While, for instance, *ati-*

⁴⁵⁰ See WALLACE 2008, 37-41.

⁴⁵¹ The modern painting disturbs the reading of this name. It gives *levr-* (ET²: scr. *levr-*). What I could discern under the painted *V* was probably *P*, scarcely *M*. The question is whether it was a carver's error, or was it caused by phonological variation *lemr-/lepr-*.

⁴⁵² For the Etruscan system of consonants in general, see WALLACE 2008, 30-31. For the question of the palatalization of stops, see above, p. 143.

⁴⁵³ From the metonymics of *la*. and *ls*. *turpli*. The readings are not certain, 1257. is lost, and the letters in 1256. almost vanished.

nate, *sentinate*, *urinate* and *cafate* were always unaspirated,⁴⁵⁴ *cusiθeś* (178., 1272.), *cusiθi* (179.), *cusiθial* (739.), *latiθi(al)* (821., 822., 823.) and *veiaθial* (77.) had only the aspirated ending.

In consonant groups, we can first have a look at the common praenomina. *lart* is possibly met twice, in 110.⁴⁵⁵ and 875. *larti(a)* was more common, in 132., 133., 527., 864., 1010., 1027. and 1048.; *lati* in 525. and 526. *arnθ* appeared unaspirated only in the abbreviation *at.* in the semi-Latin 1664. The “hypercorrect”⁴⁵⁶ spelling with digraph *arntθeal* is met in 1269.,⁴⁵⁷ which can be compared with *tlecχineas* (1257.), *marχcnaś*(472.), and *aθtnei* (709.). *seθre*, *seθra* is met seventeen times aspirated, but the unaspirated *setre* also appeared (174., 497., 804., 892., 1543.). As gentilicium, we have both *seθri* (1629.) and *setri* (490., 1631.). Finally, we have the curious *fasθi* in 1283., and *larzal* in 132.; if it stays for *larθal*, it may hint at the spirantization of /t^h/, apparent in the Latin spelling *Lars* of the praenomen. However, the reading of the inscription remains uncertain.

Other instances of the variation <θ>/<t> were connected to /r/ in *suθrina* (59., 1194.), *suθrinial* (58.) – *sutrinaś* (1195.) *sutrinei* (60.), and *śerθuri* (1214.) – *śerturi* (ten instances). Instances connected to /n/ were *cantini* (13., 14.) – *canθini* (656., 778., 1556.); *velitnal* (1030.), *velitn(ei)* (1669.) – *veliθna* (1346.); *semθne*, *semθni* (274., 512., 513., 1176.) – *semtni* (1177.). We may also observe the Perusian problem of how to spell the gentilicium derived from the Italic ordinal number *octavos*: the normal spelling was *uhtave* (seven times), but then we have also *uθavi* (756., 1264.) and *utavi* (116.).

I start the study on the variation <c>/<χ> with the commonest word in which it appeared, *śeχ* – *śec* (*seχ* – *sec*). There are ten instances with <χ> and eight with <c> in the dated inscriptions of the FTI corpus. They do not disclose any chronological ground for this variation. In general, the use of the appellative in the metronymic was rather late, and most instances came from the 4th quarter of the 2nd century (three with <χ>, four with <c>), but there is one instance of both spellings from the 1st quarter of the 2nd century (855. and 816.). In the entire material, <χ> appeared twenty-six times, <c> thirty times. My only explanation of such variation is that the opposition between aspirated and unaspirated guttural stops was practically vanished in the 2nd half of the 2nd century BCE. This process is clearly visible in a comparison with the material from Tarquinia and Clusium.⁴⁵⁸ In Tarquinian inscriptions, the original aspirated form of *śeχ* appeared fourteen times, unaspirated twice. In Clusian inscriptions, which on average continued a little later than the Perusian ones, the figures are aspirated twelve, unaspirated forty-eight.

The gentilicium *acsi* offers numerous occurrences, which are also interpreted as evidence of a phonological process *acsi* > *aχsi* > *ahsi* > *asi*.⁴⁵⁹ I believe that we have here two separate names, *acsi* (*aχsi*) on the one hand, *asi* (*ahsi*) on the other. Most instances come from the tomb of Acsi, where the name appeared twenty times in the form *acsi(ś)* and four times as *aχsi* (358., 368., 371. and 372.). In 361., the editors have read *asi*. The chest has now disappeared, and only the plaster cast in the Palazzo Murena can be studied. Based on that, I would prefer the reading *açsi*: the reverse *S* in the facsimile of CIE 3812 represents *C*, and between it and *I*, there are traces of an *S* in the plaster cast. Hence, the urn would have the same form of the gentilicium for the deceased as his lead plate 360. The form *ahsi* did not appear in the tomb. It is met in the

⁴⁵⁴ For a list of names from ethnics, see RIX 1963, 232-236.

⁴⁵⁵ In the plaster cast in the Palazzo Murena, the third letter is rather *V*, and I would prefer the reading *la. vi(pi) anei*.

⁴⁵⁶ BELFIORE 2012b, 431.

⁴⁵⁷ In the lost 1291., *uhtave* appears in the copy of Fabretti as *uθtave*. It is possible that the middle bar of *H* was not visible, but a digraph for *theta* is also possible; cf. *uθavi* 756., 1264.

⁴⁵⁸ I have counted these figures from the index in *Etruskische Texte*², Vol. 1.

⁴⁵⁹ RIX 1963, 127, n. 69; WALLACE 2008, 31.

tomb of Pumpu Plaute in **263.** and **262.**, where we also meet the form *asia[l]* in **261.**⁴⁶⁰ This variation could depend on the long vowel, which under Umbrian influence was in some names of Perugia indicated by <h>, /a:si/ giving <*ahsi*>.⁴⁶¹

In the word beginning, we have *χaial* for *caial* in **185.**⁴⁶² Between two vowels, *preχu* (**671.**; cf. *preχu* **175.**) is met in the same tomb with *precu* (**670.**, **672.**; cf. *precuś* **1209.**). But the common name *aχu*, *aχuni* was never spelled with <c>.⁴⁶³ In consonant clusters, *velχzna* (**797.**) is encountered in the tomb of the *velczna* family (**792.-797.**). Most instances of this variation came, somewhat surprisingly, from the name *marcna*, where aspiration should not have had a place. In the tomb of Tite Marcna, we have *marχna* (**467.**) and *marcχnaś* (**472.**), and in the tomb of Anei Marcna *marχn(ei)* (**1455.**) and *marχna* (**1456.**). Other aspirated instances were *marχnial* (**232.**) and *marχnei* (**1245.**). The mainly Caeretan family of *tarχna* was almost absent at Perugia, but the unaspirated *tarcnei* (**1224.**) may be connected to it.

A variation <p>/<φ> was rare, as was the whole letter *phi*. Most of its occurrences come from the name *hamφna*, where the aspirated stop was consistent. *φacsneal* (**1191.**) was probably a variant of *pacs-nial* (**89.**), *pacsinial* (**1073.**). More uncertain is the link between *φuriś* (**1271.**) and the Clusian *pure* (*ET*² Cl 1.964, 1.2183).

Loss of consonants

Stops: If a stop was missing in single occasions, this was due more probably to carver's error than to a phonological phenomenon, although simplification of consonant clusters was always possible. Here is a list of the instances: *χvesnas* (**179.**) – *χvestna* (**410.**, **730.**, **1174.**); *peruni* (**613.**) – *petruni*; *hamnia* (**1075.**) – *hamφna*; *lusnal* (**1300.**) – *luscnal*; *velz(nal)* **983.** – *velc(znal)* **984.** *vels* in **419.** is supplemented *vel(t)s(naś)*, but in a lost inscription, this remains uncertain. A special instance is the cognomen *memru* (**3.**) – *mempru* (**4.**); Rix called the latter “Variante mit euphonischem p”.⁴⁶⁴

Nasals: The praenomen *arnθ* was written without *N* only in a few instances: *arθ* (**339.**), *arza* (**443.** pro *arnza* **447.**), in patronymics *arθial* (**709.**), *arθi(al)* (**238.**), *arθ(ial)* (**61.**, **62.**). Other instances of missing *N* are *acari* (**1544.**) – *ancari*; *crusle* (**128.**) – *crunsle* (**130.**); *setinati* (**1185.**); *šelvaśl* (**1213.**); possibly *aulial* (**650.**), if for *aulnial*, and *luscial* (**1319.**), if for *luscinial*. Loss of *M* can be discerned in *pupu* (**1534.**), *pupuś* (**339.**, **341.**),⁴⁶⁵ *pupuni* (**1164.**); *haφnaś* (**1217.**); *hereś* (**594.**), if for *hermeś*. The instances are not numerous enough to attest a weak pronunciation of nasals. But one may notice the hypercorrect *cuntu* (**1328.**) in the tomb of Cai Cutu.

Word-ending L: In the archaic Etruscan inscriptions, the final *-l* of the second genitive was generally omitted, or rather, the suffix was *-ia*.⁴⁶⁶ In the tomb owner inscriptions of Crocifisso del Tufo, Volsinii (*ET*² Vs 1.1-93), we have eleven instances of the genitive *aranθia*, eight instances of *larθia* and three instances of

⁴⁶⁰ The reading of this inscription is very uncertain, the carving is faint, and the painting erroneous, but I would consider the spelling *asia[l]* quite probable.

⁴⁶¹ See AGOSTINIANI 2002, 308.

⁴⁶² “Errore di scrittura”; RIX 1984, 209.

⁴⁶³ In the Latin urns of Perugia, the marking of the aspirate staggered: *Achoni* (**1383.**), *Achonia* (**1485.**, **1599.**), but *Aconius* (**1382.**), *Aconi* (**1384.**), *Aconia* (**1386.**, **1387.**, **1465.**). *Ahoneae* (**1605.**) is a special case and does not, in my view, attest the pronunciation of Etruscan <χ> as a fricative.; see WALLACE 2008, 31. *SI* 30, 245-46, No. 23, called the spelling “error lapicidae.”

⁴⁶⁴ RIX 1963, 161.

⁴⁶⁵ In the tomb of Pumpu Snute, the gentilicium was also spelled *punpuś* (**342.**).

⁴⁶⁶ See BELFIORE 2011, 44-45.

larisa. Only once (*ET*² Vs 1.93) was the final <l> spelled (*ET*² Vs. 1.93 *aranθial*). In the metronymics of Perusian epitaphs, the final <l> was missing in forty-eight instances. This phenomenon is usually understood as an abbreviation due to the lack of space at the end of the inscription. Hence, it has been supplemented, e.g., *au. rafi ar(n)θ(ial) titia(l)* in **61**. In this case, there is much space for additional letters, while in **59**, from the same tomb of Rafi, *lar. rafi. suθrina(l)*, the space was tight. I believe that the omission of the final <l> in metronymics is so common that it must also have a phonological basis, a weakening of the word-ending /l/. It also appeared in unabbreviated patronymics, though editors have often normalized the reading. In **52**., Danielsson saw the vertical of *L* at the end of *laθia*, but my close study has not found any traces of it. In **162**., the typographic copy of *CIE* 3550 gave the patronymic correctly *larθia*., but *ET*² gave it as *larθia[l]*. The fact, however, is that the omission of the word-ending <l> was clearly rarer in unabbreviated patronymics than in metronymics; we meet it in perhaps one instance of ten. The reason may have been that while metronymics showed a wide range of different names, the spelling of which was a novelty for the scribe, there were only three patronymics with the ending *-al*, *larθial*, *arnθial* and *larisal*.

I have compared this phenomenon with the loss of the final letter *-ś/-s* in gamonymics. If the reason was the tight space, it concerned gamonymics as well as metronymics (the instances where a metronymic followed the gamonymic are rare). In ten instances,⁴⁶⁷ the final letter of the gamonymic is missing; some of them may be broken, but this is the case in the metronymics, too. The gamonymic is rarer than the metronymic, but the percentages of all instances differ: the loss appears in 3% of all gamonymics, in 7% of all metronymics.

If this was, as I believe, at least partly a phonological phenomenon, it would be interesting to know, in what period it is met. However, the FTI corpus offers only twelve instances of the loss of the final <l>. Perhaps the language of the inscriptions in the family tombs was more careful than in general. The instances from family tombs came from inscriptions dated to the period from the 2nd quarter of 2nd century to the 1st quarter of the 1st century, with a peak in the 4th quarter of the 2nd century, but the material is too small for clear conclusions. I have hesitated about whether to write in the edition the traditional *titia(l)* or, accepting the phonological basis, *titia*. I decided not to change the traditional praxis.

Other laterals and rhotics: *veθuriś* in **6**. may stand for *ve(l)θuriś* (if not for *veturiś*). <r> was often missing in the forms of the praenomina *larθ* and *larθi* (**52**., **183**., **325**., **526**., **552**., **597**., **1002**.).

Sibilants

The Etruscan sibilants included a dental /s/, a palatal /ʃ/ and an affricate /tʃ/ or sonant /z/ sibilant. In north Etruria, the corresponding graphemes were <ś>, <s> and <z>.⁴⁶⁸

The letter *san* was peculiar in Perusian inscriptions. It was quite common, but almost only in the ending of the 1st genitive and in the word *śeχ*. In addition, it is encountered at the beginning of a limited number of gentilicia: the common *śalvi* and *śerturi*, and the rare *śelvaθreś* (**177**.), *śelvaθri* (**178**.); *śminθinal* (**299**., **301**.).⁴⁶⁹ For *śerturi*, we have variants *serturial* **190**., **521**.), *serturni* (**1192**.) and *zerturi* (**1053**.), for *śminθinal* *minθinal* (**300**.).⁴⁷⁰ Inside the word, <ś> was less common than <z>. In fact, it was preferred only

⁴⁶⁷ **116**., **142**., **175**., **255**., **347**., **552**., **557**., **958**., **1244**., **1245**.

⁴⁶⁸ See, in general, WALLACE 2008, 30-32; VAN HEEMS 2003, 197.

⁴⁶⁹ Possibly also the hapax *śiate[ś]* in the lost **782**., which *ET*² for some reason edited as *siate[ś]*.

⁴⁷⁰ *CIE* 3536 and *ET*² wrote in **105**. *saluvi*, though the facsimile clearly has *śaluvi*. The name *śalvi* is not encountered at Perugia with initial <s>.

in the name *tušnu* (146., 147., 329., 1260., 1427., 1428.), which was written *tusnu* in 5. Some other single instances appear: *velšunia* (567.); *velχšnaš* (775.) besides *velχznaš* (797.), and the hapax *eršial* (257.). An uncertain reading is in the hapax *prašiš* (24.), in *meši* (712.) besides the usual *mesi*, and in *atušna*[*l*] (814.), besides *atusnei* (936.).⁴⁷¹ At the end of the name, <š> is met in the common theophoric gentilicium *tinš*, which was spelled *tins* only in 668.

How strong was the opposition between /s/ and /ʃ/ then in *seχ* and in the genitive ending? Did the awareness of the needed grapheme diminish towards the end of the Etruscan language? In the FTI corpus with approximate datings, but somewhat more careful production of the inscriptions, we have two instances of *sec* (658., 1452.) from the 4th quarter of the 2nd century and one example of *seχ* (67.) from the 1st quarter of the 1st century. The word was spelled with <š> fifteen times in this group. In the entire material, <s> began the word in sixteen instances, <š> in forty-one instances. Of the instances with <s>, two might come from the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century (1259., 1356.), while the others are later.

In the ending of the 1st genitive, the spelling <š> was the standard. Most instances came from the gamonymic. I counted 220 endings in *-š*, fifty-nine (21%) in *-s*. As far as I have given an approximative date to the inscriptions, the ending *-s* appeared once (105.) in the 1st quarter of the 2nd century, four times in the 2nd quarter, fourteen in the 3rd quarter, ten in the 4th quarter, and nine times in the 1st century. In the unabbreviated patronymics, the spelling *velus* instead of *veluš* never appeared at Perugia (at Clusium twelve times), *aules* for *auleš* only in 203. (at Clusium eight times). *setres* is met in 174.

The Perusian letter <z> mainly appeared in consonant clusters. In the position between two dental nasals, e.g., *menzna*, other sibilant graphemes are never met, while between labial and dental nasals, *percumsna* (no other words appear), <s> is consistently used. I think that this gives a hint of the articulatory value of the letter at Perugia as a dental sonant sibilant rather than an affricate /tʃ/.⁴⁷² The other common consonant clusters were <rnz>, e.g., *arzni*, *nufzrna*, in which position the only <s> was in the variant *arsnis* in 1666., and <pzn>, e.g., *capzna*, again with only one instance with <s>, *capsna* in 870. Between <c> and <n>, <z> appeared in the common *velczna*, whereas <s> was spelled in *pacsniel* (89.), *φacsneal* (1191.). Between the dental stop <t> and <n>, <s> was normal, e.g., *rutsni*, its variant *rutzneal* (1332.) being the only instance of <tzn>.⁴⁷³ <z> is also encountered connected to /r/, /l/ and /n/: *nurziu* (590., 609.), *larza* (251., 1011., 1627.), *arza* (443.); *aulza* (1692.), *trazlui* (335.), *trazlual* (637.), *trazluš* (336.), *trazlunial* (334., 487.); *sruznal* (660.), *arnza* (416., 447.). Of these, the only variant with <s> is *larsiu* in 447. The diminutive forms from praenomina, *larza* – *larθ*, *arnza* – *arnθ*, had the *-za* ending, visible in *veliza* (1281.). In this position, we cannot determine between sonant sibilant and affricate. The variant *velisa* (1646.) could support the former.

However, we also meet variation between <z> and <ts>, which could support the affricate. Besides *velznei* (1516.), *veltsna* is encountered in 270., 288., 289., 1357.; *velzinaš* (1017.) – *veltsanei* 287. But this group of variants remains alone; e.g., *petsna* (448.-450., 1150.) is never met with <z>.

<z> is often encountered between two vowels. It was dominant in the common *rezu*, with *resu* in 834. as the only variant, or *huzei*, *huzetna*, with *husetnei* in 68. and 1671. as the only variants. In other instances, a rare name presented both variants, such as *ventezi* (1034.) – *ventesi* (1035.). Some names began with <z>, like *zetna* (768., 769., 1145.), *zixu* (1041.), *zuxu* (1652.), but the grapheme also appeared as a variant for the normal <s> in some common names: *zatna* (232.), *zauturini* (993.), *zerturi* (1053.). *zecunta* in 755. was a

⁴⁷¹ Possibly also *vusiš* in the lost 1074., probably from *vuisi*; for some reason, *ET*² read *vusiš*.

⁴⁷² For RIX 1984, 208, the value /tʃ/ is certain.

⁴⁷³ For a possible phonological basis of the variation, see BELFIORE 2012b, 430-31.

transcription of the Latin *Secunda*. The genitive ending *-s* was in six instances spelled with <z>:⁴⁷⁴ *petuez* (184.), *casniz* (539.), *vipiaz* (592.), *titiz* (593.), *perpratez* (620.), and *satnaz* (1668.).

In some names of Umbro-Sabellic origin, the sibilant was due to the Umbrian palatalization of /k/ to /š/.⁴⁷⁵ Examples are found in *vuisi* from **loukios*, always spelled with <s>, as was *upelsi* from **obulkios*. In the Etruscan counterparts to **petekios*, we have both *peteci* (283.) and *petesi* (1079.). There is an interesting instance of rhotasism, or rather of the difficulty into transcribing the Umbrian sound /ř/, in the Umbrian name *naveřis*. In the tomb of Vetī Afle (438.-452.), a woman was called *larθi navesi vetieś* (446.). Of her children, two (442., 446.) spelled the metronymic as *navesial*, two (443., 445.) as *naverial*.⁴⁷⁶ The same phenomenon may also explain the name pair *cusperiena* (640.) – *curspia* (1008.).⁴⁷⁷

The fricatives /h/ and /f/

<h> appeared as initial letter of numerous names, as in other Etruscan cities. A Perusian peculiarity was that it is also encountered inside the names. At word beginning, there was variation with <f> in the female praenomen *hasti*, *fasti*. The name appeared only in the north and at Volsinii. At Clusium, the spelling *hasti* dominated, but in the Perusian inscriptions, *fasti* was the normal spelling (in eighty-five inscriptions), with seven instances of *hasti* (872., 999., 1063., 1343., 1643., 1651., 1675.) and one of *hasticu* (1103.). The variation <h>/<f> is also met in the late bilingual inscription of Publius Volumnius (313.). The mother's name has the form *cahatial*, *cafate* being the normal form (in the Latin part *Cafatia*).

Inside the word, <h> appeared twice between two vowels, in the above-mentioned *cahatial*, and in the hapax *sahini* (1214.). As discussed above (pp. 147-48) in connection with *ahsi*, the grapheme was used in the Umbrian way to indicate the length of the preceding vowel. This explains *vahri* (1012.), *vahrial* (236.), *vahriś* (599.), *vahruniś* (696.),⁴⁷⁸ and probably *nuhrtinial* (1310.).⁴⁷⁹ The Umbrian development <pt> and <kt> > <ht> > <t> is encountered in two names derived from Italic ordinal numbers, *sehtumial* (971.), *sehtmnal* (738.), *setumi* (304., 557., 697.); *uhtave* (638., 639., 891.), *uhtaves* (817., 1267.), *uhtavial* (114., 115.), *utavi* (116.).⁴⁸⁰ In both names, we also meet the spelling with /θ/: *seθume* (ET² Pe 0.1, 0.2, 0.3, on the wall the tomb of Volumni),⁴⁸¹ *uθavi* (756.), *uθavis* (1264.). The spirantization in /pt/, /kt/ had already been present in Umbrian. More problematic is *mehnate* (1634.), *mehnateś* (437., 1134.), *mehnati* (1114.), *mehnatial* (842.). There is no variation in the spelling, and the name had no known Umbrian counterpart. *mefna[tes]* (ET² Vs 1.317 = SECI 937) from Volsinii and *mefanatei* (ET² Co 1.28), *mefanateś* (ET² Co 1.3), *mefanatial* (ET² Cl 1.1428, 1.1429) from Cortona and Clusium seem to attribute *mehnate* to the group of /h/ – /f/ variation.⁴⁸² In any case, the Latinized *Maenas* indicates /e:/ in the name. An instance of /v/ – /f/ variation is met in *scevi* (631.) – *scefu* (630.).

⁴⁷⁴ This phenomenon is best known from Volsinii, see VAN HEEMS 2003, 203-4; VAN HEEMS 2011, 79; KAIMIO 2017, 87.

⁴⁷⁵ See MEISER 2009, 149.

⁴⁷⁶ MEISER 2009, 150; BELFIORE 2012b, 423.

⁴⁷⁷ BELFIORE 2012b, 423.

⁴⁷⁸ CALDERINI – MASSARELLI 2014, 180-92.

⁴⁷⁹ Edited as *nuθrtinial*, but *H* is clear. I believe that the gentilicium is theophoric, connected to the Etruscan goddess *Nortia*; cf. the cognomen *Nortinus* in the Volsinian inscription *CIL* XI 2690.

⁴⁸⁰ RONCALLI 2002, 150-52; MEISER 2009, 149.

⁴⁸¹ These inscriptions have not been visible after Conestabile. I have not included them in my material, since there is nothing connecting them to the burials of the tomb.

⁴⁸² An uncertain instance of <h> is in the lost 1090., where the old copies would give *larhite* rather than *larθite* of the editors (ET², CIE 4377).

The Etruscan morphology

Gentilicium formation

The origin of the Etruscan gentilicium is seen in patronymic adjectives. The common suffix was *-na* added to the individual name. Later on, the Italic suffix *-ios* with the same function became common among the Etruscans in the form *-ie*. The two suffixes were also combined, usually as *-na-ie* > *-ne* or *-ni*. Ethnics in *-ate/-ite* or from the Italic *-ane* could also be used as gentilicia, and, for instance, the suffix *-u* is found in genuine gentilicia. A special class was the praenomina or individual names, often in *-e* and linked to Italic praenomina, which had taken the position of gentilicia. The famous theory of Helmut Rix was that their origin was in old slave names, used as gentilicia after the manumission or receiving of full citizenship.⁴⁸³

In the Perusian onomastics, two questions concerning the gentilicia have been raised (see below, pp. 174, 186): Was the social testimony of the so-called *Vornamengentilia* the same as at Clusium? Was a major part of the names recorded in the position of gentili-cium original cognomina, which had taken that position by omission of the gentili-cium? In this chapter, I try to find arguments based on the morphology of the names; the onomastic discussion follows below.

I start with the presentation of the different masculine suffixes of gentilicia. In these statistics, I have accepted the gentilicia of men, also those in the genitive, if the nominative⁴⁸⁴ is clear, also the abbreviated names inside a family tomb, if there was no variation in the name. I have not included family cognomina in instances of omission of the gentili-cium, e.g., in the Cai Cutu tomb. Furthermore, I have accepted the gentili-cia of the gamonymics and names of the patrons when the nominative is clear. Those gentilicia of women, which were in the masculine genitive form (see below, pp. 176-77), are included. The figures are those of appearances, not those of different names. The total is 1,024 names.

I separate the three common *Vornamengentilia* as a distinct group. *cai* occurred forty-eight times, with little variation: the Clusian form *cae* seems to appear only in the gamonymic of the lost **474**. The editors have read it *caies*, but the plaster cast of Palazzo Murena has rather clearly *caes*. *vipi* appeared forty-four times, without variation in the ending. *tite* is met thirty-eight times, with three instances of *titi*, all in the gamonymics (**471.**, **593.** and **934.**).⁴⁸⁵ As Benelli has observed, only *tite* had preserved in the normal form the *-e* suffix of the Italic praenomen, while *cai* has the added gentili-cium suffix – in *vipi*, the difference cannot be made. Of the other *Vornamengentilia* of H. Rix, only *anei*, if linked to *ane*, was common with twenty

⁴⁸³ See, in general, BENELLI 2017b, 260-61.

⁴⁸⁴ Instead of the term “zero-case”, I use in this study the traditional “nominative”. In the epitaphs, the name is practically never in the case of the object (the other main function of the zero-case). I use the term “suffix” for onomastic formants, e.g., “gentili-cium suffix” (also when it is zero, the main stem being used as name), the term “ending” for inflectional suffixes, e.g., “genitive ending”.

⁴⁸⁵ In **1228.**, *ve. tijnani ar.*, I consider *ve. titi ani ar.* an optional reading for the strange *tinani*.

instances in the masculine. At Perugia, it had no features of *Vornamengentilia*, but was one of the typical gentilicia with the suffix *-ei*. The same concerns *velχei* (**139.**, **140.**, **142a.**, **142b.**, **638.**, **639.**, **1032.**), if linked to *velχe*.⁴⁸⁶ *larci*, with the gentilicium suffix, if from the praenomen *larce*, was the name of the family buried in the tomb of Larci (**146.-153.**). *seθri* appeared as masculine gentilicium in **1629.**

To conclude, we can state that, with the exception of *tite*, the gentilicia linked to Italic (or Etruscan) praenomina had not preserved the original form at Perugia, but had the gentilicium suffix *-i*. The situation also differed from that of Clusium in that no social inferiority is discernible in the families called *cai*, *tite* or *vipi*. In the case of the family Cai Cutu – with a remarkable tomb –, the fact that the name *cai* was omitted by younger generations and the name *cutu* took the position of the gentilicium has been considered due to shame at the servile origin of the family.⁴⁸⁷ However, in the other tombs, e.g., in the tomb of Cai Carcu, no corresponding phenomenon was visible. In general, the common gentilicia, without the same distinctive value as by the cognomina, were quite often omitted (see below, p. 172). In the brilliant theory by H. Rix, seeing in *Vornamengentilia* old slave names, I have always wondered, how over one-half of the slaves in Etruria in the 4th century could be named either *cae*, *tite* or *vipi*. In the preserved *lautni*-inscriptions, these names were practically unknown. But if we reject for Perugia the theory of Rix, we should find another explanation for the fact that 13% of the men recorded in Perugian epitaphs had one of these three gentilicia.⁴⁸⁸

The suffix *-na* is encountered in fifty-one masculine gentilicia of Perugia, 171 times. In 2002, Enrico Benelli counted forty-one different gentilicia in *-na*, 12% of all Perugian gentilicia, with only 5% of the appearances. He stated that this was “una frequenza d’uso più che dimezzata rispetto alla media”. He also gave a list of the gentilicia in *-na*.⁴⁸⁹ I cannot fully follow his percentages; in my calculations, 171 instances of the total number of 1,024 masculine gentilicia gives 17%. Benelli also stated that the gentilicium ending *-ni* was common at Perugia.⁴⁹⁰ It is met in twenty-nine different names, 124 times, i.e., clearly less frequently than names in *-na*. The suffix *-ne*, either of geographic origin (*-ane* < Italic *-anos*) or from a different phonological development of *-na-ie*, is encountered at Perugia in ten masculine gentilicia (three of them in *-ane*), nineteen times (seven of them in *-ane*). One should note that these figures do not include gentilicia that appear only in feminine forms. The fact is that the feminine nominatives in *-nei*, *-ni* and *-nia*, genitives in *-nal* and *-nial*, can equally correspond to masculine suffixes *-na*, *-ni* and *-ne*,

We will see that there was certain amount of variation in the suffixes of the same gentilicium, e.g., the tomb of Rafi 1 also presented the masculine form *rafe* (**62.**), which was the form used by another branch of the family (**165.-167.**). Against this background, it is remarkable that we do not meet one single instance in which the same gentilicium displays both the suffix *-na* and *-ni* in the masculine forms. There was one variant in *-ne* of a name in *-ni*, *casne* for *casni* in **682**. This strict opposition between the two most common suffixes suggests a functional or phonological difference. Before studying such possibilities, I give a fresh list of the gentilicia with masculine forms in *-na*, *-ni* and *-ne*. I also include the feminine and genitive forms of the names; the flexion will be discussed below.

⁴⁸⁶ The feminine form is not encountered, except the abbreviated *velχe*. in **1524**.

⁴⁸⁷ FERUGLIO 2013, 200; TORELLI 2017, 687.

⁴⁸⁸ For the question in general, see BENELLI 2002, 519-21.

⁴⁸⁹ BENELLI 2002, 521-24.

⁴⁹⁰ BENELLI 2014, 59; BENELLI 2017b, 260.

Gentilicia in *-na*:

Masc. nominative	Fem. nominative	Masc. genitive	Fem. genitive	Obs.
-	-	aninaś	-	
-	apeinei	apeinaś	apeinal	
-	atinei 866. , 1651. , atinia 71. ⁴⁹¹	atinaś	-	
-	-	aunaś	-	
auzana	-	-	-	
calisna	calisnei	calisnaś	calisnal	
-	camnei	camnas ⁴⁹²	-	
capna	capni	capnas	-	
caprina	-	-	-	Clusian
capzna (capsna)	capznei	capznaś	capznal	
-	carni	carnaś	carnial	
caterina			catnil 1334.	
ceisina	ceisinei	-	ceisinal	
cestna	cestnei	cestnaś	cestnal	
cusperiena	-	-	-	
custurna	custurnei	-	-	
-	-	ent[n]aś	-	
hamϕna	hamϕnei	hamϕnaś	hamϕnal	
haprna	-	-	-	
hatina	-	-	-	
-	huzetnei	huzetnaś (hus-)	-	
lemrcna	lemrcnei	lemrcnaś	lemrcnal	
leuna	leunei	-	leunal, leunial 570.	
-	luesnei, luesnia (?) 1104.	luesnaś	luesnal	
-	marcnei	marϕnaś	marϕnial	
menzna	-	menznaś	menznal 217. , 648. , 1354. , menznial 1170.	
-	-	mesenas	-	
-	-	murcnaś	-	
-	-	nufzrnaś (nufur-)	nufzrnal	
-	patnei	patnaś	-	
petsna	petsnei	-	petsnal 449. , petsnial 450.	
pulsutina	-	-	-	
recimna	-	-	-	
satna (zat-)	-	satnaś	satnal	
surna	surnei	surnaś	surnial	
-	-	tretnaś	-	
θurmna	θurmnei ⁴⁹³	θurmnaś	θurmnia	
uclina	-	-	-	
usuna	-	-	(usnil 722.)	

⁴⁹¹ I give in these tables the inscription numbers only in the case of variation; otherwise, I refer to the index.

⁴⁹² The genitive ending *-s* is given only when the normal *-ś* did not appear in any inscription.

⁴⁹³ **141.**; in *ET² θurmni*, but *-ei* is clear, autopsy 2017.

varna	varnei	varnaś	-	
-	velcznei	velcznaś (velχz-, velχś-	velcznal 901. , 1197. , velcznial 1314. , 1316.	
velimna	velimnei	velimnaś	-	
-	veltsnei	veltsnaś	veltsneal	
-	-	velzinaś	-	To the preceding?
veliθna	veliθnei	-	-	masc. velitnal(a) 1030.
-	-	venas	-	
-	venθnei	venθnaś (? 855.)	venθnal	
vercna	vercnei	vercnaś	vercnal	Most instances from cognomina.
-	-	vestrcnaś (vestrec-)	vestrecnal 1272. , [ves]trecneal 1113.	
zetna	-	-	zetnal	
-	-	φelnaś	-	
χvestna	-	χvestnaś	χvestnal	

Table 14. Gentilicia in *-na*

Two uncertain instances must be discussed. *percums[na]* in **1139.** is supplemented and could also be *percums[ni]*. The feminine forms *percumsnei* (**828.**), *percumsnal* (**827.**, **829.**), *percumsneal* (**826.**) support, but not definitely, the suffix *-na*. In **708.**, the stone is broken before *unaś*. It is probable that the praenomen siglum only preceded it, and **una* would thus be the masculine form connected to the feminine genitives *unial* (**22.**), *unal* (**1193.**), but one cannot be certain.

Gentilicia in *-ni*:

Masc. nominative	Fem. nominative	Masc. Genitive	Fem. genitive	Obs.
-	aclinei	aclniś	-	
anani	ananei	ananiś	anania[l]	
-	ani	anis 918.	anial	
arzni (cognomen)	arzni 264. , arznei 853.	arzniś	arznal 3. , arznial 852. , 1181. , arzneal 255. , 1389.	
atuni	atunia 656. , atunea 1640.	-	atunial	
aulni	aulnei	-	aulna(l)	
aχuni	aχuni 15. , 783. , aχunia 292. , 293.	-	aχunial	
cacni	cacnei	cacnis	cacnial 618. , cacna[l] 1216.	
casni	casni 534. , casnia 297. , 543.	casniś (niz)	casnial	Note masc. casne 682.
fatuni	fatuni	-	fatinal	
luscni	luscnei	-	-	
laχumni	-	-	laχumnial	
maslni	maslnei	maslniś	-	
-	-	nunis	nunial	
palni	palnei	palnis	-	
papni	-	-	-	
patlni	-	patlniś	patlneal 1245. , patln[ial] 1138.	
petruni	petruni	petruniś	petrunial	Mainly cognomen
pupani	-	-	-	
pumpuni	pumpuni	-	pumpunial	Fem. pumpuni 270. from pumpu
-	rutsnei	rutsniś	rutsna[l] 1204. , rutzneal 1332.	

-	-	sahinis	-	
		śainis		
semθni (semt-)	semθni 274.	-	-	
serturni	-	-	-	Clusian
tatni	tatnei	-	tatnal	
varuni	-	vahruniś	-	
velni	velnea	-	-	

Table 15. Gentilicia in *-ni*.Gentilicia in *-ne*:

Masc. nominative	Fem. nominative	Masc. genitive	Fem. genitive
astesine	-	-	-
atrane	atrani, atrania 805.	atraneś	atranial
-	capevani	capevanes	capevanial
casne 682. (cf. casni)	-	-	-
-	-	lautnes	-
plitine	-	-	-
sauturine	sauturini	sauturineś	sauturinial
-	tucuntni ⁴⁹⁴	tucuntineś	tucuntnal
uvilane	-	uvilaneś	uvilana(l)
-	-	veteneś	-

Table 16. Gentilicia in *-ne*.

Looking at the phoneme before the *-na* and *-ni* suffixes, we observe the first difference. In the first group, the ending *-ina* is most common, with twelve names: *apeina*, *anina*, *atina*, *caprina*, *ceisina*, *cusperina*, *hatina*, *pulsutina*, *spurina*, *strina*, *uclina*, *velzina*. The ending *-ini* is met only in the hapax name *sahinis* (1214.), and in *caini* (959., 960.), *cainiś* (1186.), feminine *caine(i)* (652.), all of the same family, and *cainiś* (1166., 1260.).⁴⁹⁵ This name may come from the common gentilicium *cai+ni*, but it can also have its origin in the Clusian feminine *cainei* of the *Vornamengentile cae*. It can be that vowel dissimilation favoured *-ina* instead of *-ini*. In the *-ni* group, the favoured vowel before the suffix was <u>, *-uni*, with seven names: *atuni*, *aḡuni*, *fatuni*, *nuni*, *petruni*, *pumpuni*, *varuni*. It is obvious that most of these names were *-ōnios* derivatives of Italic or Latin origin (*Nonius*, *Petronius*, *Pomponius*, *Varonius*). Could it be that the rise of the Etruscan gentilicium ending *-ni* was in Italic *-nios* derivatives rather than in the phonological development from *-na-ie*? The only common gentilicium with <u> before the *-na* suffix was *leuna. aunas* (701., 1501.) and *usuna* (1269.) were rare.

The other preferences in the choice between *-na* and *-ni* do not add clear arguments to the question. *-ani* was more common than *-ana*, which is met only in the hapax *auzana* (1678.). After stops, the suffix *-na* is preferred, in sixteen names, against five names with *-ni*, but phonological reasons cannot explain the difference between *patnaś* and *tatni*. Stems ending in /l/ usually got the suffix *-ni*: *maslni*, *palni*, *aclni*, *patlni*, *aulni*, *velni*, with *φelna* (1270.) as the only name with *-na*. One could consider that the names in *-na* represented an elder stratum, where the syncope had more often created stop+/n/ clusters. The FTI corpus offers

⁴⁹⁴ In 545., the supplement *tucunt[inei]* of *ET*² had no good basis; rather *tucunt[ni]*.

⁴⁹⁵ *cainis* of *ET*² Pe 634 = *CIE* 3427 (634.) is now read *caenal* (*SE* 76, 2010-13, 281, No. 38).

little help in this respect: in these better dated inscriptions, only five masculine gentilicia in *-ni* appear. The suffix *-na* is met in twenty names, with a peak in the 3rd and 4th quarters of the 2nd century.

More relevant is probably the connection of many gentilicia with the suffix *-ni* to Italic or Etruscan praenomina. Such names were *caini*, *petruni*, *pumpuni*, *laχumni*, *serturni*, *aulni* and *velni*. On the *-na* side, I can present only *marχna*. The reason for this difference remains unclear. In general, the discussion of this question will continue below in the study of the cognomina and of feminine and genitive formation.

The most common gentilicia *cai*, *tite*, *vipi*, and the names with the suffixes *-na*, *-ni*, *-ne*, cover 44% of the 1024 appearances of Perusian masculine gentilicia. The remainder is divided between different suffixes. The percentage of the ending letters was: *-a* 2%, *-e* 16%. *-i* 27%, *-u* 8%, *-s* 2%. This ending phoneme could belong to the stem (zero-suffix) or to the suffix; it is often difficult to decide to which of these. In this mixed group, the most common “ending” was *-si*, with fifty-eight instances, most of them of *acsi*. Then followed (represented by a typical name) *-te* (43, *sentinate*), *-fi* (41, *rafi*), *-nei* (31, *anei*), *-θe* (26, *apurθe*), *-ri* (24, *ancari*), *-re* (23, *caspre*), *-li* (20, *veli*), *-pu* (16, *pumpu*), *-ru* (15, *petru*), *-ui* (15, *petui/petvi*), *-vi* (15, *salvi*), and *-χu* (14, *reχu*). Some variation appears in the suffixes of the same name; the masculine *ciri* is met in **100.** from the normal form *cire*, *cnevi* in **1006.** from *cneve*, and *serturi* in **1511.** from *serturu*.

An interesting group was the names ending in <s> or <ś>, with two or possibly four instances. *tinś* was the family of the tomb found in 1765 at Piscille (**653.-668., 1392.**). All eleven men buried in the tomb were recorded with this form of the gentilicium (spelled *tins* in **668.**). No daughter of the family was buried in the tomb, unless the uncertain *tinś ar. tiniś* (from Vermiglioli’s copy), given by the editors as *tinś ar. {tiniś}* (**653.**). I think that that the name could belong to a woman married to, e.g., her cousin. If correct, the feminine form of the name was the same as the masculine. The masculine genitive *tinś* appeared in the gamonymics of **664.** (*veti veluś tinś lun[cial]*) and **418.** as well as in the name of the patron of **417.**⁴⁹⁶ It seems that the name was indeclinable. *lecetis*, possibly a gentilicium formed from the slave name *lecusti* (**573.**, see below, p. 181), appeared in the masculine nominative in **568.** and **570.** That the *-s* was not a genitive ending is shown by the masculine genitive *lecetisal* in **569.** and **571.** For *pistis*, we have only feminine forms, *larθia pistis tlapus lu.* (**1645.**) and her daughter *velisa surtia pistis seχ* (**1646.**). The feminine genitive seems to be in the same form as the nominative, so this may have been another indeclinable name. I believe that *cearθiś* could be of the same type. It appears only in a small chamber tomb near Villa Palazzone with three urns (**278.-280.**). The palaeography of the inscriptions may date them to the 3rd or 4th quarter of 3rd cent. Arnth (**278.**) and Ramtha (**280.**) had the gentilicium in the same form. It could also be the masculine genitive, but gentilicia with the masculine ending *-θi* were extremely rare at Perugia.⁴⁹⁷ A connection with *ciarθi* (*ET² AS 1.224, Ar 1.9, 1.93*) is apparent.

The formation of cognomina

The formation of cognomina is difficult to separate from that of gentilicia at Perugia. The same suffixes are met in both, and many names appear both in the position of gentilicium and in that of cognomen. Hence, the function of these two name parts has been questioned. This question is linked to the so-called *Vornamengentilia*, but not to that alone. Several examples show how the omission of the original gentilicium has offered to the cognomen the place of the family name. I will discuss the name system of Perugia from this

⁴⁹⁶ If *tiniś* in **653.** was the gamonymic and was correctly copied, it had a different form in the genitive, possibly avoiding the use of the same form in the female gentilicium and the gamonymic.

⁴⁹⁷ It appeared only in *leθi* (**1688.**), a variant of the usual *leθe*.

point of view in the onomastic part (below, pp. 186-88), where the etymology or origin of single names will be treated (below, pp. 188-89). In this philological part, I briefly discuss the formation, with some examples and a comparison between the suffixes of gentilicia and cognomina.

Of the 280 occurrences of cognomina in the masculine form, sixty-two had the gentilicium suffix *-na*.⁴⁹⁸ The most common single name was *vercna* with fourteen instances, possibly all belonging to the Vipi Vercna family (the tomb **491.-511.**). The share of the suffix *-na* in cognomina was 21%, in gentilicia 17%. The suffix *-ni* was also common, most instances coming from the Tite Petruni family. The share of the suffix among cognomina (7%) was, however, smaller than among gentilicia (12%). The shares of the typical Etruscan cognomen suffixes *-u* and *-e* were larger in cognomina than in gentilicia. The former is met in 30% of cognomina (8% of gentilicia), the latter in 23% of cognomina (16% of gentilicia). I present here a list of the Perusian cognomen “suffixes”⁴⁹⁹ in the order of commonness, with a typical representative of each: *-na* (*vercna*), *-tu* (*cutu*), *-te* (*plaute*), *-ni* (*petruni*), *-si* (*vesi*), *-le* (*crusle*), *-cu* (*carcu*), *-nu* (*aθnu*), *-ti* (*veti*), *-re* (*caspre*), *-ri* (*viri*), *-ru* (*faru*), *-iu* (*feθiu*), and *-a* (*alfa*). The other endings are met fewer than five times.

The feminine formation

The feminine formation of Perusian personal names was thoroughly studied by H. Rix.⁵⁰⁰ The material has increased since 1963, but the basic results of Rix are still valid. While Rix discussed the formation with the masculine suffixes as the starting point, I present here the material through the different feminine endings. The change of the point of view may better highlight the numerous names without a masculine counterpart.

We can analyse 560 feminine nominative endings in the gentilicia of the Perusian epitaphs. The ending *-nei*, either from *-na+i* (*velimna – velimnei*), *-ni+i* (*aulni – aulnei*) or as independent feminine suffix (*anei – aneinei*), is encountered 120 times (21%). One can add thirteen other *-ei* endings (*servi – servei*). The ending *-ni* appears in forty-nine feminine forms (9%), twenty-five of which were identical with the masculine form, eleven from *-na+i* (*capna – capni*) or *-ne+i* (*sauturine – sauturini*); in thirteen instances, the masculine form is not known from Perugia.⁵⁰¹ We have one certain instance of the suffix *-ni* added to *pumpu* to form the feminine (**270.**). More usual in names in *-u* was the ending *-ui*, twenty-eight instances (5%). Other endings in *-i* are met in 192 names (34%), eighty-seven of which were identical with the masculine (*vesi – vesi*), sixty-six formed on the masculine in *-e* (*cafate – cafati*); in thirty-nine instances, the masculine is not known from Perugia. The Italic ending *-ia* appears in 140 names (25%), forty-one of which have the ending *-nia* (these figures include five *-ea*-endings).

One could think that the share of the *-ia*-endings was growing due to the increasing impact of Latin. I studied this question inside the better dated FTI group, where the share of *-ia* is 22% (29 of 131 instances), close to that of the entire material. The following table gives the results:

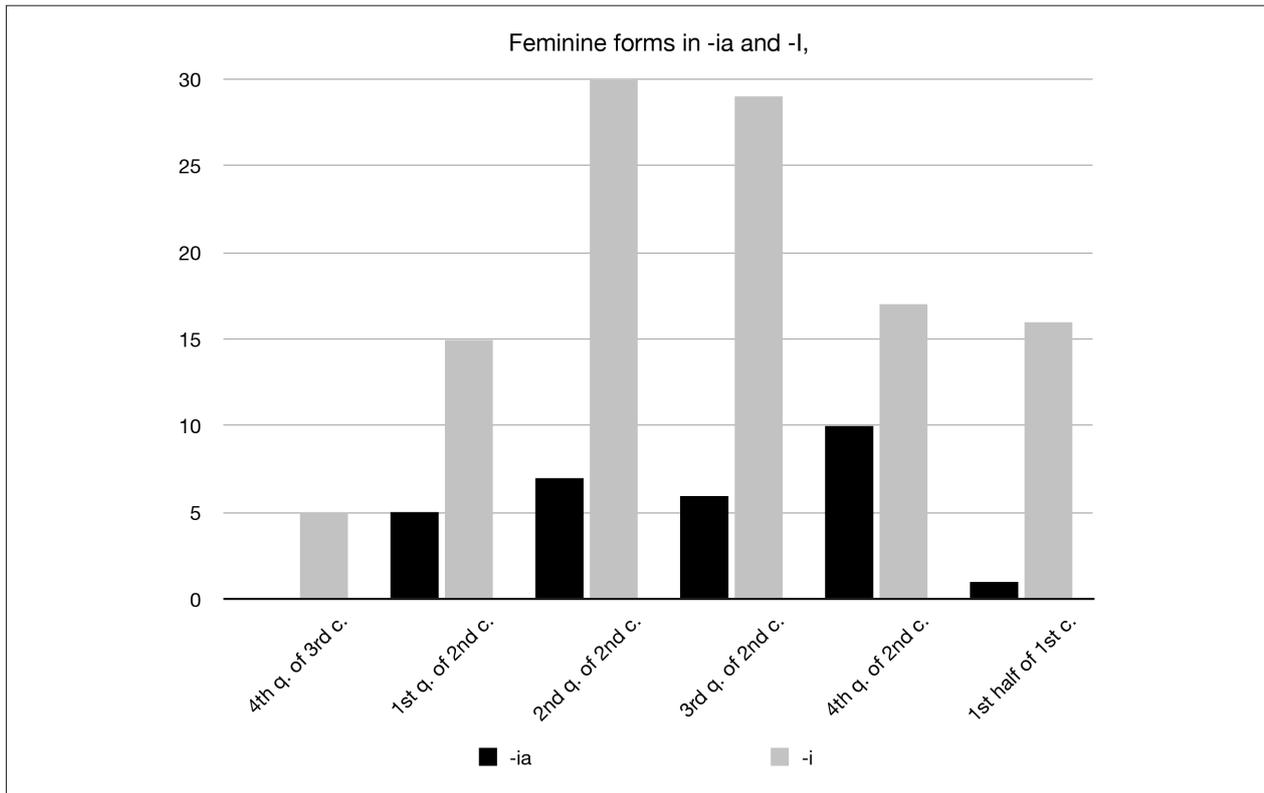
The picture remains unclear: no instances of *-ia* in the 3rd century, peaks in the 1st and 4th quarter of the 2nd century, and only one instance in the 1st century. In spite of the high share in the 4th quarter of 2nd century, I cannot see any remarkable increase towards the end of the Etruscan tradition. The same

⁴⁹⁸ Compare Rix 1963, 279-81.

⁴⁹⁹ Again, the first letter can belong either to the stem or to the ending.

⁵⁰⁰ Rix 1963, masculine in *-u* pp. 173-75, masculine in *-e* pp. 223-25, masculine in *-i* pp. 260-62, masculine in *-ei* p. 262, masculine in *-na*, *-ni* pp. 286-95.

⁵⁰¹ In some instances, where the name is clearly Clusian, I have accepted the Clusian masculine counterpart, but in general, the endings vary so much between Clusium and Perugia that only Perugian names are used.

Table 17. Feminine forms in *-ia* and *-i*.

phenomenon has been seen in the palaeography and other linguistic interference phenomena. In the period when a part of the inscriptions was written in Latin, the Etruscan inscriptions experienced some kind of puristic movement. Most of the instances in *-ia* in this group are met in *caia*, *vipia* and *titia*, altogether fifteen instances.

-nei: Most instances of this ending had a masculine counterpart in *-na*. I give a list without the masculine forms, which can be found in the table above (pp. 155-56) and in the indexes: *afunei* 1505.,⁵⁰² *ananei* 904., *apeinei* 212., *aunei* 1343., 1513., *calisnei* 504., 620., 715., *camnei* 145., *capznei* 410., *catrnei* 1489., *cestnei* 992., *custurnei* 249., 1680., *entnei* 1010., *husetnei* 68., 1671., *hamφnei* 618., *lemrcnei* 576., *leunei* common, *luesnei* 1350., *marχnei* (*marc-*) 1245., 1270., *patnei* 25., 26., 27., *petsnei* 448., 1150., *spurinei* 1222., *surnei* 92., *sutrinei* 60., *θurmnei* 141., *varnei* 796., 1244., 1339., *velcznei* 472., 792., 793., 794., 795., *velimnei* 285., 312., *veliθnei* (*-θanei*) 452., 1029., *veltsnei* 287., 1357., *zetnei* 845. *luesnei* had a variant *luesnia* (1104.) Without a Perusian masculine counterpart, but with sufficient evidence from other areas, *curunei* 687., 775., *percumsnei* 828. and *peθnei* 324. also belonged to this group.

The group where the feminine form in *-nei* corresponded to a masculine in *-ni* was understood by Rix in historical context. When the masculine ending *-ni* from the Etruscan *-na* and the Italic *-i(e)* gained ground, according to Rix between 400 and 250 BCE, the feminine form *-na+i* could also remain untouched, with phonological development to *-nei*.⁵⁰³ Here are the Perusian names of women in *-nei* corresponding to masculine in *-ni*: *aclinei* 552., *arznei* 853., *aulnei* 937., *cacnei* 619., *luscnei* 1108., *maslnei* 111., 337., *palnei* 1134., *petrnei* 604., *rutsnei* 677., 703., 704., *tatnei* 1221. *vetnei* (1047.) may belong to this group, if linked to

⁵⁰² She came from the Clusian family Afuna, appearing on the *Cippus Perusianus*.

⁵⁰³ Rix 1963, 297-98.

the Clusian *vetni*. For *veanei* (754.), a masculine counterpart in *-ne* appears in *veaneś* (20.), but one should also note the feminine *veani* in 1015. This lady, wife of Fethiu, probably appears with another gentilicium suffix, equally indicating geographical origin, in the metronymic of *vl. feθiu au. veiaθial* (77.).

The feminine ending *-nei* was overtaken from the *-na/-nei* type to a feminine suffix in some names, where the difference between masculine and feminine forms would otherwise have been impossible.⁵⁰⁴ Best documented is *aneinei* to *anei* (276., 511., 520., 914., 915., 995., 996., 1427., 1428., 1454.), but it had also a parallel form *aneinia* (183., 772., 917., and as cognomen in 1494.). A similar instance was *caceinei* (177.) to *caceiś* (176., 283., 284.), but the families *atnei* and *atei* preserved the same form for men and women, e.g., *ar. atnei* (932.) – *θania atnei* (934.). *ceisinei* (76., 990.) corresponded to *ceisi* (324., 325., 326., 327.), but the masculine *ceisina* (1504.) is also met. *metelnei* (1548.) was the normal feminine form of *meteli*, and *raufnei* (561.) was probably the feminine of *raufi*.

Feminine forms in *-nei* without a masculine counterpart at Perugia were: *auclinei* (555.), *atinei* (866., 1651.), *atusnei* (936.), [*ca*]puanei (1536.), *clumnei* (1001., 1528.), *cueθnei* (994.), *curanei* (471.), *hustnei* (458.), *laristnei* (705.), *metusnei* (1048.), *pacnei* (1132.), *satlnei* (758.), *tarcnei* (1224.), *trenθinei* (159.), *trisnei* (544.), *velznei* (1516.), *venθnei* (289., 854., 1033., 1519.), *vetlnei* (336.). Of these, the ending *-ia* also appeared in *atinia* (71.), *curania* (273.) and *tarynia* (607.).

At Clusium, the feminine ending *-ne*, monophthongized from *-nei*, was also known.⁵⁰⁵ There were some instances at Perugia, but one must observe the alternatives of a break or carver's negligence – or unreliable copies. Of the five instances, I have autopsy of 213., *θana capane la*.⁵⁰⁶ The feminine *caine* in 652. would be interesting as the only representative of the Clusian *cae – cainei* flexion (*caine* was the rather common feminine variant there), but the copy is not fully reliable. Somewhat doubtful feminine forms are also *calisne* (715.) and the hapax *statsne* (1223.).

-ni: In most Perugian instances, names with feminine in *-ni* had the same ending in the masculine form, i.e., the gentilicium did not disclose the sex of the person. Such feminine forms are *ani* (14., 525., 526., 528., 919., 920., 1356.),⁵⁰⁷ *arzni* (264.), *aulni* (*avu-*) (200., 1198.), *aχuni* (15., 783.), *canθini* (778.), *casni* (534., 1545.), *fatuni* (733.), *laχumni* (144., 229., 421.), *petruni* (20., 347., 1074., 1148., 1149.), *pumpuni* (157., 632). Variants in *-nia* were *petrunia* (1341), *petronia* (1664.), and *casnia* (297., 543.).⁵⁰⁸ While *pumpuni* in the masculine is nearly as common as *pumpu* at Perugia, the feminine *pumpuni* in the Pumpu Plaute tomb (270.) was a special case. In the same way as *-nei* in the above-mentioned examples, *-ni* was here the feminine suffix. In the same tomb, the feminine *pumpui* is also encountered (269.). Another corresponding instance of a feminine suffix *-ni* is met in the cognomen *sameruni* (1057.) to the masculine *sameru* (1058.).⁵⁰⁹ The genitives *cutunial* (72.) to masculine *cutu*, *trazlunial* (334., 487.) to *trazluś* (336.) and *vetunial* (963.) to Clusian *vetu* also support this suffix, but the feminine nominatives at Perugia for these names were *cutui* (1501.), *trazlui* (335.) and *vetui* (964.). One can also note the parallel form *aχunia* corresponding to *aχu* (see below for the ending *-nia*); *aχui* is met in 1691.

⁵⁰⁴ RIX 1963, 262-63.

⁵⁰⁵ RIX 1963, 287.

⁵⁰⁶ In 214., *capane* is quite uncertain; CIE 3696 gave, without finding this olla, *capani*; Rix probably found it and corrected in *ET* to *capane*.

⁵⁰⁷ BENELLI 2014, 64, saw in this form a feminine variant to masc. *anei*. However, this form is never met in the tombs of Anei; the feminine is either *aneinei* or *aneinia*. The masculine *ani* appears at Perugia only in the woman's epitaph 918. *lθ. anis surtes*.

⁵⁰⁸ The masculine *casne* is probably met in 682. besides the common *casni*.

⁵⁰⁹ BENELLI 2014, 67.

The feminine ending *-ni* is met in names with masculine in *-ne*: *amθni* (951., 1652., with the variant *amθnia* 902.), *atrani* (850., 935., with the variant *atrania* in 805.), *capevani* (737.), *lutni* (327.),⁵¹⁰ *sauturini* (*sat-*) (952., 1172., 1173., 1174.), *tucunt(n)i* (192.),⁵¹¹ *veani* (1015., with the variant in *-nei*, see above). In three gentilicia, the feminine *-ni* corresponded to masculine in *-na*: *capni* (436.), *carni* (744.), and *hamϕni* (1077., with the variant in *-nei*, see above.)

Among the feminine forms in *-ni* without Perusian masculine counterpart, *herini* (88., 242., 1082., 1083., 1207., with the variant *herinia* in 240., and four appearances of the genitive *herinial*) is an interesting case, as no man with this gentilicium is encountered. Where were the fathers of these women buried? The masculine of this Etruscan formation from the Oscan praenomen *Herius* was probably *herini*, but at Clusium, *herina* and *herine* also appear.⁵¹² Other names without masculine counterpart were *aluni* (577.), *apuni* (816.), *cantini* (13.; the name in 14. was a cognomen, if not an abbreviated metronymic), *ficani* (151.), *laθruni* (1091.), *vatini* (508., with the variant *vatini[i]* 598.).

-nia (-nea): This ending has already been met as a variant for the endings *-nei* and *-ni*: *amθnia* (902.) besides *amθni* (901., 1652.); *aneinia* (772., 916., 917., 1494. where it was cognomen) besides *aneinei*; *atinia* (71.) besides *atinei* (866., 1651.); *atrania* (805.) besides *atrani* (850., 935.); *casnia* (297., 543.) besides *casni* (534., 1545.); *curania* (273.) besides *curanei* (471.); *herinia* (240.) besides *herini*; *luesnia* (1104.) besides *luesnei* (1350.); *petrunia* (1341., *petronia* 1664.) besides *petruni*; *tarχnia* (607.) besides *tarcnei* (1224.); *vatini[i]* (598.) besides *vatini* (508.). *hamnia* (1075.) may or may not be a variant of *hamϕnei*, either due to phonology (two nearby labials) or to a carver's mistake. Concluding the evidence, *-nia* was not precisely a variant to the feminine ending *-ni*, nor to *-nei*: it is met with both endings six times (*hamnia* included). The genitive *manias* in the metronymic of 740., besides *manial* in 558., will be discussed below in the context of the genitive forms.

Of the other occurrences of the ending, i.e., of instances where it was the sole encountered feminine ending, most are also without masculine counterparts: *armunia* (927.), *campania* (969.),⁵¹³ *cusnia* (873.), *ulfinia* (1689.), *ulsnia* (1267.), *velsunia* (567.), *vepnia* (1688.). *atunia* (656.), *atunea* (1640.) to *atuni* (1639.) had a masculine counterpart in *-ni*. It seems that *-nia* was also taken to an independent feminine suffix, like *-nei* and *-ni*.⁵¹⁴ The best example is *verunia* (1039.), probably corresponding to the masculine (genitive) *veruś* (11.).⁵¹⁵ The parallel form for *aχuni*, *aχunia*, appeared in the tomb of *gens Achonia* (292., 293.), where the gentilicium of the men had the form *aχu* (294., 295., 296.; cf. fem. *aχui* 1691.). In the Rafi tomb, a woman called *cincunia* (54.) had her name in the form *cincual* in the metronymic of 53.

-ui: The suffix *-uni* or *-unia* was met above in some gentilicia in *-u*, but the normal feminine formation was *-ui*. While at Clusium *-ui* was mainly for gentilicia, *-unia* for cognomina, H. Rix could not find a similar distinction at Perugia.⁵¹⁶ The feminine *petrui* appeared twelve times, also as cognomen in the tomb

⁵¹⁰ If linked to *lautne* 1352.

⁵¹¹ The supplement *tucn[tinei]* in *ET²* Pe 1.545 was not motivated, as the only feminine ending for the name was *-ni*.

⁵¹² See RIX 1963, 289, n. 19.

⁵¹³ Depending on the reading of 968. In *ET²*, it was given as *lariza campane leθial*, which would record a boy (*lariza* diminutive from *laris*; with no other instances from Perugia) and a masculine ending *-ane*. My autopsy in 2018 would support *larita* or even *larθia*, as *CIE* 3390 read the praenomen. At the end of the gentilicium, an *l* is possible: *campanej*, but not certain; the facsimile in *CIE* saw there an *S*.

⁵¹⁴ This was a normal formation at Clusium for the cognomina in *-u*; see RIX 1963, 168, 175.

⁵¹⁵ *veru* was rather common at Clusium. A masculine variant **veruni* is not known, but feminine *verunia* is met in *ET²* Cl 1.1737.

⁵¹⁶ RIX 1963, 175-76. His figures are somewhat disturbed by the inclusion of *petruni* and *pumpuni*. I would link these feminine forms not to the *-u* group, but to names with the ending *-ni*.

of the Tite Petruni family (286.). The difference from *pumpui* is clear: the latter is met only once, in the tomb of Pumpu Plaute (269.), where the feminine *pumpuni* also appeared (270.). I cannot suggest any reason, why *petrui* was favoured, and *pumpui* not.

Other names with the masculine counterpart encountered at Perugia, were: *cutui* (647., 1501.), *preculi* (1157.), *rezui* (833., 835.), *svetui* (1219.), *tuśnui* (1260., as cognomen in 1427.), *vetui* (964.), and the cognomen *farui* (520.). Without a masculine form at Perugia were *facui* (580., 1272.), *fului* (1274.), *trazlui* (335.), and the cognomina *masui* (196.), *prucui* (243.), *pruciui* (252.), and *spitiui* (468.).⁵¹⁷

I have no explanation for the instance of masculine *śerturu* – feminine *śerturi*. This feminine formation is met both at Clusium and Perugia.⁵¹⁸ At Perugia, two family tombs present both forms, *śerturi* 1215. – *śerturus* 1216.; *śerturi* 1635. – *śerturus* 1638. Masculine genitive *śerturis* appears in the patron's name in 1511., but no instances of masc. **śerture*, or fem. **śerturui* are met. *serturies* on the *strigilis* ET² Pe 6.7 may provide a variant leading to the feminine form.

-ei: The feminine ending *-ei* (*-nei* excluded) corresponded to different masculine endings. The first type was in names in *-ei*, which had the same form in the feminine. *avei* (896.) was the feminine to the masculine genitive *aveiś* (897., 898., 1132., 1273.), and *atei* (500.) to the masculine *atei* (930.; *ateis* 586., *ateiś* 585., 890.). The sons of *atei* had the metronymic in the form *atial* (498., 499.).

The second type was linked to the masculine in *-e*. The only instance with the masculine counterpart at Perugia was *leθei* (1543.) to the common *leθe*. However, the feminine *leθi* (546., 825., 1097.; *leθia* 51.) was more common. *luscei* (357.) probably belonged to this type, although *lusce* is met only at Clusium (ET² Cl 1.66) and at S. Quirico d'Orcia (ET² AS 1.310). Further candidates were the hapax names *θesei* (1087.) and *huzei* (255.; cf. *huzetna*). *veleθei* (195.), if correct, was a variant of the equally uncertain *veleθia* (890., 1016.); no masculine counterpart is met. The old copies of the lost 1191. with *servei* and her brother *servi* (1190.) are too uncertain for a type with masculine *-i* – feminine *-ei*.

The third type was linked to masculine forms in *-a*,⁵¹⁹ corresponding to the type *-na/-nei*. *alfei* (1531.) was evidently the feminine form to *alfa*, the gentilicium of the tomb of Alfa⁵²⁰ and the cognomen of the family *vipi alfa* (318.-321.). The feminine *alfi* is encountered five times (80., 625., 626., 648., 1358.) and can be a variant of *alfei*, but it can also be linked to a masculine form *alfi*, if the reading *alfis* in 894. is correct. *nacerei* (286.) corresponded to the masculine *nacera* (1539.), *naceras* (1540.). *velxrei* (642.) was probably a Clusian name, where its masculine form was *velxra* (ET² Cl 1.518, 1.998, 1.1652). In order to find a counterpart for *velarei* (339.), one must go to Cortona, *velara* in ET² Co 1.38.

-si (-śi): Four feminine gentilicia and one cognomen with this ending are difficult to interpret: *vetesi* (433.), *navesi* (446.), *petruśi* (1351.),⁵²¹ *aleiesi* (1540.), and the cognomen *lauχumesi* (1453.). The reading is in three instances certain. A masculine counterpart is known for *petruśi* (*petru*) and *vetesi* (*vetes* in 566., 1041. was a variant in the genitive for the more common *veti*). *navesi* has no masculine counterpart,⁵²² but the feminine genitive *navesial* (*-rial*) in 442.-445. indicated that *-si* either belonged to the name stem or to the feminine ending. For *aleiesi*, no resembling names can be presented. Against the tempting idea that the

⁵¹⁷ Read in CIE 3918 *pitui*, in ET² *pitui*. My autopsy in 2018 and above all the plaster cast in the Palazzo Murena make *spitiui* certain. The name is probably linked to the Tarquinian *spitu*.

⁵¹⁸ See BENELLI 2014, 65, who assumes a masculine variant **śerturi*.

⁵¹⁹ See also RIX 1963, 246-47.

⁵²⁰ Published in KAIMIO 2020, 197-208.

⁵²¹ The *san* is not certain, and I prefer the usual name *petruni*, possibly by misspelling *petruśi*.

⁵²² For the probable Umbrian origin of the name, see MEISER 2009, 150.

forms were in the masculine pertinentive there speaks, in addition to *navesial*, the spelling *-si* (instead of *-sí*) in two instances, and the fact that the praenomina (*fasti* in 433., *thana* in 1351. and 1540.) were in the nominative. These forms remain unclear to me.

Other *-i* endings: We are left with a large group of other feminine endings in *-i*, in 192 names (see above), eighty-seven of which were linked to names also ending in the masculine in *-i*, like *cai*, *vipi*, *salvi*, *rafi*, *veti* and *ancari*. A second group comes from names with the masculine ending *-e*, like *tite – titi*, *cafate – cafati*, *caspre – caspri*, *afle – afli*, with sixty-eight instances. In thirty-seven instances, the masculine counterpart is missing at Perugia. In many instances, the masculine ending is obvious or at least probable. The feminine form *setumi* (304., 557., 697.) was probably linked with a masculine *setume* known from Clusium (ET² Cl 1.52, 1.1373) and corresponding to the Italic *Septim(i)os*. The ending *-nati* in *helvinati* (486.) connects it to the *sentinate – sentinati* type. But in these figures, I have kept to the principle of Perugian counterparts.⁵²³

Other *-ia* endings: Of the ninety-nine other *-ia* endings (in addition to *-nia*), twenty-nine were in *caia*, thirteen in *titia* and eleven in *vipia*. Of the other names, several instances are met especially in *velia* (454., 474., 475., 480., 608., *velea* 17., *vel(i)a* (1028.)). The feminine *veli* occurred only twice (599., 1027.). I cannot see any other reason for this preference of *-ia* than the influence of the praenomen *velia*. *platia* appeared three times (346., 1154., as cognomen in 276.). This is the only form of the name, a feminine **plati* or a masculine **plate* is not met.⁵²⁴ I would not necessarily link *platia* to *plaute*, as Rix did,⁵²⁵ although *platia* in 346. was married to a *pumpu*. The ending *-ia* was also preferred in *vuisia* (247., 1073., *vusia* 1072.). The feminine *vuisi* only appeared in 349.

The other names in *-ia* have presented only one example. A masculine counterpart in *-i* is known at Perugia for *ancaria* (907.), *aruseria* (928.), *asia* (259.), *lucania* (843.), *petvia* (193.), *salvia* (957.), *scefia* (201.), in addition to the above-mentioned *caia*, *vipia*, *velia* and *vuisia*. The masculine in *-e* is encountered for *cafata* (98., 275.), *marcia* (1673.), *senatia* (1178.), *surtia* (1646.), and the cognomina *leθia* (51.), *hermia* (771.). Without masculine counterparts were *aclasia* (894.), *curspia* (1008.), *cvintia* (291.), *etria* (770.),⁵²⁶ *felscia* (1273.), *furapia* (1656.), *hanatia* (1650.), *helvasia* (1078.), *helvia* (1080.), *mansia* (1112.), *maria* (1259.), *rutias* (168.), *scatia* (510.), *serturia* (1529.). *titlia* (483.), *vitlia* (1065.). In 1529., *serturi* was carved, but a painted *A* then added.

The female praenomina: Among the Perugian praenomina, three names showed the variation between the endings *-a* or *-i* and *-ia*. *thana* is met 103 times, *thania* twenty-six times (20%).⁵²⁷ *larθi* appears in 100 name forms, *larθia* in twenty-seven (21%). *fasti/hasti* occurs eighty-eight times, *fastia* only three times (3%).⁵²⁸ The shares of *-ia* in the two first names are close to its share in the gentilicia (25%, see above). It is unclear why its share in *fasti/fastia* is clearly smaller. The FTI corpus did not show any significant chronological increase in the appearance of *-ia* in gentilicia (see above). In these three praenomina, *-ia* is encountered nine times in the FTI group, and four of these (67., 179., 264., 271.) are dated to the 1st century BCE. The material is small, but we may cautiously use the praenomen ending *-ia* as a chronological marker.

⁵²³ *setumi* may have a counterpart in the wall inscription of the Velimna tomb, but the context of *seθume* (ET² Pe 0.2) remains unclear.

⁵²⁴ In 1627., I have read *la. plat() ar.*, but the reading is not certain.

⁵²⁵ Rix 1963, 204.

⁵²⁶ Read by earlier editors *etri*, but I think that in the photograph SE 38, 1970, 326, No. 2, Tav. 44 b, an *A* at the end is visible.

⁵²⁷ These figures include the unaspirated variants and different spellings, but not the abbreviated forms.

⁵²⁸ 67., 264., 681. *hastia* is not known at Perugia.

This is perhaps supported by a comparison with the Clusian material, which on average is a little later than that of Perugia, and the shares of *-ia* a little larger: in *θana/θania* 41%, in *larθi/larθia* 20%, and in *fasti-hasti/fasti-hastia* 32%.⁵²⁹ The total percentage of the ending *-ia* in these three names was at Perugia 16%, at Clusium 28%.

But there is one female praenomen at Perugia in which the ending *-ia* was constant, namely *veilia*. It appears thirty times in our material, and corresponds to the Clusian *velia*, which at Perugia belonged to the feminine form of the gentilicium *veli*. It is possible that the need to make a difference between the praenomen and the common gentilicium caused the form *veilia* at Perugia. Both the Clusian *velia* and the Perugian *veilia* were linked to the male praenomen *vel*. While the feminine ending *-i* was sufficient to form the feminine praenomen *larθi* from *larθ*, *velia/veilia* always had the ending *-ia*. It can be traced back to the common archaic female praenomen *velelia*. The praenomen *seθra*, appearing three times at Perugia (273., 514., 1039.), seems to be a feminine formation independent of the masculine *seθre*. Otherwise, one would have expected the form *seθri*.

The genitive forms

The late Etruscan genitive ending depended on the word class. The first class included all vocalic stems and stems ending in *-l*, *-m*, *-n*, *-r* and *-χ*. An exception was the female personal names in *-i*, which belonged to the second class together with all other consonantal stems.⁵³⁰ The genitive ending in the first class was in the north *-ś*, in the consonantal stems with an intermediate vowel, usually *-u-ś*. Instead of *san*, <s> was often spelled (see above, p. 150). In the second class, the ending was *-al*, in some consonantal stems *-l*. After dental stops, an <i> often preceded *-al*, e.g., *larθial* (see above, p. 143). On the other hand, in intervocalic positions /i/ was lost before *-al*, e.g., *petrui* (725.) – *petrual* (726.).

An interesting question is the source of the exception of female personal names in the second class. The theonyms like *uni* – *unial* prove that it was valid in archaic times, long before the development of the metronymic. But it fitted well into the onomastic system to distinguish between the metronymic and the gamonymic in female name forms. We have seen that many gentilicia in *-(n)i* served both for the feminine and the masculine. The mother as well as the husband could be called *cacni*; the masculine genitive *cacniś* gave the husband, the feminine genitive *cacnial* the mother.

There is no need to go through the huge mass of genitive forms in the Perugian epitaphs. A number of epitaphs were written completely in the genitive, “(the urn) of NN”, and the undirect name parts, the patronymic, the metronymic and the gamonymic, were in the genitive. In addition, the gentilicium and the cognomen were sometimes in the genitive, while the epitaph otherwise was in the nominative (see below, pp. 172-73). Instead of presenting the whole material, I am looking for special flexion patterns and anomalies.

Epitaphs in the genitive: The whole name of the deceased was in the genitive in seven epitaphs. None of them was carved on an urn. The inscriptions 21., 909., 1002., 1101. and 1518. were on cippi, 328. and 1208. on stelai of different types. The noun on which the genitive depends was mentioned in 21., *man*,⁵³¹ and in 328., *śuθi*. The structure of the former inscription is complicated, and the reading of the line

⁵²⁹ Again, I have calculated these rough figures from the index of *Etruskische Texte*².

⁵³⁰ BENELLI 2017b, 255. In fact, the division is more complicated, e.g., the genitive of *rasna* was *rasnal*. not *rasnas*; see WALLACE 2008, 47.

⁵³¹ For the meaning, see BELFIORE 2014, 34.

ends is uncertain. *ET*² gave it as *hermial. capznas | man. séχis. capzna`l'* while Rix in 1963 saw *hermial. capznasl[a] | man. séχis. capzna[l]* as the only possible reading.⁵³² Both interpretations saw in the first *capzna* the husband, in the second the mother, i.e., Hermia had married a relative of her mother. The main difference concerned the flexion of the gamonymic, which in Rix's earlier interpretation was in the "double" genitive, i.e., *capznas* was extended with the enclitic article *-sa* to *capznasa*, and, in accordance with the genitive of the head, got the form *capznasla*. For the metronymic, the corresponding form would have been *capznalisla*. *séχis* was in the genitive, with *san* used in the first, but not in the final position. This form also appeared in **1101**.

The genitive of *séχ*, "daughter", is known besides these two inscriptions only as the epithet of the goddess Cautha in two dedications on Attic red figure vases, one probably from Orvieto (*ET*² Vs 3.9), the other from Pyrgi (*ET*² Cr 3.33).⁵³³ The vowel between the stop of the stem and the genitive ending *-s* was in all four instances <i>. It is not easy to say what determined its colour. The only other instance of *-i-* which I know is *zathrmis* from the numeral "20" (*ET*² Ta 1.81). Other stems with /e/, at least those ending in a liquid, have *-u-*, as in *veluś*.

The enclitic article *-sa*: This enclitic article, which was often added in Etruscan to genitive forms, was not common at Perugia, in contrast, e.g., to Clusian epigraphy.⁵³⁴ If the scribe wanted to distinguish the genitival name parts in genitival epitaphs, he could use in them the genitive form *-sla* of the article. The same practice was possible, when the metronymic or the gamonymic was expanded to include the patronymic or metronymic of the mother or the husband. In the preceding chapter, we had two somewhat uncertain examples of the former type, *capznasl[a]* in the gamonymic of the genitival inscription **21.**, and *larisalisla* (scr. *laθisalisla*) in the patronymic of the genitival **1002**. Of the second type in indirect name parts, no clear example is found. The name of the patron in **305.**, *tlapu lautni capznas tarχisla* presented the genitive of the article, but *tarχisa* was not an indirect name part, but a cognomen in the genitive form, as **410.**, *fasti capznei ve. tarχisa χvestnal*, possibly a sister of the patron of Tlapu, showed.⁵³⁵ Similar cognomina with the enclitic article are probably *cuiesa* in **194.** and *tuśnusa* in **1428**.⁵³⁶ In three other instances, indirect name parts appear in indirect name parts, but they are all without the enclitic article. In **238.**, *salvi puia ar. caiś herinial*, *herinial* is the metronymic of the husband, not that of Salvi. In the same Tomb of Cai Carcu, *fasti vuisia ar. ca(iś) prucual puia* (**247.**) offered a similar instance, *prucual* giving the mother of the husband, not that of Fasti Vuisia.⁵³⁷ In **198.**, *puia arntus numsis | urnasis lautniθa* (or the lines in the opposite order), *numsis* was probably the name of the patron(ess) of *arntu*, as his own epitaph *arntu numsis* (**197.**) would indicate. The form *larθialisvle* in the tomb law of San Manno (*ET*² Pe 5.2; see below, pp. 198-200) is without parallels. It is in a construction that seems to be in the pertinentive, probably in the function of agent: *auleś larθial precuθuraśi larθialisvle cestnal clenarasi*.

In the patronymic, six instances of the enclitic article are encountered, five of them in tombs of eminent Perugian families: in the tomb of Volumni *aule velimnaś θefrisa nufznal clan* (**307.**); in the tomb of

⁵³² RIX 1963, 106-7.

⁵³³ For the double name of goddess *cava/uθa seχ*, with assimilation of the goddess with Kore, see MARAS in *SE* 69, 2003, 317, with further references.

⁵³⁴ RIX 1963, 56 and n. 88, had found only three certain instances, and considered all instances with *-sa* in the gamonymic to be of Clusian provenance.

⁵³⁵ For this unique cognomen form at Perugia, originating in the patronymic, see RIX 1963, 254-55.

⁵³⁶ See BENELLI 2015a, 183-88.

⁵³⁷ See KAIMIO 1920, 198.

Tins *larθia caia huzetnas arnθalisa cafati(al) sec* (658.);⁵³⁸ in the tomb of Cai Cutu *arnθ cais cutus velusa* (1297.) and *seθre velusa* (1303.); in the tomb of Alfa *larθ aulesa* (716.). In two instances, the gentilicium and cognomen were omitted, which perhaps favoured the use of the enclitic article in the patronymic. The sixth instance, [*l*]a. *patlnis larθia[li]sa* (1138.), is of unknown provenance.

-ual: While in other instances of the second genitive, the endings *-al* and *-ial* varied, *-ual* was constantly used in feminine names in *-ui*. For the only opposite instance, *laris vete p(etr)uial* (34.; so supplemented by earlier editors), I suggest *puia l()*, indicating that the wife (name beginning with *L*) was buried in the same urn. The lack of *-i-* in the genitive forms of the names in *-ui* was due to the regular loss of intervocalic *-i-* in Etruscan.⁵³⁹ The analogy of the nominative reintroduced the vowel at Volaterrae, where the type *felmuial* (*ET*² Vt 1.25 plus seven other instances) was standard. In *puia*, the phonemic structure was probably /pujja/.

-al/-ial: Disregarding now the endings *-nal/-nial*, the ending *-ial* was in other stems almost constant. Four instances of the feminine genitive in *-ral* are encountered: *velaral* (314., 1229., from *velarei* 339.), *pleural* (1634.), and *caspral* (938., besides *casprial* 158., 407., 817., 841., 905.). There were two instances of *-tal*: *petinatal* (1338.), and *tita(l)* (122.), which may be a carver's error – the brother in 121. had *titial*. The only instance of *-pal* was from the tomb of Cai Cutu (like *petinatal* above), *talpal* in 1327. I would, however, doubt this hapax name, and read instead from the photograph *titlial*. There were no instances for *-cal*, *-mal*, *-sal* or *-val* (*rezval* 833. was a graphemic variant for *rezual*).

The masculine gentilicium ending *-ei* could have for feminine the suffix *-nei* (*anei* – *aneinei*), or the feminine was spelled like the masculine: *atei* – *atei*, *atnei* – *atnei* (probably suffix *-i*, *atei-i*). In the latter instance, the ending of the feminine genitive was *-ial*: *atial* 498., 499., *atnial* 568. I do not think that this entitles us to connect the feminine genitive *anial* to masculine *anei* (instead of *ani*), as it formed the feminine in *aneinei* (genitive *anein(i)al*). Both *anial* and *aneinal* appear in the metronymics of the tomb of Acsi (*anial* 358., 359., *aneinal* 360., 361.) and of the tomb of Cacni (*anial* 1429., 1432., *aneinal* 1431.), but at least in the tomb of Acsi, there are two different women (both have a son named Arnth).

-nal/-nial: At Clusium, both the male gentilicia in *-na* and in *-ni* formed the feminine in *-nei* and the feminine genitive in *-nal*. The main exceptions came in the names of Italic origin *latini* and *herini*, with the feminine nominative in *-ni* and genitive in *-nial*.⁵⁴⁰ At Perugia, the variation between the feminine genitive endings *-nal* and *-nial* was rather free. H. Rix presented nine gentilicia⁵⁴¹ which showed both endings. His list is here updated with new appearances: With masculine in *-na*: *carnal* (364., 365.), *carnial* (849.); *hamϕnal* (413., 619.), *hamϕnial* (998., 1444.); *leunal* (43., 854., 1101., 1518., 1536.), *leunial* (570.); *petsnal* (449.), *petsnial* (450.); *spurnal* (408., 1527.), *spurnial* (797.); *suθrina(l)* (59.), *suθrinal* (58.). With masculine in *-ni*: *arznal* (3., 408., 458., 1517.), *arznial* (852.,⁵⁴² 1181.), *arzneal* (1389., 255.). Without masculine form at Perugia: *petrnal* (332., 795.), *petrnial* (333.); *percumsnal* (827., 829.), *percumsneal* (826.). I can add from the new inscriptions *larnal* (315.), *larnial* (1493.); *temunal* (720.), *temunial* (723.); *tetnal* (1326., 1670.), *tetnial* (1312.). Interesting is the variation in *herini*, one of the names which at Clusium formed the

⁵³⁸ Her link to the Tins family is somewhat unclear. She was possibly the stepsister or cousin of *ar. tins ar. cafatial* (657.); BENELLI 2015, 187 n. 32.

⁵³⁹ RIX 1963, 178.

⁵⁴⁰ RIX 1963, 286-91. The genitive forms of female names in *-nia* will be discussed later.

⁵⁴¹ RIX 1963, 292. Of his ten gentilicia, all instances of *artni* are now read *arzni*.

⁵⁴² Read in *ET*² *arznal*, but *arznial* is clear (autopsy in 2017).

genitive in *-ial*, with the only exception *herinal* in *ET² CI 1.1963*. *herinal* was also the normal genitive at Perugia with seven instances, but *herinal* is met twice in the tomb of Cacni 2 (1435., 1436.).

These examples show how difficult it is to discern rules for the variation. H. Rix, however, discovered that certain preferences did exist. He counted that in names with the masculine in *-na*, feminine nominative in *-nei*, the feminine genitive in *-nal* is met thirty-one times, *-nial* seven times, while in names with the masculine in *-ni*, feminine nominative in *-ni*, *-nal* is only met twice, *-nial* fourteen times. In the smaller group with masculine *-ni*, feminine *-nei*, the genitive in *-nal* was still preferred, with seven instances against four in *-nial*. I have not updated these figures.

Could the variation have a chronological dimension? I have once again used the FTI corpus, which gives for the genitive endings the following table:

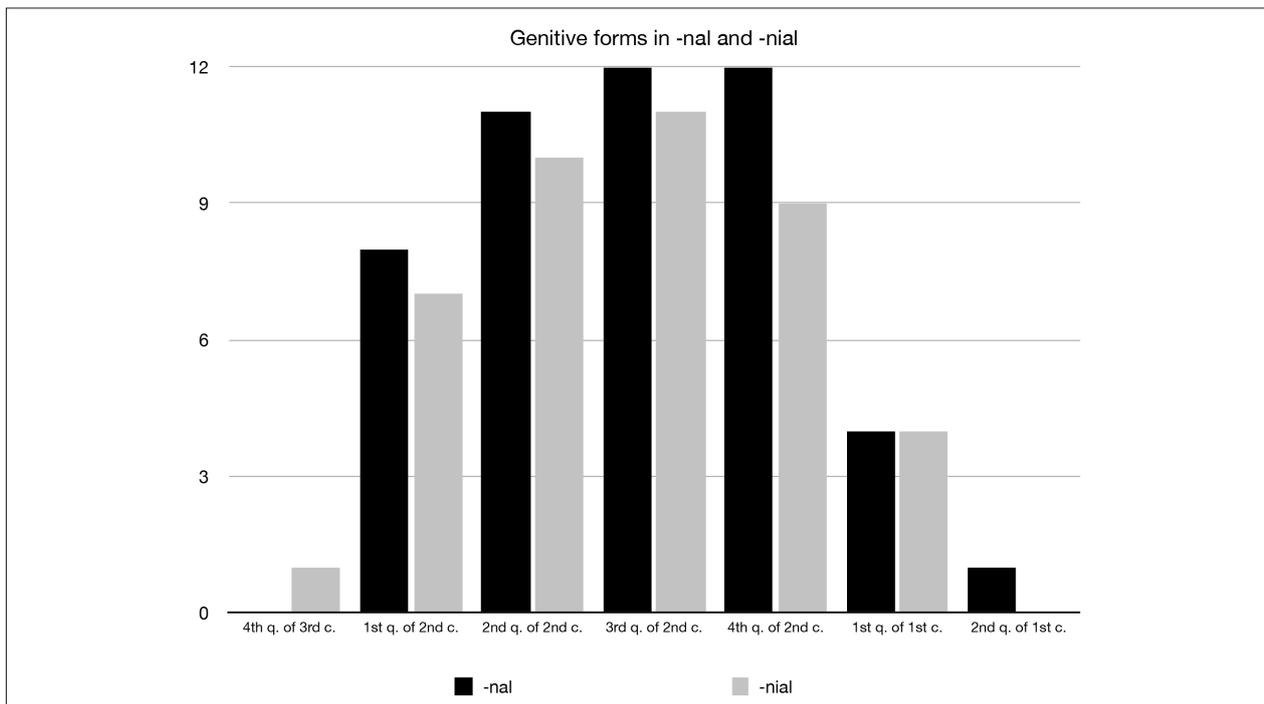


Table 18. Genitive forms in *-nal* and *-nial*.

The result is clear: no chronological difference between the appearances of these two genitive endings can be discerned.

***arnθial* and *larθial*:** The two common Etruscan male praenomina, *arnθ* and *larθ*, usually formed at Perugia their genitives in *-ial* instead of *-al*. Most patronymics were abbreviated and did not disclose the ending. In those written in their entirety, *larθial* is met twenty-six times, *larθal* three times (173., 364., 1608.), and *arnθial* thirty times (plus *arnθeal* in 389., 1677.), *arnθal* three times (161., 368., 1258.), plus *arnθalisa* in 658. Supplementing abbreviated patronymics, I use the ending *-ial*.

This variation had clear geographical limits. The other town with *-ial* endings was Volsinii.⁵⁴³ At Clusium, *-al* was almost exclusive: no instance of *arnθial* is met, while *arnθal* appeared seventy times; there are three instances of *larθial* (*ET² CI 1. 83, 220, 399*), sixty-seven instances of *larθal*. Three theories for the origin of this variation have been presented: the phonetic value of stops (see above, p. 143), differentiation

⁵⁴³ See KAIMIO 2017, 88.

from the genitive form of the female praenomen *larθi*,⁵⁴⁴ and the archaic genitives *larθia*, *aranθia*, best documented at Volsinii, from where the influence could have come to Perugia.⁵⁴⁵ This variation is never met in *larisal*.

The first genitive in -ś: The first genitive mainly appeared in the patronymics with *aule*, *seθre* and *vel*, in the gamonymics and names of the patron, and in name forms where the gentilicium and/or the cognomen was in the genitive. In addition, we have some metronymics from gentilicia in *-ia*. For the variation <s>/<ś> in the genitive ending and for the appearance of <z>, see above pp. 149-51.

Very few peculiarities are met in the first genitives of masculine names. *veluś* was syncopated (or abbreviated) to *velś* in **948**. *clan* used as cognomen had the same genitive *clens* (**591**.) as the appellative. For the genitive of *śex* and other forms in the genitival epitaphs, see above. The metronymics in *-iaś* were not many, and H. Rix doubted their existence in his discussion of *la(r)ti ani raufiaś* (**525**.), where he suggested an alternative *raufla(l) ś(ex)*.⁵⁴⁶ However, he accepted *θania larci rufriaś* (**150**.) and *la. tite rafe vipiaz* (**592**.)⁵⁴⁷ Since then, one certain instance has come from the tomb of Cai Cutu, *arnθ cutu seθreś larθial titiaś clan* (**1308**.)⁵⁴⁸ Three instances of female praenomina in *-ia* in the metronymics can be added to the list, *larθiaś* in **163**., *veiliaś* in **362**. and **363**.

Special cases: In **1213**. *larθ śelvaśl aθnu*, the gentilicium was considered by H. Rix “eher eine gentilizische Ableitung vom Götternamen *śelvanś* als dessen Genetiv”.⁵⁴⁹ The theonym *śelvanś* was no doubt behind the name, although we can note the same stem in *śelvaθreś* (**177**.), *śelvaθri* (**178**.). I would rather see in *-l* the genitive ending, i.e., a name form with genitival gentilicium. The nominative would then be *śelvaś*, one more instance of the gentilicia in *-s* (see above, p. 158).

Two instances of the feminine genitive in *-nil* instead of *-nial*, *catrnil* (**1334**.) and *usnil* (**722**.), could both be carver’s errors, but as they come from big family tombs (**1334**. from the tomb of Cai Cutu, **722**. from the tomb of Alfa), a phonological explanation may also be possible. Both names seem to be strongly syncopated forms of rare Perusian names, *caterina* (**749**.) and *usuna* (**1269**.). The question whether the gentilicium *tinś* was indeclinable or not, was discussed above (p. 158). This form appears in indirect name parts in **417**. and **664**.

Pertinentive and ablative

The only clear pertinentive cases in the Perusian funerary inscriptions were in the tomb law of San Manno (*ET*² Pe 5.2; see below) *auleś larθial precuθuraśi larθiališvle cestnal clenaraśi*. But there are some candidates in the epitaphs. In the stele **1345**. *husiur la. cavesi metial*, the form of the epitaph, the sons to their father, would fit the pertinentive. One would rather expect the spelling *-śi*, not *-si*, and both *cave* and *cavesi* are unknown elsewhere.⁵⁵⁰ Five other names with the ending *-śi/-si* were discussed above (pp. 163-64) in

⁵⁴⁴ ADIEGO 2011, 66.

⁵⁴⁵ KAIMIO 2017, 88.

⁵⁴⁶ RIX 1963, 224, n. 93. See also BENELLI 2014, 59.

⁵⁴⁷ In addition, the genitives *restiaś* (*ET*² Pe 5.3) and *rutiaś* (**168**.) with *śuθi* as the head; RIX 1963, 176, n. 60. In the epitaph of the fine urn in the Museum of Berlin **740**., Rix preferred *manial* of the old manuscripts, while *CIE* 4100 and *ET*² give it as *au. titeś vesi manias clan*.

⁵⁴⁸ In **11**., I read *nuś(t)iaś clan* instead of *numaś clan* of the earlier editors. *θana meliaś* in **1115**. is problematic. I have not found an alternative reading, so perhaps praenomen plus metronymic or name of the patroness must be accepted.

⁵⁴⁹ RIX 1963, 189.

⁵⁵⁰ The editors F. KOUBA- D. STEINBAUER, *SE* 50, 1982, 274-75, 343-45, No. 19, preferred the nominative.

connexion with the feminine formation. They were all in female names, and the structure of the epitaph did not necessitate the use of the pertinentive.

The ending of the second ablative was *-ls*.⁵⁵¹ In addition to the appellative *tetals* “grandchild” (see below, p. 195), this ending is met in the metronymic of **372**. *la. aχsi trilials*. The metronymic of the brother was in the usual genitive *trilial* (**373**). The ablative in the metronymic was rare in the late Etruscan inscriptions, but in the Latin epitaphs of our material, genitive and ablative appeared side by side (see below, p. 218). In Etruscan names, it also appeared in all three metronymics of *Tomba delle Iscrizioni* of Caere: *crucials* (*ET*² Cr 1.5 and 1.6), *pacials* (*ET*² Cr 1.21), and in two metronymics in wall inscriptions of Tarquinian tombs: *murinals* (*ET*² Ta 1.171), *painials* (*ET*² Ta 7.103). This ending is known in the names of the parents of three Vulcian inscriptions, *turialsc* (*ET*² Vc 1.64); *χaireals*, *arnθeals*, *višnaialś* (*ET*² Vc 1.92); *arnθals*, *haθlials* (*ET*² Vc 1.93), all of which are agents to the passive form *farθnaχe*, clearly expressing parenthood.⁵⁵² The same function as agent explains the other Perusian example, *larθalś* with the participle *cenu* in the *Cippus Perusinus* (*ET*² CP a 11).

⁵⁵¹ WALLACE 2008, 47.

⁵⁵² WALLACE 2008, 100.

The onomastics of the Etruscan inscriptions

I start with the same method as in the palaeography, with the family tomb inscriptions (FTI corpus), 458 epitaphs, ca. 30 % of the total Etruscan material. I have dated these inscriptions on basis of criteria independent of onomastics with the range of a quarter-century (see above, p. 75). I am looking for chronological criteria, which could then be reflected on the entire material. I am fully aware that a part of the dates given to the FTI inscriptions are mistaken, estimated on basis of the impression offered by the monument, when no clear genealogy was available. However, the group is so large that it tolerates a certain error rate. In the palaeographic study, it worked rather well, strengthening old results and offering new ones. In this onomastic part, we must, however, be aware that some large family tombs, especially those of Cai Cutu and Rafi, with their family-bound onomastic tradition,⁵⁵³ may distort the results.

Most of the epitaphs were on urns hidden inside chamber tombs, not to be read by passers-by, but only by family members when the tomb was opened. One could consider that this fact had an effect on the form in which the name was recorded. Enrico Benelli has studied the question, comparing the name forms on urn epitaphs with those on cippi, mostly displayed outside the tombs. At Clusium and Perugia, the latter group is so small that the results remain uncertain, but Benelli could not see any noticeable difference between the name forms of the two groups.⁵⁵⁴ My material is somewhat larger. In the second group, fifty-nine epitaphs (26 women, 33 men) have been preserved with the entire name form. Although the numbers are small, I calculated the appearance of the optional name parts and compared that with the entire material (see below, p. 172 and p. 175). By women: praenomen 65% (77% in the entire material); cognomen 8% (10%); patronymic 4% (13%); metronymic 27% (28%); gamonymic 46% (53%). By men: cognomen 36% (33% in the entire material); patronymic 18% (54%); metronymic 33% (57%). One can well agree with Benelli's result that the display outside the tomb did not make the name form more complete, on the contrary, the patronymic in particular is rare on the cippi and stelai.

The name form of freeborn men

The full male name form had five parts, praenomen, gentilicium, cognomen, patronymic and metronymic. In forty-six inscriptions of the 313 male FTI texts, we find this full name form. Its share is largest from the 3rd quarter of the 2nd to the 1st quarter of the 1st century (36 instances). The praenomen and the gentilicium were the essential parts of the name form of a man. In the FTI, there are two sufficiently documented inscriptions in which the praenomen was missing, **345**. *pumpu snute etera*, and **1336**. *cutu larθial harnstia*.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵³ Examples of this can be found in the chapter "Family tombs", above, pp. 17-72.

⁵⁵⁴ BENELLI 2015b, 9-10.

⁵⁵⁵ Looking at the whole material, these two are the best instances. In the other instances, the transmission of the text can be doubted (**639a**., **653**., **1004**.).

In the family tombs, the gentilicium could be and was more often omitted. In some families, the cognomen took over the position of the old gentilicium. The tomb of the Cai Cutu family (1297.-1338.) presented rich examples of this, the original cognomen Cutu taking the place of the gentilicium. The same phenomenon can be observed, but only by a few members, in the families of Pumpu Plaute (261., 268.), Anei Faru (521., 523.), Vipi Vari (564.), Tite Vesi (736., 742.), Cai Vetii (784., 789.), and Petru Lethiu (880., 881.). But we cannot exaggerate this phenomenon, since most members of all families except Cai Cutu recorded the gentilicium, albeit often in an abbreviated form. This question will also be discussed in connection with the function of the Perusian cognomen (below, pp. 186-89).

In the family tombs, the gentilicium and cognomen could also be considered so self-evident that both were omitted. We have two instances from the tomb of Cai Cutu, 1303. *seθre velusa*, and 1304. *larθ larθial*, and one instance from the tomb of Alfa, 716. *larθ aulesa*.

Besides the praenomen and gentilicium, freeborn men could have three additional parts in the name form. Their appearance in the FTI corpus is presented in this table:

	3rd q. of 3rd c.	4th q. of 3rd c.	1st q. of 2nd c.	2nd q. of 2nd c.	3rd q. of 2nd c.	4th q. of 2nd c.	1st q. of 1st c.
Cognomen	1	5 (36%)	26 (50%)	22 (39%)	34 (47%)	27 (35%)	18 (55%)
Patronymic	3	10 (71%)	29 (56%)	33 (58%)	47 (65%)	47 (61%)	21 (64%)
Metronymic	2	4 (29%)	26 (50%)	39 (68%)	56 (78%)	53 (69%)	27 (82%)
N of inscr.	4	14	52	57	72	77	33

Table 19. Occurrence of additional name parts in name forms of men

Probably the shares of cognomen would be somewhat smaller with the Cai Cutu tomb excluded from the calculation, but that is compensated by the Rafi tomb with few cognomina.

We may first state that the only possible chronological marker from the table is the appearance of the metronymic. In 1st quarter of 2nd century, its appearance was under that of the patronymic, but subsequently it is encountered clearly more often than the patronymic and the cognomen. The two last mentioned name parts maintain rather well their appearance level during these two centuries, for which we have sufficient material.

A comparison with the entire material shows that these three name parts are more common in the family tombs than in single burials (or in monuments of unknown provenance). The Etruscan name form of 769 men can be determined. Cognomen appears in 253 names (33%), patronymic in 419 (54%) and metronymic in 437 (57%) names. The corresponding percentages in the FTI group are 43%, 61% and 67%. In the entire material, three types of name form are clearly more popular than the others: praenomen + gentilicium + patronymic (155 instances), praenomen + gentilicium + metronymic (150 instances) and praenomen + gentilicium + patronymic (140 instances).

In the Etruscan name form of men, the gentilicium and/or cognomen could have the ending *-ś*, which I interpret as the genitive form (“genitivo afunzionale”).⁵⁵⁶ This form was preferred, e.g., at Tarquinia,⁵⁵⁷ but was less common in the north. In the FTI group, we meet the genitive in gentilicia twenty-six times, in cognomina five times and in both thirteen times. We find a chronological marker here: thirty names have the genitive in the period from the 3rd quarter of the 3rd to the 1st quarter of the 2nd century. In the following

⁵⁵⁶ For the origin of this phenomenon, see MAGGIANI 2000, 252-55.

⁵⁵⁷ KAIMIO 2017, 21.

four quarters, only fourteen instances are met.⁵⁵⁸ In the entire material, the gentilicium was in the genitive in sixty-seven names, the cognomen in thirty-five names and both in twenty-two names. This means that genitive forms appeared in 16% of men's names.

The number of praenomina of freeborn citizens was limited. At Perugia, the common names were Aule, Arnth, Laris, Larth, Sethre and Vel. They could be written completely or abbreviated. From other areas, we know that the abbreviation of the praenomen became common later on, and the table below, based on the FTI corpus, clearly shows that this is a chronological marker at Perugia, with the shift in the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century BCE.

Praenomen	3rd q. of 3rd c.	4th q. of 3rd c.	1st q. of 2nd c.	2nd q. of 2nd c.	3rd q. of 2nd c.	4th q. of 2nd c.	1st q. of 1st c.	Total
Abbreviated	-	4	15	41	53	65	29	207
Full text	4	11	34	17	17	13	2	98

Table 20. Abbreviation of praenomina in male name forms

The picture given by the patronymics follows the same development. The table also shows that the omission of the patronymic remained rather stable, in around four of ten name forms, during our period.

Praenomen in patron.	3rd q. of 3rd c.	4th q. of 3rd c.	1st q. of 2nd c.	2nd q. of 2nd c.	3rd q. of 2nd c.	4th q. of 2nd c.	1st q. of 1st c.	Total
Abbreviated	-	1	8	31	41	39	19	139
Full text	3	9	22	4	9	7	1	55
None	-	4	20 (40%)	22 (39%)	20 (29%)	30 (39%)	12 (38%)	108 (36%)

Table 21. Abbreviation of praenomina in patronymics

The patronymic could sometimes be expressed in a more extensive way. The instances with both praenomen and gentilicium are not certain. In **404**. *aule titeś petruniś veluś t(iteś) etera*, the abbreviated *t.* can hardly be supplemented in any other way, but *t(iteś)* could possibly belong to *etera*.⁵⁵⁹ In **501**. *la. vi. vercna vipiś ve. calisnal* the order with praenomen after gentilicium is not met elsewhere at Perugia. Hence, *ve.* may stay for *ve(rcnaś)*, i.e., both the gentilicium and the cognomen were repeated in the patronymic. It is uncertain, why the gentilicium was used in the patronymic of *ls. varna varnaś apeinal* (**1013**.). It has parallels at Clusium, e.g., *lθ: cumni: cumniś* (ET² Cl 1.1542). *vercna vercnaś* in **610**. may give a hint that some persons used the gentilicium as praenomen; this would explain the patronymic in *ls. varna varnas*.⁵⁶⁰ The epitaph **653**. *tinś ar. tiniś* could also have the gentilicium included in the patronymic. The urn is lost and the reading uncertain; my best guess is that it belonged to a woman married, e.g., to her cousin. Hence, *ar.* alone would be patronymic, *tiniś* gamonymic.⁵⁶¹ In **684**., *l[ar]θ vip[i ve]luś caspreś*, *caspre* seems to be the cognomen of the father. Cognomen instead of praenomen was also used in the lead plates of the Acsi tomb, **379**. and **380**., of *arnθ* and *larθ acsiś theθureś clan*. These two name forms also belong to the rare group with the appellative *clan* in patronymics. I have found two other instances:

⁵⁵⁸ This chronological development was already noticed by BENELLI 2002, 523. He stated that this formation was met only at Perugia in gentilicia in *-ni*.

⁵⁵⁹ RIX 1963, 32, n. 30, saw here a patronymic.

⁵⁶⁰ I thank E. Benelli for this suggestion.

⁵⁶¹ See above, p. 158. ET² gave it as *tinś ar. {tiniś}*.

tarχiś clan in **306**. from the tomb of Volumni, and the strongly abbreviated *la. sce. ar. cla.* (**1682**. from Stroz Zacapponi).⁵⁶²

Many tombs of the FTI corpus belong to families with a so-called *Vornamengentile* as gentilicium, determined by a family cognomen. We have four tombs of Vipis: Vipi Alfa (**318.-322.**), Vipi Upelsi (**331.-338.**), Vipi Verena (**491.-511.**) and Vipi Vari (**562.-567.**); four of Vetis: Vetī 1 (**219.-223.**, **1343.**, **1376.**), Vetī 2 (**385.-393.**), Vetī 3 (**395.-402.**) and Vetī Afle (**438.-452.**); three of Tites: Tite Petruni (**403.-413.**, **1391.**), Tite Marcna (**465.-473.**) and Tite Vesi (**734.-743.**); three of Cais: Cai Vetī (**784.-791.**), Cai Cutu (**1297.-1338.**, **1393.-1398.**) and Cai Carcu (**233.-259.**). Depending on the definition of *Vornamengentile*, the list may be continued by two of Pumpu: Pumpu Plaute (**260.-272.**, **1377.-1378.**) and Pumpu Snute (**339.-347.**), and one of Anei: Anei Marcna (**1450.-1556.**).

Benelli has, I believe with good reason, suspected the view that these gentilicia at Perugia are based on original individual names and indicate unfree origin of the family, as the great theory of Rix argued, and as the statistics from Clusium seem to show.⁵⁶³ Benelli's main argument was that these names had at Perugia an ending differing from that of the old praenomina. Instead of the Clusian *cae* or *ane*, the gentilicia at Perugia had the forms *cai* and *anei*, which linked them instead to Italic gentilicium formations. Neither did the social inferiority of the families with *Vornamengentilia* appear at Perugia.

We have good Perugian examples of *lautni*-names becoming gentilicia when the family reached full citizenship. In the tomb of Lecetis (**568.-573.**), *lecusti caspres latni* (**573.**) married, I believe, the freeborn *larθi leunei* (**571.**), and their son was *ar. lecetis leunial* (**570.**).⁵⁶⁴ But no *lautni* with the individual name *cai*, *titi* or *vipi* is known from Perugia.⁵⁶⁵ Ca. 15% of the inhabitants of Perugia, or at least of the deceased with epitaphs, had as gentilicium either *cai*, *tite* or *vipi*. If an old individual name was always behind these three names, it has been hard to identify slaves in old Perugia.

But the common occurrence of these three names also favoured the use of cognomina to distinguish separate branches of the family. If the cognomen was the distinguishing name, it could diminish the value of the gentilicium, which was sometimes omitted and often abbreviated (see above). Abbreviated forms of other gentilicia are also encountered, partly due to the limited space, especially on the lids. On lid **984.**, four name parts were given, but all in an abbreviated form: *ar(nθ) caf(ate) mac(re) velc(znial)*.

There are some probable instances of two cognomina. In **590.** *ar. sale clan nurziu*,⁵⁶⁶ *clan*, although originally used to separate father and son, had taken the place of the first cognomen. In the other example of Rix,⁵⁶⁷ **321.** *vel vipi alfa papa*, I see in *papa* the appellative "grandfather", understandable inside a family tomb. Rix considered the third example, **154.** *se. vi(pi) ancari uvilane* questionable, and I prefer *CIE*'s interpretation *uvilana(l)* as the metronymic. In the tomb of Cai Cutu, new cognomina appeared after *cutu* had taken the place of the gentilicium: *ve. cutu samre* (**1323.**), *ar. cutu creice* (**1335.**), *ve. cutu latius* (**1337.**).

The metronymic was given by the genitive of the mother's gentilicium. The appellative *clan* was added more often than in the patronymics. In the FTI corpus, we have twenty-three instances, eighteen of them from the two first quarters of the 2nd century. In the entire material, we have forty-four instances of *clan* in

⁵⁶² In **11.**, I have corrected the earlier reading *numaś clan*, with a hapax praenomen in Etruscan, to *nuś(t)ias clan*, with metronymic instead of patronymic.

⁵⁶³ BENELLI 2002, 518-22; RIX 1963, especially 331-56.

⁵⁶⁴ See above, pp. 52-53. For further examples, see below, p. 181.

⁵⁶⁵ The interesting name form in **889.** *cai creice θurмнаś lautni* will be discussed below, p. 181.

⁵⁶⁶ The plaster cast in the Palazzo Murena confirms this reading, as well as the gamonymic *saleś clenś* in the wife's epitaph **591.**

⁵⁶⁷ RIX 1963, 77.

the metronymics. The praenomen and gentilicium of the mother formed the metronymic in three instances: *veiliaś caiaal clan* on the lead plates of the brothers **362.** and **363.**, and *larθial titiaś* in **1308.** from the tomb of Cai Cutu (with the patronymic *seθreś*, so *larθial* cannot be the patronymic). Other possible instances appear in **163.**, **1008.** and **1552.** The metronymic included gentilicium and cognomen in four names in the FTI corpus: *aneinal spurinal clan* (**408a.**) from the tomb of Tite Petruni, *caial cnarial* (**428.**) and *caial petvial* (**430.**) from the tomb of Anani,⁵⁶⁸ and *vipial sehtmnal* (**738.**) from the tomb of Tite Vesi. The entire material seems to present only few additional examples. In **315.**, the metronymic included not only the gentilicium, the cognomen and *clan*, but also the name of the grandmother: *caial larnal clan velaral tetals*.⁵⁶⁹ Instead, the metronymic was more often formed by the cognomen alone. In the tomb of Anani, the brother of the above-mentioned **428.** had *cnarial* (**429.**), and the brother of **430.** *petvial* (scr. *pevtial*, **431.**) as the metronymic. Outside the family tombs, it is, however, difficult to distinguish gentilicia from cognomina.

The normal order of the name parts was that cognomen came before patronymic and metronymic, and patronymic came before metronymic. Rix counted from the Perusian inscriptions two instances with cognomen after metronymic, and six instances with cognomen after patronymic,⁵⁷⁰ e.g., *ar. calisna ar. arzna(l) memru* (**3.**). In one instance, the metronymic preceded the patronymic, *la. c(ai) caspre satln(al) au.* (**757.**).

Etruscan name forms of women

A full Etruscan name form of women included six parts, praenomen, gentilicium, cognomen, patronymic, metronymic and gamonymic. The fact is that we do not encounter full name forms at Perugia.⁵⁷¹ The closest comes **410.** *fasti capznei ve(luś) tarχisa χvestnal*, where the gamonymic is omitted for the obvious reason that the name of the husband Larth Tite Petruni preceded it in this urn of a married couple. All name parts, except the gentilicium, were optional, and they could be recorded or omitted. This means that we have in late Perusian epitaphs a great variety of female name forms, in fact, not less than thirty-six different variants.

In the FTI corpus, the name forms of 166 women can be determined. From the 2nd quarter of 2nd century onwards, the form with praenomen, gentilicium and gamonymic was by far the most popular, with a total of fifty-three instances. The same form with the addition of the metronymic appeared in seventeen epitaphs, and the basic form with praenomen and gentilicium in twenty epitaphs.

Although the total number of female names is smaller than that of men (above p. 172), I present the appearance of the optional name parts in the FTI corpus in a table form:

	4th q. of 3rd c.	1st q. of 2nd c.	2nd q. of 2nd c.	3rd q. of 2nd c.	4th q. of 2nd c.	1st q. of 1st c.	2nd q. of 1st c.	Total
Cognomen	3	1 (5%)	6 (14%)	5 (14%)	7 (17%)	2 (12%)	-	24 (14%)
Patronymic	1	1 (5%)	5 (12%)	3 (8%)	3 (7%)	3 (18%)	-	16 (10%)
Metronymic	-	6 (33%)	11 (26%)	10 (27%)	15 (36%)	5 (29%)	-	47 (28%)
Gamonymic	4	10 (56%)	26 (62%)	27 (73%)	27 (64%)	10 (59%)	2	96 (58%)
Total N of inscriptions	8	18	42	37	42	17	2	166

Table 22. Additional name parts in name forms of women.

⁵⁶⁸ No *L* is visible at the end of the inscription, and it is given as *petvia[l]* (CIE 3881) or *petvial* (ET², based on Danielsson). I discuss the numerous metronymics, where the final *L* is missing, above, pp. 148-49.

⁵⁶⁹ For *tetals*, see Rix 1963, 26. For the supplement of *pup. na[* in **1051.**, see Rix 1963, 73.

⁵⁷⁰ Rix 1963, 44.

⁵⁷¹ Rix 1963, 36, knew from Clusium one instance of this type, ET² Cl. 1.323.

In the same way as in male name forms, no clear chronological marker is apparent in the table. The commonness of the name parts in different quarters of century remained stable (or is explained by the small numbers). But the difference between women and men is remarkable. It partly depends on the gamonymic, which was clearly the most important additional name part for women. In the tight space of lids and chests, it ate into the chances of the other name parts. But especially the patronymic, which in an abbreviated form did not need much space, was rare: only one woman out of ten had it, whereas the percentage by men of the same group was 60%. One cannot avoid the conclusion that as married women preserved the gentilicium of their fathers, no more reference to that relationship was needed. One could go a step further and see in the suppression of the patronymic a sign of the transfer of the woman from the power of the father to that of the husband, but I would not go so far. The metronymic better preserved its position in women's name forms than the patronymic, possibly because no other name part indicated the descentance of that line.

A comparison between the family tomb corpus and the entire material, with 624 determinable female name forms, shows some differences. The cognomen is rarer, found in 10% of the names, while the patronymic is commoner (13%). The metronymic is met in 28% and the gamonymic in 53% of the name forms. Although the potential full name form of (married) women was richer (six parts) than that of men (five parts), the average name form is clearly briefer, 1.03 additional names versus 1.44 in the name forms of men. The percentages are: cognomen by men 33%, by women 10%, patronymic by men 54%, by women 13%, metronymic by men 57%, by women 28%, and gamonymic by women 53%.

Not all women had, or did not record, the praenomen. In the FTI corpus, we have thirty-four (20%) such instances. In the entire material, the instances are slightly more frequent, 142 (23%). One cannot discern clear differences between the quarter-centuries. In male name forms, the abbreviation of the praenomen offered a clear chronological marker (see above, p. 173). This is not the case with the praenomina of women, which are mostly written in full during the entire period under discussion. Of the 136 praenomina of the FTI corpus, twenty-six were abbreviated (19%). Only in the 1st quarter of 1st century did abbreviated names have a larger share (eight of sixteen). In the entire material, the abbreviated female praenomina have a 17% share, while in the patronymics, 72% of the names are abbreviated.

The names of men were sometimes given without the gentilicium. In the female names, the certain instances are **41.** *fasti puia lx. siclesś*, and **415.** *θana arz(niu)ś puia*,⁵⁷² both with praenomen and gamonymic. A different example is **39.** *larθia ar. hameriś śec*, where the gentilicium became apparent from the filiation with the father's praenomen, gentilicium and the appellative *śec*.⁵⁷³ Three other instances start with the word *puia*, **1130.**, **1195.** and **1509.** As only the lid or the chest is preserved in these instances, it is possible that the beginning of the name was carved on the missing part of the funerary monument. In many instances of the type *fasti φuriś* (**1271.**), one has to choose between the gamonymic (gentilicium missing) and the gentilicium in the masculine genitive form (see below). In addition, there are instances where the family cognomen has been enough, such as **343.** *veilia snvti vetia[l]* and **344.** *snuti huzetnaś* of the Pumpu Snute tomb.

The gentilicium – as well as the cognomen – sometimes appeared in the masculine genitive form in the names of women. This phenomenon is known only from Volsinii⁵⁷⁴ and Perugia. Rix quoted eight Perusian instances, six of which had also the cognomen in the genitive: **9.**, **10.**, **86.**, **566.**, **639.**, **918.**; with the gentilicium alone **801.** and **1106.** I first give a full complementary list of the gentilicium in the genitive:

⁵⁷² Possibly of unfree origin, like her husband in **416**.

⁵⁷³ RIX 1963, 85.

⁵⁷⁴ See KAIMIO 2017, 89-90; RIX 1963, 85.

280.,⁵⁷⁵ 921., 1005., 1009., 1017., 1103., 1165., 1196., 1199., 1264., 1268., 1271., 1455., 1645. and 1675. The cognomen alone may be in the masculine genitive in *fasti titia petiś* (405.-406.) from the tomb of Tite Petruni, if supplemented *pet(run)iś*, but I prefer the gamonymic in *petiś*. In [f]a(sti) aneinei tuśnusa (1428.), the cognomen with the enclitic article is more probable than the gamonymic.⁵⁷⁶ The phenomenon is real, but many of the instances come from old copies or texts difficult to read. E.g., in 1005. the editor (and ET²) read *fasti cneveś*, but what I can discern in the photograph would rather be +++sia (or +++fia) *cneveś*, with gentilicium and gamonymic. Many instances, like *fasti surteś* (1196.), could also be interpreted as forms with the praenomen and the gamonymic, the gentilicium being omitted (see above), but I prefer the gentilicium in the masculine genitive form. In some instances, an unfree origin is possible, if not probable. The lead plate 639. with two persons, probably a married couple, *uhtave velxeiś larθia vipiś caspreś*, may be explained in this way.⁵⁷⁷ In instances like 9. *fasti caiś marχnaś au.*, *cai marχna* is naturally the gentilicium and the cognomen of the father Aule, but the order of the name parts shows that they are not part of the filiation of Fasti.⁵⁷⁸ In *ramθa cearθiś* (280.) and *larθia pistis* (1645.), I would not exclude the possibility of an indeclinable gentilicium (see above, p. 158).

It is also possible that the masculine nominative form appears in some gentilicia of women. The instances are *aula cusperiena* (640.), *θana crampa* (764.), *hasti cisuita* (999.), and *θana pulsutina* (1666.). The reading of these instances is either confirmed or rather clear, but an exceptional feminine form or omitted ending of masculine genitive may explain part of them. In 1008. *θana curspia lθ. celia*, I rejected the cognomen *celta* of earlier editors. The top bar for *T* can be a wrong painting of the 19th century, as Vermiglioli still copied the name as *celia*. Two problems in the name remain. *cele* is common at Clusium, but only as gentilicium, and this is the only certain instance of *lθ.* for *larθ* and not *larθi* at Perugia. It is enticing to see in the inscription two women, Thana Curspia and Larthi Celia, but the lay-out of the inscription does not support this. Metronymic with mother's praenomen and gentilicium *celia(l)* is possible.

Only one woman out of ten bears in the epitaphs a cognomen – in men, every third name includes the cognomen. In the FTI corpus, thirteen of the twenty-five cognomina are attached to the gentilicia Cai, Titi and Vipi. If we include three other so-called *Vornamengentilia*, Veti, Pumpu(n)i and Aneinei, we arrive at twenty-four. Only 410b. *fasti capznei ve. tarχisa*, has a gentilicium outside these names.⁵⁷⁹ Since this, too, must be seen as a family cognomen, we can state that individual cognomina were very rare in Perusian female names.

The patronymic is not much more common than the cognomen. It is recorded for one woman out of eight. The praenomen of the father was abbreviated in fourteen instances out of twenty. As in the male name forms, the abbreviated form becomes commoner in late inscriptions, but the material is too small for further conclusions. The enclitic article is encountered in 658. *arnθalisa*. The appellative *śex* occurs three times in the patronymic. In 39., *larθia ar. hameriś śec*, the patronymic was expressed with praenomen and gentilicium, and *śec* was needed, otherwise *hameriś* would have been the gamonymic. The two other instances are 67. *fastia rafi ls. śex cacnis*, and 685. *larθia caia au. sec* (on a lost cippus from Bettona).

⁵⁷⁵ *ramθa cearθiś* may also be the name of a *lautnitha*; see below.

⁵⁷⁶ BENELLI 2015a, 183-88. Cf. *θana aneinei tuśnui* in 1427.

⁵⁷⁷ RIX 1963, 84, adduced the lack of praenomen in the man's name as an argument for unfree origin.

⁵⁷⁸ At Volsinii, I considered the patronymic origin of the female gentilicia in the genitive probable, since they were never followed by the normal patronymic (abbreviated praenomen of the father); KAIMIO 2017, 89.

⁵⁷⁹ For the interpretation of the name form, see RIX 1963, 64-65.

The metronymic is encountered in 28% of the name forms of women – men had a double figure. *śex* was common; it appears in forty-seven metronymics. In the FTI corpus, the appellative was added to twenty of the forty-seven metronymics. Most of the instances are late; the peak was in the 4th quarter of the 2nd century, when eight of the fifteen metronymics included *śex*. The metronymic has more than one name part in one female name alone, *servei arnθial titia(l) φacsneal śec* (1191.) but the reading of the lost inscription is uncertain. There are two probable instances of the grandmother, *śuθi rutiaś velimnas [pu]il trepesial [atial] naχnaz* (168.), and *caia larznal tetals* (314.); for the meaning of the terms, see below, pp. 190 and 195.

As noticed above, the gamonymic was by far the most popular additional name part. In the FTI corpus, 58% of women had it recorded; outside these great family tombs the percentage was 51%. The appellative *puia* often preceded or followed the husband's name. In the FTI corpus, we have fifteen instances (i.e., in 16% of all gamonymics), without clear chronological differences. In the entire material, we meet *puia* thirty-seven times. In the family tombs, wives married to the family were more common than daughters of the family, and it was important to indicate their belonging, although the mere gentilicium or family cognomen of the husband was not distinctive in the family context. That explains some multipartite gamonymics. The tomb of Cai Carcu offers several examples where the gamonymic includes not only the praenomen and gentilicium of the husband, but also his metronymic, e.g., 247. *fasti vuisia ar. ca. prucual puia*, where *ar.* is probably the praenomen of the husband (246.), not a patronymic. *velia caia pruciui puia ls. cais carcus* (252.) has in the gamonymic the praenomen, gentilicium and cognomen of the husband.⁵⁸⁰

The metronymic of the husband does not appear in the gamonymic outside this tomb. Instead, we have several instances where the gamonymic includes the praenomen, gentilicium and cognomen of the husband, e.g., *velia caia puia laθial pumpus satnaś* (874.). Similar instances are the above-mentioned 252., as well as 337., 697. and 1244. In cases where *puia* is missing or put at the end of the name form, it is difficult to determine whether the male praenomen represents the patronymic or belongs to the husband. One such instance is *fa. pumpui plauti ar. pum. capznaś* (269.). Here *ar.* or even *ar. pum.* could be the patronymic. However, in the tomb of Pumpu Plaute, there is no man with the praenomen Arnth. By chance, we have an urn lid of unknown provenance with lid sculpture and the inscription *ar. pu. capzna la. [- ?]* (1162.). He may well have been the husband of 269. Other instances with gentilicium and cognomen, where the praenomen can represent the patronymic or belong to the gamonymic are 565. and 783.

In four certain instances, the gamonymic includes the praenomen and the gentilicium of the husband, e.g., *θana acei puia ar. velχei* (142b.). The other instances are 673., with the obsolete word order *vel titeś pu[i]a herini*, 1060., and 1195., where the beginning of the name is mutilated. In the above-mentioned 142b., *puia ar. velχei*, the gentilicium of the husband can be abbreviated for *velχei(ś)*, but there would have been much space for the final letter. A parallel instance, 1244. [*.a. titi varnei puia au. tite varna* (probably a cousin marriage), may suggest that the husband was given after *puia* in the nominative, like in parentheses. There is one instance where the praenomen alone might give the husband, 439. *ar. veti au. puia*. As this interpretation (reading confirmed by autopsy in 2018) would also require the obsolete female praenomen *ar(nθi)*, I prefer to supplement *puia(c)* and to see in the urn a double burial.⁵⁸¹

The gamonymic was formed by the gentilicium and the cognomen in five names, e.g., 591. *fasti cvinti sales clenś puia* (other instances 209., 346., 454. and 1130.). The name in 952. is problematic: *θana cais sauturini cestnaś*. H. Rix saw in *sauturini* Thana's gentilicium, placed between the two parts of the

⁵⁸⁰ Other multipartite gamonymics from the same tomb are 238., 242. and 255.

⁵⁸¹ The supplement may not be needed, since in the same tomb of Vetī Afle, we have in 451. a similar epitaph *au. petsna puia*.

gamonymic.⁵⁸² I would rather see in *cais* Thana's gentilicium in the masculine genitive form (see above), followed by the cognomen. Three related epitaphs do not offer clarity to the interpreter: **993**. *θana zauturini cestnaś* could refer to the same person as **952**., but since both inscriptions are on lids (and a duplicate is not possible, although **993**. is lost), there must be two women. The daughter of one of them is *fa. cestnei vl. sautri. sec* (**992**.). The third inscription is *sauturini χvestnaś velθurnal śec* (**1174**.). It is alluring to see in *cestna* (with a variant *χvestna?*), the cognomen of *sauturini*, but **992**. speaks against this. There are also instances where the cognomen is used in gamonymics, e.g., *θa. custurnei carcus* (**249**.). It is often impossible to distinguish gentilicium from cognomen.⁵⁸³ I have marked nineteen obvious instances of cognomen alone in gamonymics.

The normal order of the name parts in the Perusian female name form is praenomen – gentilicium – cognomen – patronymic – gamonymic – metronymic. Some variation exists in the order cognomen – patronymic. Not many names include both, but this order is encountered five times (**9**., **269**., **276**., **524**. and **1455**.), while the patronymic precedes the cognomen in two instances (**410b**. and **1008**.). Rix stated that, at Perugia, the metronymic never precedes the patronymic or the gamonymic.⁵⁸⁴ Two instances break this rule. In **115**., read by earlier editors *θania veti uhtavial aviles*, I prefer *triles* instead of the obsolete *aviles* (autopsy 2017), but in both instances, the metronymic is before either the patronymic or the gamonymic. There may be some instances where the patronymic comes after the gamonymic, but the reading of **894**., **915**. and **1219**. is uncertain.⁵⁸⁵

The name form of persons of unfree origin

In the late Perusian epitaphs, I have identified forty-eight persons of unfree origin. This means approximately 3% of the entire material. At least eleven of them are women. The determination of sex is in some cases difficult, but the share of women is smaller than amidst freeborn deceased. In the Latin inscriptions on Etruscan monuments, the share of *liberti* is higher, 19%, but in this group, too, the share of freedwomen, 26%, is lower than that of freeborn women, 35%.

The first criterion in determining unfree origin is the appellative *lautni*, or *lautniθa* for women.⁵⁸⁶ We find it in thirty-one names. In addition, there are three instances where the abbreviation is ambiguous and there is no other criterion for unfree origin. In the cippus **596**., *laris cape. l.*, supplemented by Vetter *laris cape(vanes) l(autni)*,⁵⁸⁷ we cannot exclude the patronymic *l[a]*. A similar instance is in **953**., read by earlier editors *cai pumpual l(autni)*. In my autopsy and photographs, the praenomen *qu.* is clear, but at the end, I hesitate between the readings *l.*, *la.* and *lau[tni]*, and the unfree origin remains uncertain. In the olla **1004**. *cneve la.*, one has to decide between the missing praenomen of a freeborn man or an ambiguous abbreviation for *la(utni)*. Vetter and Rix supported the latter choice,⁵⁸⁸ I the former, if the inscription is not false, as *CIE* suspected.

⁵⁸² RIX 1963, 70, 105.

⁵⁸³ For the question, see RIX 1963, 67-69

⁵⁸⁴ RIX 1963, 135.

⁵⁸⁵ The name form of **762**., *vipi cai var[---]*, remains unclear. *varna* was cognomen of *vipi* (cf. **763**.); before it might be the metronymic *cai[a]*.

⁵⁸⁶ For its etymology, see RIX 1963, 356-58; RIX 1994, 111-16. For the typology of *lautni* names see RIX 1994, 100-06.

⁵⁸⁷ VETTER 1948, 88.

⁵⁸⁸ VETTER 1948, 89-90; RIX 1963, 363 (“wahrscheinlich”).

The second criterion is an individual name,⁵⁸⁹ not typical of freeborn persons, followed by a gentilicium in the genitive, although the appellative *lautni* or *lautniθa* is missing. This criterion brings eight or nine persons to the category of unfree, e.g., *śarapiu śerturis* (1511.). Some diminutive forms of praenomina cause ambiguity.⁵⁹⁰ *arntu numsis* (197.)⁵⁹¹ could also be a young boy of the Numsi family, but as he is in 198. the husband of *urnasis lautniθa*, his unfree origin is clear. Less clear are the two *hasticu*. The name is a diminutive formation from *hasti*, of the type *velicu*, *θanicu*.⁵⁹² In both 753 and 1103., a gentilicium in the masculine genitive follows, *hasticu caprasiś*, *hasticu luesnaś*. The name form with the praenomen and the gentilicium in the masculine genitive is not unknown in names of freeborn women (see above, pp. 176-77), and *Hasticu* in 1103. was probably freeborn, since a patronymic seems to follow the gentilicium.⁵⁹³ Further instances of this type are *arχaza veθuriś* (6.), *]zu ce[i]sinial* (990., reading uncertain), *titne titeś* (1250., reading uncertain), and *larzu viscial* (1533.).

H. Rix argued that *ramθa capznaś* (394.) was of unfree origin, since her praenomen was rare at Perugia and she had no filiation or cognomen.⁵⁹⁴ It is possible that the common Etruscan praenomen *ramθa* was a slave name at Perugia. Of the two other instances, *ramθa n()* (1131.) does not offer a normal name form. *ramθa* is carved in the middle of a small plain lid. In the continuation, *N* was discerned by Pauli and Danielsson (CIE 4518), but now at the most one vertical is visible. The lid may well have belonged to a *lautniθa*. *ramθa cearθiś* (280.) was buried in a small family tomb together with Larth and Arnth Cearthis (278.-279.), both with the same name form. The name *cearθis* is not met outside this tomb.⁵⁹⁵ Possibly Ramtha was of unfree origin, and her sons Larth and Arnth used her patron's name as gentilicium. In 1506., *r()* *peθna[lautn[*, I consider the supplement *r(amθa) peθna[ś] lautn[iθa]* most probable, and it would support the different function of Ramtha at Perugia.

Finally, there are instances where the family relations indicate unfree origin (cf. *arntu numsiś* 197. above). The wife of *autu vipli lautni* (1062.), *hasti autuś vipliś puia* (1063), without a gentilicium, must be a freedwoman. For the disappeared 922. and 923., we have only poor manuscript copies and a plaster cast for 922. in the Palazzo Murena, which I would read *apluniā θ. lautnitā*.⁵⁹⁶ *θana aplunā!* (923.)⁵⁹⁷ could be her daughter. The tomb with 414.-419. was found in 1843 near the Villa Palazzone. It seems to have had six urns of persons of unfree origin, somehow related to each other. All inscriptions are lost, but there are four plaster casts in the Palazzo Murena. *arnziu slaiθeś lautni* (414.) and *θana arzn(iu)ś puia* (415.)⁵⁹⁸ form a married couple, and *arnza arnziuś slaiθeś* (416.) was their son. I cannot decide whether *slaiθeś* records the patron of *arnza* or belongs to the patronymic. *la. veluś tinś lautni* (417.) seems to be a *lautni* of *vel tinś*, with a citizen praenomen, but without gentilicium. *larθi vipi la. tinś* (418.) was probably his wife, a freeborn woman. In the gamonymic Larth used his patron's name as gentilicium, in the Roman style. The sixth deceased in the tomb was copied as *au. lχ. larθi vels* (419.), emended and supplemented in *ET*² to *au. l(au)ḡ(ni) larθi(al) vel(t)s(naś)*. The reading remains very uncertain.

⁵⁸⁹ RIX 1994, 99-100, distinguished eight different types of individual names of *lautni*.

⁵⁹⁰ Diminutive forms of praenomina are common among *lautni*; see VAN HEEMS 2008, 92-94.

⁵⁹¹ For the formation, see VAN HEEMS 2008, 88.

⁵⁹² VAN HEEMS 2008, 85-86.

⁵⁹³ On basis of the plaster cast in the Palazzo Murena, I prefer *ar.* to *a[u]*. of *ET*².

⁵⁹⁴ RIX 1963, 86; VETTER 1948, 95-96.

⁵⁹⁵ *ciarθi* (*ET*² Ar 1.9, 1.93, AS 1.224) is evidently a variant.

⁵⁹⁶ In *ET*², *apluni* [- ? -] *lautni*.

⁵⁹⁷ Vermiglioli's copy is *θana aplunai*. *ET*² suggests *aplunia* or *apluniś*, but *aplunā!* is closer to the copy.

⁵⁹⁸ *ET*²: *ar(n)ziuś*, but the plaster cast is clear.

After this identification of the *lautni*, let us see how they formed their names. The most common type (Rix I A-C)⁵⁹⁹ includes the individual name, the gentilicium of the patron in the genitive, plus the appellative *lautni/lautniθa* (414., 477., 482., 573., 596., 977., 979., 1121., 1506., 1668.). The patron's name may include the praenomen (Rix I A b;⁶⁰⁰ 706.), or the cognomen (305.) or both (948.). In one uncertain instance (922., see above), the patron is given only by the praenomen and the appellative. In a close type, a praenomen⁶⁰¹ is followed by the patron's gentilicium in the genitive plus *lautni/lautniθa* (65., 224., 767., 844., 980., 1000., 1251.). The patron's praenomen can be added (417., 1220.).

The appellative *lautni/lautniθa* could be missing, the individual name and the patron's gentilicium in the genitive was enough (6., 197., 394., 765., 990., 1250., 1511., 1533.). In indirect name parts (patronymic in 416., gamonymic in 198., 1063.), the individual name and the patron's gentilicium, both in the genitive, were used. But then we have examples, where the person has a citizen praenomen and a gentilicium, with the addition of *lautni*, e.g., *ar. papni lautni* (131.; other instances 211b., 732., 1075., 1094.). Instead of the praenomen, an individual name can appear in this form, e.g., *autu vipli lautni* (1062.; another instance 925.). In *ve. raufe upelsiś lautni* (606.), the patron's cognomen or gentilicium is added (possibly also in 953., see above). *cai creice θurmnaś lautni* (889.) is problematic. It comes from the tomb of Cai Thurmna. H. Rix saw in *cai* the praenomen,⁶⁰² but I would see in it the gentilicium taken from the patron, and in *creice* the cognomen, possibly from the old slave name. This is supported by *la. c(ai) creicie la. raplial* (1687.), possibly a descendant of the *lautni*.

H. Rix has studied in depth the names of unfree persons in Etruria, especially in view of the transfer of the old slave or individual names into gentilicia in connection with the manumission and obtaining the citizenship.⁶⁰³ Vetter offered a good Clusian example, where we can follow the development of the slave name *tiφile* into the Latin gentilicium *Tibile, Tifilia*.⁶⁰⁴ I think that from Perugia, we can present two or three similar examples. In the tomb of Lecetis (see above, pp. 52-53), the first burial may belong to *lecusti caspres latni* (573.).⁶⁰⁵ He probably married *larθi leunei la. satn[a]l* (571.), and their son *ar. lecetis leunal* (570.) and grandson (568.) bear a new gentilicium *lecectis*, evidently formed from the father's individual name, with an obsolete formation *-is* (in the masculine genitive *lecectisal*, see above, p. 158).

The other instance starts with *śarapiu śerturis* (1511.). *ls. sarapiuś rupleś* (1510.) was possibly his son, who had taken the father's individual name as gentilicium and a new cognomen, not encountered elsewhere. The provenance of these two urns is unknown, but they are probably from Ponticello di Campo and possibly from the same tomb. One further interesting tomb was found in 1846 near the Villa Palazzone. The central position on the rear bench was given to *velu aniś lautni* (482.). His urn was between *aule veliś* (479.) and *larθi velia* (480.). *larce veli sentinatial* (481.) was also buried in the tomb. One possibility is that Velu was the father of Aule and Larthi (and the grandfather of Larce). In that instance, the gentilicium *veli* would have its origin in the father's individual name, but this instance remains uncertain.

⁵⁹⁹ RIX 1994, 100-02; MAGGIANI 2018, 304-07.

⁶⁰⁰ RIX 1994, 102-04; MAGGIANI 2018, 307-09.

⁶⁰¹ I draw the line between individual names and praenomina, in that a praenomen must be encountered at Perugia in the name of freeborn persons. Consequently, *laxu* and *velθur* are here considered praenomina, *ramθa* (see above) and *cai* individual names.

⁶⁰² RIX 1963, 53, 353.

⁶⁰³ RIX 1963, 342-383.

⁶⁰⁴ VETTER 1948, 68-70; RIX 1963, 352; KAIMIO 1975, 179.

⁶⁰⁵ For the individual name, see RIX 1963, 364; RIX 1994, 100.

The names

Praenomina

The most popular male praenomen in the Perusian epitaphs was Larth with 195 occurrences. Its abbreviation was *la.* (135 instances). Most of the ten abbreviations *lar.* also belong to this name, some possibly to *laris* (or *larce*). Next come Arnth with 181 occurrences (abbreviated *ar.* 122 times)⁶⁰⁶ and Aule with 159 occurrences (abbreviated *au.* 117 times). Vel appears 103 times, with two sigla, *vl.* and *ve.*, both encountered twenty-two times. Not surprisingly, this short name was written in full more frequently than the other praenomina. Two other names also seem to belong to the common citizen praenomina, Laris with fifty-one occurrences (abbreviated *ls.* 34 times) and Sethre with forty-six occurrences (abbreviated *se.* 37 times). In the patronymics, Arnth (128 instances) comes close to Larth (132 instances). They are followed by Aule (91 instances), Vel (62 instances), Laris (39 instances) and Sethre (23 instances).

In addition, we meet a great number of obsolete praenomina. Some are pet names or diminutives from common praenomina, obviously for persons who died young: *larza* (251., 1011.), *larsa* (732.), *lariza* (968.); *arza* (443.); *aulza* (1692.).⁶⁰⁷ *laχu*, abbreviated *lχ.*, appears sixteen times, and it may have been a citizen praenomen at Perugia.⁶⁰⁸ *tarχi* (five instances) and *θefri/-pri* (four instances) seem to belong to some eminent families; both are met in the tomb of Volumni. *velθur*, common especially at Tarquinia, only occurs as *lautni* name in 890., and abbreviated *vlθ.* in the patronymic of 304. *larce* appears twice (148., 481.), *śertu* (634.) and possibly *arnθur* (216.) once. In *larce larci* (148.), the praenomen was adapted to the gentilicium, and in *lar. larci* (147. and 149.), the praenomen may have been *lar(ce)* instead of *lar(θ)*. *vercna vercnaś* (610.) can be an example where the gentilicium is also chosen for praenomen, the patronymic of *ls. varna varnas* (1013.) being another possible example (see above, p. 173). Finally, we have single appearances of Roman praenomina: *cneve* (1092.), *marce* (1080.), *pup(li)* (313.), *tite* (628.).⁶⁰⁹ In some of these instances, the interpretation of the name forms leaves open the possibility of a gentilicium or a cognomen instead of a praenomen.

If the three most popular male praenomina (Arnth, Aule and Larth) covered 70% of all names, the female praenomina at Perugia were even more concentrated: Fasti, Larthi and Thana (with variants) represent 89% of all names. Over 80% of the Perusian women preserved the praenomen, but one may question its ability to differentiate between individuals, when only three names were in common use. *θana* appears 105 times, *θania* twenty-five times, and the different abbreviations (mainly *θa.*) thirty-four times. *larθi* is encountered 108 times, *larθia* twenty-eight times, and the abbreviation *lθ.* eighteen times.⁶¹⁰ For *fasti* (82 instances), the variant with the *-ia* ending is rarer, *fastia* in 67., 264. and 681., but we have the phonologic

⁶⁰⁶ Other abbreviations are *arθ.* (339., 1552.), *aθ.* (1105.), *at.* (1664.).

⁶⁰⁷ For the use of the diminutive of praenomen for young people, see VAN HEEMS 2008, 94-96. In *larθur sauturines* (765.), *larθur* is the individual name, followed by the patron's name, rather than praenomen followed by gentilicium in the genitive. In 950. *larθur(ui ?)* is probably the cognomen. *ar[n]θur* in 216. is uncertain reading.

⁶⁰⁸ Most of the other appearances come from the tomb of the family Hepni at Asciano, but the name behind the abbreviation *lχ.* may be *lauχ(m)e* (ET² AS 1.85).

⁶⁰⁹ Instead of *numaś clan* in 11., with the archaic Roman praenomen in the patronymic (called "sagenhaft" by RIX 1963, 350), I read from the plaster cast of the Palazzo Murena the metronymic *nuś(t)iaś clan*. I do not recognize any certain occurrence of *cai* as praenomen at Perugia (RIX 1963, 53, 353, saw one in 889., but see above, p. 181).

⁶¹⁰ RIX 1963, 83, observed the opposition between the praenomen abbreviations *la.* and *lθ.* at Perugia, the former for Larth of men, the latter for Larthi of women. He only knew one exception, *lθ.* in the patronymic of 1008., for which see above, p. 177.

variant *hasti* in seven inscriptions (and in four inscriptions, the first letter is broken). Abbreviations, mainly *fa.*, are met eighteen times.

Only one further female praenomen is met more than three times, namely *velia* (28 instances), the Perusian variant of the Clusian *velia*, which was also common in *ager Saenensis*. The variant at Perugia was probably born in order to mark a distinction from the common gentilicium *veli*, *velia*. Ramtha, one of the most common female praenomina in the south, appears only three times at Perugia (280., 394. and 1131.), possibly only in persons of unfree origin (see above). Sethra is met three times (273., 514., 1039.), Thanchvil (935., 1015.) and Aula twice (214., 640.).⁶¹¹ The abbreviation *ar.* in 795., 846. and 1685. probably stands for *arnθi*. *velisa* in *velisa surtia pistis seχ* (1646.) is the diminutive form of *velia*. Thanicu and Hasticu can also be *lautnitha* names. We may end the list by observing the Latin *zecunta* in *zecunta vipia* (755.)

Gentilicia

E. Benelli counted in 2002 335 different gentilicia in Perusian inscriptions, 446 families, when combinations gentilicium + cognomen were taken into account. New inscriptions have clearly increased the number. The second edition of *Etruskische Texte* in 2014 increased the number of Perusian epitaphs by 160, and this edition has further added 192 new Etruscan inscriptions. Not knowing Benelli's list, I cannot compare it with the gentilicia in *ET*². In the new inscriptions of this edition, twenty-nine gentilicia were entirely new in Etruscan,⁶¹² and a further seven not known before at Perugia.⁶¹³ This indicates that the treasury of Perusian gentilicia is far from empty: one hundred new inscriptions seem to bring up about seventeen new gentilicia, and we know that hundreds of epitaphs still lie hidden in the Perusian soil (and a great number in private houses of the area). A curious fact is that the new inscriptions have not disclosed new members to the families of the *Cippus Perusinus*. The family Afuna was evidently Clusian; one lady of the family was married to a man from Perugia (1505.).⁶¹⁴ Three members of the Velthina family are met in modest lid inscriptions (702., 1018. and 1019.), while Fasti, the daughter of Aule Leuna (1099.) and Velthinei, had her ashes buried in an urn with lid sculpture.

The top three of the gentilicia borne by the deceased belong to *Vornamengentilia*: Cai with 108 instances, Vipi with 87 and Tite with 58 instances. Approximately every sixth Perusian had one of these names if we can trust what the epitaphs tell us. Other common names in the inscriptions are *anei* (36 instances), *ra(u)fi* (36 instances), *veti* (30 instances), *petru* and *acsi* (22 instances each), *veli*, *śalvi* and *petruni* (18 instances each). If we add the gentilicia appearing in the metronymics, gamonymics and patron's names, we get following figures: Cai 144, Vipi 111, Tite 87; Ra(u)fi 54, Anei 51, Vetii 43, Petru 35, Salvi 29, Cafate 26, Acsi 25, Petruni 23 instances. It is clear that large family tombs had an influence on these statistics.

There were some peculiarities. The noble name Velimna was borne by eleven deceased, nine men and two women. It also appears as the name of the husband of eight women, but never as the metronymic. One could think that a Velimnei as mother was not esteemed less than a Velimna as husband; or were all

⁶¹¹ For the sex of *aula capane* (214.) and *aula cusperiena* (640.), see RIX 1963, 311-12.

⁶¹² *aleiesi* 1540.; *arsni* 1666.; *auzana* 1678.; *caθe[* 1502.; *custurna* 249., 1679., 1680., 1692.; *erśial* 257.; *eusi* 1684.; *furapia* 1656., 1657.; *hanatia* 1650.; *huzei* 255.; *nuθunial* 244.; *percunial* 1697.; *pistis* 1645., 1646.; *plaseri* 1677.; *prucui* 243., 246., 254.; *pupani* 1507.; *ruθena* 1128.; *sauθriθial* 1694.; *scevu* 1681.; *secstial* 1449., 1454., 1455.; *sulpicial* 1641.; *surtia* 1646.; *temunial* 720., 723.; *ulfinia* 1693.; *usni(a)l* 722.; *veltruces* 1498.; *vepnia* 1688.

⁶¹³ *apice* 1502.; *ancarus* 1651.; *calatial* 258.; *felzna* 1662.; *reχu* (or the hapax *rezu*) 1670; *śalnis* 1691.; *sarapiu* 1510.; *ulfinia* 1689.

⁶¹⁴ This inscription (*CIE* 1813; *ET*² Cl 1.2264) has been considered Clusian until the paper of BENELLI 2021, 3-5.

daughters of the family childless? Five women bear the name *herini*. It appears eight times as metronymic, but never as gamonymic, and none of the Herini women has a patronymic. Where are the Herini men? The name was more common at Clusium, but that cannot explain the femininity.

We have no Perusian gentilicia from the archaic or classic period. Thus, we cannot study changes in the nomenclature of the city. Instead, I studied the connections and origin of the names. In the table beneath, the gentilicia with different connections are classified on the basis of their appearance as gentilicium of the deceased, as name of the mother, and as name of the husband. In my classification, the name is typically Perusian or typically Clusian, if a clear majority of the appearances comes from the city, taking into account that the Clusian inscriptions are twice as numerous than those from Perugia. If the name is common in both areas, it is Clusian-Perusian. Widespread names are met not only at Perugia and Clusium, but in other northern and southern areas, too. North-Etruscan names commonly appear in other northern cities than Clusium and Perugia, and South-Etruscan correspondingly. Hapax-names appear only in one inscription.

	As gentilicium N 1176	As metronymic N 486	As gamonymic N 275
Perusian	55%	50%	68%
Clusian	5%	6%	4%
Clusian-Perusian	7%	8%	8%
Widespread	28%	27%	15%
North-Etruscan	1%	0.5%	1%
South-Etruscan	1%	1%	0.5%
Hapax	4%	8%	4%

Table 23. Main occurrence or connection of gentilicia.

The Perusian names are in the majority in all positions, but the difference between the shares in metronymics (50%) and gamonymics (68%) seems to be significant, indicating some mobility. Some of the wives married to Perusian families came from other areas, whereas the families wanted their daughters to find Perusian husbands. The higher percentage of hapax-names among metronymics supports this view. But the difference between names in metronymics and gamonymics is partly explained by the appearance of widespread names, three-quarters of which were *Vornamengentilia*. For some reason, it was no problem to have the metronymic *caial* (33 instances), whereas the gamonymic *cais* is met only four times (and mostly with other name parts, like *ls. cais carcus* 252.).

This table does not show any clear direction, from which immigrants would have come to Perugia. The contacts with the neighbouring Clusium are smaller than I expected. It has been suggested that before or after the destruction of Volsinii in 264 BCE, some part of its inhabitants fled to Clusium and Perugia.⁶¹⁵ In my previous study, I discussed the question from the Volsinian point of view, without finding strong onomastic support for the view.⁶¹⁶ Looking now at the Perusian gentilicia, we meet ten names also encountered in the cippus inscriptions of Orvieto, which best reflect the inhabitants of Volsinii before its destruction. However, most of these names are widespread, and not very typical of Orvieto or Perugia. For example, *petrunie* is encountered once at Orvieto (*SECI* 800 = *ET*² Vs 1.138), *petruni* eleven times at Perugia, but most instances of the name come from Clusium. *murina* is met at Orvieto (*SECI* 796, 877 = *ET*² Vs 1.128, 1.254) and at Perugia (*murinal* in 903.), but again, most instances of this common name come from other areas, above all from *ager Saenensis* and Clusium.

⁶¹⁵ CRISTOFANI 1966, 346-50; COLONNA 1985, 113; CRISTOFANI 1985, 29; TAMBURINI 1987, 654-59; STOPPONI 2002, 254-57.

⁶¹⁶ KAIMIO 2017, 93-96.

Two or three names may better bind Orvieto and Perugia together. *murcna* seems to be a Volsinian name (*SECI* 801, 917 = *ET*² Vs 1.139, 1.296; 2.52, 2.53). The only instance outside Volsinii is from Perugia in **1123.**, if the reading of this lost urn is correct.⁶¹⁷ The Perusian gentilicium *tins* (14 instances) appears on one cippus from Cannicella, *šeθre tins* (*SECI* 806 = *ET*² Vs 1.157). Although the Perusian instances are far more numerous, they are clearly later than the Orvietan cippus, and we cannot exclude the possibility that the family with the gentilicium of strange formation came from Volsinii. The third name is *rufre. tite rufre* appears on a Volsinian cippus (*SECI* 950; probably from the 1st half of 3rd cent, BCE). The name is also met in the south at Tuscania (*SECI* 353-355 = *ET*² AT 1.7-9), and then in the metronymic of *θania larci rufriaś* of the Perusian **150.**⁶¹⁸ Some more name connections are found if we include the archaic inscriptions of Crocifisso del Tufo in our investigation, but the time span from *qutus* (*ET*² Vs 1.116, 120) to the Perusian *cutu* then encompasses three centuries.⁶¹⁹

When we look at the etymological origin of the Perusian gentilicia, the remarkable share of Italic, above all Umbrian or Umbro-Sabellic names is well known and has been extensively studied.⁶²⁰ Without exact figures, I dare say that every second Perusian recorded in the epitaphs had a gentilicium of Italic origin, but of all the different gentilicia known from Perugia, not more than one-fifth or one-sixth are of Italic origin. The explanation lies in the popularity of many Italic names, the *Vornamengentilia*, the names from Umbro-Sabellic numerals (stems *petr-*, *pump-*, *uhtav-*, *setum-*),⁶²¹ the names from Italic colour words (the stems *rauf-*, *alf-*), the names originating in common Latin or Italic cognomina, (*lunce*, *hapre*, etc.), and so on. In some cases, the phonology of a name indicates its Italic origin, e.g., *vuisi*, *vusi*, < **lowkyos*, or the formation makes this clear, e.g., *campane*.

But even more interesting than these early loans are the transcriptions of Latin gentilicia in the Etruscan inscriptions of Perugia. While *pumpu* is an early loan from the Italic numeral 'five'. *cvinti* (**591.**), *cvintia* (**291.**) must be a transcription of Lat. *Quintius. secstial* (**1449.**, **1454.**, **1455.**) in the *Tomba del Letto funebre* of Strozacaponi corresponds to *Sextius*,⁶²² and *sulpicial* (**1641.**) to *Sulpicius*. The gentilicia of Greek origin mainly come from former *lautni* names, e.g., *aplunia* (**923.**), *sarapius* (**1510.**).

The formation and flexion of the gentilicia has been discussed above in the philological part, and the question of cognomina taking the place of the gentilicium is one of the themes of the next chapter.

Cognomina

I have calculated in my material 106 different cognomina. This calculation includes only names appearing after a gentilicium. In the number of approximately 320 occurrences, I have also included clear instances, mainly from family tombs, where the gentilicium was omitted and the cognomen had taken its position. The occurrences in the metronymics and gamonymics are only counted when both the gentilicium and the cognomen were used. These indirect name parts were sometimes formed by cognomina, but the distinction between gentilicium and cognomen is in most instances impossible. I take one example: the rare name *te-*

⁶¹⁷ *CIE*'s *MURCUNA* was emended in *ET*² 1123 to *murcnaσ*.

⁶¹⁸ With the one of the few instances of the feminine genitive in *-iaś*, see RIX 1963, 176, n. 60.

⁶¹⁹ For other instances, see STOPPONI 2002, 255.

⁶²⁰ MEISER 2009, 143-46.

⁶²¹ See RONCALLI 2002, 149-54; MEISER 2009, 143-45.

⁶²² Before this find, the Italic numeral 'six' has not appeared in Etruscan gentilicia. I do not recognize the Clusian *secstinal* of RONCALLI 2002, 153, if not in *ET*² Cl 1.964, which is now read *lecstinal*.

mune appears as the cognomen of *ar. pupu temunes* in **1534.** and in the metronymic *temunal* (**720.**), *temunial* (**723.**) of the brothers who founded the tomb of Alfa. In **1534.**, *temune* is certainly a cognomen, but does that mean that the name of the mother of the Alfa brothers was *pumpui temuni*? We will see that the same names often appeared at Perugia in the position of gentilicium and cognomen.

E. Benelli calculated that nearly half of the Perusian cognomina either have the gentilicium ending (*-na*, *-ni*, *-ane*, *-ate*) or are identical with *Vornamengentilia*. He suggested that many names in the position of the gentilicium were in fact cognomina, the gentilicium being omitted.⁶²³ According to him, there was in the city a common binomy (gentilicium plus cognomen). Since the gentilicium lacked in most instances a separate ending for the feminine, the ending of the cognomen made the difference between men and women. This led to the favouring of the cognomen and common omission of the gentilicium.⁶²⁴ In my philological part, I have studied the formation of gentilicia and cognomina, and I could not agree with Benelli on the identical formation (see above, pp. 154-58). As the question is important for the Perusian system of personal names, let me look at it more deeply.

My calculations in the morphological part had a different basis, the occurrences of names, rather than different names. I found a rather clear difference in the formation of gentilicia and cognomina. In cognomina, the ending *-na* is common (61 instances, 21%), while *-ni* is rare (20 instances, most from the *tite petruni* family; 7%). In gentilicia, the share of *-na* is 17%, that of *-ni* 12%. Other *-i*-endings offer in cognomina a double number of instances, but as compared with *-u* (113 instances, 30%), *-e* (74 instances, 23%), one can state that the typical gentilicia are in clear minority among cognomina. I checked the different cognomina at Perugia: thirteen names in *-na*, eight in *-ni*, five in *-ne*, five in *-ate* (these together 34%), against twenty-three in *-e*, sixteen in *-u*, fourteen in *-i*, five in *-a*, two in consonant (these together 66%; female names, for which the masculine form is uncertain, were not included).

Benelli's suggestion that cognomen was favoured (and gentilicium omitted), since its ending distinguished more clearly between names of women and men, is partly true for two common gentilicia, *cai* and *vipi*, as well as for names ending in *-i*. But there were better ways to mark female names than the flexion of the cognomen. The most important was naturally the praenomen. Even when abbreviated, the female form can always be discerned, as *la.* for *larθ*, *lθ.* for *larθi* shows. Even when a gentilicium ended in *-i*, a feminine form mostly existed, e.g., *aneinei* from masc. *anei*, or *vipia* from masc. *vipi*. And the cognomen did not always help, if it ended in *-i*, e.g., *larθi vipi aulni* (**199.**).

The next question concerns the cognomina attached to the *Vornamengentilia*. In particular the names *cai*, *vipi* and *tite* were extremely common gentilicia at Perugia; every sixth Perusian bore one of these names (see above, p. 183). There is no certain occurrence of these names as cognomen. This is one clear difference between gentilicia and cognomina at Perugia.⁶²⁵ But in accordance with the theory of Rix, names with typical gentilicium endings were often attached to these names as cognomina.⁶²⁶ An up-date of the tables of H. Rix gives the following figures: A cognomen with the ending *-na* is met twenty times after the gentilicium *vipi*, fourteen times after *cai*, eight times after *tite*. The other gentilicia with cognomen in *-na* are *aclni* (**1130.**), *anei* (**1.**, **1450.**, **1451.**, **1452.**, **1456.**), *pumpu* (**697.**, **874.**, **1162.**), *velχei* (**142a.**), *θepri* (**1086.**), *laucris* (**1090.**) and *šertu* (**1217.**). Cognomina ending in *-ni* are connected to *tite* nine times, but all these instances come

⁶²³ "Che essi (*gentilicia*) siano almeno in parte *cognomina* il cui gentilizio è epigraficamente inespresso, se non addirittura in via di scomparso o scomparso del tutto." BENELLI 2002, 521.

⁶²⁴ BENELLI 2002, 522.

⁶²⁵ One possible instance is *leθi cai* in **1097.**, but Carattoli's copy of the lost inscription is far from reliable.

⁶²⁶ RIX 1963, 332-37.

from the family *tite petruni* (403.-412.), and Rix did not count most of the Perusian names in *-uni* among “echte Gentilizia”.⁶²⁷ *vipi* appears twice, *cai* never with such cognomina. Other gentilicia with cognomina in *-ni* are *anei* (455., 909., 910.), *rufi* (45., 46.), *petru* (546a.) and *uhtave* (639a.). The other groups of “echte Gentilizia” of Rix, names in *-i*, in *-u*, when derived from praenomina, names identical with praenomina, and ethnics in *-ate*, *-ite*, offer so few examples as Perusian cognomina⁶²⁸ that I overlook them at this phase.

When H. Rix defined which names belonged to *Vornamengentilia*, I think that he already looked at the cognomina connected with them. I take as an example the Perusian gentilicium *anei*, feminine *aneinei*. Rix saw here a *Vornamengentile* on the basis of the archaic Faliscan inscription *anae* [*I*]auvcies (CIE 8029; ET² Fa 0.6), but Giacomelli saw here an inversion of praenomen and gentilicium, “Lucius Annaeus”.⁶²⁹ *velxei* was for Rix a *Vornamengentile*, since *velxae* appears as praenomen in an archaic Capuan inscription (ET² Cm 2.50).⁶³⁰ *pumpu*, *petru* and *sertu* are better linked to Italic and Etruscan praenomina,⁶³¹ but this does not necessarily indicate that they were originally individual names of unfree persons in Etruscan.

Of the 105 different cognomina,⁶³² fifty also appear in the position of the gentilicium at Perugia. This could support E. Benelli’s view that cognomen was superseding gentilicium; but let us go deeper into the figures. Of the names encountered in both positions, twenty-four have the suffix of “original gentilicia”, twenty-three that of “original cognomina” (see above). As the percentage of “original gentilicia” in all cognomina was reckoned above at 34%, one can say that they appear more often in both positions than the “original cognomina”.

Of the different cognomina, fifty-five are met after the *Vornamengentilia cai*, *vipi* or *tite*, and fifty-two after other gentilicia (some names are met after both types). Of the former group, twenty-four have the suffix of “original gentilicia”, forty-two that of “original cognomina”. These figures are well in line with the shares in all cognomina. Now moving from the statistics of different cognomina to the number of occurrences, the share of instances with one of the three *Vornamengentilia* does not change much. Of the 257 Perusian name forms, where the cognomen follows gentilicium,⁶³³ 146 have one of these three gentilicia (57%), and 111 some other name. But of the cognomina with the gentilicium ending *-na*, most instances appear after *cai*, *tite* and *vipi*, forty-two instances (76%) against thirteen after other gentilicia (see above).

At least two results can be drawn from these statistics. First, while the share of *cai*, *vipi* and *tite* of all Perusian gentilicia was ca. 16%, their share in the name forms with the cognomen was 57%. Second, while the share of “original gentilicia” as cognomina after these three names was not higher than in general, a remarkable share of cognomina in *-na* was attached to them. Before the final conclusions, I think that some case studies could be useful.

The most common cognomen in *-na* is *vercna*, but all fourteen occurrences come from the tomb of Vipi Vercna (491.-507.). The gamonymic of Thana Atei was recorded by the cognomen alone, but there is no certain appearance of the name as gentilicium. Outside the tomb, the name is once met as metronymic

⁶²⁷ RIX 1963, 332.

⁶²⁸ For the definition, see RIX 1963, 331. The tables of Rix include 14 names of these types: *sentinate*, *veti*, *aruseri*, *perprabe*, *atinate*, *uhtave*, *vari*, *acri*, *aufle*, *vesi*, *velxei*, *masate*, *etri* and *cuiasa*.

⁶²⁹ GIACOMELLI 1963, 66-67, No. 57; p. 174.

⁶³⁰ RIX 1963, 217 n. 66. The Volsinian *velxe* on two late cippus inscriptions (SECI 886, 911 = ET² Vs 264, 290) would offer a closer contact.

⁶³¹ RIX 1963, 180-81.

⁶³² One of the 106 names is too mutilated for further conclusions.

⁶³³ In this calculation, I have included only name forms of men and disregarded instances where gentilicium is clearly omitted, where, e.g., *cutu* on its own, not *cai cutu*, is recorded.

(636.), and then we have the problematic name form *vercna vercnaś* (610.). The two other urns of tomb No. 118 of Palazzone belonged to women (611., 612.), both without the praenomen. Hence, a woman *vercn(i)a*, married to, e.g., her cousin, is one possible supplement. But I have not excluded the alternative of a man choosing his gentilicium for his praenomen (see above, p. 173).

Another common cognomen in *-na* was *marcna* (*μαρχνα*). The name was attached to four different gentilicia. Eight instances came from the tomb of Tite Marcna in the Palazzone necropolis (465.-473.), two of them in gamonymics, and six instances from the tomb of Anei Marcna (*Tomba del letto funebre*) of Strozacaponi (1449.-1456.). A *tite marcnaś* was also in 1231. and a *ti(ti) marχnei* in 1245. Other families with this cognomen were *laucris* (1093.) and *veti* (334.). The name appeared as gentilicium only once, in 1270. *veilia marcnei*.

Whereas these two names appeared at Perugia primarily as cognomina, *varna* presented nearly equal shares of gentilicia (113., 477., 796., 1013., 1339.) and cognomina: of Tite twice in 1244., of Vipi in 650. and 759.-763. The ending *-ni* appeared in 565. (*varniś*). *cestna* was the cognomen of the Cai Cestna family. It appeared five times in the family tomb (299.-304.) in the Palazzone necropolis, and outside it in 945. The name was the gentilicium in 992., and it was common in metronymics (292., 293., 771., 1455., 1456.) and gamonymics (304., 993., 1142.), most of which were probably formed by the gentilicium. *thurmna* offers a good example of the difficulty to distinguish cognomen from gentilicium. It was the cognomen of the Cai Thurmna family, whose tomb (883.-893.) is of unknown provenance. Two of the sons omitted the gentilicium (884. and 887.), and the gamonymics (885., 886., 893.) and the name of the patron (889.) were formed by the cognomen alone. Outside the tomb, we meet a brother of 887. in 1088. without the gentilicium Cai. In the place of the gentilicium, the name appears in 141. and 1089., in the metronymic in 139., and in the gamonymic in 1038. It is not impossible that all these instances belong to the Cai Thurmna family, with the omission of the gentilicium, but one cannot be certain.

nufirznal was the metronymic of Aule Velimna (307.), the father of the founders of the Velimna tomb, and *nufurznaś* was the gamonymic of a Velimnei (285.) whose ashes were hidden in the fine urn of the women's tomb 285.-289. But the name *nufirzna* occurred only in indirect name parts. In two gamonymics, it was clearly the cognomen, since the gentilicium was also recorded, *pumpu* in 697. and *aclni* in 1130. In the instances connected to the Velimna family, as well as in the metronymic in 1173. and in the gamonymic in 288., a gentilicium is perhaps more probable. The Latin *Noforsinia* in the metronymic of 1391. was a gentilicium. The name *velimna* also appeared as the cognomen of *ar. velχei velimna* (142.) and *la. vi(pi) velimna* (600.).⁶³⁴ *satna* was the name of the family with the rich tomb at Ponticello di Campo (225.-232.), where the name was always the gentilicium, as it was also in 1167.-1170., probably in the metronymic of 571. and in the name of the patron in 1668. But we have a *titeś satnaś* as the gamonymic in 507. and *pumpuś satnaś* in 874.

These examples of Perugian cognomina in *-na* have presented some names primarily used as cognomina, and some other used both as gentilicia and as cognomina. But comparing these seven names with the list of gentilicia in *-na* (above, pp. 154-56), with forty-two names never encountered as cognomina, I cannot agree with Benelli's suspicion.⁶³⁵ When Benelli stated that the great majority of the Perugian cognomina were formally identical with gentilicia,⁶³⁶ this is true only in that the same formations appear in both groups.

⁶³⁴ In addition, it appears in two gamonymics of Vipi women, 774. and 1052., which Rix 1963, 280, included with question marks into cognomina. Curiously, as important as the family was in the 3rd century Perugia, its name is never encountered in the metronymics.

⁶³⁵ BENELLI 2002, 522.

⁶³⁶ BENELLI 2002, 521.

But when we look at the structure of the groups, the difference is remarkable. First, the most common gentilicia *cai*, *tite* and *vipi* never occurred as cognomina. Second, while the share of the occurrences of names in *-na* is somewhat equal (17% in gentilicia, 21% in cognomina), that of names in *-ni* is clearly smaller (12% in gentilicia, 7% in cognomina), in spite of the large Tite Petruni family.

The great number of names appearing both in the position of gentilicium and in that of cognomen still awaits an explanation. In principle, there are two possibilities: either cognomina had become gentilicia, or gentilicia were used as cognomina. The first possibility is better documented, but let us not give too much weight to the tomb of Cai Cutu. I studied the names of fifteen other tombs of families using a family cognomen, such as *pumpu plaute*.⁶³⁷ The names of 124 members of the families are preserved. Of these, fourteen omitted the gentilicium and fourteen the cognomen (in the tomb of Cai Cutu, thirty-six of the forty-four men of the family omitted *cai*, no one *cutu*). In the gamonymics of the wives married to the family, seven were given by the gentilicium, twelve by the cognomen and three by both. But is it possible that a family with the common name *vipi* branded its branches by, e.g., the cognomina *ancari* and *vercna*, possibly taking them from the mother's gentilicia or from adoptions?

I cannot present any clear examples, but in the discussion of the family tombs, I presented one instance of the mother's name possibly taken as cognomen and five possible instances of adoption giving the cognomen. The lost inscriptions **109.** and **110.** could possibly be used as evidence. *anei* is met as cognomen only in *la. ve(ti) anei la. cusna(l) clan* (**110.**), *larθ veti aneinal* (**109.**) could be his father.⁶³⁸ The name of *au. cafate vl. śalvial cire* (**985.**), the only occurrence of *cire* as cognomen, may have its origin in the adoption of *cafatia* (see above, pp. 23-24). The same explanation is presented for *L. Volcaci Vicer* (**1369.**, **1370.**) in the tomb of Velchei, where other members of *vicre* appear (see above, p. 25), and equally for *anei faru* (**519.**, **520.**) in the tomb of Faru, *petrus casniś* (**546.**) in the tomb of Casni, and *anei cacniś* (**455.**) in the small tomb of Cacni.

The cognomen had taken its place in the Perusian name system before the period of our epitaphs. Without accepting H. Rix's theory about the unfree origin of the families *cai*, *vipi* and *tite* at Perugia, one clear function of the cognomen was to distinguish families or branches of families bearing these extremely common gentilicia. We have good evidence for the omission of these gentilicia, less evidence for the omission of other gentilicia with cognomina. Although almost half of the names met as cognomina also appear as gentilicia, over 80% of the Perusian gentilicia are never met as cognomina. In addition to family cognomina, a good share of the names was individual, but the scarce material does not make the identification easy.

Appellatives

The concise inscriptions on cinerary urns are normally without any appellatives. The age of the deceased is given in two inscriptions, **243.** *ay. sya. LXXXI*, and **1456.** *IIII s.* Words for family relations appear in 14% of the epitaphs. The commonest is the word for "daughter", *śex*,⁶³⁹ fifty-seven instances, followed by "son", *clan*, forty-nine instances, and "wife", *puia*, thirty-seven instances. The word *lautni(θa)*, indicating unfree origin, is encountered in thirty-eight inscriptions. *etera* occurs sixteen times, *lautneteri* seven times; for their

⁶³⁷ The tombs of Vipi Ancari, Vetī Afle, Cai Carcu, Pumpu Plaute, Vipi Alfa, Vipi Upelsi, Pumpu Snute, Tite Petruni, Tite Marcna, Vipi Vercna, Vipi Vari, Tite Vesi, Petru Lethiu, and Anei Marcna.

⁶³⁸ It is also possible that the gentilicium was *vipi*. For **109.**, the copies of Vermiglioli, Conestabile and Fabbretti give *vepi.* and for **110.**, rather *ve. anei*, but from the plaster cast in the Palazzo Murena, I would prefer *vi.*

⁶³⁹ For the different spellings, see above, pp. 147 and 150.

possible meanings, see below. Other words, some with unclear meaning, appear less than five times. There seem to be chronological differences in the popularity of the commonest words, if we can trust the information from the FTI corpus. In that group, *clan* (24 instances) appears more often than *śex* (20 instances), no surprise, as daughters of the family were not so often buried in the family tombs. But more interesting is that while *clan* appears in this group in early inscriptions, *puia* and especially *śex* become common only later. For *clan*, a clear peak is in the 1st quarter of the 2nd century (14 instances); the last instances are in the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century. Most instances of *puia* come from inscriptions dated to the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 2nd century (11 instances). *śex* appears mainly from the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century to the 1st quarter of the 1st cent. (15 instances). I discuss the appearance and meaning of the appellatives in the order of their commonness.

śec, śex, sex, sec: In addition to fifty-four metronymics, the word for “daughter” is three times met in the patronymic (39., 67. and 685., see above, p. 177). The appellative appears in 35% of the metronymics of women, clearly more often than *clan* in the metronymics of men (13%). The evident reason is that while for men, the metronymic is the only indirect name part expressed by the gentilicium, many women also included the gamonymic in their name form. Frequent abbreviations could make the distinction between feminine and masculine genitives difficult.

śex farθana is encountered in *afli hustnal śex farθana* (460.). Her name form is without praenomen and patronymic. Her chest has a fine relief on Penelope’s toilet.⁶⁴⁰ Her father was possibly *se. afle la. facual* (457.), also recorded in her mother’s epitaph *se. afle la. fa. hustnei atiu* (458.), and her brother was *la. afle se. hustnal* (459.). Some questions rise, but they do not necessarily help in the search of a meaning for *farθana*. Why did Sethre have two urns? If his ashes were moved to the urn of his wife Fasti Hustnei,⁶⁴¹ why is she called *atiu*, “mother”, and not *puia*, “wife”? *farθana* is hapax, but the same word must be in the Clusian *ET² Cl 1.2686* *jal śex harθna*. In the *Liber linteus*, *farθan* probably occurs four times, but more informative is the passive construction for parents *an farθnaxe*, preceded by the name of the deceased and followed by the names of the father and the mother as agents, in three Vulcian inscriptions (*ET² Vc 1.64, 92 and 93*). The meaning “to generate” must be very close for the verb in these instances.⁶⁴² But that does not make it clear, why the word *farθana* was needed in the metronymic of Afli. With regard to the epitaphs of the whole family, I would prefer the possibility that Afli was daughter of Hustnei, but from another father, and in that way the foster-child of Sethre. Sethre must have died before Hustnei, for otherwise the double urn cannot be explained. For both children, who ordered the double urn, Hustnei was “the mother”, *atiu*, and that was more important, at least for the daughter, than “wife of Sethre”.

clan: The word for “son” is met in four patronymics (306., 379., 380., 1682.; see above, pp. 173-74) and forty-five metronymics. It is much rarer in the metronymics of men (13%) than *śec* in the metronymics of women (35%). In addition, *clan* is cognomen in 590. and 591. The plural *clenar* only appears in the tomb dedication *ET² Pe 5.2* in the pertinentive *clenaraśi*. For *husiur*, see below.

puia, “wife”, appears thirty-seven times, in 19% of all gamonymics. Probably in two instances (439. and 451., see above, p. 178), the single word *puia* was added after a male name to indicate that the ashes

⁶⁴⁰ The chest is now under her father’s lid (457.) in the *Antiquario* of The tomb of Volumni, but in Conestabile’s drawing (Tav. 71,1), it was under this lid (now in the *gradoni* of the tomb of Volumni, above the chest of 390.).

⁶⁴¹ Vetter (a handwritten note quoted *SE* 39, 1971, 365). Two brothers could have the same praenomen, if the first one died as an infant. But the lid sculptures show that both Sethres lived to adulthood.

⁶⁴² BONFANTE – BONFANTE 2002, 216; “was born from” WALLACE 2008, 100.

of the wife were placed in the same urn, without mentioning her name. In **546.**, the inscription on the lid equally ends in *puiaç*, but the name of the wife *leθi* was added on the chest.⁶⁴³

lautni, lautniθa: These words (with different spellings and abbreviations) are met in thirty-eight inscriptions (see above, pp. 179-80). They are attached to persons of unfree origin, but the exact meaning – and the legal status – cannot be determined without literary sources. I refer to the analysis of the relevant inscriptions by H. Rix.⁶⁴⁴ In one urn of the tomb of Acsi, nothing more than *lautn* was written (**384.**). The urn may have been reserved for all *familiares* of the family (see above, p. 45). In **776.**, a stone placed above the door of a tomb, *etan lautn[---]*, *lautn*, after the pronoun in the accusative, seems to be in the sense of “family”.

etera: The word appears in sixteen Perusian inscriptions, and in this form almost only at Perugia.⁶⁴⁵ The meaning has been much discussed. The views are divided between “member of *iuventus*”⁶⁴⁶ and “person of lower social status, *servus publicus*”.⁶⁴⁷ The word occurs at Tarquinia and Vulci in the magistrates *zilaθ eterau* and *camθi eterau*,⁶⁴⁸ but as the single word it is a Perusian speciality. I give a full list:⁶⁴⁹

- 202.** *etera* (on the lid) | *au. pusla* (on the chest)
328. *suθi etera veluś aneiś [se]ntinateś* (stela)
345. *pumpu snute* | *etera* (chest with decorative reliefs – all other chests undecorated)
404. *aule titeś petruniś veluś t(iteś)* | *etera* (chest)
512. *au. semθni etera* | *helverreal* (cippus)
631. *aule scevi|ś arnθia|l etera* (chest)
700. *larθ reci|mna veluś* | *etera* (chest)
763. *larθ vipi|ś varnaś* | *etera* (chest)
807. *la. venete la. leθial* | *etera* (chest)
808. *ar. venete* | *ar. etera* (chest)
900. [- - - *al*] *faś etera ś[?* (chest)
944. *vel cai caspre* | *etera* (cippus)
1032. *vel velyeiś* | *etera* (cippus)
1237. *etera* | *la. titeś* (chest)
1277. [name on a lost lid] | *etera* (on the chest)
1678. *se. auzana* | *se. heter|ial etera* (chest)

All the deceased are men.⁶⁵⁰ Their funerary monuments are rather modest, eleven of the twelve urns are plain, only one has a decorative pelta relief. However, the share of three cippi and one stela is larger than the Perusian average. As the share of cippi in inscriptions of *lautneteri* is even higher (see below), we must consider this feature significative. Aule Semthni (**512.**) has two funerary monuments, this cippus with the epithet *etera*, and the urn (**513.**) without it.

⁶⁴³ *laris vete puial* (**34.**) could be a similar instance, *l()* coming from the abbreviated name of the wife.

⁶⁴⁴ RIX 1963, 356-72; Rix 1994, 111-16. See also MAGGIANI 2018, 303-15.

⁶⁴⁵ A detailed study on the term is in BENELLI 2003, 209-21. The only further example comes from Valdichiana, from a stele with seven or eight names, MAGGIANI 1988, 177-183. In ll. 5-6, *la aunt[an]a etera* is mentioned.

⁶⁴⁶ See MAGGIANI 1998, 119.

⁶⁴⁷ FAUCHETTI 2002, 225-35, with further notes; BONFANTE - BONFANTE 2002, 216.

⁶⁴⁸ For a list, see MAGGIANI 1998, 103, 117-23.

⁶⁴⁹ RIX 1963, 371, n. 165, did the same, but some new examples have appeared.

⁶⁵⁰ At Tarquinia, the office of *camθi eterau* seems to be held by a girl, if Maggiani's emendation *θanicu* (instead of *θamcu*, ET² Ta 1.115) is correct.

As Rix noted, *etera* does not have any effect on the normal male name form. The only note-worthy features are the missing praenomen in **345.** and the abbreviated gentilicium in the patronymic of **404.** In five name forms (out of fourteen), the gentilicium is in the genitive.⁶⁵¹ The share is higher than the Perusian average (19%, see above pp. 172-73), but probably not significant. One could even say that the term *etera* has an emphasized position in the inscriptions, separated from the name. It may in two instances precede the name, quite exceptional, e.g., in the case of Etruscan magistrates. In **328.**, H. Rix connected *etera* to *suθi*,⁶⁵² but I consider this unlikely. None of the proposed meanings of *etera* would fit with “tomb”. In **1237.**, the editors usually read the lines in the opposite order, but this is not necessary. In two instances (**202.** and **1277.**), *etera* is carved on the other part of the urn than the name. In seven other instances, it has been given own line, and in three more instances, only some letters precede it in the last line.

This does not yet help in finding the term’s meaning.⁶⁵³ Probably five of the inscriptions come from family tombs, **404.** from the Tite Petruni family, **763.** from the Vipi Varna family, **808.** and **809.** from the Venete family, and **512.** from the Semthni family.⁶⁵⁴ No descendants of these deceased are found in the tombs. Larth Venete’s (**807.**) younger brother Sethre (**806.**) is buried in the same tomb, but he was not *etera*, only *leθial clan*. We must remember that no office is found in the inscriptions of the Perusian cinerary urns. The marked position of *etera* means that it was something important. The Tarquinian lady Ramtha Huzcnai, buried in the Amazon sarcophagus, included in her epitaph only one relationship, namely that she was the grandmother (*ati nacna*, see below) of *zileterai* Larth Apiatru (*ET*² Ta 1.50, 51). That this office was not at the end of a long career is demonstrated by the Vulcian *zilat eter(av)* Vel Zimarus, who died at the age of 14 years (*ET*² Vc 1.56).⁶⁵⁵

The evidence is not conclusive, but I consider that the sixteen Perusian *etera* well support the meaning “member of *iuventus*” for the word. On the other hand, they do not help us to find out what kind of union it was, and why it was accentuated in the epitaphs, which otherwise ignored all professions and offices. *Etera* was not an eminent member of the family,⁶⁵⁶ Aule did not receive a lid sculpture on his urn, like most other members of the Tite Petruni family, but he was possibly a loved family member, full of promises, at his too early death.

lautneteri: After this discussion, we must ask what is the difference between *etera* and *lautneteri*, a term appearing in seven Perusian inscriptions:⁶⁵⁷

649. [*la*]rθ *cutuś seθreś* | [*la*]ut(n)*eterś* (cippus)

871. *aule acri caiś* | *lautn eteri* | *ei śenis* (cippus)

896a. *lθ. avei lautn|eteri ein śenis* | *eaneś* (plain chest, banquet scene of a woman on the lid)

899. *ar. [al]f(a) ar. sa[* | *lautneteri* (lid; no record of decoration)

1071. *arnθ cusne laut(n)ete|rī*⁶⁵⁸ (undecorated chest)

⁶⁵¹ FAUCHETTI 2002, 229, interpreted in **404.** the genitive as belonging to *etera*, “Aule, <cliente> di Vel Tite Petruni”. He did not analyse the other instances.

⁶⁵² RIX 1963, 371, n. 165.

⁶⁵³ For the history of different interpretations, see BENELLI 2003, 211-17.

⁶⁵⁴ **512.** and **513.**, both recording Aule Semthni, son of Aule and Helveri, were found in 1851 at Palazzone. The provenience of the urn of his brother Arnth (**1176.**) and Aule Semtni, son of Laris (**1177.**), is unknown.

⁶⁵⁵ See also MAGGIANI 1998, 120-22.

⁶⁵⁶ BENELLI 2014, 190, n. 44, noted that the word *etera* appears several times in epitaphs belonging to the first generation of eminent families of Perugia. His examples include the tombs of Venete, Tite Petruni and Semthni.

⁶⁵⁷ In addition, four Clusian instances (*ET*² Cl 1.462, 1.1990, 1.1991, 1.2682), two from *ager Saenensis* (*ET*² AS 1.233, 1.454), and two from Arretium (*ET*² Ar 1.10, 1.52); see BENELLI 2003, 210-11.

⁶⁵⁸ This is my reading based on the plaster cast in the Palazzo Murena; the urn is lost. *CIE* 3366 (and other editors) read *vuisie* instead of *cusne*.

1209. *śaly[i] precuś lautn | eteri* (cippus)

1225. *[l]a. teti he[. .]aś | [la]utneteri* (cippus)

Four of the seven inscriptions were carved on cippi. It appears that two of the persons were women. The praenomen siglum of **896a.** should belong at Perugia to *larθi*.⁶⁵⁹ If the lid with a woman at the banquet belongs to the urn, it would be one more (uncertain) argument, and the second line, where I suggest the reading *eañeś* instead of the earlier *er eś*, might give a gamonymic. *avei* is known at Perugia as masculine gentilicium, but since no other feminine form is known, it may be the same, of the type *acei* (**142b.**) and *atei* (**500.**), both feminine forms of *acei* and *atei*. This urn and the cippus **871.** have the words *ei(n) śenis*, for which see below. The other probable woman is in **1209.**, the name form consisting of the gentilicium and the gamonymic. Interpreting the name as male is possible,⁶⁶⁰ but against this, there are two rare phenomena, the missing praenomen (see above, p. 171) and the cognomen in the genitive after the gentilicium in the nominative.⁶⁶¹

The persons called *lautneteri* have the normal name form, as have those called *etera*. The first part of the word, *lautn*, is almost unanimously understood to mean “family”. The second part has in six of the seven instances the ending *-i*, once *-ś*. Outside Perugia, the ending is *-i* except *lautneterie* in *ET*² Ar 1.52. I cannot see the function of the ending(s).⁶⁶² At least at Tarquinia and Vulci, from where *zilaθ eterau* is known, *iuventus*, if this interpretation is correct, was probably an official organization of the city state. One could imagine that *lautneteri* would be a member of a smaller, kin-related group, while *etera* would belong to the city group. But it is also possible that there is no real difference between the words. Most of the *lautneteri* inscriptions belong to an early phase of the Hellenistic epitaphs of Perugia. Perhaps the term was later simplified to *etera*.

śanis, ei(n) śenis: The word *saniś* is best known from the building inscription of the Caeretan tomb of Claudi (*ET*² Cr 5.2): the two brothers *sval cn śuθi ceriχunce apac atic saniśva θui cesu*. *saniśva* should morphologically be plural of an inanimate noun. Different meanings have been suggested, but I emphasize the contrast between *sval*, “living”, building brothers, and *saniśva* father and mother buried in the tomb. I would start from the meaning “deceased”; the word may well have a honorific connotation. G. Colonna suggested *dii parentes*.⁶⁶³

The word made a recent appearance in the only inscription of the Caeretan chamber tomb *SE* 73, 2007, 339-44, No. 76: *saniś laris. lucinas. cveθna(l)*. The word *saniś* is clearly added afterwards to this inscription carved in the architrave of the *loculus*. At Perugia, we have two unabbreviated instances, *la. venete. śanis* (**812.**, chest) and *[a]r: zetna: śenis* (**1542.**, chest), and probably two abbreviated instances, *larθia. herinia. ś(anis)* (**240.**, lid), and *vl. tite. vesi. ś(anis)* (**743.**, chest). In the latter, a genitival cognomen *vesiś* is possible, but the interpunctuation after *vesi* is clear.

The formula *ei śenis* (**871.**), *ein śenis* (**896a.**)⁶⁶⁴ is encountered in two epitaphs after the word *launte-teri* (see above). *ei* is the well-known Etruscan negation “not”, mainly met in prohibitions, but in these inscriptions, no verb is apparent. It seems clear that the second part, *śenis* (also met in **1542.**) is connectable

⁶⁵⁹ See RIX 1963, 83, n. 168. Rix doubted whether *theta* in this inscription might rather be *A*, but *theta* is certain (autopsy 2017). For the only exception (**1008.**) presented by Rix, see above, p. 177.

⁶⁶⁰ See RIX 1963, 356.

⁶⁶¹ The facsimile of Danielsson in *CIE* 4549 is in these respects rather clear. The cippus was in the Museum of Naples in 1889, and I have not seen it.

⁶⁶² RENDELI 1994, 165, suggests that *-i* could be influenced by the appellative *lautni*.

⁶⁶³ G. COLONNA, *REE* 73, 2007, pp. 342-43.

⁶⁶⁴ For the variation *ei/ein/en*, see BELFIORE 2012a, 98-104. For some reason, Belfiore (p. 101) saw a third, abbreviated instance of the formula in **1.**, *ei ś.*; however, these letters belonged to the gentilicium *aneiś*.

with *śanis*, with a vowel change of <a> to <e>. This change, known, for instance, in *clan* – *clenar*, is not common (see above, p. 141), but could be due here to the preceding high vowel /i/. As to the meaning of the formula, it could correspond to *sval* in the inscription of the Claudius tomb, “not deceased”. This meaning would be suitable in tomb building inscriptions, and, in fact, the cippus inscription **871.** could well present the tomb builder. But **896a.** is written on the chest of an urn. It belongs to a woman, and as there is an almost illegible inscription on the lid (**896b.**), one cannot wholly exclude the possibility that the wife prepared the burial for, e.g., her husband. But other meanings must evidently be sought.

A new suggestion (for *śenis*) was presented by Giulio Giannecchini, *heres*, giving to *ei śenis* the meaning *exheres*, “heir” and “not heir”.⁶⁶⁵ He based the suggestion on Latin parallels and the Roman law of *sepulcra hereditaria*. He did not see the connection with *śanis*; the inscription of the tomb of Claudi cannot be interpreted on the basis of his suggestion. “Parent” is one suggested meaning for *saniś*, and *ei saniś* could thus mean “not parent”, i.e., “childless”, understandable if *lautneteri* belonged to the youth of the families. I could accept this meaning for Larthi Avei of **896a.**, but not for Aule Aciri in **871.** It is difficult to see why the childlessness would be emphasized on the funerary cippus of a young man. The fact that both instances of *ei śenis* are connected to *lautneteri* might suggest the meaning “aged person”, in an honorific sense, for *śanis*. *lautneteri ei śanis* would then mean “*lautneteri* in her/his youth”.

tusurθi(r) (tuś-): The word appears twice in the tomb of Tite Petruni, in epitaphs of married couples, also sculpted in the lid figures. The word comes after the names of the spouses, in **408.** in the form *tuśurθi*, in **410.** in the form *tusurθir*. The meaning “spouses” becomes evident from these instances, and it is supported by the Arretine inscription *ET² Ar 1.94*, where, after one male and one female name, we have the abbreviated *tuś*.⁶⁶⁶ But the third Perusian instance on the cippus **1224.** may complicate the interpretation. The lost inscription was in two lines, the beginnings of which were broken. There were two names, *tarcnei* (l. 1) and *]nei* (l. 2), after which comes *tuśurθir*. Although both names seem to be female, possibly suggesting the meaning “wives”, a better solution is to assume in l. 2 a male name in *-nei*, [*a*]nei or [*at*]nei.

husiur: While *clan*, plural *clenar*, means “son”, *hus(i)ur* (only the plural encountered) seems to include both sons and daughters. The best examples come from the Tarquinian *Tomba dei Spitu*, *ET² Ta 1.164* and *1.168*, where the deceased give the number of their children, *huśur maχ* and *huśur ci*.⁶⁶⁷ Two or three examples come from the Perusian funerary inscriptions. In the building inscription of the tomb of Volumni (**1389.**), Arnth and Larth Velimna give the metronymic *arzneal husiur*. One may ask: Why not *arzneal clenar*? The other example comes from the stele of Ponticello di Campo (**1345.**): *husiur la. cavesi metial*. The inscription does not tell us who the *husiur* were, sons or daughters. I interpret *cavesi* as pertinentive, the children erected the stele to Larth Cave.⁶⁶⁸

apa: The word for “father” appears twice. In the chest **773.**, the whole text in big letters is *apaś*. The lid is not preserved; it is possible, but not necessary, that the name was there. In **719.** from the Alfa tomb, the urn of *au. alfa au.* probably later received the addition *apa*, painted in big letters. The addition was needed, when the urn of his namesake (**718.**) son was placed next to that of the father.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁵ G. GIANNECCHINI, *SE* 82, 2020, 225-30.

⁶⁶⁶ For other interpretations, see BELFIORE 2015, 7-11. AGOSTINIANI 2015, 166-67, connected the word to the numeral *θu*, suggesting the meaning “together”.

⁶⁶⁷ More problematic is *enza huśur* in *ET² Ta 1.108*. *enza* should be a numeral, but which? See WALLACE 2008, 155-56.

⁶⁶⁸ The editors F. KOUBA – D. STEINBAUER, *SE* 50, 1982, 274-75, 343-45, No. 19, preferred the nominative, a gentilicium of the type *upelsi*.

⁶⁶⁹ See KAIMIO 2020, 199-200.

papa: I believe that we have a similar instance with *papa*, “grandfather”, in *vel vipi alfa | papa* (321.). Rix saw in it a second cognomen,⁶⁷⁰ but the position in a second line and the letters, bigger than in l. 1, indicate rather that the word was added to separate the deceased from the namesake 320. In *aule titie papa* (1238.), it is not possible to decide between cognomen and appellative.

ati(u): The word for “mother” is met in three inscriptions. *se. afle la. fa. hustnei atiu* in 458. is discussed above. The second instance comes from the Cacni tomb, *aneinei tuśnusa atiu* (1428.). The deceased was the sister of Thana Aneinei, married to the family and buried together with her husband Arnth Cacni in the urn 1427. Thus, the mother-in-law of Arnth had her ashes buried in the urn of Arnth’s sister-in-law, but her name was not recorded on the urn. The third instance comes from tomb No. 30 of Strozacapponi. The tomb offered four urns of the women of the Serturi family (1635.-1638.). I would read the inscription 1637. as *veli ati śe(rturuś)* or *śe(rtural)*,⁶⁷¹ “Veli, mother of Serturu (the husband in 1638.)”, or “Veli, the mother of Serturi (women in 1635. and 1636.)”.

ati naχna: In 168., in the place of the metronymic, there appears *trepesial* (or *petesial*) [*atial*] *naχnaz. ati nacna* is encountered in three Tarquinian (*ET² Ta 1.51, 1.185. 7.87*) and one Volaterran inscription (*ET² Vt 7.2*), where also *apa nacna* appears. “Grandmother” is the probable meaning.

tetals: Of the three appearances, the Perusian *vel plaute veluś caial larnal clan velaral tetals* (315.) is the only one that helps to understand the meaning. Evidently *caia larnai* was the mother and *velarei* the grandmother of Vel. The inscription is lost, and in the plaster cast at Palazzo Murena, a reading *larznal* is possible. That would help to interpret the other inscription from the same tomb, preserved in a private house, *caial arznal tetals*, or *caia(l) larznal tetals* (314.) The lid now placed above this chest is uninscribed, but there may have originally been another lid with the name, possibly a son or daughter of Vel Plaute. The third instance is from *Ager Saenensis*, *velia śaθrei θui velyural tetals* (*ET² AS 1.388*).⁶⁷² The formation *tetals* is parallel to *papals* (not encountered at Perugia), “grandchild (of the grandfather)”; consequently, *teta* in *huts tetā* (*ET² AT 1.193*) probably meant that Ramtha Elnei was “grandmother of six”.

netei: The word is hapax, the only example coming from the tomb of Thurmna, *larθi petrui θurmnaś netei* (886.). From the same tomb, we have *larθi rapli θurmnaś petrua(l)* (885.), probably a daughter of Larthi Petrui. *θurmnaś* in 886. could be the gamonymic formed by the cognomen of a *raple θurmna*. This would explain the name of their daughter (*θurmnaś* cognomen in the masculine genitive). In this solution, *netei* should probably be emended to a metronymic, e.g., *meteq(l)* – possible, as the inscription is lost. The other solution is to see in Larthi Rapli (885.) the daughter of Petrui and wife of Thurmna; hence, Larthi Petrui (886.) would be the mother-in-law of Thurmna, which would give the probable meaning for *netei*.⁶⁷³

In *ve. cutu ve. śamre titial* (1323.) the editor Feruglio considered *śamre* an appellative of unknown meaning.⁶⁷⁴ The word also appears on two Clusian inscriptions, *ET² Cl 1.401* and *1.2455*. Although Rix ignores the word in *Das etruskische Cognomen*, I think that cognomen is the easiest solution in all three appearances.

⁶⁷⁰ RIX 1963, 77.

⁶⁷¹ The *san* with three verticals and two connecting bars is strange, but the alternative reading *me()* does not offer a better interpretation.

⁶⁷² One may wonder why only the grandmother was recorded. For the interpretation of these inscriptions, see also RIX 1963, 74.

⁶⁷³ See RIX 1963, 111, with further references.

⁶⁷⁴ FERUGLIO 2013, 224.

Three tomb inscriptions

Although the focus of this work is on the epitaphs, its title “funerary inscriptions of Perusia” engages me to discuss the three inscriptions recording the building and/or rules of the tomb. One was carved on the door post of the tomb of Volumni (*ET*² Pe 5.1), one above the door to the left tomb chamber of S. Manno (*ET*² Pe 5.2), and one on a stela probably found not far from *Porta di S. Angelo*, where the oldest records locate it (*ET*² Pe 5.3).

1389. = *ET*² Pe 5.1

arnθ larθ velimnaś | arzneal husiur | suθi acil hece



CII 1487; *CIE* 3754 (facsimile of Danielsson above); *TLE* 566.

The inscription was carved vertically on the right door post of the tomb of Volumni. The letters are 7.3 cm high. The facsimile is from *CIE*.

Slanting three-bar *N* and five-bar *M* belong to *grafia capitale*. *R* is with loop of full height, in the first instance angular, as is the first *C* in l. 3 and both *Ss*. *V* has horizontal bars, the upper one below the top – I cannot present Perusian parallels for this form. *San* has oblique side bars, and *Z* ascending bars from the vertical. Round *H* has ascending middle bar. *Theta* of l. 3 has a dot in the centre, as has probably also the second *theta* in l. 1, but not the first one. Palaeographically the text can be dated to the 3rd or 4th quarter of the 3rd century BCE.

The inscription records the tomb founders Larth and Arnth Velimna, who were buried in the fine urns with the epitaphs **308.** and **311.** They were sons of Aule (**307.**), but the patronymic is not given in the founding inscription. Instead, they were *arnzeal husiur*, “sons (or progeny) of Arzni”. Two questions arise: why the mother alone, and why *husiur* instead of *clenar*, normal in metronymics? Roncalli suggested that the emphasis on the matriarchal line was needed to strengthen the social status of the family, which possibly did not belong to the high society of Perusia.⁶⁷⁵ Not only was an Arzni the mother of Aule Velthina of the *Cippus Perusinus*, but the family seems to be linked with many of the wealthiest families of Perusia. For *husiur*, see above.

⁶⁷⁵ RONCALLI 2011, 207.

The tomb founding is indicated with the words *suθi acil hece*. The inscription does not use enclitic copulas (cf. *arnθ larθ* in l. 1); *suθi* “tomb” and *acil* “work, product” both seem to be objects of the verb *hece*. *acil* is mainly met in vase stamps, e.g., *ruvfies acil ET² Ta 6.12, Vc 6.5, 6.6, 6.19*. The only instance with *hece* comes from the *Tomba dei Tori, araθ spurienas [ac]il hecece fariceka (ET² Ta 5.1)*. It looks as if *hece* (probably past tense *hecece* > *hecce* > *hece*) was used in our inscription instead of the normal verb for tomb building *cerixunce* just because of *acil*, which could mean here the work of art of the tomb.

ET² Pe 5.2

cēhen : śuθi : hinθiu : θueś : sianś : etve : θaure : lautneścle : caresri : auleś : larθial : precuθuraśi : | larθialisvle : cestnal : clenaraśi : eθ : fanu : lautn : precuś : ipa : murzua : cerurum : ein : | heczri : tunur : clutiva : zelur[:] ++a++r



CII 1915; CIE 4116; G. BUONAMICI, SE 2, 1928, 343-402; TLE 619.

Facsimile from *CIE* (line division mine); photograph from *SE*.

The inscription was carved and framed above the arched door to the left chamber of the tomb of S. Manno, 5 km from Perugia. It was found before the 15th century when a chapel was built above it. The tomb was 3.65 m high, and it measured 4 m x 7.7 m. There were no architectural elements. The inscription is 5.1 m long, the letters 8 cm high. No urns have been preserved in the tomb; in the cortile of the tomb, which served as a watering place, was placed 774. *vipi velimunaś*.⁶⁷⁶

The only problem in reading the text concerns the last word, where the stone is broken. In the plaster cast of Palazzo Murena, a little more is visible. The word after *zelur* seems to begin with either *M* or *N*. The third (or fourth, if the initial letter is *N*) letter is *A*.

⁶⁷⁶ BUONAMICI 1928, 344, 361, 367, 401.

In the letter forms, *H* is of the ladder type with descending bars. *San* has vertical side bars, *T* and *Z* ascending bars. The loop of *R* is of two-thirds height. The palaeography would date the inscription to the 1st or 2nd quarter of the 2nd century BCE.⁶⁷⁷

The interpretation of the text leaves many questions open. The first sentence extends from *cehen* to *clenaraši*. The verb is probably *caresri*, a “necessative” of the stem *car-* (or *car-es-*, cf. *caresi*, *carathslē* below in *ET*² Pe 5.3).⁶⁷⁸ The verb is usually translated “to build”, “to make”,⁶⁷⁹ but since, in this case, the tomb was already built, “to manage” is an alternative. The subject is *cehen suθi hinθiu*, “this underground tomb”. The persons in the pertinentive after the verb are either agents or receivers of *car-*: “This underground tomb must be *managed* (?) by Aule (and) Larth Precu, sons of Larth and Cestnei.” *precuθuraši* is the plural emphasizing the family unity, like *clavtieθurasi* in *ET*² Cr 5.2. *larθial-ivle* has the plural pertinentive form of the enclitic definitive article, which appears only in this example.⁶⁸⁰ Before the verb, there are still the words *θueš sianš etve θaure lautnešcle*. *etve* could be connected to the demonstrative pronoun *eta*, if it had the same plural formation as the enclitic article *-ša*. The form would be the locative, corresponding to *-šve*,⁶⁸¹ and defining *θaure lautnešcle*. This is very hypothetical, but *etva* in *ET*² Pe 5.3 (below) with the nominative *ca* could give some support. Given that *θaure* and *lautnešcle* are in the singular, the plural should include both.⁶⁸² The approximate meaning of both words is known. *θaura* appears in the urn lid inscription *ET*² AS 1.314, after the name of the deceased in the formula *θaura clan line*, approximately “son took care of the burial”.⁶⁸³ *lautn*, “family” also appears in the second phrase. Rix translated *etve θaure lautnešcle* “in diesem Grabareal, das der Familie gehört”.

Before *etve* and after *suθi hinθiu* is *θueš sianš*. *θueš* is hapax. I would connect it to the adverb *θui*, “here”, rather than to the numeral *θu* “one”, which is inflected from the stem *θun-*. *sianš* also appears in section V of the *Tabula Cortonensis* as the subject of *zic fratuce*, possibly recording the writing or carving of the agreement. Thus, *sianš* should be in the nominative (and not a genitive with *θueš*) and indicate a person. For example, “father” has been suggested,⁶⁸⁴ possibly based on the theonym *tece sanš*, “Tece Father?”, in the dedication of the *Arringatore*.⁶⁸⁵

The second phrase starts with *eθ fanu lautn precuš ipa*, “thus determined (?) family of Precu that”,⁶⁸⁶ corresponding to the beginning of the inscription of the Tarquinian *Tomba degli Scudi* (*ET*² Ta 5.6): *eiθ fanu . . . lavtn pumpus ipa . . .* The verb of this phrase is equally in the necessative *heczi*. but this time with the negation *ein*. The verb is the same as above in *ET*² Pe 5.1 *hec-*, which was there interpreted as “raise”, “build”. Here it seems to have as object *murzua cerur-um*. *murs* is encountered on two urns of *ager Saenensis*, *ta murs* (*ET*² AS 1.187) and *mi murs* (*ET*² AS 1.311). Thus, the word must mean the urn itself. *murzua* is the plural of the word. *cerur* is hapax, but linked with the enclitic copula to *murzua*, its meaning is probably

⁶⁷⁷ BUONAMICI 1928, 357, dated the tomb and the inscription to the 3rd cent.

⁶⁷⁸ WALLACE 2008, 72, 107.

⁶⁷⁹ CALDERINI – MASSARELLI 2013, 165, with further references.

⁶⁸⁰ WALLACE 2008, 64, 107.

⁶⁸¹ For this, see WALLACE 2008, 64.

⁶⁸² Cf. *apac atic sanisva* in *ET*² Cr 5.2. The Perusian inscriptions have now shed more light on the meaning of *sanis*, disputed for a long time; see above, pp. 193-94.

⁶⁸³ Cf. *ET*² AS 1.298, 307.

⁶⁸⁴ MAGGIANI 2001, 104.

⁶⁸⁵ See COLONNA 1990, 104. It also appears in a dedication from Cortona, *ET*² Co 3.8. But the interpretation “father” is far from certain; for a different interpretation, see, e.g., WALLACE 2008, 70.

⁶⁸⁶ WALLACE 2008, 118.

close to that of *murs*. But what was prohibited or conditional concerning urns, probably expressed in the last four words of the inscription *tunur clutiva zelur ++a++r*, remains hidden. Ambros Josef Pfiffig observed that *tunur – zelur* can be connected to the numerals *θun – zal*, and saw in them *Distributivzahlwörter* “singula – bina”.⁶⁸⁷ This seems quite possible but it does not help us to understand the prohibition.

ET² Pe 5.3

*ca : suθi : †+ε++[] amcie : titial : caia|l : restiaś : cal : ca|raθsle : aperuce|η : ca : θui [.] ceśu : |
lusver : etva [.] ca | urane : cares | caraθsle : sp|u*



CII 1933; CIE 4539; TLE 572; CALDERINI – MASSARELLI 2013, 134-69, Tav. 1 (photograph above), Fig. 6.

This is a travertine stela of unknown provenance, first located in the wall near the Porta di S. Angelo. In the MANU, Inv. No. 29. H 58 cm, W 53 cm, D 12 cm. Carved letters 4.5–5.5 cm high.

T with ascending bar and *san* with vertical side bars. The loop of *R* is either of half height or of two-thirds height. The middle bars of *M* and *N* in l. 2 seem to begin under the top of the right vertical. The letter forms might indicate the 2nd or 3rd quarters of the 2nd cent. BCE.

I follow the reading of CALDERINI – MASSARELLI. Based on the updated reading, Riccardo Massarelli has analysed its contents and interpretation, but most of it remains obscure.⁶⁸⁸ After *ca suθi*, “this tomb”, one expects the name of the deceased in the genitive. The damaged end of l. 1 up to *amcie* in l. 2 may contain

⁶⁸⁷ PFIFFIG 1969, 128.

⁶⁸⁸ CALDERINI – MASSARELLI 2013, 161-69 “Il significato specifico del testo e la sua struttura sintattica rimangono per larga parte oscuri, e in ultima analisi molte delle forme lessicali in essa contenute sono, almeno per il momento, prive di spiegazione.”

another noun attached to *suθi*, or the beginning of the name (but *amcie* is not in the genitive). *titial*, *caial* and *restias* are all female gentilicia in the genitive (*restia* hapax), but no normal Perusian name form can be detected. In the continuation of the text, we have twice the word *caraθsle* (and once *cares*), connected to the verb stem *car-* “to build” (but see above). *caraθ* may be a *nomen agentis* from the stem, with the enclitic *-sa* in the pertinentive. *ca θui cesu*, “this lies here”, is common in tomb context, but *ca* is not normally used for animates, i.e., the deceased. No probable interpretation can be found for *aperucen*, *lusver* and *etva*.

The Latin Inscriptions

THE LATIN PALAEOGRAPHY

The problems in the palaeographic study of the Latin inscriptions of Perugia are much the same as in that of the Etruscan epitaphs. A great part of the urns is lost, with the text alone preserved in the manuscripts. No squeezes, the best aid for a palaeographic study, could be used.⁶⁸⁹ This study is based for seventy-five inscriptions on my autopsy and photographs, for thirty-one further inscriptions on photographs by earlier editors, for seventeen further inscriptions on facsimiles of *CIE*, for six further inscriptions on my photographs of plaster casts in the Palazzo Murena, and for three further inscriptions on drawings by Conestabile. For forty-six inscriptions, we have only the typographic text of the *Corpora*, and for six not even that. The total number of the Latin inscriptions included in this edition (for the criteria, see above, p. 13) is 184.

The letter forms of Latin inscriptions on Etruscan monuments of Perugia were studied half a century ago by Eva Michelsen as a part of the project of the Finnish Rome Institute, where my share was the language shift in Etruria.⁶⁹⁰ While she was mainly looking for Etruscan letter forms in the Latin inscriptions, my scope is also to study the development of the letter forms with reference to Roman epigraphy, especially in search of dating criteria.

The Etruscan letter forms

Mixed-language palaeography: Whereas the epitaphs written in a mixed Etrusco-Latin language and palaeography were common at Clusium, I would only include four Perugian inscriptions in this category. Their linguistic features will be discussed later in appropriate chapters.

210. *Thania Vlesia Scarpes*, from the tomb of Vlesi, discovered in 1878 at Ponticello di Campo, with **203.-211.**, **1375.**; my autopsy and photograph (2017): The Etruscan letter forms are in *T*, with horizontal bar below the top of the vertical, and in *N*, with oblique bar from the top of the left vertical



Fig. 177 (210.)

⁶⁸⁹ In fact, I made a series of squeezes on the Latin inscriptions of Perugia in 1968 for my dissertation. Where they are now, I cannot say.

⁶⁹⁰ MICHELSEN 1975, 247-262.

to the middle of the right one. Instead, the Etruscan *R* and *P* with open loop in the facsimile of *CIE* 3691 are not correct; they are normal Latin letters. The carver was not very accustomed to spelling Latin. In the praenomen, he first wrote *THNIA*, noticed the error, and added an *A* by drawing an oblique bar across the *H*.

1413.: Lost fragment of a travertine stone, found in 1870 in a small tomb near the tomb of Volumni, with the women's urns **577.-580.** Its text was almost illegible, and the stone soon disappeared. In the copy of Conestabile, the end of the first line has an inverse *L* and then *C.f.*, the second line has *jisrni* in Etruscan letters *sinistrorsum*, and to the right of that *A.f.*; in the third line, *comune* was read. I think that the text of the copy is undecipherable.

1626. *Ve++ A. f. | Valeri*, chest from tomb 1 of Stroz Zacapponi. The inscription was painted in red, big letters (11 cm in line 1, 7 cm in line 2) on the plain front side of the chest. The reading of the almost vanished letters is difficult. If the first line ends with the filiation, *A* is of the Etruscan form, as would be the second letter in line 2. *L* has a descending side bar starting over the bottom of the vertical.

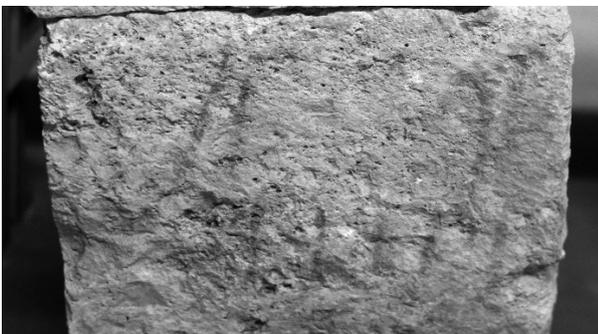


Fig. 178 (1626.)

1664. *tania petronia a(rn)t(al)* (*SI* 30, 269, No. 50), found in 2007 in the tomb 2 of Stroz Zacapponi. The inscription is written *sinistrorsum* and the letters are mainly Etruscan: *T* with descending bar below the top of the vertical (in the last letter, on the right side of the vertical), *A* with vertical or nearly vertical right bar, second *N* with oblique bar starting below the top of the right vertical and ending above the bottom of the left one, *P* with hook, *E* with descending side bars. *R* is misspelled, it is like Etruscan *P*. The Latin features are the first *N* and *O* in the gentilicium: a round letter above the line, just as *theta* was often carved in Etruscan inscriptions.



Fig. 179 (1664.)

In other inscriptions (the photographs of the inscriptions discussed can be found in the edition): I have registered Etruscan letter forms in twenty-three other Latin inscriptions. In **1457.** *D. Sortes L.l. Dionysius*, found in 1921 in a family tomb at Monteluca, the name form is Latin (the praenomen not following that of the patron). *E* is with descending side bars, *L* has ascending side bar, the round *O*s are above the line, and the oblique bar of *N* does not come to the bottom of the right vertical. Of these features, *L* with ascending side bar might also be an archaic Latin form, but here it is rather under Etruscan influence. Other inscrip-

tions with this form of *L* are **1412.**, **1581.**, **1583.**, possibly also **1377.**,⁶⁹¹ **1385.**⁶⁹² and **1583.**⁶⁹³ Another type of *L*, not so clearly under Etruscan influence, had a descending bar starting above the bottom of the vertical. A good example is **1642.** *L. Calpurnius L.f.* The carver has drawn the sidebar of the first *L* to ascend from the bottom of the vertical, but then corrected it with a new descending bar starting above the bottom. This latter type then appears in the two other *L*s of the epitaph, and we also meet it in the very obscure **1626.** (see above).

The *N* with oblique bar not coming to the bottom of the right vertical is also met in **1391.**, **1565.**, and **1605.** **1412.** *Vel Vibius Ar.f. Pansa Tro.*, is preserved only in Fabretti's copy (*CII* 1887, Tab. 37), but we may rely on him in *L* with ascending bar and *N* with horizontal middle bar (like H). *E* with descending side bars also appears in **1609.** This inscription, *Lar. Vibius Rufus Cauthiae cn.*, also has the Etruscan *T* with the horizontal bar below the top of the vertical. Other instances of this are **1418.**, **1563.**, where the bar is descending, if the facsimile of *CIE* 3749 is reliable, and **1471.**, where a slightly ascending bar is at the top of the vertical.

The changed writing direction may have caused some inverse letters in the inscriptions. An inverse *N* is in the typographic copy of the lost **1371.**, but most instances concern the letter *S* (a tough letter in this respect for modern school children, too). An inverse letter is at the end of **1473.** *L. Volumni La.l. Theopilus* and at the beginning of **1613.** *Sex. Titius Sex.l. Dionisiu(s).* In **1375.**, *Laetoria Vlesi*, an inverse *S* was first carved, but then corrected with a new curve continuing the upper curve of the letter. We may finally observe one instance of an Etruscan marking of the numeral 50 in the form of *chi* in **1562.**, with the side bars from the top of the vertical. However, it comes from the typographic copy of *CIE* and remains uncertain.

Interpunctuation: In the Etruscan inscriptions of Perugia, the colon was used to separate words especially in the first half of the 2nd century, but the single dot was the main way of interpunctuation. On the porous stone, the discerning of the dots is not always easy, and the painting of the letters in the 19th century may have regularized the interpunctuation. In any case, it is noticeable that I have not found one single instance of colon in the Latin inscriptions of Perugia.⁶⁹⁴ Most of the dots were round. I have registered 119 inscriptions with round and forty-three with triangular dots, but these figures are far from exact.

Ligatures: Three functional types of ligatures can be discerned. In two instances, they seem to be purely stylistic. In **1472.**, *Metelia A.f. Vetī*, the connection of the side bars of *E* to *M* and *V* has simply looked good, as has looked the combination of *A* and *N* in **1568.** *Thannia Ancharia*. **1420.** *Arsina Ampudi* has given rise to different ligature suggestions, due to the irregular forms of *N* and *M*. As *Arsina*, recently accepted in *SI* 30, 170-71, to *CIL* XI 2001, would be strange as a female gentilicium, it has been read *Arsinua* (for *Arsinoe*) or *Arsinia* (cf. *Arsinae* **1378.**), which I would prefer. The name of the husband or patron has also been read *Amapudi*.⁶⁹⁵

Ligatures are sometimes used when the space on the stone got tight. A good example is **1480.** *A. Petronius L.f. Suciae gnāt(us)*. The compressed end is now broken, but preserved in the plaster cast of the Palazzo

⁶⁹¹ In this inscription, *L. Pomponius L.f. Plotus*, the paintings of the 19th century disturb a lot; after trying to discern the carving behind them, I am not certain about the three ascending bars of *L* in the facsimile of *CIE* 3618.

⁶⁹² My reading is *A. Aconius L.f. Urs(ia) gn.* The side bar of *L* is faintly carved. The letter after it has a clearer ascending bar from the bottom of the vertical, and it has been read as *L*, *L(uci) l(ibertus)*. The letter has, however, also side bars for *F*, and the metronymic makes a freeborn more probable than a freedman. It is possible that the carver corrected the letter from *L*. See also *SI* 30, 161 (to *CIL* XI 1981)

⁶⁹³ Read in *CIE* 4388 *Lusia L.l. Nepele*, with three *L*s with ascending bar. In 2017, none of them was clearly visible, and the cognomen is very uncertain (*Nephele* is better, but not certain).

⁶⁹⁴ E.g., in the Tarquinian cippi with Latin inscriptions, I discerned at least three instances of colon; KAIMIO 2017, 26.

⁶⁹⁵ BORMANN in *CIL* XI 2001.

Murena.⁶⁹⁶ A similar instance is **1483**. *C. Cascellius Cāuthi`a'*. In my view, the carver first wrote the metronymic *CVTHI* and added the final letter above *HI*. Then he has noted that another *A* is missing, and made the same correction: an *A* is visible above *CV*. Not happy with that and seeing that there is space between *C* and *V*, he then added *A* in ligature with *V*.

Such correcting of misspellings or adding of forgotten letters is the third, rather common function of ligatures. It often reflects the uneasiness of the Perusian carvers with Latin orthography. In **1482**., the carver first wrote *Vibia Ptroni*,⁶⁹⁷ but has added two side bars to the right side of the vertical of *T*, best visible in the plaster cast of the Palazzo Murena: *Pētroni* (or, in fact, *Pteroni*). In **1368**., the metronymic was first written *Velhuriae*, but then a small stroke, added on the top of the left vertical of *H*, made it *Velthuriae*. In **1562**., the cognomen was evidently first spelled in the line change *Artimidorus*. Side bars of *E* were then added to *T*, but *I* at beginning of the next line could not be demolished. I think that the correct way to edit is *Artē{i}midorus*. The marking of aspirated stops has not been clear in **1649**., where the patroness of Hastia Scribonia Erotis was first written *Pilicae*, corrected to *Philicae* with a stroke connecting *P* and *I*, and then adding a new *I*.

Serifs: Serifs at bar ends are found in Latin inscriptions from the 2nd half of the 2nd century BCE onwards. They became rather regular in the mid-1st century BCE.⁶⁹⁸ Clearly, discerning serifs – or lack of them – is possible only by autopsy or from good photographs or facsimiles. I have considered sufficient scrutiny possible in about one half of the Latin inscriptions, in ninety-eight instances, half of which, forty-nine inscriptions are without serifs, thirty-one with rather regular and eighteen with quite irregular serifs. Compared with the Latin cippi of the Etruscan necropoleis of Caere, where I counted fifty-seven inscriptions without serifs, seventy-four with regular and twenty-nine with irregular serifs,⁶⁹⁹ the Latin inscriptions of Perugia might on average be somewhat earlier. I estimated that the majority of the Caeretan inscriptions could come from the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 1st century BCE. If the destruction of Perugia in 40 BCE practically put an end to the Etruscan tombs of the town, the figures in the comparison would be well in line.

Cursive letter forms: Especially *A*, *E* and *F* are met in the Latin inscriptions of 4th–1st centuries BCE in cursive forms.⁷⁰⁰ In the cursive *A*, an oblique bar, parallel to the left bar, is drawn from the right bar instead of the horizontal middle bar. In a variant, the middle bar is angular. The cursive *E* has two vertical bars, the cursive *F* one and a half verticals. For the so-called cursive forms of *R* and *S*, see below.

I have found cursive forms in eighteen Latin epitaphs of Perugia. One of them is the lost bilingual of *ar. mesi* (**846**.). In the typographic reproduction of *CIE* 4190, both *Mesia* and *Tetia* of the Latin part have a cursive *E*, while *A* is of the normal type. Cursive forms are common in the Latin epitaphs of the tomb of Rafi 1 (**1363.-1367**.). In **1364**., *Aros Rufis Atinea natus*, all four *As* and the *F* and *E* are cursive. In the difficult **1363**., of *Ar(uns) Rufius A++++ natus Cepa*, *F* is cursive, *A* and *E* normal, while in **1365**., of *Tertia Avilia C.f. Rufi*, *E* is cursive, *A* and *F* normal.

It is typical of many other inscriptions, too, that only a part of the possible letters was cursive. An interesting instance is **1521**. *Nonia Af*. The *As* are normal, but the final *F* has both the half vertical bar of the cursive letter and the side bars of a normal *F*, somewhat descending as in the Etruscan *V*. It is possible that the carver first wrote a cursive letter, but then corrected it to a normal one, following the style of the *A*'s. In

⁶⁹⁶ Correctly in *SI* 30, 176, to *CIL* XI 2020.

⁶⁹⁷ Earlier editors have given the text as *Vibia P(e)troni*.

⁶⁹⁸ GORDON – GORDON 1957, 109, 128.

⁶⁹⁹ KAIMIO 2017, 57.

⁷⁰⁰ See CENCETTI 1957, 193-94.

1576. [*La*] *rtia Pedro(nia ?) Caspria Lart. Panatia gnat.*, the only *E* and at least six *As* are cursive, at least two *As* normal.

In other inscriptions, the cursive *A* is met, together with cursive *F*, in **1622.**, and alone in **1561.**, **1609.**, **1611.**, **1619.**, and **1674.** The letter has an angular middle bar in **1609.** and in the obscure **1674.**, where *A* of the second line seems to have a short vertical stroke between the oblique bars. Cursive *E* is also found in **1481.** and **1572.**

The forms of individual letters

The instances of Etruscan and cursive letters or the appearance of serifs are not repeated in this chapter.

A: No remarkable variation.

B: In the basic type, the upper loop is smaller than the lower (the so-called B-phenomenon), and the loops meet before coming jointly to the vertical (e.g., **1443.**, **1461.**, **1482.**, **1602.**). In a variant, the loops come separately to the vertical, possibly leaving a small space between them (e.g., **1353.**, **1401.**). In a third type, the loops meet on the right side of the vertical, without touching it (e.g., **1460.**).

C: The basic form is a semicircle, in which the bars can be somewhat extended, but not curving downwards and upwards. The Latin inscriptions of the tomb of Cai Cutu offer good examples: in **1393.**, **1394.** and **1395.** the upper part is slightly extended; in **1396.** and in the second *C* of **1393.**, the lower part is extended, and in **1397.** both parts, resulting in a broad letter. In many other inscriptions, the letter remains narrow, for instance, in **1653.**, where the double *C* in *Soccone* does not get more breadth than the following oval *O*. The best example of a rather angular *C* is in *Oclati* of **1615.**

D: No remarkable variation.

E: There seems to be no clear model determining the length of the side bars, and one finds examples of longer upper bar (e.g., in the finely carved **1415.**) and longer lower bar (e.g., **1395.**). The modern model with upper and lower bars of equal length, and a little shorter middle bar, is encountered, e.g., in **1397.**, but is rare. In tight spaces, the bars can be quite short. The vertical can clearly slant forwards (e.g., **1480.**), and the side bars, at least the upper one, can be ascending (e.g., **1565.**).

F: In this letter, too, the side bars can be ascending (e.g., **1564.**). The lower bar is usually shorter than the upper one.

G: The letter follows the forms of *C* with a small vertical stroke at the lower end.

H: No remarkable variation.

I: The only clear instance of *I longa* is in *Volumni* in **1475.**, *L. Volumni l. Iaso*, possibly to emphasize that the form is the genitive attribute to *l(ibertus)*, not a nominative in *-i* (see below p. 220).

L: No remarkable variation.

M: The carvers were well aware of the form of the Latin *M*, with four oblique bars of equal length. No instances of vertical side bars or middle bars not coming to the line are encountered. In **1475.** (quoted above), the right bar is vertical, but the left one oblique, as it should be.

N: It is possible that the oblique bars of *M* made a rise to a variant of *N*, which is forwards slanting like *M* without the right bar. The basic form has two verticals and an oblique connecting bar from top to bottom. The slanting variant is encountered in at least thirteen inscriptions, e.g., in **1576.** In a parallel type, the left bar is oblique, but the right one vertical, e.g., in **1422.** An instance where the right bar is oblique, whereas the left one is vertical, is met in *Aconia* of **1465.**

O: The basic form is a fully round letter with the same height as the other letters. It needs lot of space, but the oval forms (e.g., in **1480.**) are rare. The height is not always that of the other letters, e.g., in **1608.**,

L. Pomponi L.f. Minor, all three *O*'s, but especially the last one near the end of the second line, are lower than the other letters.

P: Most instances of *P* are with closed loop. The open loop is one of the features of early Latin letter forms. I have divided these instances into two categories. Instances where the open loop does not curve towards the vertical, e.g., in the Latin part of the bilingual **211**. *L. Scarpus Scarpiae l. Popa*, are met in nine inscriptions. The type with closer, but still open loop, appears in eleven inscriptions, e.g., in *Scarpia* of **1372**. (possibly the same person as in **211**.)

Q: The letter is encountered eight times in our material. I have good photographs of five inscriptions. The basic form is a nearly round circle and a long, slightly upwards curving tail starting from its bottom or a little to the right, nicely drawn in the late **1386**. of *Aconia L.f. Quartilla*. The same form, but with the circle above the line. is in the siglum *Q.* of **1461**. In *Quintius* of **1462**., the form is oval. In **1384**. (*Quarta*) and **1676**. (*Hilara Quinti filia*) the tail is straight; the circle is above the line in **1384**.

R: The variation concerns the loop and the tail, i.e., the oblique stroke on the right side, which makes the difference as compared with the Greek and the Etruscan letter. In the basic form, the tail starts from the vertical at the same point where the loop meets it, as, e.g., in the tribe siglum *Tro*, of Aulus Cutius (**1398**.). In a variant, a small space is left between the loop and the tail. One example is found in the praenomen siglum *Lar.* of **1609**. In another type, the loop and the tail continuing it never meet the vertical. This type is sometimes considered a cursive form. In a variant, the loop is rather small, and the tail aggressively starts from it forwards. In *Petronius* of **1480**., it never comes down to the line. In *Ancharia* of **1481**., the tail comes lower than the vertical. In a third type, the tail does not start from the vertical, but from the loop, slightly to the right from the vertical, as, e.g., in the second *R* of *Perrica* of **1559**. In a fourth type, the loop does not go to the vertical, but ends in the tail, which starts a little higher up from the vertical, as in *Sortes* of **1457**. and **1458**.

S: The letter has narrow and broad, more sinuous forms, and naturally forms in-between. The available space influences the width, but the narrow form is more common in older inscriptions.⁷⁰¹ A third type is striving forwards, with the middle part almost vertical. It is sometimes considered cursive. We can find all three types in the epitaph of *A. Cutius A.f. Tro. Pisentia Hastia natus* (**1398**.) from the tomb of Cai Cutu: the sinuous *S* in *Cutius*, the narrow letter in *Pisentia* and *Hastia*, and the forwards slanting *S* in *natus*. Angular letter forms were not popular in the Etruscan inscriptions of Perugia, and a purely angular *S* is not met in the Latin epitaphs. An angular upper part appears in some inscriptions, **1484**., **1458**. and **1674**.

T: No remarkable variation.

V: The letter is often quite broad. The left bar is sometimes vertical, e.g., the first *V* of *A. Cutius Peti* of **1395**.

X: Whereas there are no instances of the letters *Y* and *Z*, *X* is common, met eighteen times. Good photographs or facsimiles are available only for eight inscriptions with this letter, and they show no remarkable variation. The two bars mainly cross in the middle and are of the same height, with the only exception in *uxor* of **1364**., where the descending bar is clearly shorter.

The execution of the inscriptions

One can in general terms say that the Latin inscriptions of Perugia are written on more mediocre funerary monuments than the Etruscan ones, but the design and carving of the text were made more carefully. I have

⁷⁰¹ See KAIMIO 2017, 60, on the Caeretan cippi.

assessed the quality of the monuments and that of the inscriptions with scores from 5 (best) to 1 (lowest). For the monuments with Etruscan inscriptions that could be evaluated, the average was 2.3 and for their inscriptions 3.2. The quality of Latin monuments was lower, 1.5, but that of the inscriptions higher, 3.5. I tried to follow the same scale for both. It was noted above (p. 77) that although the share of inscriptions on the lids, as compared with those on the chests, was clearly growing towards the end of the Etruscan urns, in the Latin urns, the chest inscriptions were more common than the lid inscriptions (88 against 79).

Typically, plain urns, without any decoration, could have finely carved Latin inscriptions. One example is the urn of *A. Cutius A.f. Maenatia natus* (1397.). It is possible that the text was drawn on the stone before carving, as there seem to be faint traces of letters beyond the carving. However, the traces do not always fit to the text, so they may be from an earlier use of the urn.⁷⁰² Without guidelines, the lines are rather straight. The letters are nicely spaced, although *CV* beginning the gentilicium received more space than the other letters. The three lines are centred. The only blemish is the division of the patronymic *A.f.* into two lines. Other plain urns with finely carved inscriptions are 1448., 1575., 1604. and 1612.

Some unfamiliarity with the Latin language and writing can be seen in the number of errors. I have counted fourteen uncorrected⁷⁰³ and eight corrected errors,⁷⁰⁴ 12% of the total number of inscriptions, or close to 20% of those inscriptions which can be sufficiently studied. In the Etruscan inscriptions, the percentage is under 10%. Using examples from the same tomb of Cai Cutu, the text in 1393. is written as *A. Cutius Sa · via c.* In the place of *L* for *Salvia*, there is a dot. The inscription is otherwise finely carved, apart from the strange abbreviation *c.* for *gnatus*. But either the carver could not read the metronymic, or the letter was not familiar, since he left it unwritten. What did the customer think when he or she saw the result? The metronymic has not succeeded better in another inscription of the tomb, 1385. *A. Cutius Peti.* I do not believe that *Peti* would be the cognomen.⁷⁰⁵ *Peti(a)* is possible, or *Peti(natia)*, if he is a brother of 1338., or *Peri(a)*, if a brother of 1331. (only, both have the same praenomen *Aulus*). *Peti* is not a Latin form of metronymic, and there was space for more letters. There may be faint, unpainted carvings of additional letters (see the edition in Vol. 2). In a third metronymic of the tomb, 1394., the abbreviation *gen.* follows the mother's gentilicium. Since *genitus* is never encountered in metronymics, it may be a mistake for *g{e}n(atu)s*.

An example of an unclear draft for the carver is probably 1633., *Hastia Visisai f.*

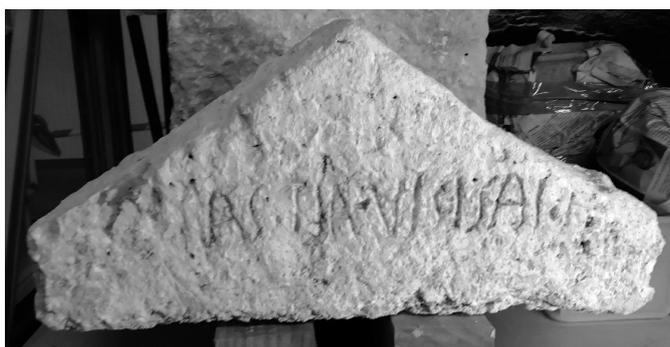


Fig. 180 (1633.)

⁷⁰² I have relied on the digital photographs, kindly sent to me by L. Cencioli. It has not been possible to check the inscription inside the tomb replica in the basement of the MANU.

⁷⁰³ Many instances from lost monuments, preserved only in old manuscripts, may also be copying errors. Hence, the lists here and in the following note are in a summary manner: 1388., 1393., 1394., 1399., 1403., 1446., 1447., 1458., 1459., 1484., 1616., 1618., 1633., 1644. A closer discussion of the instances can be found in the edition part.

⁷⁰⁴ 1365., 1368., 1402., 1412., 1482., 1562., 1573., 1649..

⁷⁰⁵ So A. E. Feruglio in *SI* 30, 255, No. 35. In FERUGLIO 2013, 217, she voted for the metronymic.

SI 30, 287-88, No. 75, accepted the reading (but read *Astia*, without the unpainted *H*) and interpreted it as a name form with praenomen and metronymic, possibly from the Etruscan gentilicium *vuisi*. This interpretation is unsatisfactory: the gentilicium of the deceased would be missing, the name of the mother unknown, the genitive in *-ai* improbable, and *f(ilia)* in the metronymic not known.⁷⁰⁶ Instead, I am rather certain that the name of the deceased was *Hastia Vibia L.f.*, but the carver could not read it from the draft or/and was unaccustomed to Latin letters. One may again ask how the customer accepted the inscription, but he or she may well have been illiterate. Other customers could notice the mistakes and ask the carver to correct them as well as possible. One way was to add a missing letter by ligature; several examples were presented above.

The space was not larger for the Latin inscription than for the Etruscan ones, and the carvers solved the insufficient space in the same way, independently of the language. I have listed six Latin inscriptions where the last letters were added above the line (**1372.**, **1378.**, **1457.**, **1483.**, **1484.**, **1676.**). In two instances, they were added under the line (**1558.**, **1642.**), in three instances only abbreviated (**1385.**, **1480.**, **1522.**). In two instances, the spelling was complete, but the end tightened (**1383.**, **1398.**). In **1613.**, the space ended after *DIONISI*; *V* was added above the line, but *S* abbreviated: *Dionisi`u'(s)*.

Of the inscriptions which could be reliably studied, twenty-nine were carved and painted in red, twenty-three only carved. The share of the carved inscriptions without painting is great when compared with that in the Etruscan inscriptions (see above, p. 135). Three inscriptions were carved and painted in black (**313b.**, **1384.**, **1642.**). For two-thirds of the Latin inscriptions, I cannot say whether they were painted or not, either because they are lost or because only black-and-white photographs have been available.

PHONOLOGY OF THE LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

The study of the phonology of the Latin inscriptions during and after the language shift process is complicated. The relationship of graphemes to phonemes, the interference phenomena and the special nature of nomenclature as linguistic material make the picture vague. The comparison between the Etruscan and Latin names of a family can give information about the phonological system of the two languages. A good example is the voiced and unvoiced stops, for which the Etruscan language had only one series, but the Latin language two series of graphemes. But the strong influence of the existing Roman gentilicia on the choice of the Latinized name must be taken into account in the phonological study. Two cities, Clusium and Perugia, offer abundant epigraphic material from the period of the language change. There is a clear difference between these cities, especially in the amount of interference phenomena. I have discussed the methodological problems more extensively in my doctoral thesis.⁷⁰⁷

The vowels

<e> / <i>: The Etruscan inscriptions offered a few instances of this variation in the name stems. Traces of this in Latin texts can be seen in *Misia* (**1390.**) – *Mesia* (**846b.**), Etr. *mesi*; *Caveli* (**1570.**) – Etr. *cavili* (**941.**, **1344.**); *Six. Midicus* (**1388.**). All these instances, however, are from old copies of now lost inscriptions, and

⁷⁰⁶ The only possible instance is **1618.**, where SI 30, 271, No. 53, suggests the reading *Oclatia(e) f(ilia)*. The not too clear photograph allows the normal *Oclatiaē*.

⁷⁰⁷ KAIMIO 1975, especially 115-16.

it is possible that, for instance, the second vertical of a cursive *E* was not seen.⁷⁰⁸ More common in the Etruscan as well as Latin inscriptions is the variation before /a/ in the feminine endings, like *Hampnea* (1445.; other instances 1365., 1446., 1605.).⁷⁰⁹

/e/ > /o/: In Latin, /e/ developed to /o/ before velar /l/. This change appears in the names *Volumnius* (313b., 1448., 1473., 1474., 1475., 1476.) and *Volcaci* (1369., 1370., 1579.), both old families at Rome, but not in *Velthuria* (1368.), *Veltia* (1415.) or *Obelsianus* (1421.). A further example of the change is in *Menolaus* (1448.), encountered several times in Roman inscriptions.

<e> > <ae>: In the 1st half of the 1st century BCE, the Latin diphthong /ai/ was in the process of monophthongization to /e:/. In the Latinization of Etruscan stems with /e:/, the spelling <ae> was sometimes seen as the best equivalent.⁷¹⁰ The spelling <eh> in *mehnte* (437., 1134., 1634.), *mehnti* (842., 1114.) indicates /e:/ (see above, p. 151) and explains the spelling *Maenatia* (1397.), *Maenas* (1584.) In *Praesenti* (1399.)⁷¹¹ from the same tomb as *presnte* (7.), the Latin word *praesens* may have influenced the spelling.⁷¹² *Naevia* (1565.) may continue the common Perusine gentilicium *cneve*, but it got the digraph from Latin *Gnaeus*. On the other hand, the praenomen is spelled *Gnea* in 1586. In the lost 1402., *Laelia Aulnia*, I agree with *CIE* that *Laelia* was probably misread (or misspelled) for *Vaelia*. This Etruscan praenomen has at Clusium the form *velia*,⁷¹³ and at Perugia *veilia*. The connection of *Laetoria* (1375.) to *leθari* (578.) and the common *lethe* remains uncertain.

<u> / <o>: In Etruscan inscriptions, <u> fulfilled the needs of both /u/ and /o/. It is difficult to determine its precise phonetic value, but in the Latinization of names, both <o> and <u> were used, without clear phonological rules.⁷¹⁴ Where Latin conventions existed, they influenced the choice. The gentilicium ending *-onius* is always used for Etruscan *-uni*, and there is no instance of *-unius*. We have constantly *Petronius* to Etruscan *petruni*, *Pomponius* to *pumpuni*, *Ac(h)onius* to *aχuni*. The shorter ending *-u* could be preserved in Latin: *Trepu* (1593.) *Pumpua* (1387.), but *Pedro* (1576.).⁷¹⁵ In *Fuloni* (1371.) from Etr. *fuluni* (509., 955.), the <u> of the stem is preserved, while in *Cotonia* (1366.) – his brother has the metronymic *cutunial* (72a.) – <o> has taken its place, as also in *Nonia* (1612.) to Etruscan *nuni* (608., 1007.), possibly of Italic origin. In *Noforsinia* (1391.) from *nufurzna*, <o> has also taken the place of the anaptyctic vowel, in accordance with Etr. *nufurznaś* (285.). Variation in the transcription of the stem vowel is probably in *Thormena* (1422.) – *Jurmn* (1423.), probably [*Th*]urmn[-].

The Etruscan praenomen *arnθ* appears twice unabbreviated in the Latin inscriptions, the form being in both *Aros* (1365., 1578.). In the Latin literature, the name is mainly given as *Arruns*,⁷¹⁶ with an anaptyctic vowel and <s> for the Etruscan <θ>, as in *Lars*⁷¹⁷ for *larθ*. *Arruns* is, as far as I know, never met in the inscriptions of Etruria, *Aros* being the closest form to it, but with a different colour for the anaptyctic vowel.⁷¹⁸

⁷⁰⁸ For *Misia*, COLONNA 2011, 116, n. 67, suggested the possibility *Mysia*, which would give the provenance of the slave, but there is no parallel in our material. In KAIMIO 1975, 120 n. 4, I thought that 1388. could well be false. For *Arte{i}midorus* (1562.) see above, p. 206.

⁷⁰⁹ In the genitive *Soccone* (1653.) from *Socconius* (1463., 1464.), a variant *Socconeius* is more probable than *Socconeus*.

⁷¹⁰ For several Clusian examples, see KAIMIO 1975, 121.

⁷¹¹ Also met in 1447.

⁷¹² See SCHULZE 1904, 210.

⁷¹³ KAIMIO 1975, 121.

⁷¹⁴ See KAIMIO 1975, 122-24.

⁷¹⁵ The form should be feminine; hence, the supplement *Pedro(nia)* is more probable than the interpretation as a counterpart of Etr. *petrui*.

⁷¹⁶ SALOMIES 1987, 67.

⁷¹⁷ SALOMIES 1987, 31.

⁷¹⁸ At Clusium, the rare unabbreviated instances are close to *Arnth*, e.g., *Arnthal* in *CIE* 832. For the appearance of the name, see KAIMIO 1975, 174-75.

<y> in Greek names: The letter <y> does not appear in the Latin inscriptions belonging to our material. The name *Dionysios* is twice spelled *Dionisius* (1457., 1613.). *Burria* (1587.) has possibly come from *Pyrrhias*.

<u> / <v>: While Etruscan had separate graphemes for /u/ and /v/, Latin had common *V* for both. When the Etruscan theophoric gentilicium *tins* was translated, the Latin name *Iuventius* was chosen. In the spelling *IVENTIVS* (1392.), <vv> is expressed by <v>, as rather often in Latin inscriptions.⁷¹⁹ If *Avoni[a]* (1469.) comes from Etruscan *auna* (six times at Perugia), the diphthong is divided into two syllables. The Perugian gentilicium *vlesi* (15 times) may have a variant in *velesial* (1149.). In the Latin inscriptions, *Vlesi* (1375.), *Vlesia* (210.) also has the variant *Velesius* (1578.). *Vlesia* was possibly pronounced /ulesia/, as Latin did not know word-initial /v/.

<au> / <ou> / <u>: Great variation is seen in the Etruscan names *plaute* – *plute*, *raufe rufe* – *rafe*, both of Italic origin, the former with the original diphthong /au/, the latter with /ou/ (see above, pp. 144–45). The names are common in Latin, too. In the Latin inscriptions of the tomb of Pumpu Plute, both *Plotus* (1377.) and *Plautus* (1378.) occur. In the Latin epitaphs of the tomb of Rafi 1, only *Rufius* is encountered (1363., 1364., 1365., 1366.; also appearing in 1601., and the cognomen *Rufus* in 1609.).

<ea>, <ei>: The diphthong of *veanei* (754.; four other instances from Perugia) may be changed to <ia> in *Viania* in 1603.⁷²⁰ *Aneinia* (1394.) preserved the diphthong <ei> of Etr. *aneinei*, but in *Annaeus* (1522.), continuing, I believe, the same gentilicium *anei*, the existing Latin name has changed the diphthong.

<ui>, <ue>, <eu>: The common gentilicium *vuisi* was Latinized as *Voisius* in 1603. In 1628., for which *SI* 30, 290–91, No. 79 suggested *Voē[sius]*, the third letter may also be *I*, as it may be in *Vo[esi]us* (1622.). *Nuiscinia* (1586.) has no known Etruscan counterpart, but the diphthong may continue Etruscan <ui>. The connection of *Lusinia* (1424.) with Etruscan *luesna* (nine times at Perugia) is probable, but not certain. *Leonia* (1484.) is a natural Latinization for *leuna*, *leunei* (13 times at Perugia).

Syncope and anaptyxis: Consonant clusters unfamiliar in Latin have sometimes been preserved in the Latinization of names.⁷²¹ *Hampnea* (1445.), *Hamphea* (1446.) from the common *ham̄na* is a good example, where the aspirated stop has caused difficulties. No anaptyctic form of the name is met. The common *θurmna* was continued both as [*Th*]urmn[- (1423.) and *Thormena* (1422.). From *arzni*, we have both *Arsniae* (1378.) and *Arsinia* (1420.). Other syncopated names are *Aulnia* (1402.) from *aulni* (199., 200., 1495., *aulnei* 937.), *Tlabnia* from *tlapu* 16., 17., 18., 305.; feminine *tlapuni* not met at Perugia), and *Ludniae* (1600.) from *lutni* (327.), *lutnial* (1330.). Uncertain instances are *Septlus* (cognomen in 1466.), possibly from the Clusian gentilicium *septle* (*ET*² Cl 1.215, 1.2278), and *Pistrus* (1644.), possibly related to *larθia pistis* (1645.), from the same tomb, and *Pisto(riae?)* (1422.).

Anaptyctic forms are the above-mentioned *Praesenti* (1447.) from *presnte* and *Noforsinia* (1391.) from *nufzrna*, possibly *Lusinia* (1424.), if from *luesna*. Further names are *Harnustia* (1564.) from *harnstial* (1336.), *Tussani* (1606., 1607.) from *tuśnu* (common throughout Etruria, five instances from Perugia), possibly also *Panatia* (1576.), if from the Clusian *pantna*, but the Perugian *paniaθe* (781., 797., 852., 853., 1222.) may be a better connection.

It is interesting that of the syncopated or anaptyctic names presented in this chapter, twelve belong to women, only five to men (the sex of 1423. is not known). The material is not great, but permits a conclusion

⁷¹⁹ E.g., at Perugia, *Festius* for *Festivus* (*CIL* XI 7092). The spelling *Iuventius* is encountered as early as 108 BCE in *CIL* I² 2944. I thank O. Salomies for this observation.

⁷²⁰ It has been edited as *Aviania*, but no trace of the initial *A* is visible.

⁷²¹ See KAIMIO 1975, 128–32.

that in the first inscriptions of the new Roman citizens, the gentilicia of men drew farther apart from the old Etruscan names. Many female names of this chapter come from metronymics, thus presenting the previous generation, and women did not take part in the census, which played an important role in the Romanization of the nomenclature.

Consonants

Voiced and unvoiced stops⁷²²

<c> / <g>: In this letter, not only the lack of a grapheme for the voiced stop in Etruscan, but also the rather late introduction of <g> to Latin, has caused confusion. In addition, the epigraphist finds it difficult to distinguish on the porous stone the small stroke that distinguished the two Latin letters. In the metronymic, the Latin inscriptions of Etruria used the word *natus*, which was at Perugia mainly in the original form *gnatus*. The spelling with <g> appears in our material twenty-one times. *cnatus* is met in **1620.**, *c(natus)* in **1393.** It is possible that *CEAT* in the metronymic of **1458.** is misspelled for *cnat(us)*.⁷²³ Other variation of <c> / <g> is visible in the tomb of the family Sortes, where the Latin translation of the Etruscan name *surte* was used as cognomen *Nic(er)* in **1459.**, but as gentilicium *Nigidius* in **1460.** The gentilicium *Caius* appears in **1571.** and **1611.**

<p> / : It is natural that well-established names in Latin preserved their spelling in the Latinization of Etruscan names: *Vibius* – *vipi*, *Fabius* – *fapis* (**904.**), but *Pomponius* – *pumpuni*. Variation is seen only in *Trepu(nia)* (**1593.**) for *Trebonia*; the Etruscan name *trepu* is not encountered at Perugia, and this is the only appearance of *Trebonius* in our material. In other names, the voiced stop is met in *Betui* (**1602.**) from *petvi* (11 times at Perugia), *Tlabnia* (**1578.**) from *tlapu* (**16.**, **17.**, **18.**, **305.**), *Obelsianus* (**1421.**) from *upelsi* (11 times at Perugia), and the slave name *Slebaris* (**1570.**) from *sleparis/-riś* (*ET*² Cl 1.1179, 1.2577, 1.2578). Uncertain instances are *Burria* (**1587.**), if from *Pyrrhias*,⁷²⁴ *Batta* (**1588.**) and *Bucinae* (**1461.**), both without obvious Etruscan counterparts.⁷²⁵

<t> / <d>: The variant *Pedro* is met in **1576.**, besides the normal *Petronius*. In *Ludniae* (**1600.**), the voiced stop was chosen in Latinizing Etruscan *lutni* (**327.**), *lutnial* (**1330.**). *Adanatis* in **1374.** is problematic: the lines of the lost inscription can be read either *L. Adanatis | Cafatiae (natus)*⁷²⁶ or *Cafatiae | l(ibertus) Adanatis*. In the former case, *Adanatis* would probably originate in Etruscan *atnei*, common at Perugia, or *atinate* (**216.**, **931.**). If *Adanatis* would be a former slave name, I cannot present a probable etymology for it. *Dasius*, the cognomen of *C. Socconius C.l.* (**1463.**), is probably not of Etruscan origin.⁷²⁷

⁷²² For a broader discussion, see KAIMIO 1975, 132-37.

⁷²³ The inscription of the lid is continued on the chest – if they belong together – with *FASCEAT*. Since a cognomen from *fascis*, *Fasceat(us)* or sim. is improbable (see SOLIN – MANDATORI 2017, 182), the best solution is to see here two words, the first being *Fas(tia)*. But I cannot agree with most scholars, who in *Ceat()* see the gentilicium *cearthis* (**278.**, **279.**, **280.**), *Cea(r)t(ia natus)*. *cearthis* is known only from a small chamber tomb, found in 1791 near the Villa Palazzone. The palaeography of the three inscriptions shows that it is quite early, probably from the 3rd cent. BCE, and the gentilicium can belong to the rare group of indeclinable names in *-is*; see above, p. 158.

⁷²⁴ See KAIMIO 1975, 136.

⁷²⁵ *patna* is common at Perugia, *pvcnal* is met at Clusium (*ET*² Cl 1.1046). *Bucina* appears as male cognomen in *CIL* XI 4652 *C. Attio Bucinae* (Todi), and it may well be a cognomen in **1461.**, too, rather than metronymic.

⁷²⁶ This is preferred by *SI* 30, 169, to *CIL* XI 1998.

⁷²⁷ See SCHULZE 1904, 39, 44.

Aspirates

The aspirated stops did not originally belong to the Latin phonological system, and the Greek letters *chi*, *phi* and *theta* were not introduced into the Latin alphabet. In the transcription of early Etruscan name loans, the aspirate could be neglected, as in *Vulca*, *Volcaci* from *vel̥xa*, or some special spelling was used, as in *Tarquinius* to *tar̥xuni*, or, for dental aspirates, a sibilant was chosen, as in *Lars*, *Arruns* for *lar̥θ*, *arn̥θ*. These early spellings preserved their position, and some instances appear in the Latin inscriptions of Perugia: *Volcaci* (1369., 1370., 1579.), *Aros* (1365., 1578.). In the mid-2nd century BCE, the increasing Greek loan words and names, both literary and epigraphic, especially slave names, started to change the Latin orthography by marking the aspirated stops with a digraph <ch>, <ph> and <th>. This spelling could also be used in the transcription of Etruscan names.⁷²⁸

<c> / <ch>: Most instances of a Latinized Etruscan name come from *ax̥uni*. The aspirated form is met three times: *Achoni* 1383., 1485., *Achonia* 1599., whereas *Aconius*, *Aconia* appears in six inscriptions (1382., 1384., 1385., 1386., 1387. and 1465.). *Ahoneae* in 1605. probably comes from this name, and less probably from *afuna* of the *Cippus Perusinus*, which is met in epitaphs only in 1505. The special spelling may be a mistake, but it may also show that /k^h/ was close to a velar fricative.⁷²⁹ *Ancharia* in 1481. and 1568. is surprising, as the Etruscan name at Perugia was *ancari* (12 times), *an̥xari* being met at Clusium (*ET*² Cl 1.667). However, *Ancharia* follows the usual Latin spelling of this name. In names of Greek origin, *Antioci* (1405.) is without, *Chiae* (1468.) and *Lachetis* (1599.) with the aspirate.

<p> / <ph>: <φ> was not a common letter in the late Perugian inscriptions (see above, p. 148). The only name passing the language shift was *ham̥ona*, borne in Latin inscriptions by two ladies, both with the praenomen *Hastia*. In 1446., the scribe has tried to reproduce the aspirate and spelled *Hampnhea*, while in 1445. it was neglected: *Hampnea*. I cannot guess, which name the male members of the family announced to the census list. The only name that somehow resembles it is *Ampudi*, the gamonymic of *Arsinia* in 1420.; it was a Roman senatorial gentilicium. In the Greek names, the aspiration is marked in *Philematio* (1599.) and *Philicae* (1649.). One further instance is in the cognomen of *Lusia L.l.* (1583.). It has been read *Nepele* from Greek Νεφέλη. The inscription, however, has a clear *H* after *P*.⁷³⁰ The letter between *N* and *P* does not look like *E* (rather *V*); hence, the name remains uncertain. In *Theopilus* (1473.), the aspirate is marked for the initial phoneme, but not for *P*.

<t> / <th>: This *Theopilus* is the only Greek name with an aspirated dental stop, but in Etruscan names, the occurrences are numerous. Two common female praenomina included it, *θan(i)a* and *lar̥θi(a)*. In the Latin inscriptions, *Thania* has mainly preserved the aspiration (1474., 1485., 1564., 1565., 1566., 1568., 1576., 1593.); the spelling *Tania* is met in 1582. and 1664. In 210., the name was first carved *THNIA*, but corrected to *Th̄ania* with an oblique bar through *H*. All five instances of *Lartia* are unaspirated (1367., 1437., 1470., 1487., 1571.). Other Etruscan names preserving the aspirate are *Cauthia* (1483.), *Cauthiae* (1609.), *Velthuriae* (1368.) and *Thormena* (1422.). For *Caitho* (1572., 1573.), an Etruscan origin can be assumed,⁷³¹ but I cannot present a good counterpart.⁷³²

⁷²⁸ See, in general, KAIMIO 1975, 137-40.

⁷²⁹ WALLACE 2008, 31.

⁷³⁰ My autopsy in the *Lapidario* of the MANU in 2017. For the earlier editions, see *SI* 30, 190, to *CIL* XI 2058, where the inscription is marked “irreperibile.”

⁷³¹ See SCHULZE 1904, 137.

⁷³² On the cippus 948., of unknown provenance, *ET*² read *cai vel̥s̄ caiθ̄s̄ θares̄*, while the other editors (*CIE* 4540, *TLE* 575) *cai vel̥s̄ caiθ̄s̄ θares̄*. I have not found the inscription.

Gemination

The marking of a long consonant is met in Etruscan only in some archaic and late inscriptions, nor was it often encountered in Latin before the 2nd century BCE.⁷³³ In the Latinized names of Perugia, the gemination is common after the initial syllable. Variation appears in some names. The common *Cassius*, which I link to *casni* (20 times at Perugia),⁷³⁴ is spelled *Casius* in 1372., but otherwise *Cassius* (1400., 1411., 1562., 1569., 1575.). *A. Brutis Vel.f.* (1380.) has one *T*, but his daughter *Bruttia* (1381.)⁷³⁵ two. Both *Lusius* (1467., 1468., 1582., 1583.) and *Lussius* (1466.) appear. In instances after the second, accented syllable, *Metelia* appears in 1472., *Metellia* in 1612., continuing the Perugian *meteli* (8 times). Some difficulty in geminates is shown in the name pair *Cascellius* (1483.) – *Casscelius* (1484.).

Not all short gentilicia received the geminate. *Cutius* (1393.-1398.) of the tomb of Cai Cutu never became *Cottius*, which is more common in Roman epigraphy, and *Atius* instead of *Attius* is met in 1587. But the list of geminated names is much longer: *Annaeus* (1522.), *Annius* (1416., 1417., 1569.), *Arri* (1390.), *Batta* (1588.), *Burria* (1587.), *Fannia* (1403.), *Perrica* (1559.), *Remmia* (1416.), *Scurra* (1581.), *Socco-nius* (1463., 1464.), *Socconeï* (1653.), *Tettius* (1442.), *Tussani* (1606., 1607.), *Vessia* (1418., 1419.), *Vettius* (1414.).

Other peculiarities

The variation of the fricatives <f> and <h> is not common in the Etruscan language of Perugia. The clearest instance, the female praenomen *fasti(a)* / *hasti(a)*, is spelled eighty-six times with <f>, while *hasti* only appears seven times (872., 999., 1063., 1343., 1643., 1651., 1675.). Against this background, it is surprising that in the Latin inscriptions, *Fastia* never appears, and the spelling is always *Hastia* (1353., 1398., 1399., 1486., 1445., 1446., 1633., 1649., 1674.).⁷³⁶

Baleria is the spelling for *Valeria* in 1577. <x> was a grapheme unknown in late Etruscan. In *uxsor* (1604.), it is strengthened with <s>; this was a common spelling in Latin inscriptions up to the mid-1st century BCE. <z>, on the other hand, was a new grapheme in Latin, and it never occurs in the inscriptions of our material. In *Arsniae* (1378.) from *arzni*, it is transcribed with <s>, expanded with the anaptyctic vowel in *Arsinia* (1420.).

MORPHOLOGY OF THE LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

The linguistic interference phenomena in the Latin inscriptions of Perugia are minimal, especially as compared with Clusium, and this is evident in the morphology of the inscriptions.⁷³⁷

Etruscan forms: The only certain Etruscan genitive is in the gamonymic of 210. *Tania Vlesia Scarpes*. The husband is probably *larnθ scarpe lautni* | *L. Scarpus Scarpiae l. Popa* of the bilingual inscription

⁷³³ See, in general, KAIMIO 1975, 140-42.

⁷³⁴ It is also possible that many bearers of the most common gentilicium *cai* chose this name, since *Gaius* was evidently not accepted by the censors as a Roman gentilicium. *Lartia Caia Luci f.* (1571.) is the only bearer of this gentilicium met at Perugia – again, a female name, not needing the acceptance of the censors.

⁷³⁵ The copy of the lost inscription has *Bruttia* (CIE 3723), but *Bruttia* is probable.

⁷³⁶ For *fasceat* in 1458., see above, p. 213, n. 723.

⁷³⁷ In general, see KAIMIO 1975, 145-58.

211.⁷³⁸ from the tomb of Vlesi. Two metronymics are close to Etruscan forms, but the lack of the final <|> also makes the interpretation as Latin ablatives possible. In the disappeared **1387.**, *Aconia C.l. Pumpua*,⁷³⁹ the Etruscan spelling of *pumpual* (instead of *Pomponia*) is preserved. In **1394.** from the Cai Cutu tomb, *A. Cutius A.f. Aneinia g{e}n.*, the form of the metronymic (the reading is not certain) is close to *aneinial* in the metronymic of his brother (**1309.**). In the same tomb, *A. Cutius Peti* (**1395.**) has probably a metronymic as the third name part. It looks as if the carver did not understand, what to write. One may compare *petial* in **1034.**

The praenomina of Etruscan origin: The Etruscan male praenomina in Latin inscriptions are rare at Perugia (see below, p. 218). The phonologically strange *Aros* is met in **1365.** and **1578.** Its form is closer to the old Latin *Arruns* than the Etruscan *arnθ*. The only other unabbreviated name is *Vel* in **1412.** In the patronymics, the only instance of an unabbreviated name is *Vel[i]s* in **1598.**; the patronymic is not readable now, but according to the first edition, the space between *L* and *S* was not broad enough for *O* or *V*.⁷⁴⁰ The female praenomina of Etruscan origin are much more common than the male ones. The parallel endings in *-ia* are familiar from the Etruscan inscriptions: *θania*, *larθia*, *fastia*, but the forms *θana*, *larθi*, *fasti/hasti* are more than four times as common. In the Latin inscriptions, these names have the Latin ending *-ia*, *Thana* in **1593.** being the only exception.

Gentilicium endings: The common Etruscan gentilicium ending *-na* also appears in Roman nomenclature from early times, and, consequently, could probably be accepted in the census lists. It commonly appears in the Latin inscriptions of Etruria,⁷⁴¹ but at Perugia, we only meet it in *Thormena* of **1422.** Of the two instances in cognomina, *A. Cosconius A.f. Custurna* (**1610.**) is probably an instance, where *Custurna* was the Etruscan gentilicium of Aulus (cf. **249.**, **1679.**, **1680.**), changed in the census for some reason to *Cosconius*, but preserved as cognomen. Another cognomen in *-na* is *Bucina* in the genitival epitaph **1461.** *Q. Aufidi C.f. Tro. Bucinae* from the tomb of the Sortes. *Bucina* also appears in the inscription *CIL XI 4652* from Todi, *C. Attio Bucinae*, and may well be of Etruscan origin (cf. *pvcnal ET² Cl 1.1046*).

One gentilicium in *-nas* is encountered, *L. Maenas L.l. Alexander* (**1584.**), feminine form *Maenatia* (**1397.**), connected to Etruscan *mehnate* (see above, p. 211). *A. Asfa A.f. Esq[ui]lniae | gnatus* (**1597.**) is an instance of a name in *-a*, probably connected to Etr. *asfnal* (**1194.**). The male cognomina *Aberra* (**1595.**), *Cerga* (**1596.**) and *Scurra* (**1581.**) may possibly have their ending due to Etruscan origin, but without clear counterparts, this is not certain. The gentilicium *Sortes* (**1457.**, **1458.**, **1459.**, **1644.**, dative *Sorti* **1604.**) is near the original Etruscan name, which appears four times as *surtes* (**597.**, **783.**, **1196.**, *surtes* **918.**, **1697.**). This Etruscan form, however, must be the masculine genitive from *surte*, although two of the instances (**918.**, **1196.**) are gentilicia of women.⁷⁴² Two gentilicia have the ending *-o*, probably preserved from Etruscan *-u*. *Ar. Lenso La. fili.* (**1379.**) bears the same name as *ar. lensu la.* (**290.**), and the inscriptions may belong together as a bilingual.⁷⁴³ *Caitho* in **1572.** and **1573.** has no good Etruscan counterpart.

⁷³⁸ The reading of the Etruscan part remains uncertain (autopsy 2017). The strange praenomen *larnθ* cannot be ascertained. In the word *lautni*, the former editors have seen a *U*, *lautuni*, but no traces of it are now visible.

⁷³⁹ *SI 30*, 161-62, to *CIL XI 1982*, doubted, with good reason, that *C.f.* rather than *C.l.* was written. RIX 1963, 353, saw in *Pumpua* the cognomen of a freedwoman.

⁷⁴⁰ *SE 6*, 1932, 482-83 (BUONAMICI); *SI 30*, 282-83, No. 68.

⁷⁴¹ For examples, see KAIMIO 1975, 147.

⁷⁴² In **1196.**, the feminine form is *surti*, in **1646.** *surtia*.

⁷⁴³ BORMANN in *CIL XI 1977*, doubted in *CIE 3719*, but considered probable in *SI 30*, 160, to *CIL XI 1976*.

In other respects, the gentilicium endings follow the Roman practice. The older spelling *-ios* is met in in the broken **1567**. *++nicios +++*,⁷⁴⁴ which may rather be a cognomen of Greek origin. The ending *-us* instead of *-ius* appears, in addition to the above-mentioned *Scarpus* (**211a**.), in two lost inscriptions with unclear interpretation, *A. Viscus Apolo* (**1477**.), and *Six. Midicus P.f.* (**1388**.).⁷⁴⁵ *Betuus* and *Annaeus* are well-known Roman family names. *A. Betui A.f.* (**1602**.) is probably a genitival inscription, rather than *Betui(us)*. The Perusian *petvi* – *Betuus* family achieved the senatorial rank in the Imperial Age.⁷⁴⁶ *L. Annaeus L.f. Ser()* *gn.* (**1522**.) continues, I believe, the Perusian *anei* family.

The parallel nominative ending *-i* for *-ius* is common in the Latin epigraphy of many Etruscan cities.⁷⁴⁷ Six instances are encountered at Perugia: *Titi* (**1560**.), *Volumni* (**1473**.), *Fuloni* (**1371**.), *Arri* (**1390**.), *Praesenti* (**1447**.), and *Pomponi* (**1608**.). Three of the instances are without cognomen, which means that a genitival inscription can also explain the form. There are six nominative forms in *-is*: *Rufis* (**1365**., **1366**.), *Sulpicis* (**1368**.), *Brutis* (**1380**.), *Vibis* (**1625**.), and probably *Adanatis* (**1374**.). The form is not unknown in Latin epigraphy,⁷⁴⁸ but the occurrence at Perugia has been explained by Umbrian influence,⁷⁴⁹ or by Etruscan genitival forms of gentilicia in *-i*.⁷⁵⁰

The feminine forms: There are only a few deviations from the normal Latin feminine gentilicium ending *-ia*. The ending *-nea* in *Atinea* (**1365**.), *Hampnhea* (**1446**.), and *Hampnea* (**1445**.) seems, however, to be under the influence of the Etruscan *-nea*, a phonological variant of *-nia* (see above, p. 142). Under Etruscan influence are also two special cases discussed above, **1387**. *Aconia C.l. Pumpua*, and **1394**. *A. Cutius A.f. Aneinia g{e}n*, from the Cai Cutu tomb. *Hastia Aemili Praesenti* (**1399**.) may simply be a spelling error, although the lady bears the Etruscan praenomen.⁷⁵¹ The form of the gentilicium of *Lartia Varna* in the lost **1487**., from the tomb of Casceli, remains unsolved. *varna* is a common gentilicium at Perugia (14 times), but the masculine form for a woman in a Latin inscription is improbable. The metronymics *Perrica gnatus* (**1559**.) and *Perca cnatus* in **1574**., a probable emendation of *SI* 30, 186, for *Percacnius* of the old copy in *CIL* XI 2044a, do not disclose the masculine form. The name may be of Umbrian origin.⁷⁵²

THE ONOMASTICS OF THE LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

Name forms of freeborn men

The name form of eighty-seven freeborn men can rather confidently be determined. The basic name form comprises in thirty-six instances praenomen, gentilicium and patronymic, with cognomen added in thirty-three instances. Twelve men are recorded by the praenomen and gentilicium alone, and five with praenomen,

⁷⁴⁴ My reading from the plaster cast in the Palazzo Murena.

⁷⁴⁵ In my thesis, I thought that this inscription was false. The cognomen *Medicus* is borne by two members of *gens Achonia* (**1382**. and **1383**.). The patronymic after the cognomen would be odd, if the gentilicium was omitted.

⁷⁴⁶ See GREGORI 2012, 123-24; NONNIS 2012, 162.

⁷⁴⁷ For the ending in general, see KAIMIO 1970, 24-42. For Caere, see KAIMIO 2017, 63-64.

⁷⁴⁸ For its appearance in the ollas of S. Cesareo, *CIL* I² 1015-1195, see KAIMIO 1970, 25.

⁷⁴⁹ KAIMIO 1975, 153.

⁷⁵⁰ *SI* 30, 159; SPADONI 2017a, 257.

⁷⁵¹ *eimlnei* (*ET*² Cl 1.1066) is an Etruscan form of the gentilicium *Aemilius*, which SCHULZE 1904, 69, liked to link to Etruscan.

⁷⁵² The word *perka* appears several times in *Tabulae Iguvinae*. For the meaning “twig”, see ERNOUT 1961, 125.

gentilicium and cognomen.⁷⁵³ The cognomen is included in a total of thirty-eight name forms (44%). In comparison with the Latin cippus inscriptions of Tarquinia and Caere, the cognomen is clearly more common at Perugia. At Tarquinia, the percentage is 32%,⁷⁵⁴ at Caere 21%.⁷⁵⁵ This should indicate that as a group, the Latin inscriptions of the Etruscan necropoleis of Perugia are somewhat later than those of Tarquinia and Caere. The patronymic is missing in seventeen names, clearly more often than at Caere, but in line with Tarquinia.

This leaves the patronymic in seventy name forms (81%). In **1619.**, *Vel [- -] Scevae f.*, the patronymic is probably formed by the Etruscan cognomen of the father.⁷⁵⁶ In **1412.**, *Vel Vibius Ar. Pansa Tro.*, *f.* for *f(ilius)* is probably missing under Etruscan influence.⁷⁵⁷ The metronymic is common in the names of freeborn men, appearing thirty-two times (37%), or forty times, if we also include the partly broken or partly illegible name forms.⁷⁵⁸ The most common type is formed by the gentilicium of the mother in the ablative and the participle (*g*)*natus*, which is often abbreviated. This is met seventeen times. The genitive is also used with (*g*)*natus*, appearing in nine inscriptions, and in five inscriptions with (*g*)*natus*, the name of the mother is abbreviated and the case undeterminable. The ablative without the participle is encountered seven times, the genitive on its own only in the uncertain *L. Adanatis Cafatiae* (**1374.**).⁷⁵⁹ In three metronymics without the participle, the case remains uncertain. We can state that although the metronymic in the Latin inscriptions is as such a remnant of the Etruscan name form, its formation has in most instances digressed from the Etruscan tradition, where the mother was indicated by the genitive on its own or by the genitive with *clan*.⁷⁶⁰

The denoting of the tribe, a Latin addition to the name form, but not very regularly used, appears in this group seven times, *Tro(mentina tribu)* in **1398.**, **1412.**, **1461.**, **1462.**, **1596.** and **1610.**, *Clu(stumina tribu)* in **1606.**, found at Agello, but with the deceased *L. Tussanius Niger* possibly coming from Tuder.⁷⁶¹ There are two magistrates of the city of Perugia. The first records *L. Nigidius L.f. Sors scriba aed(iliu)m cur(ulium)* (**1460.**) *Curules aediles* did not belong to normal offices of municipal administration, but were probably nominated in special circumstances. It is possible that these magistrates were invited to take over the jurisdiction at Perugia after the destruction of the city in 40 BCE.⁷⁶² The second magistrate, *L. Proculeius A. f. Titia gnatus IIIIvir IIvir* (**1590.**), appears on a travertine chest used as a fountain in the garden of the monastery of S. Lucia. The change from quattuorvirate to duumvirate in the municipal administration is generally dated to the first years of our era, or even to the Tiberian age, which would give a *terminus post quem* for the inscription.⁷⁶³ Although we cannot know whether the urn comes from a tomb of the Etruscan type, the urn itself well fits the Etruscan tradition, and the deceased gives his metronymic. *Gens Proculeia*,

⁷⁵³ The name form with cognomen, but without patronymic, is met in **1396.** *L. Cutius Gallus*; **1467.** with the strange *ossa* on the lid, *Lusius Gentius* on the urn; **1585.** *L. Manlius Amicus*; **1609.** *Lar. Vibius Rufus Cauthiae gn.*; **1512.** *C. Av[i]us Sar[apio?]*, possibly a freedman.

⁷⁵⁴ KAIMIO 2017, 28.

⁷⁵⁵ KAIMIO 2017, 65.

⁷⁵⁶ For *sceva*, see RIX 1963, 239.

⁷⁵⁷ The inscription is preserved in Fabretti's copy, where after *Ar.* comes a *P*, which could also be read as cursive *F*. It is possible that Fabretti omitted one similar letter by mistake.

⁷⁵⁸ In addition, in **1605.**, we cannot know the sex of]*f. Ahoneae g*[

⁷⁵⁹ The alternative interpretation is *Cafatiae l(ibertus) Adanatis*. Cf. *Pomponia Oclatiae* (**1618.**).

⁷⁶⁰ For the metronymics at Clusium and other Etruscan cities, see KAIMIO 1975, 165-68.

⁷⁶¹ *SI* 30, 283-84, No. 69.

⁷⁶² *SI* 30, 233-34, with further references.

⁷⁶³ See SISANI 2011, 212-20; LETTA 2012, 137-54; *SI* 30, 45, with further references.

probably of Sabinian origin, was of equestrian rank at the time of August⁷⁶⁴. But we must again take into account the possibility that a *prucu* of Perusia (cf. **235**. and six other occurrences in the tomb of Cai Carcu) changed his name into Proculeius when he obtained the Roman citizenship.

The profession of the deceased may be met in two inscriptions of freeborn men, but it is difficult to say whether *Medicus* in the epitaphs of two *Achonii* (**1382**. and **1383**.) is a cognomen or a profession. One freedman, *A. Vibis Lar.l. Apolonius* (**1625**.), seems also to have the profession in his epitaph. *SI* 30, 235-36, No. 16, read the last word *a{u}ru(s)pex*, but I prefer the suggestion of O. Salomies *aurufex* (= *aurifex*).⁷⁶⁵ Probably, a slave is recorded with her profession in *Flora Cestiae nutrix* (**1563**.). The age of the deceased is given for *L. Septumuleius Sp.f. a. III* (**1594**.). Further instances are *Aconia L.f. Quartilla annor(um) VI* on a late marble urn from the tomb of the family *Achonii* (**1386**.), and *L. Cassius L.l. Arte{i}midorus L* (**1562**.), possibly with the Etruscan numeral.

Name forms of freeborn women

The basic Roman name form of a freeborn woman comprised the gentilicium, the patronymic and the cognomen, which, however, was clearly rarer than in the case of men. In the Latin inscriptions on Etruscan monuments or from Etruscan tombs of Perusia, we can analyse fifty-one names of freeborn women. Not more than six of them follow the Roman praxis. In **1415**., *Veltia* records the gentilicium alone. *Vetia C.f.* (**1471**.) and four other women (**1373**., **1561**., **1381**. and **1521**.) have the gentilicium and the patronymic. There is no clear instance of a name form comprising the gentilicium, the patronymic and the cognomen. *Tertia S.f. Salvia* (**1404**.) is a candidate, but she would have a rare gentilicium and an odd praenomen siglum in the patronymic.⁷⁶⁶ In *Fannia L.f. Saturnin()* (**1403**.), *Saturnin(a)* could be the cognomen, but *CIE* 3347 saw an alternative reading *Saturninī* (*uxor*). Both urns have disappeared. A less formal, home-like name form appears in **1676**. *Hilara Quinti filia*, evidently with the cognomen and the unabbreviated patronymic.

In nineteen name forms, the woman has preserved her Etruscan praenomen, e.g., *Hastia Vibia* (**1353**.). In five of these instances, the gamonymic is also included, e.g., *Thania Achonia Casceli* (**1485**.; the other instances are **210**., **1399**., **1402**. and **1474**.). A Latin praenomen is met in three names, *Gnea Nuiscinia C.f.* (**1586**.), *Tertia Avilia C.f. Rufi uxor*, with the gamonymic (**1364**. from the tomb of Rafi 1), and *C. Grania C.f. Ludniae gnata*, with the metronymic (**1600**.). The gamonymic is a common element of the female name forms. It is recorded in seventeen women, expressed by the genitive of the husband's gentilicium. The percentage of the gamonymic in the Latin inscriptions of women is high (33%), but lower than in the Etruscan inscriptions (53%). The appellative *uxor* appears only in the above-mentioned **1364**. and in **1604**. In the difficult **1424**. *Lusinia ++t+ei Iotae*, it is possible that the husband is expressed by both the gentilicium and the cognomen, if the hapax *Iota* is a male cognomen; the other option is metronymic.⁷⁶⁷ Nielsen thought that the husband's name was erased, possibly because of a divorce.⁷⁶⁸

The metronymic is less common than the gamonymic. It appears in women six times (**846b**., **1469**., **1569**., **1600**., **1612**. and **1618**.), in 12% of the name forms which can be analysed. The share in male name

⁷⁶⁴ See *SI* 30, p. 146.

⁷⁶⁵ *Arctos* 53, 2019, 283.

⁷⁶⁶ The interpretation of *SI* 30, 174-75, to *CILXI* 2014, that *Tertia* (praenomen) is the daughter of a *seθre salvi*, does not solve the problem of the patronymic placed between the praenomen and the gentilicium.

⁷⁶⁷ It might come from *Iotes*, used of the inhabitants of the island Ios; see NIELSEN 1999, 102 n. 114.

⁷⁶⁸ NIELSEN 1999, 102-03.

forms is 37% (see above). The participle (*g*)*nata* appears in all instances except **1618.**, where I prefer the genitive *Oclatae* on its own to *Oclatia(e) f(ilia)* of *SI 30, 271, No.53*. Genitive is also used in *Ludniae gnata* (**1600.**). In the other instances, the gentilicium of the mother is in the ablative. The patronymic appears in twenty-five female name forms (50%). In men, the share was 80%, but the difference is less clear than in the Etruscan inscriptions, where 54% of men, but only 13% of women have the patronymic expressed. I am aware that name forms without patronymic can in some instances also belong to freedwomen; the decision is usually based on the names. The father has an Etruscan praenomen in *Trilia Vel[i]s f.* (**1598.**).

In the linguistic part (above, pp. 212-13), we noticed that syncopated or anaptyctic forms, obsolete with respect to the Latin phonology, appeared mainly in female names. The observation that the name forms of women also differed from the Roman praxis much more strongly than those of men confirms this impression. It is conceivable that, in the Perusian community incorporated into the Roman citizenship, there was more pressure on men than on women to express the new status. But I would emphasize even more the significance of the Roman census on the names. If – as I assume – the names of women were not enlisted in the census roll, the need to form an acceptable Roman name was smaller.

As the census seems to have had a great impact on the onomastics of the 1st-century inscriptions of Perugia, it would be good to know, when the first Roman census was carried out in the city. The first possibility was in the census of 86-84 BCE – that of 89 was only an empty gesture, perhaps never taking place. It is possible that even the census of 86-84 was ineffective and that only the census of Pompey in 70/69 BCE was better carried out in Italy, with 910,000 citizens registered. But it is still possible that at that time, the inhabitants of Italy who wanted their names registered had to go to Rome in order to be enrolled. Otherwise, the increase of the Roman citizens in Octavian's census of 29/28 BCE to 4,063,000 is difficult to explain.⁷⁶⁹

The name forms of people of unfree origin

The Latin inscriptions present twenty-four men and nine women of unfree origin (seven uncertain instances). This is 19% of all the deceased. In comparison to the cippus inscriptions of south Etruria, the share is similar to that in the Latin inscriptions of Tarquinia (20%), but clearly smaller than that of Caere (29%).⁷⁷⁰ In the search for slaves, the names of *Slebaris Caveli* (**1570.**)⁷⁷¹ and *Flora Cestiae nutrix* (**1563.**) are good candidates.

Lartia Firmi l. (**1470.**) is a freedwoman with a name form close to the Etruscan *lautni* names. She has no gentilicium; the patron is expressed by his cognomen. In *L. Volumni l. Iaso* (**1475.** and **1476.**), the name form is close to the Roman model, but *Volumni* is the patron's gentilicium in the genitive (emphasized by *I longa* of the ending). *Thania Naeviae l.* (**1565.**) would be a similar instance, but I believe that the end should be read *Naevia L.l.*⁷⁷² In two other inscriptions, the gentilicium of the patron is connected to *l(ibertus)*, but it is also expressed as the freedman's gentilicium: *L. Scarpus Scarpiae l. Popa* in the bilingual **211.**, and *A. Sortes Sort. l. Pistrus* in **1644.** *Hastia Scribonia Philicae l. Erotis* (**1649.**) had a freedwoman as her patroness, and instead of *Ḷ.l.* (appearing in **1599.**), the cognomen of the patroness was used. An exam-

⁷⁶⁹ For the question, see BRUUN 1975, 462-77.

⁷⁷⁰ Figures from KAIMIO 2017.

⁷⁷¹ The sex remains unsolved. The suggestion in *SI 30, 196*, to *CIL XI 2075a*, that *Caveli* is a gamonymic, is less probable than that it is name of the patron. *sleparis* appears in *ET² CI 1.1179. 2577, 2578* as a *lautni* name; the supplement *lautni(i)θa* in *ET² CI 1.2578* is probably based on an old view that the name came from *Cleopatra*.

⁷⁷² *SI 30, 163-64*, to *CIL XI 1988*, ignores the final *E* of *Naeviae* and prefers *Thania Naevia L.f.* There is practically nothing visible of an *F* at the end in the plaster cast of the Palazzo Murena, which *SI* uses for its reading.

ple of the gamonymic added is in *Achonia O.I. Philematio Corneli Lachetis* (1599.). I am inclined to see a metronymic in *Aconia C.I. Pumpua* (1387.) rather than a cognomen, although it is difficult to imagine, how a slave girl of C. Aconius had a *pumpui* as her mother. It has a male counterpart in *A. Aconius L.I. Urs(ia) gn(atu)s* (1385.).⁷⁷³ This name form differs from the normal Roman model also through the lack of the cognomen. Aulus has not adopted the praenomen of his patron, which was not unusual in the late 2nd and early 1st centuries BCE.⁷⁷⁴ Probably on the basis these anomalies, *SI* 30, 161, to *CIL* XI 1981, prefers the reading *L.f.*, but I consider *l(ibertus)* certain.⁷⁷⁵

The normal Roman name form of a freedman from the early 1st century BCE comprised the praenomen, gentilicium, patron's name and cognomen. This name form is recorded by fourteen freedmen of our material. Six of them have a praenomen differing from that of their patron, e.g., *D. Sortes L.I. Dionisius* (1457.; the other instances are 1385., 1466., 1473., 1587. and 1625.), while eight bear the praenomen of the patron, e.g., *L. Maenas L.I. Alexander* (1584.; the other instances are 1401., 1405., 1448., 1463., 1464., 1562., 1613.).⁷⁷⁶ In two name forms, which according to the cognomina belong to freedmen, the indication of the patron is missing: *A. Nonius Alexa[nder]* (1401.) and *A. Viscus Apolo* (1477.).

Of the nine epitaphs of freedwomen, only two have the normal Roman name form comprising the gentilicium, patron's name and cognomen: *Aconia L.I. Lais* (1465.) and *Lusia L.I. Nepele* (cognomen uncertain; 1583.). The indication of the patron is missing in *Lusiae Chiae* (1468.). The other instances have been discussed above. Again, we can state that the names and name forms of women in the Latin inscriptions of Perugia are farther away from the Roman praxis than those of men.

The names

Praenomina

Six men have preserved their Etruscan praenomen – the instances of *Aulus* are here considered Roman: *Aros* (1365., 1578.), *Ar.* (1363., 1379.); *Vel* (1412., 1619.); *La.* (1385.), *Lar.* (1609.). In the patronymic, six examples are encountered: *La. fili(us)* (1379.), *Lar.f.* (1576.); *Vel.f.* (1380., 1418.), *Vel[i]s.f.* (1598.); *Ar.f.* (1412., 1443.); *At.* (1664.). As I observed above, the number of female Etruscan praenomina (26) is much greater. *Thania* appears eleven times (210., 1474., 1485., 1564., 1565., 1566., 1568., 1576., 1582., 1593., 1664.), *Hastia* nine times (1353., 1387., 1399., 1486., 1445., 1633., 1649., 1674.), *Lartia* five times (1367., 1437., 1470., 1487., 1571.), and *Laelia*, probably for *Vaelia*, in 1402.

With regard to the Roman praenomina, it is note-worthy that *Marcus*, number two in the Caeretan cippus inscriptions with ninety-two occurrences,⁷⁷⁷ is never met in our inscriptions from Perugia. I cannot suggest any explanation. Another practically missing praenomen is *Publius*. The only certain instance is

⁷⁷³ My reading differs from that of the former editors (*CIE* 3734; *CIL* XI 1981; *RACANO* 2011, 37, No. 40) as to the praenomen (others *La.*) and the name of the mother, where the others have not seen *S*; autopsy in 2018.

⁷⁷⁴ *Rix* 1994, 97, dated both the introduction of the cognomen and the following of the patron's praenomen in the Roman name form to the beginning of the 1st century BCE.

⁷⁷⁵ *SI* 30 dates the inscription to the end of the 1st cent. BCE, and sees the deceased as a son of 1382., brother of 1386. But palaeographically 1385. is oldest of these three inscriptions. This also makes it improbable that *Ursia A.f. Aconi* (1384.), was the mother of Aulus. The kinship relations of these persons remain unclear.

⁷⁷⁶ On the Latin cippus inscriptions of Caere, six freedmen have a different, 38 the same praenomen as their patron; *KAIMIO* 2017, 65. Although the Caeretan Latin inscriptions start earlier than those of Perugia, they also continue longer, and in particular, the cippi of freedmen seem to be from the 1st cent. BCE; *KAIMIO* 2017, 106.

⁷⁷⁷ *KAIMIO* 2017, 63

P. Volumnius Violens in the late bilingual inscription of the tomb of Volumni (**313b.**).⁷⁷⁸ This Publius was probably not born at Perugia, although he wanted to be buried in the tomb of his ancestors. *Lucius* was by far the most popular name (80 instances), followed by *Aulus* (49 instances) and *Gaius* (38 instances). *Lucius* was probably the Roman name chosen by a Larth and a Laris, *Aulus* by an Aule and perhaps by an Arnth, when they had to change their praenomen for the census roll. These figures include the names of fathers and patrons. In the names of fathers, *Aulus* is close to *Lucius* (23 – 27), whereas twelve of the eighteen patrons had praenomen *Lucius*.

Of rarer names, there is one *T(itus)* (**1596.**) and one *D(ecimus)*⁷⁷⁹ (**1457.**, father of **1458.** and **1459.**), in the patronymics one *Pos(tumus)* (**1371.**),⁷⁸⁰ one *Sp(urius)* (**1594.**),⁷⁸¹ and one *Servius* (**1648.**).⁷⁸² *S.f.* in **1404.**, if correct, can stand for *S(exti) f(ilius)*; I would not connect it to Etruscan *šeθre*. *Q. Narius Oum.f.* (**1614.**) has in the patronymic an unknown name, possibly from the cognomen of the father;⁷⁸³ the Perugian origin of the urn is not confirmed.⁷⁸⁴

Cognomen

Of the approximately 35 cognomina of freeborn persons in our material, one-third seems to originate in Etruscan names. *Arun(tia ?)* is probably taken from the rare praenomen *ar(nθi)* in the bilingual inscription **846.** *ar. mesi / Mesia L.f. Arun. Tetia gnata*. The Etruscan gentilicium *surte* has been Latinized as *Sors* in the name of *L. Nigidius L.f. Sors* (**1460.**), while his father *L. Sortes D.f. Nic(er)* (**1459.**) used the Latin translation of the Etruscan gentilicium. *A. Cosconius A.f. Custurna* (**1610.**) has probably preserved the shape of his Etruscan gentilicium, but used it as cognomen.⁷⁸⁵ I believe that the cognomen of *L. Titius C.f. Aberra* (**1595.**) goes back to the common Perugian gentilicium *aprθe*; an alternative is *hapre* (**674.**). The cognomen of *Tha(nia) Pedro(nia?) Casprīa Lar(tis filia) Panatia gnata* (**1576.**) is common in the Etruscan inscriptions of Perugia both as gentilicium and as cognomen.

If *Batta*, the sole name in **1588.**, is a cognomen, it could well come from the common gentilicium *patna*. *Bucina* (**1461.**) and *Cerga* (**1596.**) cannot be directly connected to any known Etruscan gentilicium, but may well belong to this group. *Cepa* (**1363.**) is *hapax* and could also be Latin, “onion”.⁷⁸⁶ *Scurra* (**1581.**) has a more convenient meaning “idler”, “jester”, but the word may be of Etruscan origin.⁷⁸⁷ The interpretation of the name form of *L. Papirius L. Arsi Obelsianus* of the lost **1421.** is difficult; I would open it as *L(uci) filius) Arsi(nia natus)*, but this remains uncertain. The cognomen *Obelsianus* has its origin in the Perugian *upelsi*, which appears both as gentilicium and as cognomen.⁷⁸⁸ The function of the ending *-anus* remains in

⁷⁷⁸ The two other instances are in inscriptions that have disappeared. *Six. Midicus P.f.* (**1388.**) is possibly false, and *P. Atius C.I. Burria* (**1587.**) is my emendation from *Pate Sc.I. Burria*.

⁷⁷⁹ See SALOMIES 1987, 27-28.

⁷⁸⁰ SALOMIES 1987, 42-43.

⁷⁸¹ SALOMIES 1987, 50-55; the use of *Sp.f.* for illegitimate children mainly belongs to the Imperial Age.

⁷⁸² SALOMIES 1987, 47-49.

⁷⁸³ Opened up *Oum(bri)* and considered an ethnical cognomen by L.SENSI in *Epigrafia*. Atti Degrassi, Roma 1991, 414-15, No. 146.

⁷⁸⁴ See *SI* 30, 264-65, No. 45.

⁷⁸⁵ For these two instances, see below, p. 227.

⁷⁸⁶ See KAJANTO 1965, 335. See also *SI* 30, 208-9, to *CIL* XI 7096.

⁷⁸⁷ The cognomen appears twice on the cippi of Caere, *SECI* 640 and 660. See KAIMIO 2017, 66, with further references. KAJANTO 1965, 306, knew some 15 instances in Latin inscriptions.

⁷⁸⁸ See RIX 1963, 254.

this case unclear, as it is also the case with *Clodianus* (1558.). In the Roman name system, it usually indicates adoption, i.e., the original gentilicium of the adopted, but the possibility of the mother's gentilicium has also been presented.⁷⁸⁹

Etruscan family cognomina have been preserved in some instances. In the Pumpu Plaute family, it was easy, since the family's cognomen was of Latin or Italic origin. In the Latin inscriptions of the family tomb, *Plautus* appears in 1378., *Plotus* in 1377. The cognomen of *Vel Vibius Ar. Pansa Tro.*(1412.) likewise continues the Etruscan *panza*, probably originating in the Latin or Italic *Pansa*.⁷⁹⁰ *vicre* appears in the gamonymic of *caia vicrei* (143.), buried in the tomb of the Velchei family, and the Latin *Vicer* is encountered in the names of two *Volcacii* (1369., 1370.).

Of the Latin cognomina, we may first observe *Violens*, the cognomen of P. Volumnius (313b.)⁷⁹¹ In *fasti consulares*, this name appears as the second cognomen of L. Volumnius Flamma Violens, the consul of 307 and 296 BCE, and the connection of the name chosen by Publius is evident. It is, however, unlikely, if not impossible, that the early consul bore this name.⁷⁹² It is possible that the above-mentioned Vel Vibius Pansa (1412.) belonged to the senatorial family and was related to C. Vibius Pansa, *tribunus monetalis* in 87 BCE, and C. Vibius Pansa, consul in 43 BCE.⁷⁹³ Two cognomina point at a profession: *Medicus* (1382., 1383.), and *Faber* (1572., 1589.). Ordinals are used in cognomina *Secundus* (1591.), *Quarta* (1384.), *Quartilla* (1386.). Geographical cognomina are *Gallus* (1396.), common in early Latin inscriptions of many Etruscan towns, and *Tarentinus* (1607.). Colours – *Niger* (1606., cf. 1459.), *Rufus* (1609.), and personal features – *Varus* (1579.), *Modestus* (1601.), *Hilara* (1676.), *Felix* (1624.) – are typical in Latin cognomina, and common names are also *Priscus* (1462.), *Minor* (1608.) and *Saturnina* (1403.). The only Greek name in freeborn men is *Isidorus* (? 1478., 1479.),⁷⁹⁴ *Isidorus* (1642.).

The cognomina of freedmen and freedwomen offer a rather coherent picture. With the exception of the slave name *Slebaris* (1570.), no clear Etruscan names are encountered. *Popa* in the bilingual 211a. sounds Etruscan, but it may also be the profession “sacrifice servant” of L. Scarpus.⁷⁹⁵ *Septlus* in the lost 1466. is uncertain. If correct, it could be connected to the gentilicium *septle* (ET² Cl 1.215, 1.2278). *Burria* (1587.) may be an Etruscanized form of *Pyrrhias*.⁷⁹⁶ *Barba* (1557.) is a Latin cognomen, as is *Olipor* (1464.).⁷⁹⁷ *Dasius* (1463.) may be an Illyrian name.

The great majority of the cognomina of persons of unfree origin come from Greek: *Alexander* (1401., 1584.), *Antigona* (1579.), *Antiocus* (1405.), *Apolo* (1477.), *Apolonius* (1625.), *Artemidorus* (1562.), *Chia* (1468.), *Dionysius* (1457., 1613.), *Erotis* (1649.), *Iaso* (1475., 1476.), *Laches* (1599.), *Lais* (1465.), *Menolaus* (1448.), *Nepele* (? 1583.), *Philematio* (1599.), *Philica* (1649.), *Sar[apio]* (1512.), *Theopilus* (1473.).

⁷⁸⁹ Not accepted by SALOMIES 1987, 228.

⁷⁹⁰ RIX 1963, 249-50.

⁷⁹¹ The name does not appear as cognomen outside *gens Volumnia*; KAJANTO 1965, 268.

⁷⁹² See HEURGON 1958, 151-59, who connects the name to the Etruscan name *vile* of Hercules' comrade Iolaos.

⁷⁹³ The probable Perusian origin of the family is discussed in RE VIII A, 1954-55.

⁷⁹⁴ Vermiglioli first copied in 1478. the normal *Isidorus*, but then corrected it *Isidorius* with *sic*! In 1479., the name was probably in the genitive. Both inscriptions have been lost.

⁷⁹⁵ This is the only instance as cognomen in KAJANTO 1965, 105, 319.

⁷⁹⁶ The Roman praetor of 82 BCE *Burrienus* was possibly of Etruscan origin; see HARRIS 1971, 252, with further references.

⁷⁹⁷ It appears only twice; KAJANTO 1965, 172.

The continuation of the Etruscan names in the gentilicia

The transmutation of the Etruscan gentilicia into Roman during the Romanization process, or, more exactly, by achieving the Roman citizenship, has been much studied. The starting point has mainly been the corpus of approximately twenty bilingual inscriptions that present both the Etruscan and the Latin names of the deceased.⁷⁹⁸ In my doctoral thesis, I discussed the question taking the entire epigraphic material into consideration.⁷⁹⁹ As Perugia provides an exceptional material for a study of this process, not only because of the number of known inscriptions, recording possibly 3% of the total population from the 2nd century and the 1st half of the 1st century BCE (see above, pp. 8-9), but also because of its numerous family tombs, it is reasonable to go through all Latin gentilicia known from the Etruscan-type burials, and to discuss their connections, and, if continuing Etruscan names, the forms of transmutation. My list comprises 129 different gentilicia.

In my thesis, I distinguished six degrees in the depth of the process.⁸⁰⁰ My examples mostly came from bilingual inscriptions from all over Etruria. In the first class, the Etruscan name was taken over as such with slight changes due to Latin phonology, e.g., *ceicna* – *Caecina*. The next step was to add the Latin *-ius* to the Etruscan gentilicium ending, e.g., *velimna* – *Volumnius*. In the third group, the whole gentilicium suffix was changed, e.g., *alfni* – *Alfius*. The fourth stage was to touch the stem, mainly in order to simplify Etruscan consonant clusters, e.g., *arntni* – *Arrius*. In the fifth category, the Etruscan stem was rejected and a Latin name somehow resembling the original name was chosen, e.g., *cupśna* – *Coelia*. In the sixth group, the new name was obtained through a semantic translation of the Etruscan name, e.g., *zicu* – *Scribonius*. One further way to solve the gentilicium change was to transfer the original gentilicium into the cognomen. I presented the Clusian example in the half-Latinized inscriptions *L. Sartage* (CIE 1596) – *Vel Sartagus* (CIE 1598) – *Sex. Sertorius L.f. Sartages* (CIE 2802).

It is evident that not all the deceased in our material continued old Perugian families. There are immigrants from other Etruscan areas, and there are Roman colonists, who were buried in the old necropoleis. In the study of the Latin gentilicia, we are not so much interested about, for instance, the Volsinian origin of the family at Perugia. But given that we cannot know more than a minor part of all Etruscan gentilicia of Perugia, we must have a look at the nomenclature of other cities, and, at a certain point, simply state that a name sounds Etruscan, although its original form is not (yet) met in the Etruscan inscriptions. On the other hand, we must not over-emphasize the above-mentioned fifth category, arguing that any Roman name might continue an Etruscan name or be of Etruscan origin. A *Cornelius* at Perugia (1469., 1599.) is much more probably a Roman colonist (or a freedman of one) than a member of the *curane* family.

Directly overtaken names

All four bilingual inscriptions of Perugia show a direct taking over of the Etruscan name into Latin. I here combine the two first classes of the analysis above, since nearly all Latin gentilicia at Perugia have the Roman ending *-ius*.

⁷⁹⁸ COLI 1947, 277-83; RIX 1956, 146-172; BENELLI 1994, 52-53.

⁷⁹⁹ KAIMIO 1975, 176-82.

⁸⁰⁰ KAIMIO 1975, 178.

Cafatius: *Cafatia* **313b.**; also, in **1372.** – *cahatial* **313a.**; *cafate* common.⁸⁰¹
Mesius: *Mesia* **846b.**; probably also in **1390.**⁸⁰² – *mesi* **846a.**; common.
Rufius: *Ru(fius)* **72b.**; also, in **1363.-1366., 1601.** – *rafi* **72a.**; *rufi, rafi, raufi* common.
Scarpus: *Scarpus* **211a.**; *Scarpe* **210., Scarpia** **1372.** – *scarpe* **211b.**
Tetius: *Tetia* **846b.**; *Tettius* **1442.** – *teti* common.
Volumnius **313b.**; also, in **1473., 1475., 1476., 1448.** – *velimna* **313a.**; common.

Names from other inscriptions:

Ac(h)onius **1382.-1387., 1465., 1485., 1599.**; *Ahoneus* **1605.** – *axuni* common.
Alfius **1486.** – *alfa, alfi* common.
Ancharius **1481., 1568.** – *ancari* common.
Aneinia **1394.** – *anei*, fem. *aneinei* common.
Annius **1416., 1417., 1569.** – *ani* common.
Ars(i)nius **1378., 1420., 1421.** – *arzni* common.
Atineus **1365.** – *atina* **71., 866., 867., 1651.**
Atius **1587.** – *atei* common.
Aulnius **1402.** – *aulni* **199., 200., 937., 1495.**
Avonius **1469.** – *auna* common.
Betius **1602.** – *petvi* common.
Caesinius **1474.** – *ceisina* **76., 990., 1504.**
Caius **1571., 1611.** – *cai* common.
Cauthius **1483., 1609.** – *cauthial* **533.**
Cavelius **1570.** – *cavili* **941., 1344.**
Clandius **1418., 1419.** – *clanti* common.
Cotonius **1366.** – *cutunuš* **1329., cutunial** **72a., 692.**
Cutius **1393.-1398.** – *cutu* (gent.) **649., 1335., 1337., 1501.**
Fabius **1596.** – *fapis* **904.**
Fulonius **1371.** – *fuluni* **509., 955.**
Gabinus **1574.** – *capna* common.
Hampn(h)eus **1445., 1446.** – *hamφna* common.
Harnustia **1564.** – *harnstial* **1336.**
Lenso **1379.** – *lensu* **290., 291.**
Leonius **1484.** – *leuna* common.
Ludnius **1600.** – *lutni* **327.**
Lusinius **1424.** – *lusnal* **1300.**
Maenas **1584., Maenatia** **1397.** – *mehnate* **437., 842., 1114., 1134., 1634.**
Metel(l)ius **1472., 1612.** – *meteli* common.
Narius **1614., 1648.** – *nari* **813., 1026., 1080.**
Noforsinius **1391.** – *nufrzna* common.

⁸⁰¹ In this list, “common” means five or more appearances. Masculine forms of the names are used if they are encountered.; feminine forms when only they appear. Other cities are mentioned only if the Perusian instances form a small part of the occurrences.

⁸⁰² The wall inscription in the tomb of Volumni is now illegible. It was copied as *C. Arri Misia*; *SI* 30, 254-55, to *CIL* XI 1964, gives it as *Mesia*, but COLONNA 2011, 116, saw as an alternative that the name stands for *Mysia*.

- Nonius* 1401., 1521., 1612. – *nuni* 608., 1026.
Octavius 1367. – *uhtave* common.
Peti(a) 1395. – *petial* 1034.
Petronius 1391., 1480., 1481., 1482., (*Pedro*) 1576., 1589. – *petruni* common.
Pomponius 1377., 1378., 1437., 1608., 1618. – *pumpuni* common.
Praesentius 1399., 1447. – *presnte* 2., 7.
Pumpua 1387. – *pumpu* common.
Quintius 1462. – *cvinte* 291., 591.
Rubrius 1532. – *rufriaś* 150.
Salvius 1393., 1411., 1625., 1674. – *śalvi* common.
Sentius 1417., 1620. – *sentī* common (but see below).
Sortes 1457., 1458., 1459., 1604., 1644. – *surte* common.
Sucius 1480. – *zuχu* 965., 1652.
Sulpicius 1368. – *sulpicial* 1641. (see below).
Thormena 1422.,]urmn[1423. – *θurmna* common.
Titius 1560., 1478., 1479., 1590., 1595., 1613. – *tite* common.
Trilius 1598. – *trile* common.
Tussanius 1606., 1607. – *tuśnu* common.
Varna 1487. – *varna* common.
Viania 1603. – *veane* common.
Velthurius 1368. – *velθuri* 81., 82., 83., 1020.
Veltia 1415. – *velti* common.
Vessius 1418., 1419. – *vesi* common.
Vet(t)ius 1471., 1472., 1414. – *veti* common.
Vibius 1353., 1412., 1443., 1482., 1609., 1625. – *vipi* common.
Viscus 1477. – *visce* 369., 1064., 1322., 1324.
Vlesius 210., 1375., *Velesius* 1578. – *vlesi* common.
Voisius 1603., 1622. – *vuisi* common

Uncertain, Etruscan counterpart from other towns:

- Brut(t)ius* 1380., 1381. – *prute* ET² Cl 1.531, 1.532, 1.1635.
Caiho 1572., 1573. – *caiθs* 948., but not necessarily a name.
Fannius 1403. – *hanu* common at Clusium.
Roscius 1400. – *rusci* ET² Cl 1.1438, 1439.
Ursius 1384., 1385. – *ursu* ET² Cr 1.93, 128, 156.⁸⁰³
Trepu(nia) 1593. – *trepū*, *trepuni* common at Clusium.

Names with changed or added suffix

- Annaeus* 1522. – *anei* common.
Asfa 1597. – *asfnal* 1194.
Aufdius 1461. – *aufle* 463., 602., 1068.

⁸⁰³ It is possible that *Ursius* in these inscriptions continues Etr. *urinate*, if the supplement *ur[inatial]* in 304. is accepted. 304., 1384. and 1385. come from the same excavations in 1840 near the Villa Palazzone.

Avilius 1364. – *aulni* 199., 200., 937., 1495.
Avius 1512. – *auna* common.
Baleria 1577. – *palni* 1056., 1133., 1134.
Cestius 1563., 1462.⁸⁰⁴ – *cestna* common.
Cas(s)ius 1372., 1400., 1411., 1562., 1569., 1575. – *casni* common.
Hostilius 1580. – *hustna* 458., 459., 460. (*hustle* ET² CI 1.1047, 1.1048).
Oclatius 1615., 1616., 1617., 1618. – *uclina* 1261.
Lus(s)ius 1466., 1467., 1468., 1582., 1583. – *lusnal* 1300.
Panatius 1576. – *pantna* common.
Pisentius 1398. – *pistis* 1645., 1646.
Pisto(rius) 1422. – *pistis* 1645., 1646.
Poblicius 1591. – *puplnal* 1163.
Proculeius 1590. – *prucu* common.
Septumuleius 1594. – *sehtumial* 971., *sehtumnal* 738.
Socconius 1463., 1464., *Socconeius* 1653. – *zuxu* 965., 1652.
Tlabnius 1578. – *tlapu* 16., 17., 18. (cognomen), *tlapuni* common at Volaterrae.
Volcaci 1369., 1370., 1579. – *velxei* common.

Etruscan counterpart from other towns:

Remmius 1416. – *remne*, *remzna* common at Clusium.
Scantius 1653. – *scanθsnas* ET² Cr 1.165.

Names with changes in the stem:

Ampudius 1420. – *amθni* 901., 902.
Arrius 1390. – *arzni* common.
Asicius 1373. – *acsi*, *asi* common.
Cascellius 1483., 1484., 1485. – *casni* common.
Granius 1600. – *cnare* 428., 429., 946.; *cranes* ET² Ta 1.41.
Laetorius 1375. – *leθari* 578.
Naevius 1565. – *cneve* common.
Sentia 1417., 1620. – *zetnei* 845., in the probable bilingual inscription.⁸⁰⁵
Spintius 1405. – *spitiui* 468.

Names with a similar beginning:

Cosconius 1610. (with *Custurna* as cognomen) – *custurna* 249., 1679., 1680.
Sulpicius 1368. – *surna* common, 81. and 82. brothers of *Sulpicius* (1368.); also, see above.

Translated names:

Nigidius 1460. (with *Sors* as cognomen) – *surte* common.

⁸⁰⁴ *Cestius Macedonicus*, a Perusian *princeps*, was according to Velleius (2.74.4) the person who started the fire that destroyed Perugia in 40 BCE, when Octavian's troops came in to plunder it,

⁸⁰⁵ CIE 4185 preferred *vetnei*, making the bilingual impossible. In the plaster cast of the Palazzo Murena, Z is quite clear. *SI* 30, 172-73, to *CIL* XI 2008, was inclined to accept the bilingual.

Iuentius 1392. – *tins* common.

Scribonius 1557., 1558., 1649. – *ziχu* 1041. (cognomen or appellative); cf. *ET*² Cl 1.320.

Probably Etruscan names without good counterparts

Nuiscinius 1586.

Seicius 1593. (possibly *Selcius*, to be connected with *selcia* *ET*² Vt 1.8, 1.9, 1.10)

Latin names without Etruscan counterparts at Perugia

Aemilius 1399,⁸⁰⁶

Calpurnius 1642.

Cornelius 1469., 1599.

Esquilinius 1597.

Laelius 1581.

Manlius 1585.

Papirius 1421.

Postumius 1592.

I emphasize that the point of view in this discussion is how an inhabitant of Perugia behaved when, by obtaining the Roman citizenship, he had to record an acceptable Roman name in the census list. It does not take a stand on the etymology of his Etruscan name – in fact, probably majority of the inhabitants had a gentilicium of Italic or Latin origin, as the three *Vornamengentilia cai, vipi* and *tite* were extremely common. It does not take a stand on the ethnic origin of the inhabitants. It does not take a stand on the etymological origin of the chosen gentilicia. I do not pretend that all connections presented above are correct, that the Etruscan gentilicium of, e.g., *Q. Aufidius C.f. Bucina* (1461.) really was *aufle*. But I believe that the lists above clearly show the continuity from the Etruscan names to the Latin gentilicia. One can compare these lists with my study of the cippi of Caere and Tarquinia. The gentilicia of the Latin inscriptions continue in 40% (Tarquinia) or 30% (Caere) of the instances Etruscan names of the cities, and the share of “Latin” names is 21% (Tarquinia) or 9% (Caere).⁸⁰⁷ At Perugia, with the same criteria (but counted from different names, not from their attestations), 83% of the Latin gentilicia on Etruscan monuments continue the Etruscan names of the city, and the share of “Latin” names is 6%.

One could ask the other way around: which common Etruscan gentilicia are absent in the Latin inscriptions of the funerary monuments that continue the Etruscan tradition? The families may have died out before the language shift, or the new gentilicium is not easily connectable with the Etruscan name. For this reason, I think that the *Acsi* family could be found behind the *Asicius* name, or that the cognomen *Aberra* of L. Titius (1595.) could hide the gentilicium *aprθe* (see above).

It is understandable that the gentilicium *cai* did not survive the language shift – only two instances of *Caius* (1571., 1611.) were presented above. Some families certainly did like *Cai Cutu* and used the cognomen as the new gentilicium in the Latin epitaphs. In this family, the omission of *cai* already happened in the Etruscan inscriptions, and *cutu* was Latinized to *Cutius*. But we have no hints about which name, for

⁸⁰⁶ A branch of *gens Aemilia* is well-known at Perugia, and *Hastia Aemili Praesenti* was an Etruscan (or Etruscanized) member of it, but we do not have the Etruscan form of the gentilicium. For the family, see SPADONI et al. 2018, 94.

⁸⁰⁷ KAIMIO 2017, 117.

instance, the Cai Carcu family chose – there are no *Gargonii* in the Latin inscriptions of Perugia.⁸⁰⁸ *tite* and *vipi* are better presented in the Latin inscriptions of Perugia.⁸⁰⁹ Of the large families of *cafate* and *caspre*, only one instance in metronymic (313b.) and one as cognomen (1576.) are encountered. Since *L. Casius L.f. Scarpia natus* (1372.) was buried in the same tomb as *θa. cafati vl. casprial* (158.), I see a possibility that they were brother and sister: in other words, *Cas(s)ius* would be chosen for *cafate*, *Scarpus* for *caspre*. There are no connectable traces of such families as Calisna, Capzna, Herini, Larci, Marcna, Satna, Sauturine, Serturu, Turpli, Veltsna, and Venete, just to mention some of the most common names. Although most of the over 100 gentilicia in the Latin inscriptions of our material could find an Etruscan counterpart at Perugia, it is possible that the onomastic turmoil at the language change was greater than presented.

The real turmoil, making an impact on all Perugian families, was then the *Bellum Perusinum* 41-40 BCE and the destruction of the city. It lost nearly all its territory, which was distrusted to the veterans of Augustus. The city itself was soon rebuilt and the municipium re-established by Augustus, probably under a new leading class. The nature of the epigraphic material also changes, and the number of funerary inscriptions radically diminishes. My task is not to go beyond the Etruscan necropoleis, but I would not agree with the view of a complete breach in the leading families of Perugia after the destruction. It is easy to find twenty gentilicia of the lists above from the inscriptions of the Imperial Age.

⁸⁰⁸ At Caere, *Gargonius* (SECI 456) on a cippus may well continue the name *carcu*, although this is found only in three archaic vase inscriptions (ET² Cr 2.103, 2.126, 2.142).

⁸⁰⁹ For the senatorial *gens Vibia* from Perugia, see SPADONI et al., 2018, 88-92.

Person Register of Hellenistic Perugia

With its 1,700 epitaphs, nearly all from the period 250-40 BCE, a great majority from the 2nd century, Perugia offers a unique demographic picture from the Hellenistic Italy, comparable only to Clusium. The number of identifiable persons is not limited to 1,700. An epitaph like **288**. *larθi : meteli : nufzrnaś : veltsneal : śex* gives the names of three persons, Larthi Meteli, her husband Nufzrna and her mother Veltsnei. **290**. *ar(nθ) : lensu la(rθial)* has Arnth Lensu, but also his father; as the son got his father's gentilicium, we know that the father was Larth Lensu. In the same way, the Latin inscription **1612**. *Metellia A(uli) f(ilia) | Nonia nata* offers Metellia, her father Aulus Metellius and her mother Nonia, married to Aulus Metellius. Consequently, the number of known Perusians grows beyond the number of epitaphs. In fact, this register of persons includes 3,083 names; persons from too mutilated inscriptions are neglected.

I cannot estimate how useful this register will be to a sociological study of Perugia, but since it did not take more than ten working days, I decided to make it. It is a by-product of my Excel data base of the Perugian epitaphs. It is good to know how it was created, and where its limitations lie.

I made it in English, transcribing the Etruscan letters *θ, φ, χ* to *th, ph* and *ch*. One has to note that this affects the alphabetical order: Achuni (*aχuni*) comes before Acsi (*acsi*). The kinship relations of the inscriptions are opened up. Father and son are given with the praenomen, mother, wife and husband with the gentilicium. If these indirect name parts include several names, all are given. The sigla of praenomina are supplemented and initial capital letters are also used for Etruscan names. The names of the Latin inscriptions are in Italic. Hence, the deceased of the above-quoted **288**. is recorded as "Larthi Meteli, daughter of Veltsnei, wife of Nufzrna". I followed the spelling of the inscription, but added in brackets clearly omitted letters, e.g., *pupu* becomes "Pu(m)pu". The common genitive forms of the gentilicium and the cognomen in male names are changed into nominatives, e.g., *la. vipiś* to "Larth Vipi". When a woman had her gentilicium (and cognomen) in the masculine genitive, it was preserved.

The alphabetical order is based primarily on the gentilicium, or, if it is missing, on the main preserved name part, the cognomen, the individual name, sometimes the praenomen. The secondary criterion is the cognomen, and the third criterion the praenomen. Of persons with the same form of gentilicium, those with praenomen and cognomen come first, those with the gentilicium alone last. I beg for mercy: the alphabetical order has not been easy; there are certainly numerous mistakes.

Then we come to the problems of the register. A large part of the inscriptions is preserved in an incomplete form or the reading is uncertain. I have used my best understanding in the supplements. I have preserved the square brackets for broken letters and brackets in opening up abbreviations (but not in praenomen sigla); underdots for uncertain letters are not used. Even in praenomen sigla, *lar.*, for instance, can stand either for "Larth" or "Laris"; in such instances, I have chosen the more common name, but preserved the brackets: "Lar(th)". The omitted gentilicia present a further problem. From the tomb of Cai Cutu, we know that the family rejected the gentilicium *cai* and started to use *cutu*, Latin *Cutius*, as the family name. I have

not supplemented “Cai” when it is not in the epitaph. This means that, as the register is in the alphabetical order of the gentilicia (see below), you find members of the family in two different places. In particular, gamonymics were often given by the cognomen; I have not tried to guess the gentilicium if the husband’s epitaph is not preserved. It is good to remember that this is not a name index: the search for a certain cognomen is difficult if you do not know the families in which it appears.

As I have mostly respected the spelling of the inscription, the variants in the family name are found in due alphabetical order, e.g., *rafe*, *rafi*, *raufe*, *raufi*, *rufi*. The metronymics and gamonymics appear in the inscriptions in the genitive, which I have avoided when giving the name of the mother or the husband. In male names, the nominative form is nearly always clear from the genitive. In the female names, we have a problem; the genitive endings *-nal* and *-nial* can both come from names in *-ni* or *-nei*; the nominative form of *vipial* can be either *vipi* or *vipia*, and so on. Inside a family, even in the case of one and the same woman, more than one feminine ending appears. I have again used my best understanding in the choice of the nominative form, but especially in hapax names, mistakes are probable. For *caial*, *titial* and *vipial*, I have consistently used the nominative forms “Caia”, “Titia” and “Vipia”; they are commoner than *cai*, *titi* and *vipi*, and they make a difference to the masculine forms.

Same persons often appear in two or more epitaphs, for instance, as the son and the father, or as the mother of several children, or as the husband and the father. In the obvious instances from the family tombs, I have unified the appearances, with more than one inscription number after the name. But I have not spent too much energy on this kind of identification, where uncertainty prevails. We have seven men called Larth Turpli, three Laris Turpli and two Arnth Turpli, fathers or sons (**1252.-1258.**). Their series is discussed in the edition, but in this register, they all have their own lines. A good guess is that the number of persons in the register would go down to 3,000 if the double appearances could be eliminated.

Perfection should naturally be the goal, but I must emphasize that this register offers only raw material for further studies. It could be full of question marks, which I have now avoided. The register should be consulted side by side with the chapter “The large family tombs” and with the edition, where both the uncertainties and further discussion of, e.g., kinship relations can be found.

- Thana Acei, wife of Arnth Velchei, mother of
Larth Velchei **140, 142**
- Acesi, mother of Sethre Casni **535**
- Thania Achonia, wife of Cascelius 1485*
- Achonia, patroness of Achonia Philematio 1599*
- Achonia Philematio, freedwoman of a woman,
wife of Cornelius Laches 1599*
- Achonius Medicus, son of Gaius 1383*
- Gaius Achonius, father of Achonius Medicus 1383*
- Achrati, daughter of Caspri, wife of Cafate **938**
- Achrati, mother of Larth Cai Laucane **118**
- Achrati, mother of Leunei **855**
- Arnth Achsi, son of Ani **358**
- Arnth Achsi, son of Arnth and Cvethnei **368**
- Arnth Achsi, father of Arnth, husband of Cvethnei
368
- Arnth Achsi, father of Larth, husband of Trili **372**
- Arnth Achu, son of Larth **295**
- Larth Achsi, son of Tretnei **371**
- Larth Achsi, son of Arnth and Trili **372**
- Larth Achu Lunce, son of Larth **294**
- Larth Achu, son of Larth and Larthi Casnia **296**
- Larth Achu Venete **680**
- Larth Achu, son of Vel **1537**
- Larth Achu, father of Larth **294**
- Larth Achu, father of Arnth **295**
- Larth Achu, father of Larth, husband of Larthi
Casnia **296**
- L(arth) Achu, husband of Caia **298**
- Vel Achu, father of Larth **1537**
- Achu, husband of Afli **611**
- Larthi Achui, wife of Šalni **1691**
- Achui, mother of Aule Cacni, wife of Arnth Cacni
617
- Aule Achuni, son of Velthuria **1020**
- Aule Achuni, father of Vel **635**
- Larthi Achuni **15**
- Sethre Achuni, father of Vel **1659**
- Sethre Achuni, son of Vel **1658**
- Thana Achuni, daughter of Larth, wife of Tite
Surte **783**
- Vel Achuni, son of Aule **635**
- Vel Achuni, son of Vel and Vercnei **636**
- Vel Achuni, son of Vel and Trazlui **637**
- Vel Achuni, son of Artini **939, 940**
- Vel Achuni, son of Sethre **1659**
- Vel Achuni, father of Vel, husband of Vercnei **636**
- Vel Achuni, father of Vel, husband of Trazlui **637**
- Vel Achuni, father of Sethre **1658**
- Achuni, mother of Aule Tite, wife of Vel Tite
1232
- Achuni, mother of Arnth Raufe, wife of Arnth
Raufe **165**
- Achuni, mother of Arnth Pleuri, wife of Arnth
Pleuri **1508**
- L(arthi) Achunia, daughter of Cestnei **292, 293**
- Aclasia, daughter of Larth, wife of Alfi **894**
- Larthi Aclinei, wife of Casni **552**
- Aclni Nufzrna, husband of [] **1130**
- Aconia Lais, freedwoman of Lucius 1465*
- Aconia Quartilla, daughter of Lucius 1386*
- Aconia, freedwoman of Gaius, daughter of Pum-
pua 1387*
- Lucius Aconius Medicus, son of Lucius 1382*
- Gaius Aconius, patron of Aconia 1387*
- Larth Aconius, freedman of Lucius, son of Ursia
1385*
- Lucius Aconius, father of Lucius Aconius Medicus
1382*
- Lucius Aconius, father of Aconia Quartilla 1386*
- Lucius Aconius, patron of Larth Aconius 1385*
- Aconius, husband of Ursia Quarta 1384*
- Aule Acri Cai **871**
- Acri, mother of Larth Cutu **1333**
- Acri, mother of Vel Atuni, wife of Vel Atuni **1686**
- Acri, mother of Titi **1242**
- Acri, husband of Caia Aruseria **928**
- Acri, husband of Caia **951**
- Arnth Acsi Palpe, father of Arnth **381, 382**
- Arnth Acsi Palpe, son of Arnth **381, 382**
- Arnth Acsi, son of Aneinei **361**
- Arnth Acsi, son of Larznei **370**
- Arnth Acsi, son of Arnth and Fatini **374**
- Arnth Acsi, son of Larth **376**
- Arnth Acsi, son of Caprunti **383**
- Arnth Acsi, father of Sethre, husband of Trili **373**

- Arnth Acsi, father of Arnth, husband of Fatini **374**
 Arnth Acsi, father of Larth **375**
 Arnth Acsi, son of Aneinei **360**
 Arnth Acsi, son of Larth and Carni **364, 365**
 Arnth Acsi, son of Thethure **379**
 Arnth Acsi, son of Visci **369**
 Aule Acsi, son of Cuethnei **367**
 Laris Acsi, son of Veilia Caia **362**
 Larth Acsi, son of Veilia Caia **363**
 Larth Acsi, son of Larth **377**
 Larth Acsi, son of Thethure **380**
 Larth Acsi, father of Arnth, husband of Carni **364**
 Larth Acsi, father of Larth **377**
 Larth Acsi, son of Ani **359**
 Larth Acsi, son of Arnth **375**
 Larth Acsi, father of Arnth **376**
 Sethre Acsi, son of Arnth and Trili **373**
 Thethure Acsi, father of Arnth and Larth **378, 379, 380**
 Acsi, son of Ca[**366**
 Acsi, mother of Hermi **176**
 Acsi, wife of Herme **517**
 Acsi, wife of Uvilane **518**
 Acsi, husband of Larthia Trili **588**
 Acsi, husband of Larthia Helsci **1081**
Adanatis, freedman of Cafatia **1374**
Hastia Aemili, wife of Praesentius **1399**
 Afi **1553**
 Afle Carcu, husband of Thana Vlesi **209**
 Arnth Afle Vetii, son of Vipia **456**
 Laris Afle, son of Ulthi **462**
 Larth Afle, son of Sethre and Hustnei **459**
 Larth Afle, son of Sethre and Aneinei **464**
 Larth Afle, father of Sethre, husband of Facui **457**
 Sethre Afle, son of Larth and Facui **457, 458**
 Sethre Afle, father of Larth, husband of Hustnei **459, 464**
 Tarchi Afle, son of Ulthi **461**
 Afle, husband of Thana Petruai **547**
 Afle, husband of Larthia Caia **1538**
 Larthia Afli, daughter *farthana* of Aneinei, wife of Arzn[i] **780**
 Afli, daughter of Hustnei **460**
- Afi, wife of Achu **611**
 Af[li], mother of Aule Senti **713**
 Thana Afunei, wife of Sentinate **1505**
Ahonea, mother of [] **1605**
 Aule Ahsi, son of Vel and Cafati **895**
 Larthi Ahsi, wife of Plaute **263**
 Larthi Ahsi, mother of Larth Aruseri, wife of Larth Aruseri **529, 530, 1552**
 Vel Ahsi, father of Aule, husband of Cafati **895**
 Ahsi, mother of Larth Pumpu Plute, wife of Laris Pumpu Plute **262**
 Fasti Ahs[i]a, daughter of Cafat[i] **779**
 Al+ini, mother of Fasti Tret(nei) **614**
 Thana Aleiesi, wife of Nacera **1540**
 Ale(thna ?), husband of Hasti Cisuita **999**
Alexa(n)d[er], husband of Laelia Aulnia **1402**
 Arnth [Al]f(a), son of Arnth and Sa[] **899**
 Arnth [Al]fa, father of Arnth, husband of Sa[] **899**
 Aule Alfa, son of Aule **718**
 Aule Alfa, son of Aule **719**
 Aule Alfa, father of Aule, Larth and Vel **717, 718, 719, 724,**
 Aule Alfa, son of Usni **722**
 Aule Alfa, son of Aneinei **721**
 Aule (Alfa), father of Larth **716**
 Larth (Alfa), son of Aule **716**
 Larth Alfa, son of Vel and Temuni **723**
 Larth Alfa, son of Aule **717**
 Vel Alfa, son of Aule **724**
 Vel Alfa, son of Vel and Temuni **720**
 Vel Alfa, son of Vel and Petruai **726**
 Vel Alfa, father of Vel and Larth, husband of Temuni **720, 723**
 Vel Alfa, father of Vel, husband of Petruai **726**
 Alfa, son of [] **727**
 Alfa, husband of Veilia Arzanei **728**
 Alfa, husband of Thana Ancari **729**
 [Al]fa **900**
 Alfei, daughter of Larth **1531**
 Larthi Alfi, daughter of Ani, wife of Vel[ts]na **1358**
 Thana Alfi, daughter of Caprasi **80**

- Thana Alfi, daughter of Petvi, wife of Titui **625, 626**
- Thana Alfi, daughter of Menznei **648**
- Hastia Alfia, freedwoman of Lucius* **1486**
- Alfi, mother of Larth Surna, wife of Arnth Surna **79**
- Alfi, mother of Vel Titui, wife of Larth Titui **624**
- Alfi, mother of Larthi Velthinei **702**
- Alfi, mother of Arnth Resu **834**
- Alfi, husband of Aclasia **894**
- Lucius Alfius, patron of Hastia Alfia* **1486**
- Thana Aluni **577**
- Alzini, mother of Fasti Tret(nei) **614**
- Ampudius, husband of Arsinia* **1420**
- Fasti Amthni, wife of Zuchu **1652**
- Amthni, daughter of Velcznei, wife of Capzna **901**
- Thania Amthnia, daughter of Sertur(i) **902**
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- Hastia Salvia* **1674**
- Tertia Salvia, daughter of Sextus* **1404**
- Thana Śalvia, daughter of Caia **957**
- Śalvia, mother of Aule Cutu, wife of Larth Cutu
1325
- Sa(l)via, mother of Aulus Cutius* **1393**
- Gaius Salvius, son of Cassia* **1411** *Sextus Salvius,*
father of Tertia Salvia **1404**
- Aule Sameru, son of Titia **1058**
- Sapice, husband of Thana Caia Carcu **1630**
- Laris Sarapiu Ruple **1510**
- Śarapiu, lautni of Śerturi **1511**
- Satln(ei), mother of Larth C(ai) Caspre, wife of
Aule C(ai) **757**
- Satlnei **758**
- Arnth Satna, son of Aule **226**
- Arnth Satna, son of Petruai **231**
- Aule Satna, son of Lachumni **230**
- Aule Satna, father of Arnth **226**
- Aule Satna, father of Larth, husband of Lauchum-
ni **228**
- Laris Satna, son of Larth and Menzni **1170**
- Laris Satna, father of Vel **1167**
- Larth Satna, father of [V]el **227**
- Larth Satna, son of Aule and Lauchumni **228**
- Larth Satna, father of Sethre **1168**
- Larth Satna, father of Laris, husband of Menzni
1170
- Larth Satna, son of Larth **1169**
- Larth Satna, father of Larth **1169**
- Sethre Satna, son of Larth **1168**
- Vel Satna, son of Laris **1167**
- [V]el Satna, son of Larth **227**
- Satna, husband of Thana Ancari **225**
- Satna, husband of Fasti Lachumni **229**
- Satna, patron of Velu **1668**
- Satnei, mother of Aulza Custurna **1692**
- Satn[ei], mother of Larthi Leunei, wife of Larth
Leuna **571**
- Satre, husband of [] **848**
- Saturini, daughter of Vipia **1172**
- Sautri, mother of Fasti Cestnei, wife of Vel Cest-
nei **992**
- Arnth Sauturine, father of Aule **1171**
- Aule Sauturine, son of Arnth **1171**
- Sauturine, patron of Larthur **765**
- Sauturine, husband of Raufi **822**
- Sauturine, husband of Thana Visci **1064**
- Larthi Sauturini, daughter of Nufzrn(ei) **1173**

- Sauturini, daughter of Velthurnei, wife of Ch-
vestna **1174**
- Sauturini, mother of Larth Tlapu **16**
- Sauturini, mother of Velea **17**
- Scantia, wife of Socconeius* **1653**
- Larnth Scarpe, lautni **211**
- Scarpe, husband of Tania Vlesia **210**
- Scarpia, mother of Lucius Casius, wife of Lucius*
1372
- Scarpia, patroness of Lucius Scarpus* **211**
- Scarpini, lautni of Larth Rutsni **706**
- Lucius Scarpus Popa, freedman of Scarpia* **211**
- Scatni, mother of Larth Pumpu Plute, wife of
Larth Pumpu **267**
- Fasti Scatia **510**
- Vel (Sceva), son of Sceva* **1619**
- Sceva, father of Vel* **1619**
- Arnth Scefi **630**
- V[el] Scefi[i], son of V[el] **1211**
- V[el] Scefi[i], father of V[el] **1211**
- Fasti Scefia **201**
- Arnth Scevi, father of Aule **631**
- Aule Scevi, son of Arnth **631**
- Scevi[i], mother of Larth Ruthena **1128**
- Arnth Sce(vu), father of Larth **1682**
- Arnth Scevu, son of Aule **1681**
- Arnth Sce(vu), father of Larth **1682**
- Aule Scevu, father of Arnth **1681**
- Larth Sce(vu), son of Arnth **1682**
- Larth Sce(vu), son of Larth **1683**
- Larth Sce(vu), father of Larth **1683**
- Hastia Scribonia Erotis, freedwoman of Philica*
1649
- Lucius Scribonius Barba, freedman of Lucius* **1557**
- Lucius Scribonius, patron of Lucius Scribonius*
Barba **1557**
- Lucius Scribonius Clodianus, son of Lucius* **1558**
- Lucius Scribonius, father of Lucius Scribonius*
Clodianus **1558**
- Še() **1547**
- Secsti, mother of Laris, Larthi and Thana Anei
Marchna, wife of Laris Anei **1449, 1454**
and **1455**
- Larth Sefri, son of Cusnei **1629**
- Veilea Sef(ri), daughter of Uni, mother of Arnth
Atnei, wife of Arnth Atnei **932, 1193**
- Sefri, wife of Capna **975**
- Sehtmni **738**
- Sehtumi, mother of Larth Capz[na] **971**
- Thana Seicia Trepu **1593**
- Larthi Sein(i)a **1025**
- Seini, mother of Vel Veli **1024**
- Selatruai, mother of Aule Hamphna, wife of Larth
Hampna **42**
- Larth Šelvašl Athnu **1213**
- Šelvathre, husband of Caceinei **177**
- Thana Šelvathri, daughter of Caceinei, wife of
Cusithe **178**
- Aule Semthni, son of Helveri **512**
- Aule Semthni, son of Aule and Helveri **513**
- Arnth Semthni, son of Aule and Helveri **1176**
- Aule Semthni, father of Aule and Arnth, husband
of Helveri **513, 1176**
- Larthi Semthni, wife of Cutu **274**
- Aule Semtni, son of Laris **1177**
- Laris Semtni, father of Aule **1177**
- Arnth Senate **35**
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- Senatia **1178**
- Aule Senti Cauna, son of Larth **1550**
- Larth Senti Cauna, father of Aule **1550**
- Aule Senti, son of Af[li] **713**
- Senti, mother of Larthi Lethi **825**
- Sent[i], husband of Thana Vesi **1520**
- Sen[ti], mother of [L]aris Capsna **870**
- Senti, husband of Hasti Cai **872**
- Senti, husband of Larthi Cusnia **873**
- Sentia, wife of Annius* **1417**
- Arnth Sentinate, father of Larth, husband of Uni
1180
- Aule Sentinate, son of Aule **1179**
- Aule Sentinate, son of Vlesi **1182**
- Aule Sentinate, father of Aule **1179**
- Larth Sentinate, son of Arnth and Uni **1180**
- Lar(th) Sentinate, son of Arzni **1181**
- Larth Sentinate, son of Larth and Pumpuni **1183**

- Larth Sentinate, father of Larth, husband of Pumpuni **1183**
- Sentinate, husband of Thana Rafi **66**
- Sentinate, husband of Thana Caia **215**
- Sentinate, husband of Lethari **578**
- Sentinate, husband of Thana Afunei **1505**
- Sent[inate], husband of Thana Vlesi **1188**
- Fasti Sentinati, daughter of Vlesi **1187**
- Fasti Sentinati, daughter of Larcnei **1189**
- Larhi Se(n)tinati **1185**
- Thana Sentinati, daughter of Letheri, wife of Petruni **579**
- Thana Sentinati **1184**
- Sentinati, wife of Caini **1186**
- Sentinati, mother of Larce Veli **481**
- Sentinati, mother of Sethre Titie, wife of [V]el Titie **651**
- Sentinati, mother of Larth Cai Cnare, wife of Aule Cai **946**
- Sentinati, mother of Aule Caini, wife of Larth Caini **959**
- [S]enti[n]ati, mother of Fasti Caine(i) **652**
- Sent(inati), mother of Arnth Custurna **1679**
- Sentinatia, mother of Larth Caini, wife of Larth Caini **960**
- Gaius Sentius, son of Gaius and Ve[...]ia* **1620**
- Gaius Sentius, father of Gaius Sentius, husband of Ve[...]ia* **1620**
- Lucius Septumuleius, son of Spurius* **1594**
- Spurius Septumuleius, father of Lucius Septumuleius* **1594**
- Ser()*, mother of *Lucius Annaeus, wife of Lucius* **1522**
- Thania Śerthuri, wife of Sahini **1214**
- Larth Śertu Haphna **1217**
- Fasti Śerturi, wife of Faru **522**
- Thana Śerturi **8**
- Thana Śerturi, daughter of Murinei **903**
- Thana Śerturi, wife of St[] **1215**
- Śerturi, wife of Capzna **1635**
- Śerturi, patron of Śarapiu **1511**
- Śerturi, mother of Arnth Presnte **7**
- Śerturi, mother of Arnth Petvi and Larhi Petui, wife of Aule Petvi **189, 190**
- Śerturi, mother of Laris Faru **521**
- Śerturi, mother of Larth Velthurna, wife of Larth Velthurna **802**
- Sertur(i), mother of Thania Amthnia **902**
- Śer(turi), wife of Surt(e) **1636**
- Thana Śerturia **1529**
- Aule Serturni, son of Aule **1192**
- Aule Serturni, father of Aule **1192**
- Serturu, husband of Vipia Sameruni **1057**
- Arnth Śerturu, son of Cacni **1216**
- Śerturu, husband of Urinati **1638**
- Servei, daughter of Arnth and Titia Phacsnei **1191**
- Arnth Servi, father of Servei, husband of Titia Phacsnei **1191**
- Larth Servi, son of Titia **1190**
- Sethre. son **1552**
- Arnth Setri Caspre **1631**
- Larhi Se(tri) Vesi, wife of Rezu **838**
- Arnth Setri, son of Arnth **490**
- Arnth Setri, father of Arnth **490**
- Larhi Setri, wife of Velthurna **803**
- Setri, mother of Sethre Velthurna **804**
- Larhi Setumi, wife of Casni **557**
- Thana Setumi, daughter of Velthur and Ur[inati], wife of Cestna **304**
- Thana Setumi, wife of Laris Pumpu Nufzrna **697**
- Śiate, husband of Hermi **782**
- Lachu Sicle, husband of Fasti **41**
- Sicle, husband of Thana Teti **1226**
- Silaithe, husband of Thana Clumnei **1001**
- Slaithe, patron of Arnziu **414, 416**
- Slebaris, slave of Cavelius* **1570**
- Sminthinei, mother of Laris and Vel Cai Cestna and Larthia Caia, wife of Laris Cai **299, 300, 301**
- Snute, husband of La(r)thi Petruni **347**
- Veilia Snuti, daughter of Vetia **343**
- Snuti, wife of Huzetna **344**
- Socconeius, husband of Scantia* **1653**
- Gaius Socconius Dasius, freedman of Gaius* **1463**
- Gaius Socconius Olipor, freedman of Gaius* **1464**

- Gaius Socconius, patron of Gaius Socconius*
Dasius and Gaius Socconius Olipor **1463, 1464**
- Decimus Sortes Dionisius, freedman of Lucius, father of Aulus and Lucius Sortes, husband of Fas(ti)* **1457, 1458, 1459**
- Aulus Sortes, son of Decimus and Fas(ti)* **1458**
- Lucius Sortes Nic(er), son of Decimus* **1459**
- Aulus Sortes Pistrus, freedman of Sortes* **1644**
- Gaius Sortes* **1604**
- Lucius Sortes, patron of Decimus Sortes Dionisius* **1457**
- Sortes, patron of Aulus Sortes Pistrus* **1644**
- Lucius Spintius Antioocus, freedman of Lucius* **1405**
- Lucius Spintius, patron of Lucius Spintius Antioocus* **1405**
- Fasti Spuri, wife of Vetie **399**
- Spuri, daughter of Cafati **400**
- Spurie, husband of [Pum]pui **401**
- Larth Spurina, son of Laris **1349**
- Laris Spurina, father of Larth **1349**
- Thefri Spurina, patron of Lachu **1220**
- Spurina, husband of Thana Tatnei **1221**
- Spurinei, daughter of Tatnei, wife of Paniathe **1222**
- Spurinei, mother of Thana Caia **1527**
- Spurinei, mother of Thana Paniathi **797**
- Sruznei, mother of Thana Velnea, wife of Aule Velna **660**
- St[], husband of Thana Šerturi **1215**
- Starnithi, mother of Aule Petvi, wife of Petue **182, 184**
- Thana Statsn[i] **1223**
- Strabonia, mother of Ennius* **1621**
- Thanicu Su[] **1200**
- Sucia, mother of Aulus Petronius, wife of Lucius* **1480**
- Sulpicia, mother of Laris Leuna, wife of Laris Leuna **1641**
- Gaius Sulpicius, son of Gaius and Velthuria* **1368**
- Gaius Sulpicius, father of Gaius Sulpicius, husband of Velthuria* **1368**
- Arnth Surna, son of Aule **78**
- Arnth Surna, son of Aule and Pacsni **89**
- Arnth Surna, son of Arnth and Petruai **90**
- Arnth Surna, son of Arnth and Urinati **91**
- Arnth Surna, father of Arnth, husband of Petruai **90**
- Arnth Surna, father of Arnth, husband of Urinati **91**
- Arnth Surna, father of Larth, husband of Alfi **79**
- Arnth Surna, father of Aule and Larth, husband of Velthuri **81, 82**
- Aule Surna, father of Arnth **78**
- Aule Surna, son of Aule and Vipia **84**
- Aule Surna, son of Aule and Herini **87**
- Aule Surna, son of Arnth and Velthur[i] **81**
- Aule Surna, father of Aule, husband of Vipia **84**
- Aule Surna, father of Aule, husband of Herini **87**
- Aule Surna, father of Arnth, husband of Pacsni **89**
- Larth Surna, son of Arnth and Alfi **79**
- Larth Surna, son of Arnth and Velthuri **82**
- Surna, husband of Fasti Herini **88**
- Surna, husband of Fasti Velthuri **83**
- Surna, husband of Veilia Vipia **85**
- Thana Surnei, wife of Fethiu **92**
- Surnei, mother of Larth Cai Uhtave, wife of Vel Cai **891**
- Surt(e), husband of Šer(turi) **1636**
- Surte, husband of La(r)thi Cai **597**
- Fasti Surteš **1196**
- Veilia Surti, daughter of Velcznei **1197**
- Surti, mother of [L]arthia Luesnei **1350**
- Velisa Surtia, daughter of Pistis **1646**
- Aule Suthrina, father of Larth, husband of Asfnei **1194**
- Larth Suthrina, son of Aule and Asfnei **1194**
- Suthrinei, mother of Aule and Lar(th) Rafi **58, 59**
- Au[le] Sutrina **1195**
- Thana Sutrinei, wife of Raufi **60**
- Sutu, husband of Avulni **1198**
- Thana Sut(u)š **1199**
- Sethre Svetu **1218**
- Svetui, daughter of Aule, wife of Capsna **1219**
- T[], husband of Larthi Cafati **559**
- Arnth Tantle, son of Larsti **690, 691**

- Arnth Tantle, son of Laris **689**
 Aule Tantle, son of Cutun[i] **692**
 Aule Tantle, son of Vethnei **693**
 Laris Tantle, father of Arnth **689**
 Tantle, husband of Thania Vipia **1059**
 Sethre Tarchi, son of Luesnei **218**
 Larthi Tarchnia **607**
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 Thana Tatnei, mother of Spurinei, wife of Spurina
 1221, 1222
 Tatnei, mother of Aule Vlesi, wife of Arnth Vlesi
 208
 Tatnei, mother of Arnth Casni, wife of Larth
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 Teleia, mother of Larth Velti **1031**
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 Arnth Teperi, son of Larth and Veiani **865**
 Larth Teperi, father of Arnth, husband of Veiani
 865
 Teperi, mother of Larth Petru Lethiu **875**
 Teperi, mother of Aule Lethiu, wife of Aule
 Lethiu **880**
 [L]arth Teti He++a **1225**
 Arnth Teti, father of Aule **476**
 Aule Teti, father of Vel, husband of Rafia **678**
 Aule Teti, son of Arnth **476**
 Laris Teti, son of Laris and Titia **1227**
 Laris Teti, father of Laris, husband of Titia **1227**
 Thana Teti, wife of Sicile **1226**
 Vel Teti, son of Aule and Rafia **678**
 Teti, husband of Thana Vipi **1055**
 Teti, husband of [.]sui **1152**
 Teti, wife of Auna **701**
 Tetia, mother of Larthi Aulnei **937**
Tetia, mother of Mesia Arun(tia), wife of Lucius **846**
 Tetia, mother of Aule Plitine **1156**
 Tetni, mother of Aule and Sethre Cutu, wife of
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 Tetni, mother of Aule Rechu **1670**
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 Thana #nite+#, daughter of Arnth **679**
 Thana, lautnitha, wife of Arzniu **415**
 Thana, lautnitha of Tretna **1251**
 Thana, wife **1276**
 [Th]an[ch]vil, mother of Lethi Cai **1097**
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 Th[a]ni[a] **1566**
Thania, freedwoman of Naevia **1565**
 Larth Thepri Luesna **1086**
 Thepri, mother of Aule Cutu, wife of Arnth Cutu
 1315
 Thepriu, lautni of Clanti **1000**
 Thera, husband of Vipi **1054**
 Thania Thesei, daughter of Veltia **1087**
 Larth Theth[ure] **378**
 Thil[], husband of Lethi Cai **1097**
 Thlecini, mother of Larth Turpli, wife of Turpli
 1256
Aulus Thormena, son of Aulus and Pisto(ria)
 1422
Aulus Thormena, father of Aulus, husband of
 Pisto(ria)
 Larth Thurmana, father of Thurmana **888**
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 Arnth Thurmna, father of Aule, husband of Marsi
 887
 Arnth Thurmna, son of Marsi **1088**
 Aule Thurmna, son of Arnth and Marsi **887**
 Sethre Thurmna, father of Arnth, husband of Ra-
 pli **884, 885**
 Vel Thurmna **1089**
 Thurmna, patron of Cai Creice **889**
 Thurmna, husband of Vesi **1038**
 Thurmna, husband of Larthi Petru **886**
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[Th]urmn[] **1423**

Thutni, mother of La(r)thi Caia **223**

Arnth Tinani, father of Vel **1228**

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Arnth Tiniś, husband of Tiniś **653**

Arnth Tins, son of Arnth and Vipia **668**

Arnth Tins, father of Arnth, husband of Vipia **668**

Arnth Tiniś, son of Vel **654**

Arnth Tiniś, son of Arnth and Cafati **657**

Arnth Tiniś, son of Vel and Vetī **662, 663**

Arnth Tiniś, son of Arnth and Lunci **665**

Arnth Tiniś, father of Vel, husband of Atuni **655**

Arnth Tiniś, father of Arnth, husband of Cafati **657**

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Vel Tiniś, son of Velethi **659**

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661, 662, 663, 664

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Tiniś, husband of Larthi Vipi **418**

Vel Tiniś, patron of Larth **417**

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Arnth Tite Larthuru, father of Larth **1234**

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Larth Tite Larthuru, son of Felcinati **1235**

Aule Tite Marchna, son of Caia **467**

Aule Tite Marcna, son of Vel **466**

Aule Ti(te) Marcna, son of Patlni **469**

[L]aris Tite Marcna **473**

Vel Tite Marcna, father of Aule **466**

Vel Tite Marcna **465**

[Ti]te Marchna, son of Can[] **1690**

Tite Marcna **1231**

Aule Tite Papa **1238**

Laris Tite Patrūni, son of Laris and Caspri **407**

Laris Tite Patrūni, father of Laris, husband of
Caspri **407**

Vel Ti(te) Petru, son of Hamphnei **413**

Aule Tite Petrūni **403**

Aule Tite Petrūni, son of Vel **404**

Laris Tite Petrūni, son of Vel and Clanti **409**

Laris Tite Petrūni, son of Laris and Vesta(rcni)
412

Laris Tite Petrūni, father of Laris, husband of
Vesta(rcni) **412**

Laris Tite Petrūni **1236**

Larth Tite Petrūni, son of Vel and Clanti **410**

Larth Ti(te) Petrūni, father of Vel, husband of
Capznei **411**

Vel Tite Petrūni, father of Aule **404**

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band of Clanti **409, 410**

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nei **408**

Vel Ti(te) Petrūni, son of Vel and Aneinei **408**

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Larth Tite Rafe, son of Vipia **592**

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Arnth Tite Surte, son of Percuni **1697**

Tite Surte, husband of Thana Achuni **783**

Tite Ufle **1233**

Arnth Tite Vesi, father of Vel **735**

Aule Tite Vesi, son of Vel and Caceinei **734**

Aule Tite Vesi, son of Mania **740**

Aule Ti(te) Vesi, father of Vel, husband of Hermi
741

Sethre Tite Vesi, father of Vel, husband of Cusithi
739

Sethre Ti(te) Vesi, son of Vel and Vipia Sehtmnei
738

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Vel Tite Vesi, son of Sethre and Cusithi **739**

Vel Tite Vesi **743**

Vel Tite Vesi, father of Aule, husband of Caceinei
734

Vel Tite Vesi son of Arnth **735**

Vel Ti(te) Vesi, father of Sethre, husband of Vipia
Sehtmnei **738**

Tite Ve+++ , son of Larth **1230**

Aule T[i]te, son of [V]el and Achuni **1232**

Larth Tite, son of Larth and Velarei **1229**

Larth Tite, son of Titia **1647**

- Larth Tite, father of Larth, husband of Velarei
1229
- Larth Tite, father of Tite Ve+++ **1230**
- Larth Tite **1237**
- Sethre Tite, son of Lachumni **108**
- Vel Tite, husband of Herini **673**
- [V]el T[i]te, father of Aule, husband of Achuni
1232
- Ti(te), husband of Herini **1083**
- Tite, patron of Titne **1250**
- Tite, husband of Ani Cantini **14**
- Fasti Titi Hermia, daughter of Cestnei **771**
- Fasti Titi Petruī, wife of Cacei **284**
- [.]a Titi Varnei, wife of Aule Tite Varna **1244**
- Fasti Titi **281**
- [Lar]thi Titi **1241**
- Thana Titi, daughter of L[], wife of Herme **1243**
- Titi, husband of Thana Vipia **593**
- Titi, husband of Curanei **471**
- Titi, husband of Thania Atnei **934**
- Titi, wife of Ani **1240**
- Titi, daughter of Acri, wife of Velimna **1242**
- Thana Ti(tia) Acsi **1239**
- Fasti Ti(tia) Marchnei, daughter of Patlni, wife of
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- Titia Phacsni, mother of Servei and Larth Servi,
wife of Arnth Servi **1190. 1191**
- Fasti Titia, wife of Peti **405, 406**
- Hasti Ti(tia), wife of Cna(re) **1643**
- Larthia Titia, mother of Arnth Cutu, wife of Se-
thre Cutu **1308**
- Larthi Titia, daughter of Atia **23**
- Larthi Titia, daughter of Caia **1246**
- L[ar]thi [Ti]tia, wife of Marchna **1248**
- Thana Titia **164**
- Veilia Titia, wife of Capzna **1247**
- Titia, mother of Arnth Rafe, wife of Arnth Rafe **62**
- Titia, mother of Vipia Sameruni **1057**
- Titia, mother of Aule Sameru **1058**
- Titia, mother of [V]el P[res]nte **1158**
- Ti[t]ia, mother of Laris Vetī, wife of Laris Vetī
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- Titia, mother of Larth Rezu **836**
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- Titia, mother of Laris Teti, wife of Laris Teti **1227**
- Titia, mother of Aule Cutu, wife of Sethre Cutu
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The volumes of *Studi Etruschi* have only lately started to indicate the source of its photographs. Assumably most of them come from the *Archivio Fotografico della Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Umbria*. The same probably concerns DAREGGI 1972, BARBANERA 1990 and NATI 2008. From the same source come the photographs of *Lapidario* 2004; they are photography by V. Pescari.

All photographs not listed here are by the author.

- Fig. 9: Photography by S. Carboni.
- Fig. 12: From NATI 2008, 65, Scheda 4.8.
- Fig. 14: From *Lapidario* 2004, 60, No. 209.
- Fig. 16: Photography by S. Carboni.
- Fig. 17: From the *Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria*.
- Fig. 24: From the *Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria*.
- Fig. 29: From *Studi Etruschi* 50, 1984, Tav. 41.
- Fig. 37: From *Studi Etruschi* 39, 1971, Tav. 76.
- Fig. 38: From the *Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria*.
- Fig. 43: From BARBANERA 1990, Fig. 20.
- Fig. 44: From the *Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria*.
- Fig. 45: Photography by F. Callegari.
- Fig. 67: From BARBANERA 1990, Fig. 22.
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- Fig. 91: From *Lapidario* 2004, 47, No. 146.
- Fig. 101: From *Lapidario* 2004, 54, No. 179.
- Fig. 105: From BARBANERA 1990, Fig. 21.
- Fig. 107: From *Lapidario* 2004, 46, No. 142.
- Fig. 109: From *Lapidario* 2004, 69, No. 209.
- Fig. 110: From *Lapidario* 2004, 46, No. 143.
- Fig. 112: From *Lapidario* 2004, 38, No. 98.
- Fig. 115: From *Lapidario* 2004, 49, No. 155.
- Fig. 120: From *Studi Etruschi* 39, 1971, Tav. 72.
- Fig. 127: From *Lapidario* 2004, 28, No. 40.

Fig. 145: From *Studi Etruschi* 39, 1971, Tav. 69.

Fig. 146: From *Studi Etruschi* 38, 1970, Tav. 43.

Fig. 147: From DAREGGI 1972, Tav. 36.

Fig. 153: From BARBANERA 1990, Fig. 20.

Fig. 158: From *Lapidario* 2004, 43, No. 136.

Fig. 164: From the *Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria*.

Fig. 170: From the *Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria*.

Fig. 171; From the *Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria*.

Fig. 172: From the *Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria*.

ET² 5.2: From *SE* 2, 1928, 343-402.

ET² 5.3: From CALDERINI – MASSARELLI 2013, Tav. 1.

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*ET*² = *Etruskische Texte* I-II, herausgegeben von G. Meiser auf Grundlage der Erstausgabe von H. Rix, Hamburg 2014.

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Concordance

Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum

CIE	FIP	CIE	FIP	CIE	FIP
1813	1505	3355	22	3385	959
3325	1	3356	1560	3386	960
3326	21	3357	638	3387	1186
3327	7	3359	639	3388	1166
3328	8	3359	639	3389	969
3329	1399	3360	640	3390	968
3330	1400	3361	641	3391	635
3331	1557	3362	642	3392	636
3332	1558	3363	643	3393	637
3333	9	3364	1068	3394	617
3334	10	3365	1069	3395	618
3335	11	3366	1071	3396	619
3336	12	3367	1073	3397	620
3337	1559	3368	1074	3399	621
3338	1467	3369	1072	3400	707
3339	1468	3370	644	3401	1125
3340	1469	3371	645	3403	965
3341	1470	3372	1473	3404	1076
3342	1471	3373	1474	3405	1182
3343	1472	3374	1475	3406	998
3344	1401	3375	1476	3407	999
3345	1402	3376	646	3408	622
3346	15	3377	647	3409	623
3347	1403	3378	648	3410	624
3348	1404	3379	649	3411	625
3349	1405	3380	1477	3412	626
3350	16	3381	650	3413	627
3351	17	3382	651	3414	526
3352	18	3382	652	3415	628
3353	19	3383	1478	3416	629
3354	20	3384	1479	3417	630

3418	631	3467	42	3510	80
3419	1211	3468	43	3511	81
3420	1212	3469	1363	3512	82
3421	1024	3470	44	3513	83
3422	1025	3471	45	3514	1368
3423	1027	3472	46	3515	84
3424	1026	3473	47	3516	85
3425	632	3474	48	3516	87
3425	771	3475	49	3517	86
3426	633	3476	50	3518	1377
3427	634	3477	51	3519	88
3428	1011	3478	52	3520	89
3429	1237	3479	53	3521	90
3430	900	3480	54	3522	91
3431	772	3481	55	3523	92
3431	772	3482	56	3524	93
3433	768	3483	57	3525	94
3434	769	3484	58	3526	95
3440	864	3485	59	3527	96
3441	870	3486	60	3528	97
3442	871	3487	61	3529	98
3443	872	3488	62	3530	99
3444	873	3489	63	3531	100
3445	25	3490	64	3532	101
3446	26	3491	65	3533	102
3447	27	3492	66	3534	103
3448	28	3493	67	3535	104
3449	29	3494	1364	3536	105
3450	30	3495	68	3537	106
3451	1480	3496	69	3538	107
3452	1481	3497	70	3539	154
3454	31	3498	1365	3540	155
3454	1482	3499	71	3541	156
3455	32	3500	72	3542	157
3456	33	3501	1366	3543	158
3457	34	3502	73	3544	159
3458	35	3503	74	3545	1372
3459	36	3504	75	3546	1374
3460	37	3505	76	3547	1373
3461	38	3506	1367	3548	160
3462	39	3507	77	3549	161
3463	40	3508	78	3550	162
3464	41	3509	79	3551	163

3552	1371	3595b	149	3638	659
3553	164	3596	150	3639	660
3554	910	3597	151	3640	661
3555	1009	3598a	152	3641	662
3556	165	3598b	153	3642	664
3557	166	3599	1268	3643	665
3558	167	3600	1121	3644	666
3560	168	3601	131	3645	667
3561	169	3602	132	3646	668
3562	170	3603	133	3647	1392
3563	171	3604	134	3648	663
3565	952	3605	135	3649	669
3566	1174	3606	136	3650	670
3567	108	3607	137	3651	671
3568	109	3608	1561	3652	672
3569	110	3609	1562	3653	673
3570	111	3610	138	3654	173
3571	112	3611	273	3655	174
3572	113	3612	274	3656	175
3573	1173	3613	275	3657	1411
3574	114	3614	276	3658	176
3575	115	3615	1412	3659	177
3576	116	3616	277	3660	178
3577	117	3617	260	3661	179
3578	118	3619	261	3662	180
3579	119	3620	262	3663	181
3580	120	3621	263	3663	182
3581	121	3622	1378	3664	183
3582	122	3623	264	3665	184
3583	123	3624	265	3666	185
3584	124	3625	266	3667	186
3585	125	3626	267	3668	187
3586	126	3627	268	3669	188
3587	127	3628	269	3670	189
3588	128	3629	270	3671	190
3589	129	3630	271	3672	191
3590	130	3631	272	3673	192
3591	172	3632	653	3674	193
3592	892	3633	654	3675	194
3593	893	3634	655	3676	195
3594a	146	3635	656	3677	196
3594b	147	3636	657	3678	197
3595a	148	3637	658	3679	198

3680	199	3725	293	3769	318
3681	200	3726	294	3770	319
3682	201	3727	295	3771	320
3683	202	3728	296	3772	321
3684	203	3729	297	3773	322
3685	204	3730	298	3774	1041
3686	205	3731	1382	3774	1042
3687	206	3732	1383	3775	323
3688	207	3733	1384	3776	324
3689	208	3734	1385	3777	325
3690	209	3735	1386	3778	326
3691	210	3736	299	3779	327
3692	211	3737	300	3780	328
3693	1375	3738	301	3781	329
3694	212	3739	302	3782	330
3695	213	3740	303	3783	331
3696	214	3741	304	3784	332
3697	215	3742	1483	3785	333
3698	216	3743	1484	3786	334
3701	217	3744	1485	3787	335
3702	218	3745	1486	3788	336
3703	1118	3746	1487	3789	337
3704	1116	3747	1387	3790	338
3705	1112	3748	1388	3791	339
3706	1045	3749	1563	3791	339
3707	278	3750	305	3791	340
3708	279	3751	1564	3792	341
3709	280	3752	1565	3793	342
3710	281	3753	1566	3794	343
3711	282	3754	1389	3795	344
3712	283	3757	306	3796	345
3713	284	3758	307	3797	346
3714	285	3759	308	3798	347
3715	286	3760	309	3799	348
3716	287	3760	310	3800	349
3717	288	3761	311	3801	350
3718	289	3762	312	3802	351
3719	290	3763	313	3803	352
3720	291	3764	1390	3804	353
3721	1379	3765	314	3805	354
3722	1380	3766	315	3806	355
3723	1381	3767	316	3807	356
3724	292	3768	317	3808	357

3809	358	3851	400	3890	439
3810	359	3852	401	3890	440
3811	360	3853	402	3891	441
3812	361	3854	403	3892	442
3813	362	3855	404	3893	443
3814	363	3856	405	3894	444
3815	364	3856	406	3895	445
3816	365	3857	407	3896	446
3817	366	3858	408	3897	447
3818	367	3858	408	3898	448
3819	368	3859	409	3898	448
3820	369	3860	410	3899	449
3821	370	3860	410	3900	450
3822	371	3861	411	3901	451
3823	372	3862	412	3902	452
3824	373	3863	413	3903	453
3825	374	3864	1391	3904	454
3826	375	3865	414	3905	455
3827	376	3866	415	3906	456
3828	377	3867	416	3907	457
3829	378	3868	417	3908	458
3830	379	3869	418	3908	458
3831	380	3870	419	3909	459
3832	381	3871	420	3910	460
3832	381	3872	421	3911	461
3833	382	3873	422	3912	462
3834	383	3874	423	3913	463
3835	384	3875	424	3914	464
3836	385	3876	425	3915	465
3837	386	3877	426	3916	466
3838	387	3878	427	3917	467
3839	388	3879	428	3918	468
3840	389	3880	429	3919	469
3841	390	3881	430	3920	470
3842	391	3882	431	3921	471
3843	392	3883	432	3922	472
3844	393	3884	433	3923	473
3845	394	3884	433	3924	474
3846	395	3885	434	3925	475
3847	396	3886	435	3926	476
3848	397	3887	436	3927	477
3849	398	3888	437	3928	1463
3850	399	3889	438	3929	1464

3930	1465	3972	517	4013	558
3931	1466	3973	518	4014	559
3932	478	3974	519	4015	560
3933	479	3975	520	4016	561
3934	480	3976	521	4017	562
3935	481	3977	522	4018	563
3936	482	3978	523	4019	564
3937	483	3979	524	4020	565
3938	484	3980	525	4021	566
3939	485	3981	527	4022	567
3940	486	3982	528	4023	568
3941	487	3983	1289	4024	569
3942	488	3984	529	4025	570
3943	489	3985	530	4026	571
3944	490	3986	531	4027	572
3945	491	3987	928	4028	573
3945	492	3988	532	4029	574
3946	493	3989	533	4030	575
3947	494	3990	534	4031	576
3948	495	3991	535	4032	577
3949	496	3992	536	4033	578
3950	497	3993	537	4034	579
3951	498	3994	538	4035	580
3952	499	3995	539	4036	1413
3953	500	3996	540	4037	581
3954	501	3997	541	4038	582
3955	502	3998	542	4039	583
3956	503	3999	543	4040	584
3957	504	3999	544	4041	585
3958	505	4000	545	4042	586
3959	506	4001	546	4043	587
3960	507	4001	546	4044	588
3961	508	4002	547	4045	1220
3962	509	4003	548	4046	298
3963	510	4004	549	4047	589
3964	511	4005	550	4048	1144
3965	512	4006	551	4049	590
3966	513	4007	552	4050	591
3967	1176	4008	553	4051	592
3968	1177	4009	554	4052	593
3969	514	4010	555	4053	594
3970	515	4011	556	4054	595
3971	516	4012	557	4055	596

4056	597	4097	737	4141	804
4057	598	4098	738	4142	805
4058	599	4099	739	4143	806
4059	600	4100	740	4144	807
4060	1051	4101	741	4145	808
4061	1081	4102	742	4146	809
4062	601	4103	743	4147	810
4063	602	4104	775	4148	811
4063	603	4105	776	4149	812
4064	604	4106	777	4150	813
4065	605	4108	1447	4151	814
4066	606	4109	1448	4152	815
4067	1241	4110	759	4153	816
4068	1248	4111	760	4154	817
4069	607	4112	761	4155	818
4070	1567	4113	762	4156	819
4071	688	4114	763	4157	820
4071	1446	4115	730	4158	821
4072	689	4115	731	4159	822
4073	690	4117	773	4160	823
4074	691	4118	780	4161	824
4075	692	4119	782	4162	825
4076	693	4120	783	4163	826
4077	694	4121	784	4164	829
4078	695	4122	785	4165	827
4079	696	4123	786	4166	828
4080	697	4124	787	4167	1202
4081	700	4125	788	4168	830
4083	703	4126	789	4169	831
4084	704	4127	790	4170	832
4084	1108	4128	791	4171	833
4085	705	4129	792	4171	833
4086	706	4130	793	4172	834
4087	680	4131	794	4173	835
4088	711	4132	795	4174	836
4089	713	4133	796	4175	837
4090	930	4134	797	4176	838
4091	732	4135	798	4177	839
4092	733	4136	799	4178	840
4093	979	4137	800	4179	841
4094	734	4138	801	4180	842
4095	735	4139	802	4181	843
4096	736	4140	803	4182	844

4183	1414	4229	919	4274	1038
4184	1415	4230	920	4275	1089
4185	845	4231	1569	4276	953
4186	1416	4233	922	4277	956
4187	1417	4234	923	4278	1572
4188	1418	4235	926	4279	1573
4189	1419	4236	927	4280	963
4190	846	4237	972	4281	964
4191	1420	4238	977	4283	970
4192	1421	4239	929	4284	974
4193	847	4240	931	4285	975
4194	848	4241	933	4286	1574
4195	851	4242	932	4287	971
4197	858	4243	934	4288	973
4198	1130	4244	1276	4289	1575
4199	940	4246	1495	4290	980
4200	939	4247	937	4291	1576
4201	896	4248	701	4292	981
4202	898	4249	936	4293	986
4203	897	4250	1062	4294	982
4204	778	4251	1063	4295	985
4207	895	4252	1570	4296	983
4208	779	4253	941	4297	984
4209	901	4254	943	4298	987
4210	902	4255	942	4299	988
4211	903	4256	955	4300	989
4212	925	4257	951	4301	992
4213	905	4258	1107	4302	993
4214	938	4259	1571	4303	997
4215	906	4260	958	4304	1000
4216	1568	4261	957	4305	1001
4217	907	4262	946	4306	1002
4218	909	4263	883	4307	1006
4219	911	4264	884	4308	1004
4220	912	4265	885	4311	1008
4221	995	4266	886	4312	1010
4222	996	4267	887	4314	1577
4223	994	4268	888	4315	1013
4224	914	4269	1422	4316	1014
4225	915	4270	889	4318	1012
4226	917	4271	890	4319	1015
4227	918	4272	891	4320	1267
4228	1240	4273	1088	4321	1028

4321b	1065	4368	1080	4410	1587
4322	1022	4369	1082	4411	1588
4323	1023	4370	1083	4412	1140
4324	1524	4371	1087	4414	1141
4325	1032	4372	1580	4415	1142
4326	1578	4373	1085	4416	856
4327	6	4374	1086	4418	1145
4328	1018	4375	1581	4419	1147
4329	1016	4376	1092	4420	1149
4330	1019	4376	1092	4421	1148
4331	702	4377	1090	4422	1589
4332	1033	4378	1093	4423	1153
4333	1031	4379	1094	4424	781
4334	1017	4380	1095	4425	1155
4335	1133	4381	1096	4427	1156
4336	1039	4382	1100	4428	1590
4337	1037	4383	1099	4429	1165
4338	1046	4384	1102	4430	1591
4339	1044	4385	1105	4431	1172
4340	1047	4386	1106	4432	1164
4341	1047	4387	1582	4433	1592
4342	1150	4388	1583	4434	962
4343	1048	4389	1584	4435	1175
4344	1060	4391	1585	4436	1206
4345	1059	4392	1110	4437	1210
4346	1055	4393	1109	4438	1169
4347	1052	4394	1111	4439	1285
4348	1056	4395	1114	4440	1170
4349	1050	4396	1119	4441	1167
4350	1054	4397	1120	4442	1168
4355	1053	4398	1122	4443	1171
4356	1049	4399	1123	4444	1064
4357	1057	4400	1124	4445	1593
4358	1058	4401	1126	4446	1213
4359	1058	4401	1127	4447	1178
4360	1067	4402	1058	4448	1179
4361	1579	4403	1586	4449	1180
4362	1159	4404	1132	4450	1183
4363	1158	4405	1134	4451	1181
4364	677	4406	1138	4452	1184
4365	1075	4407	1136	4453	1185
4366	1078	4408	1137	4454	1187
4367	1079	4409	1135	4455	1188

4456	1189	4497	1254	4549	1209
4457	1594	4498	1255	4550	1208
4458	1214	4499	1252	4551	1207
4459	1192	4500	1253	4552	1224
4460	1216	4501	1258	4552	1224
4461	1217	4502	1261	4553	1163
4462	1191	4503	1264	4554	1225
4463	1190	4504	1262	4555	991
4464	1222	4505	1263	4556	1077
4465	1221	4506	1266	4557	676
4466	1223	4507	1084	4558	1288
4467	1194	4508	1265	4564	1283
4468	1197	4509	1270	4573	894
4469	1195	4510	1271	4574	1193
4470	1198	4511	1596	4576	1204
4471	1199	4512	1272	4577	710
4472	1227	4513	1273	4578	899
4473	1226	4516	1274	4579	1043
4474	1228	4517	1281	4580	1205
4475	1229	4518	1131	4581	1043
4476	1595	4522	976	4584	1293
4477	1247	4523	1007	4585	1103
4478	1249	4524	1066	4587	921
4479	1246	4527	904	4588	1203
4480	1243	4528	1030	4590	1113
4481	1239	4530	1287	4591	1295
4482	1242	4531	1275	4592	1292
4483	1235	4532	978	4594	1291
4484	1234	4533	1036	4596	1200
4485	950	4534	1290	4597	1219
4486	1231	4535	1286	4598	1294
4487	1245	4537	1277	4600	1021
4488	1236	4540	948	4604	1250
4489	1232	4542	949	4605	1230
4491	1196	4543	1097	4606	990
4492	1233	4544	1101	4607	1104
4493	1154	4545	1518	4608	1296
4494	1251	4546	1040	4609	1151
4495	1256	4547	1091	4899	916
4496	1257	4548	1201	4915	1160

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum I²

CIL I²	FIP	CIL I²	FIP	CIL I²	FIP
1379	1559	2037	1457	2061	846
1385	1558	2038	1458	2062	1421
1392	313	2039	1459	2063	1416
1965	1485	2040	1460	2064	1417
1966	1483	2041	1462	2066	1414
1967	1484	2042	1461	2067	1368
1968	1486	2047	1380	2076	1569
1969	1487	2048	1381	2082	72
2019	1481	2049	1379	2083	1366
2021	1482	2050	1564	2084	1367
2022	1446	2051	1391	2768	1597
2023	1447	2053	1375	2772	1369
2024	1448	2054	1411	3346	1412
2033	1473	2055	1378	3366	1575
2034	1474	2058	1420	3367	1603
2035	1475	2059	1419		
2036	1476	2060	1418		

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XI

CIL XI	FIP	CIL XI	FIP	CIL XI	FIP
1943	1590	1978	291	1997	1373
1954	1478	1979	1382	1998	1374
1955	1479	1980	1383	1999	1372
1956	1477	1981	1385	2000	1371
1958	1392	1982	1387	2001	1420
1959	1473	1983	1386	2003	1419
1960	1474	1984	1384	2004	1418
1961	1475	1985	1388	2005	846
1961	1476	1986	1563	2006	1421
1962	313	1987	1564	2007	1416
1964	1390	1988	1565	2008	1417
1970	1465	1989	1391	2008 a	845
1971	1466	1990	211	2009	1415
1972	1463	1991	210	2010	1414
1973	1464	1992	1375	2011	15
1974	1380	1993	1411	2012	1403
1975	1381	1994	1412	2013	1402
1976	1379	1995	1378	2014	1486
1977	290	1996	1377	2015	1404

2016	1405	2048	1580	2081	1578
2017	1368	2049	1561	2084	1579
2018	30	2054	1581	2086	1413
2020	1480	2057	1582	2087	1567
2025	1422	2058	1583	2180	1423
2026	1599	2059	1584	2460	1595
2027	1399	2063	1586	7096	1363
2029	1568	2064	1587	7097	1364
2031	1569	2065	1576	7098	1365
2035	1588	2066	1559	7099	72
2036	1571	2067	1589	7100	1366
2037	1572	2068	1481	7101	1367
2038	1485	2068	1591	7102	1467
2038	1573	2070	1482	7103	1468
2039	1483	2070	1592	7104	1469
2039	1562	2071	1446	7105	1470
2040	1484	2072	1447	7106	1471
2040	1575	2073	1448	7107	1472
2042	1487	2075	1400	7108	1601
2044	1574	2075	1570	7894	1603
2044	1596	2076	1557		
2045	1600	2079	1560		

G. Meiser, *Etruskische Texte*²

For the numbers 1-1359, *FIP* follows the numbers of *ET*² Pe 1. *ET*² Cl 1.2264 = *FIP* 1505; *ET*² Cl 2462 = *FIP* 1502; *ET*² Pe 5.3 = *FIP* 1389.

Studi Etruschi (volume, page, number – if any)

SE	FIP	SE	FIP	SE	FIP
2, 602, 1 a	1620	8, 354	140	10, 409-10	142
2, 602, 1 c	1621	8, 355	141	10, 410, g	1423
6, 481, a	866	8, 355	144	11, 425, 1 a	23
6, 481, b	867	8, 355, g	1423	11, 426, 1 b	24
6, 482, c	868	9, 354	122	11, 427, 1	712
6, 482, d	865	9, 354	632	11, 427-28, 3	849
6, 482-83	1598	9, 354	1469	11, 435	768
6, 483, a	860	9, 355	124	12, 303, 1	608
6, 485	1597	9, 355	131	17, 527, 2	699
6, 485, b	861	9, 355	132	17, 531	1012
6, 485, c	862	9, 355	134	21, 323	866
6, 494, 3	781	9, 356	135	25, 532	211

25, 533	139	38, 316-17, 29	1604	42, 218, 64	857
25, 592	3	38, 317, 30	1605	42, 218-19, 65	698
36, 195, 1	2	38, 317-18, 31	924	42, 219, 66	961
36, 195, 2	674	38, 318-19, 32	967	42, 220, 67	1117
36, 196, 3	675	38, 319, 33	954	42, 220-21, 68	1035
36, 232, 1	5	38, 319, 34	1146	42, 221, 69	1034
36, 233, 2	224	38, 319-20, 35	944	42, 221-22, 70	1269
36, 234, 3	1602	38, 325-26, 1	1239	42, 222, 71	1215
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16	1625	45	1614	64	1604
23	1605	46	1648	65	1621
25	1597	47	1615	66	1442
26	1461	48	1616	67	1613
28	1602	49	1617	68	1598
29	1611	50	1664	69	1606
30	1642	51	1608	70	1607
31	1610	52	1376	72	1443
32	1394	53	1618	74	1609
33	1397	54	1462	75	1633
34	1395	55	1653	76	1369
35	1398	56	1619	76	1370
36	1393	57	1652	78	1622
37	1396	59	1620	79	1628
40	1445	60	1458	80	1423
41	1676	61	1647	81	1623
43	1424	62	1457	86	1624

*Testimonia linguae Etruscae*²

TLE	FIP	TLE	FIP	TLE	FIP
566	1389	590	275	603	146
573	168	591	198	604	999
574	328	592	1071	605	313
576	649	593	896	606	211
577	772	594	631	607	846
578	1101	595	900	613	381
579	21	596	628	615	133
580	591	597	634	618	871
582	579	598	420	620	776
583	459	599	1213	623	858
584	321	600	22	627	1224
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