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RIUAL AND CULTS OF PRE-ROMAN IQUIVUM - ROSENZWEIG

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SILVA LAKE, PH.D.

IX

RITUAL AND CULTS OF PRE-ROMAN IGUVIUM

BY

IRENE ROSENZWEIG, PH.D.

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RITUAL AND CULTS
OF PRE-ROMAN IGUVIUM

LONDON: CHRISTOPHER

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**RITUAL AND CULTS
OF PRE-ROMAN IGUVIUM**

WITH AN APPENDIX GIVING THE TEXT OF
THE IGUVINE TABLETS

BY

IRENE ROSENZWEIG, Ph.D.

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PREFACE

This book originated as a special paper in a seminary in Roman Religion at Bryn Mawr College, conducted by Professor Lily Ross Taylor. As Fellow of the American Academy in Rome I continued the work, spending some time in Gubbio and consulting various Italian libraries and excavation reports. In an earlier form the study was offered to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

I am especially indebted to Professor Taylor for her direction of the work, and to Professor Henry A. Sanders, Professor George D. Hadzsits, and Professor A. W. Van Buren for many valuable suggestions. I wish also to acknowledge the very generous assistance given me in the criticism of the linguistic sections by Professor Roland G. Kent of the University of Pennsylvania, who, however, is not responsible for any of my statements. Mr. C. Dale Badgeley, former Fellow in Architecture of the American Academy in Rome, prepared the map accompanying the topographical section.

For permission to reproduce the text of the Iguvine Tablets from Buck's Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian I am indebted to Professor Carl Darling Buck and to Ginn and Company.

Finally I should like to express my deep appreciation to the editors of Studies and Documents, Professor and Mrs. Kirsopp Lake, who have undertaken the publication of my study and have given me most generous assistance in seeing the work through the press.

IRENE ROSENZWEIG

The Madeira School, Greenway, Virginia

November, 1936

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RITUAL AND CULTS
OF PRE-ROMAN IGUVIUM

I

PRE-ROMAN IGUVIUM

ITS RECORDS, ITS TOPOGRAPHY, AND ITS MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION

Iguvium, an ancient and important town of Umbria, was situated on the western slope of the Apennines, not far from the central ridge, on the left of the Via Flaminia.¹ This position corresponds to the site of the modern Gubbio. The prominence of the town in the period before the Roman conquest is attested by a remarkable series of inscriptions in the Umbrian dialect, the Iguvine Tablets, seven bronze tablets, which were discovered at Gubbio in 1444.² There are also a number of coins extant from this early period.³ But in spite of its early importance, little is known of it in Roman times. Livy mentions Iguvium as the place of exile selected by the senate for the Illyrian king Gentius and his sons.⁴ It was allied to Rome as a *civitas foederata* under a very favorable treaty.⁵ After it had received full citizenship it was included in the *tribus Clustumina*.⁶ Caesar calls it a *municipium* at the beginning of the Civil War when its strategic position caused it to play a conspicuous part in the military opera-

¹ Cf. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, ii, 389-392; Philipp, s. v. *Iguvium*, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, 968-973.

² For the text, see Carl D. Buck, *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*², 1928, pp. 260-300, which is included in the appendix of this volume; F. Bücheler, *Umbrica*, Bonn, 1883; M. Bréal, *Les Tables Eugubines*, Paris, 1875; A. von Blumenthal, *Die Iguvinischen Tafeln*, Stuttgart, 1932.

³ The coinage of Iguvium, *Aes Grave*, is anterior to B.C. 268. Cf. Barclay V. Head, *Historia Nummorum*², Oxford, 1911, 21-22; Richard Lepsius, *Inscriptiones Umbricae et Oscanae*, 1841, Plate 29; E. J. Haeblerlin, *Aes Grave, Das Schwergeld Roms und Mittelitaliens I*, Frankfurt, 1910, 218-225.

⁴ xlv, 43.

⁵ Cicero, *Balb.*, 47.

⁶ Cicero, *ibid.*, 46-48; *C. I. L.*, xi, 5838, 5857, 5866, 5898, 5901.

tions of the time.⁷ Under Roman rule Iguvium seems to have declined into an ordinary municipal town. Its secluded position in the mountains and at a distance from the line of the Via Flaminia was probably not conducive to prosperity.

Several monuments of Iguvium are visible to-day at Gubbio. The most imposing remains are those of the Roman theatre, which is an Augustan restoration of an earlier Republican construction. In addition there is another Roman monument of uncertain nature, which is commonly designated as the tomb of Pomponius Graecinus.⁸ An early inscription to Iuppiter Apenninus from Scheggia, ten miles distant from Gubbio, has been used as evidence for a temple to Jupiter in this region in early Roman times.⁹ References in ancient sources, moreover, indicate that such a temple existed in antiquity.¹⁰ The tradition that the ruins of this temple are still visible, however, which is current in literature on Umbria and in modern guidebooks, rests upon no authoritative evidence. The excavations carried on in 1858 and in 1877 revealed that the substructures found in the Campo Monte Giove on the summit of the Apennines, where, according to tradition, the temple was built, belonged not to the temple of Jupiter, as had been thought by many, but to the ancient Via Flaminia itself.¹¹

The Umbrians, according to ancient tradition, represent the oldest inhabitants of Italy.¹² Herodotus, in giving the Lydian account of the emigration of the Etruscans, relates that at the time of their arrival in Italy the land was occupied by the 'Ομ-

⁷ *Bell. Civ.*, i, 12.

⁸ Cf. *C. I. L.*, xi, 5809.

⁹ *C. I. L.*, xi, 5803. The Corpus report states that the inscription was found near an ancient shrine of Jupiter in the Apennines, about 1500 feet from Scheggia. *C. I. L.*, xi, 5804, gives a dedication to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus from a small altar found near the temple.

¹⁰ Cf. page 65 below.

¹¹ See the reports of excavations for June, 1877, in *Atti dell' Accademia dei Lincei, Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche E Filologiche*, 1877 (vol. 1), pp. 437-8. A report from the Regia Soprintendenza alle Antichità, Roma, November 11, 1934, states that there is no new evidence for the ruins of the temple since the excavations of 1877.

¹² Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 112; Florus, i, 17; Dionysius, i, 19.

βρικοί,¹³ and Pliny says that the Etruscans conquered three hundred cities of the Umbrians.¹⁴ The term Umbrian in the earliest records seems thus to have been used for the inhabitants of the region subsequently known as Etruria. But throughout the period for which historical records are available, the *Umbri* are referred to as the people who dwelt in Umbria, the section of Italy included in Augustus' sixth region. It is for the people of that region and for their language that I shall use the term "Umbrian" in this study.¹⁵ The language of the Umbrians is an Italic dialect, related to Latin, but most closely connected with Oscan. Of the latter dialect a large number of inscriptions have survived, the majority coming from Campania.¹⁶ For the Umbrian dialect, aside from a few short inscriptions from several towns in Umbria,¹⁷ the body of inscriptional evidence is based upon the above-mentioned Iguvine Tablets, which, containing between four and five thousand words, form the most extensive document preserved from any Italic dialect except Latin.

The origin of the Umbrians has not been determined with certainty. Two "Italic" stems are recognized in the people who invaded Italy from the north and who subsequently took the place of the earlier inhabitants of the country. The first of these, the Terramare group who practiced cremation, was settled in the valley of the Po in the Bronze Age. This group, according to the views which have gained general acceptance, is represented at a later time by the Villanovans, one of whose cemeteries, of the Early Iron Age, was excavated near Bologna. These people eventually spread through the district which afterwards became Etruria, through the part of Umbria west of the Apennines, and through a small strip of Latium south of the Tiber.¹⁸ Cremation burials are characteristic of this branch of the Italic invaders.

¹³ i, 94.

¹⁴ *N. H.*, iii, 112.

¹⁵ See F. Schachermeyer, *Etruskische Frühgeschichte*, Berlin, 1929, 309-310, for recent objections to this use of the term.

¹⁶ For the Oscan inscriptions, see Buck, *op. cit.*, 225-259.

¹⁷ Tuder (Buck, no. 82); near Helvillum (Buck, no. 837); Assisium (Buck, no. 84).

¹⁸ Cf. W. R. Bryan, *Italic Hut Urns and Hut Urn Cemeteries, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, iv, 1925, 160-161.

The second of the "Italic" stems, the Umbro-Sabellic branch, who buried their dead, apparently arrived in Italy after the Latin group.¹⁹ The lack of sufficient excavations of the remains of this people from an early date makes decision as to their origin and character difficult.²⁰

Von Duhn considers the Umbrians and Sabines as a branch of the Italic people who came down to the Apennines straight from the Alps and settled in Umbria and the Sabine country, bringing with them the rite of inhumation.²¹ Randall-MacIver, however, holds a different view: he does not consider these people Italic, and he denominates them as Picene rather than Umbrian, a term which he intentionally avoids.²² He considers them distinct from the Villanova people, and he believes that these inhuming people came from the other side of the Adriatic. The presence of a Neolithic village at Terni leads him to think that there is no occasion to postulate a later invasion to account for the presence of the inhuming people, but he holds that they may have occupied the whole country from Terni to Ancona from the earliest Neolithic time.²³ To most students, however, by reason of the close relation of the Oscan and Umbrian languages to Latin, this theory of separate races of people seems untenable.²⁴

We may assume, therefore, despite Randall-MacIver's able presentation of a different view, that the Umbrians are in reality another branch of the same Italic people as the Latins. The difference in burial customs between the lands west and east of the Apennines remains unexplained. The Umbrians may have acquired the practice of inhumation on their way down to Italy

¹⁹ But see Randall-MacIver's view below.

²⁰ The archaeological evidence of Umbria is very incomplete. The excavations at Terni (*Not. Scav.*, 1907, 595, 645; 1914, 1-69; 1916, 191-226), where there were extensive cemeteries, had to be restricted to a small fraction of the whole area. Wide generalizations from the results cannot be made because of the large amount that remains unknown.

²¹ *Italische Gräberkunde*, i, Heidelberg, 1924, 439.

²² David Randall-MacIver, *The Iron Age in Italy*, Oxford, 1927, 140-141.

²³ Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.*, 145; *Italy Before the Romans*, Oxford, 1928, 44-49.

²⁴ Cf. Inez G. Scott, *Early Roman Traditions, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vii, 1929, 41-42.

from the north or they may have learned it from the Neolithic inhabitants after their arrival. The Umbrians are definitely settled in Umbria at the beginning of the Iron Age. We now see the various branches of the Italic invaders occupying nearly all of Italy: the Latins dwelling near the Tiber; the Sabine and Samnite tribes occupying Central and Southern Italy with the exception of the extreme southern end of the peninsula, and the Umbrians holding what is now Umbria and a section of modern Tuscany.

The Umbrians then came into conflict with the Etruscans who had occupied the adjacent territory in the west.²⁵ There followed a long period of warfare which we see reflected in the Iguvine Tablets.²⁶ The mention of the Tuscan name in the curse of the enemies of Iguvium shows us that the Umbrians were menaced by the Etruscans at this time. In addition to the tradition of the conquest of the Umbrians by the Etruscans,²⁷ the influence of Etruscan civilization in Umbria is clear from archaeological evidence. Warfare was likewise carried on by the Umbrians with the Celts, who had entered Italy not later than the end of the fifth century B.C.²⁸ There seems to be no reference to the Celts as enemies in the Tablets, however, since the Iapudiscan *nomen* in the list of enemies in the curse has been interpreted by most scholars as belonging to the Iapudes, of Illyrian origin, rather than

²⁵ The Etruscans had gradually occupied Etruria proper and a part of Umbria by the beginning of the seventh century B.C. Cf. Léon Homo, *Primitive Italy and the Beginnings of Roman Imperialism*, New York, 1926, 100. See Skutsch, s. v. *Etrusker*, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, 730-806, and Reche, s. v. *Etrusker*, in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, iii, 132-148.

²⁶ VIb 53-62; Ib 16-18.

²⁷ Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 112; Herodotus, i, 94.

²⁸ Cf. J. Whatmough, *Prae-Italic Dialects*, ii, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1933, 166. Livy (v, 34, 1) gives the end of the seventh century B.C. as one of the traditional dates for the arrival of the Celts in Italy. It is possible that the vanguard of the Celts had crossed the Alps at the end of the first Iron Age (sixth-fifth centuries B.C.). Cf. Homo, *op. cit.*, 165-168. See also J. Porkony, s. v. *Kelten* in *Reallexikon*, vi, 284-285, and, for a general discussion, Von Duhn, s. v. *Italien*, in *Reallexikon*, vi, 73-113; also Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. *Galli*, vii, 610-617. The last part of the fifth century is the date most commonly accepted for the arrival of the Celts in Italy.

to a Celtic people.²⁹ At this time Umbria seems to have had no political union, but to have consisted of individual cities or states as hostile to each other as to the national enemies, since in the curse Umbrian peoples are mentioned along with the foreign enemies. The Celtic invaders, who for a century after their attack on Rome in 387 disturbed the peace of Italy, seem to have become masters of several Umbrian cities.³⁰ Finally came the conquest by Rome during which the various Umbrian towns were received individually as allies.³¹ The terms of the treaties given by the Romans varied with the towns; some (e.g. Ocriculum) enjoyed greater privileges than others. After the Social War in 90 B.C. Roman citizenship was granted to all the Umbrians.

For the period before the Umbrians came under Roman power our records are very scanty. The Iguvine Tablets provide the only important source of knowledge³² and give invaluable testimony for the religion of pre-Roman Iguvium.

The exact site of the discovery of the Tablets is disputed. One account states that they were found near the temple of Iuppiter Appenninus at Scheggia.³³ The earlier tradition, however, gives

²⁹ Cf. Philipp, s. v. *Iapyges* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, ix, 1, 737-740, and Von Duhn, *loc. cit.*; also page 69ff., below.

³⁰ The Celts are thought to have crossed the Po at the beginning of the fourth century B.C., and then to have advanced over the plain at the foot of the northern Apennines through central Umbria into the Tiber valley. Cf. J. Whatmough, *op. cit.*, 166-168. See also Von Duhn, s. v. *Kelten*, in *Reallexikon*, vi; also L. Homo, *Cambridge Ancient History*, vii, Chap. xvii.

³¹ The combined forces of the Umbrians were overthrown by Fabius near Mevania (B.C. 308). This defeat was followed by the submission of all the Umbrian tribes. The Umbrians are said to have taken part in the battle of Sentinum (B.C. 295), together with the Senonian Gauls, the Etruscans, and the Samnites, under the leadership of the Samnite Gellius Egnatius. This is the last time that the Umbrians as a people appear in arms against the Roman forces. Cf. Nissen, *op. cit.*, ii, 375.

³² Although Tablets Vb 7-18, VI and VII are written in the Latin alphabet and belong to a period later than that of the Tablets in the native alphabet, the ceremonies which they describe obviously perpetuated a tradition from a time earlier than the inscribing of the Tablets. The material of VI, VIIa is given in a shorter form in the earlier Tablet I, written in the native alphabet.

³³ Jo. Baptistae Passeri, quoted by Th. Dempster, *De Etruria Regali*, Luca, 1767, 241-245.

the Roman theatre at Gubbio as the site at which the Tablets were unearthed.³⁴ A point to the left of the main entrance of the theatre is pointed out by the guide to-day as the exact place. The Tablets were bought by the municipality of Gubbio in 1456 and are still preserved in the town museum housed in the Palazzo dei Consoli. A Dominican, Leandro Alberti (*Descrittione di Tutta Italia*, Bologna, 1550, p. 79), states that the Tablets were originally nine in number. His statement is confirmed by Antonio Concioli (*Statuta Civitatis Eugubii*, Macerata, 1678, Introduction, p. 3) who, giving evidence seemingly independent of Alberti, says that two were taken to Venice in 1540 and never reappeared. The report is credible since one of the tablets contains what seems to be an incomplete copy of a decree.³⁵

The Iguvine Tablets occupy a preeminent position among Italic religious inscriptions. The only other religious record in Italy at all comparable to them is the bronze tablet in Oscan from Agnone. In scope and in content the Iguvine Tablets surpass any other epigraphical evidence of Italic ritual which is preserved. The antiquity of these Umbrian inscriptions themselves, and the even more remote period of the ceremonies described, add to the importance of the records which they contain. They present evidence for Italic religion far more ancient than that of the other surviving sources of similar nature.³⁶ Not only do these tablets furnish information for the cults and ritual of Umbria which is unique in its extent, but they also give an insight into the minute details of sacrificial ceremonies which is of the greatest importance for the study of specifically Roman, as well as of generically Italic, religion. Since Rome itself provides no documents similar to these Umbrian remains, at least not from the time before the Roman cult was permeated by the Greek, a knowledge of these ancient accounts of Italic religious rites is essential for an investigation of Roman and of Italic

³⁴ Antonio Concioli, *Statuta Civitatis Eugubii*, Macerata, 1678, Introduction, page 3.

³⁵ See page 55f.

³⁶ The *Acta* of the Fratres Arvales, our main source for Latin ritual of the kind preserved in the Iguvine Tablets, belong to the Imperial period; the earliest goes back only to the first century A.D.

ceremonial systems. Their value is increased by the completeness of the information which they offer. No other source gives such information as to the actual details of sacrificial rites and the attendant augural ceremony.

Of the seven tablets, I-IV and Va-Vb 7 are in the Umbrian alphabet; Vb 7-18, VI and VII in the Latin alphabet. For the actual date of the tablets it is possible to indicate only certain general limits. Something of the chronology is evident from the changes in alphabet and language. First, the broad distinction that Tablets I, II, III, IV, and the first two inscriptions of V are in Umbrian characters and the last part of V and the whole of VI and VII in Latin characters shows that the former group was written before the Latin alphabet had supplanted the Umbrian. It is generally accepted that the tablets in the Latin alphabet belong to the period after the Social War. The date of these tablets is probably about 80-50 B.C. Those in the Umbrian alphabet must have been written before the end of the Social War, a point in historical development when the closer relations with Rome began which led to the adoption of the Latin alphabet even for religious purposes. The curse contained in VIb 53-60 (Ib 16) indicates the general period by the position of the people against whom it is directed. The mention of the 'Tuscan name' shows that Iguvium was independent but menaced by the Etruscans at this time. The Etruscans were probably not a menace after the early third century B.C. when most Etruscan cities had become allies of Rome.³⁷ The absence of any mention of the Gauls also points to a date not later than the end of the fifth century.³⁸ The omission of the name of the Romans is likewise significant for a date before the beginning of the third century.³⁹ The fourth century, therefore, may be suggested as the date of the original inscribing of the tablets in the Umbrian characters. Since there is the possibility, however, that the Tablets reproduce a curse contained in earlier ritual, the actual date when these tablets were written may be considerably later than the period

³⁷ Cf. L. R. Taylor, *Local Cults in Etruria*, 1923, 24.

³⁸ See page 7, above.

³⁹ See page 8, note 31, above.

reflected in the curse.⁴⁰ We are certain that the tablets in Umbrian characters must have been written before 80 B.C.

The character of the documents, religious formularies consisting partly of material established in usage long before they were written down in their present shape and partly of additions made at the time of writing, makes any attempt to determine the date from changes in language very difficult. Buck, however, suggests a possible order of composition: III-IV, IIa 15-end, Ia, b, IIa 1-14, IIb, Va-b 7, Vb 8-end, VI, VII.⁴¹ Since the Tablets furnish the chief evidence for the Umbrian dialect, they have been the subject of a long series of linguistic studies. The present study, however, is not concerned with the philological aspect of the Tablets but with the evidence which they provide for the religion of Iguvium.

The Iguvine Tablets contain the records of the priestly order of the Fratres Atiedii, a brotherhood which resembles that of the Fratres Arvales of Rome and which seems to have occupied at Iguvium a position as powerful as that of the Pontifical College at Rome. They include directions for the purification or lustration of the sacred mount or citadel of Iguvium; for the lustration of the Iguvine people themselves; for the decurial festival of the allied *curiae* of Iguvium; for several private sacrifices; for the annual ceremonies of the Atiedian brotherhood. In addition there are several decrees of the College which stipulate the duties of the officers of the Fratres in relation to the sacrifices and the reciprocal functions of the Fratres and the federated families or *curiae* participating in the decurial festival.

Tablet I bears an interesting relationship to Tablets VI and VII. The general content of VI and VII (the *lustratio* of the citadel and the *lustratio* of the people) corresponds with that of Tablet I, which gives a much briefer account of the same ceremonies. Tablet I appears to be an earlier version of the material afterwards amplified into the longer and more detailed account of the later Tablets. The theory has been advanced that Tablet I was an abridged, and VI and VII a complete and modernized copy,

⁴⁰ In this case the religious evidence contained in these tablets would go back to the period of the curse.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, 309-310.

of an older document.⁴² But, aside from the fact that VI and VII seem to use the latest form of the dialect, the history of other religious liturgies makes more probable the hypothesis that the briefer and more succinct form was the earlier, while the fuller and more precise regulations form a later and modernized redraft of the contents of Tablet I. Tablets VIa 1–VIb 47 (the lustration of the sacred mount) correspond to the material of Tablet Ia 1–b 9; Tablets VIIb 48–VIIa 54 (the lustration of the people) cover the division of Tablet Ib 10–45. For the purpose of the present study, therefore, it will not be necessary to deal with the earlier and briefer tablet except for the evidence which it furnishes for the development of the ritual under the organized body of priests.

The Tablets provide some important details about the topography of ancient Iguvium which, as we know from discoveries of inscriptions, occupied the approximate site of the modern Gubbio. From this information and from the arrangement of the modern city we may attempt a reconstruction of the ancient town.⁴³ Today Gubbio extends from the plain at the foot of Monte Ingino up the lower part of its slope in several distinct levels to the topmost point of the town. From the highest level of Gubbio the Palazzo Ducale and the Duomo tower above the rest of the city; down the steep Via Ducale the next level is reached—the important centre of the city containing the Palazzo dei Consoli and the Palazzo Communale. The lowest level, the more or less flat area of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, is connected with the former level by the sharply inclining Via Paoli. Beyond the broad piazza the town extends into the level fields where the ruins of the old Roman theatre, dating from the Republican and Augustan periods, and the Roman monument commonly designated as the tomb of Pomponius Graecinus may be seen. With this situation of the present Gubbio in mind we may attempt to form a picture of the topography of ancient Iguvium on the basis of the places mentioned in the Tablets.

The Arx Fisia is without doubt the most important single site mentioned in the Tablets. The elaborate ceremony of Tablets VIa and VIIb 1–47 is concerned with the purification of the Arx.

⁴² Bréal, *op. cit.*, 225.

⁴³ See map on p. 153 for a suggested reconstruction.

Here the Atiedian assembly met for the transaction of its priestly business;⁴⁴ here also was probably situated the shrine of one of the chief divinities, Fisis Sancius. The Arx or citadel must have been located on the topmost level of the city, that occupied to-day by the Duomo and the Palazzo Ducale. In such a position the Arx would naturally have been representative of the whole city which lay beneath it; this fact is illustrated in the ceremony of the lustration of the Arx during which a circuit is made of the territory within the city limits with sacrifices at the most important points.

The general plan of Iguvium is revealed by this same circuit made for the purification of the Arx. Three gates and two shrines are mentioned in turn as the scenes of sacrifices. We may assume that the processions moved counter-clockwise.⁴⁵ The stations in the order of their appearance are: the Porta Trebulana, the Porta Tesenaca, the Porta Veia, the Aedes Iovia, and the Aedes Coreddi. These five points, then, give the outline of the city.

The gates represented the points of contact with the region beyond and were situated, accordingly, at the heads of the roads which led to the chief cities of the surrounding country. The most interesting for us is the Porta Veia, since it without doubt pointed in the direction of the Etruscan Veii. This may indicate that the gate was named at a time when Veii, and not Rome, was the dominant power to the south. Porta Tesenaca, the gate before the Porta Veia in the circuit, would be situated to the west of the latter, pointing southwest from Iguvium. If the Porta Tesenaca, like the Porta Veia, took its name from the city to which it led, it would point to a city called †Tesena. No traces of such a city remain today. Tesena may well have suffered the fate of other ancient cities which have been lost from modern view.⁴⁶ A possible survival of an ancient Tesena is

⁴⁴ Tablet Va 16.

⁴⁵ Bas-reliefs of lustral processions give evidence for this direction: a relief from the column of Trajan (Strong, *La Scultura Romana*, fig. 99) and a relief from the Flavian period in the Louvre (*idem*, Tav. xxiv).

⁴⁶ See Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 112–114. Cf. Mommsen, *Die untergegangenen Ortschaften im eigentlichen Latium*, Gesammelte Schriften, v (Historische Schriften, ii), 69–94.

provided by a place called Tessenano, which is situated in the region of Toscanella, a little to the west of Viterbo.⁴⁷ A road leading to it from Gubbio, therefore, would face straight southwest. This position is possible with relation to the Porta Veia in the circuit. Another town, Tessenara, about eight kilometers southwest of Gubbio near Montanaldo, has been suggested as the source of the name Tesenaca.⁴⁸ A road to Tessenara also would have faced southwest. Tessenara would in that case have been an Etruscan city close to Iguvium with which the Iguvines had relations. The Porta Tesenaca, therefore, whether it led to Tessenano in southern Etruria or to Tessenara close to Iguvium, would have been situated on the western boundary of the town. This location would also be suggested by the distribution of the other two gates. The Porta Veia has been placed on the southern boundary. The Porta Trebulana, as we shall see, was probably located on the eastern boundary of the town. The northeastern boundary would present a closed front under any circumstances, since the slope of Monte Ingino which it faces would prevent the construction of important roads in this direction. The same is true of the northern border, a section of which is dominated by Monte Calvo, and a part by Monte Ingino. It is on the western boundary, therefore, that one would expect the Porta Tesenaca leading to the Etruscan towns.

The remaining gate, the Porta Trebulana, the first mentioned in the circuit, must have been situated at a point to the northeast of the Porta Veia, between the Porta Veia and the Porta Tesenaca in the circuit. As to the name of the city to which the Porta Trebulana led, Trebula was a common name given to small towns. Several Trebulae are mentioned from antiquity. The most prominent of all is in Campania and is first mentioned in 303 B.C. when the Trebulani are said to have received the Roman franchise with the Arpinates. A second, Trebula Mutuesca, was a Sabine city which is mentioned by Strabo, Martial, and Vergil, and is known from inscriptions found on the site. A third, Trebulana Suffenas, was probably in the vicinity

⁴⁷ Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, 98.

⁴⁸ Giacomo Devoto, *Contatti Etrusco-Iguvino*, *Studi Etruschi*, iv, 225.

of Reate. There may also be mentioned the Trebia of Umbria itself, the name of which must be derived from a kindred root. Of these several cities from which the name of the Porta Trebulana may have been derived, Trebula Mutuesca of the Sabine country seems the most probable.⁴⁹ Its great antiquity is attested by Vergil⁵⁰ and by the fact that it was the site of important early cults of the Sabine Mars and the Sabine goddess Feronia.⁵¹ If we assume that Trebula Mutuesca is the city to which the Porta Trebulana led, the location of the latter would be north of the Porta Veia, at the northeastern corner of the wall. This situation would fit the requirements of the expiatory circuit, in which sacrifices are offered first at the Porta Trebulana and next at the Porta Tesenaca. The two shrines would then be located in the space between the Porta Veia and the Porta Trebulana.

The circuit of the Arx would have started at the Porta Trebulana, situated at the northeastern corner of the town wall in the direction of the Sabine Trebula Mutuesca. The procession would then have made its way along the northeastern boundary of the town, turning to the west at the foot of Monte Calvo, and hence proceeding along the western side which probably included the Forum⁵² as well as the Comitium and the Forum Seminarium.⁵³ On the western boundary a stop is made for sacrifices at the Porta Tesenaca which probably pointed west toward Etruria. Sacrifices are next offered on the southeastern boundary; first at the Porta Veia which led to the Etruscan Veii; lastly at the two

⁴⁹ Devoto, *op. cit.*, 228-229, mentions three localities about eight kilometers east of Gubbio, on the banks of the Chiascio, which are called Trebbio. He considers these names the remains of an ancient Trebulum which gave its name to the eastern gate (SE) of Iguvium.

⁵⁰ *Aeneid*, vii, 710-711: Una ingens Amiterna cohors priscique Quirites, Ereti manus omnis oliviferaeque Mutuscae.

⁵¹ Varro, *Ling. Lat.*, v, 74: Feronia, Minerva, Novensides a Sabinis. See L. R. Taylor, *Local Cults in Etruria*, 54-55.

⁵² The Forum is not mentioned in the Tablets but must be assumed in accordance with custom. The Comitium occurs in Tablet Ib 41, although not in Tablet VI.

⁵³ No indication of the sites of the Comitium and Forum Seminarium is given by the Tablets. The topography of Gubbio would suggest their location in the vicinity of the modern Piazza Vittorio Emanuele.

shrines, the Aedes Iovia and the Aedes Coreddi, which were situated on the closed stretch between the Porta Veia and the Porta Trebulana.

The plan of ancient Iguvium with the three gates recalls the similar plan attributed by Servius to the Etruscans: Prudentes Etruscae disciplinae aiunt apud conditores Etruscarum urbium non putatas iustas urbes in quibus non tres portae essent dedicatae et tot viae, et tot templa Iovis, Iunonis, Minervae.⁵⁴ Likewise, the same arrangement is supposed to have existed in early Rome, where there were also three gates: Mugionis, Romanula, Ianualis.⁵⁵ The fact that this system of town-planning is found at Iguvium, long before the domination of the Etruscans, may serve to strengthen the view that the Etruscans have been credited with greater innovations among the Romans and the Italic peoples than is justified.⁵⁶ The Iguvine situation would show that this topographical arrangement existed among Italic peoples where there is no clear evidence of Etruscan influence. The statement of Varro that the Latins founded towns with Etruscan ritual⁵⁷ should not be interpreted, therefore, in the sense that the Etruscans devised the rules of town-planning, but merely in the sense that they formulated the ritual or religious rites connected with the ceremony. In this field, as in others, the Etruscans may be said to have organized and to have systematized into a definite code of rules the customs and usages which they found already practiced in Italy at the time of their arrival.

Aside from the information about the general plan, the Tablets provide evidence for several sites within the city. The *fines urbici*, or limits of the city, are defined in the regulations for the taking of the auspices in Tablet VIa 12-15. The language of this section, however, is the most difficult of that in any of the Tablets and has not been satisfactorily interpreted. The definition of the limits of the city is made by means of a number of phrases giving places in two directions from the range of vision of the augur: *uapersusto auieclir ebetrufe, ooserclome, presoliafe Nur-*

⁵⁴ Servius, *Aeneid*, i, 422.

⁵⁵ Varro, *L. L.*, v, 164-165.

⁵⁶ Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning*, 71.

⁵⁷ Varro, *L. L.*, v, 143.

pier, uasirslome, smursime, tettome Miletinar, tertiam praco pracatarum; uapersusto auieclir carsome Uestisier, randeme Rufrer, tettome Noniar, tettome Salier, carsome Hoier, pertome Padellar. Here proper names in the genitive accompany the accusative of the names of the places. The words designating the places themselves are obscure. According to one interpretation they represent "house" or "field"; the accompanying genitives would then signify the owners or proprietors.⁵⁸ In this case some of the private families of Iguvium would be represented. By another explanation the words in the accusative⁵⁹ denote shrines or temples of the gods and goddesses who appear in the genitive. The presence of the name of one of the gods of the ceremonies, Vesticius, in this list of names lends support to the latter interpretation.⁶⁰ In addition, the occurrence of several of the proper names in the feminine gender would argue for the interpretation of the places as shrines or temples, since the names in the genitive would be more readily understood in this gender as denoting goddesses than female proprietors. No identification of these sites can be made.

Information is apparently given concerning the special section of the city in which the priest draws up the citizens in companies and then leads the sacrificial victims around them in the ceremony of the lustration of the Iguvine people.⁶¹ Aquilonia⁶² is the place where the aliens are expelled from the group prior to the special ceremony for the Iguvines. Hence Aquilonia must be placed at some point on the boundary line, marked by a cippus or by cippi.⁶³ It may be the designation for the general district in which are located also the sites of the sacrifices performed after the encircling of the Iguvines: Fontuli, Rubinia, and a point across the Sacred Way. Aquilonia, on the other hand, may

⁵⁸ Bréal, *op. cit.*, 48.

⁵⁹ *presoliafe, tettome, carsome, randeme, pertome.*

⁶⁰ Tablet IIa 4.

⁶¹ Tablet VIIb 52.

⁶² The Umbrian *Acesoniame* (VIIb 53), *akeřuniamem* (Ib 16), is rendered *Acedonia* by Buck, *Aquilonia* by Bücheler and Bréal. The name is similar to the *akudunniad* found on Italic coins of a city of Samnium which the Romans called *Aquilonia* and which to-day bears the name of *Acedogna* or *L'Acedogna*.

⁶³ Tablet VI gives the singular form *termnom*; Tablet I the plural *termnes-ku*.

represent simply a terminus on the boundary and have no greater extent than the sites Fontuli, Rubinia, and the point across the Sacred Way, which would then be situated in the vicinity. We should expect the place of expulsion, Aquilonia, to be located near one of the gates. The three scenes of sacrifice are situated close together; the directions given for the ceremony imply a repeated movement back and forth from one place to another for details of the rites. Fontuli and Rubinia are completely unknown. The phrase *trans Sanctam* seems to refer to the *Sacra Via* of Iguvium which would lie between the two points Fontuli and Rubinia.

A last place, the Forum Seminarium, is mentioned in close conjunction with Aquilonia. At the end of the ceremony the heifers are let loose and caught below the Forum Seminarium and then sacrificed in Aquilonia.⁶⁴ The conclusion would be drawn that Aquilonia lay beyond the Forum Seminarium, forming the terminus of the boundary on that side of the town.

The location of this series of places with reference to the topography of modern Gubbio cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. It would seem, however, that the Comitium and the Forum Seminarium would have been in the level part of the present town including the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele and the section east of the Forum Boarium of the later Roman town. Aquilonia would then have been on the boundary line on this side beyond the Forum Seminarium and would have been located near the Porta Veia.

The *Arvum* of the Fratres Atiedii, where the private rites of the brotherhood are performed at their annual festival, is a final point given for the topography of Iguvium. The field is reached by the *solita via* (*via mersuva*) and must have been located on the outskirts of the city. The parallel with the location of the grove of the Fratres Arvales, which was situated at some distance from Rome proper on the Via Campana,⁶⁵ is at once striking. As a

⁶⁴ In Tablet Ib 41 one heifer is let loose by the flamen, and two by the legati, in the Comitium; then they are caught below the Forum Seminarium and sacrificed at Aquilonia.

⁶⁵ Cf. Henzen, *Scavi nel Bosco Sacro dei Fratelli Arvali*, Rome, 1868, p. vi. The grove was located at the fifth milestone of the Via Campana, the modern Via Portuensis.

possible location for the *Arvum* one might suggest the level plain extending beyond the ancient theatre and the Roman monument. The tradition associating the finding of the Iguvine Tablets, the records of the Atiedii, with the Roman theatre would accord with this location of the *Arvum*.

Some information as to the organization of the community of Iguvium is given by the directions for a sacrifice in Tablet IIb. This evidence is significant for the political institutions of the Umbrians as well as for the formation of the early Italic peoples in general. The political institutions were so closely related to the religious that it seems desirable to consider them before proceeding to a discussion of the ritual and cults of Iguvium.

This information is derived mainly from a passage which states that a sacrifice must be announced for twenty groups of the community who are then mentioned by name. The groups are described in the phrase **tekvias fameñias pumpeñias** which precedes the twenty names in the dative case. In the twenty groups listed, there are only ten individual names; one of these occurs only once; eight are mentioned twice, the second time accompanied by **etre** 'the second'; one is used three times, the last time with **tertie** 'the third'. The Umbrian passage is as follows: **semenies tekuries sim kaprum upetu. Tekvias fameñias pumpeñias XII. 'Atiieriate, etre Atiieriate, Klaverniie, etre Klaverniie, Kureiate, etre Kureiate, Satanes, etre Satanes, Peieriate, etre Peieriate, Talenate, etre Talenate, Museiate, etre Museiate, Iuieskane, etre Iuieskanes, Kaselate, etre Kaselate, tertie Kaselate, Peraznanie' teitu.**

The important question here concerns the nature of the divisions **tekvias, fameñias, pumpeñias**. Of what kind are these divisions of the community which take part in the festival? Which of these divisions are denoted by the list of names? The theory which has been advanced by the majority of recent investigators of the subject is that they are *gentes*. But Rosenberg, in the latest thorough study of the problem, following out Schulze's illuminating suggestion, has shown that the twenty groups represent the *curiae*, rather than the *gentes*, of Iguvium.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Arthur Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker*, Berlin, 1913, 118-134. Schulze (*op. cit.*, 543-547) had suggested, from the striking analogy found in

Without doubt the twenty *tekvias* were the most important groups at Iguvium as were the thirty *curiae* at Rome. As has been shown, it is through the collective action of the *curiae* that the common action of the people was determined in early Rome.⁶⁷ Similarly, at Iguvium, at the celebration of the *semenies tekuries* there appears not the whole people of Iguvium as a unit, but only the individual *tekvias*, the *curiae*, whose sum, however, made up the community.⁶⁸

When Tablet IIb was inscribed, Iguvium had twenty *tekvias*. From the names, however, it is seen that the original community was divided into only ten *tekvias*; the technical term for the *curia*, 'tenth part', is also evidence for this early formation. Then as the community developed there was need for more *tekvias*.

the Attic *δημος*, that these twenty groups of Iguvium were local districts similar to the Demes of Attica. The twenty names are in the dative case, some singular (third declension), and some plural (second declension). Of the two grammatical groups, *Satane* (one of the plural names) is from a *gens* named *Satanus* (*C. I. L.*, ix, 5236 ff.), while the singular *Casilos*, *Kasellate*, is a local name which we see in the *agre Casiler* in Tablet Vb 14. The ten names may thus be divided into singular local and plural *gens* forms. (Buck, *op. cit.*, 370, does not consider this argument wholly conclusive against the older view of *gentes*, although he accepts *curiae* as perhaps a better interpretation than *gentes*.) There is a similar change in the Attic Demes from 'Ραμνοῦς, Μυρρινοῦς, Μαπαθῶν on the one hand to Βουτάδαι, Ἴωνίδαί, Φιλῆδαί on the other hand. Now the names at Iguvium show that there were originally ten divisions at Iguvium, corresponding to the demes, and that when eight divisions were doubled and one was tripled, these ten divisions were increased to twenty. The Umbrian word describing these divisions is undoubtedly *tekvias*, which seems to mean tenths. It has in it the root of the Umbrian cognate of *decem*. We see the same root in *decurier* (Vb 11, 16), which occurs also in the form *tekuries* (IIb 1) as a designation of the festival in which these ten divisions took part, *sehmenier decurier* in Tablet V and *semenies tekuries* in Tablet II. It apparently corresponds to the Latin form *decuriis* from *decuriae*. In Oscan also there is *dekkviam* which is the same form of ten as is seen in the Umbrian *tekvias*. At this point Rosenberg goes a step further and points out that the Roman *curiae* form an Italian analogy even closer to the Iguvine groups than the Attic Demes.

⁶⁷ Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii, 1, 101.

⁶⁸ It is interesting to note that the names of the Roman *curiae*, as far as they are known, show a combination of place names and family names such as we have seen in Athens and Iguvium. (Mommsen, *ibid.*, 94.)

New *tekvias* were thus formed from the original ten. For example, the Atiedias, the Clavernii, etc., split into altera Atiedias, alteri Clavernii, etc.; the Perasnani alone remained undivided; finally the beginning of the third set of *tekvias* was made when the Casilas was again split into a *tertia Casilas*.⁶⁹

The *fameñias* and the *pumpeñias* obviously represent smaller divisions than the *tekvias*. *Fameñias* is a cognate of the Latin *familiae*, indicating families, or more probably a larger division corresponding to the Latin *gentes*. *Pumpeñias*, the third group, is formed from the Umbrian *pompe*, the equivalent of the Latin *quinque*, which we see in the name of the Sabine Numa Pompilius. It is clear that the *pumpeñias* were divisions of five, perhaps five households banded together.⁷⁰ A similar grouping is indicated by the Oscan *pomperiā*. The number twelve which appears at the end of the list of groups has not yet been satisfactorily explained.⁷¹

⁶⁹ The formation of the *tekvias* of Iguvium at the time when Tablet IIb was inscribed may be seen clearly in the following chart:

I	II	III
Atiedias	altera Atiedias	_____
Clavernii	alteri Clavernii	_____
Curias	altera Curias	_____
Satani	alteri Satani	_____
Peiedias	altera Peiedias	_____
Talenas	altera Talenas	_____
Musias	altera Musias	_____
Iuiescani	alteri Iuiescani	_____
Casilas	altera Casilas	_____
Perasnani		_____

For the entire discussion of these formations I am indebted to Rosenberg's work quoted above.

⁷⁰ Blumenthal, *op. cit.*, 38-40, gives a different interpretation of *pumpeñias*. He considers it equivalent to *pompelia*, the name of a day. The number twelve at the end of the phrase is then understood as an abbreviation of the month and the combination of *pumpeñias XII* would give the date of the festival. This interpretation assumes, however, that the Umbrians employed a system of abbreviations for dates for which we have no evidence.

⁷¹ The most recent interpretation, by Blumenthal, is given above. See the explanation by Schulze, *op. cit.*, 546, who connects the number twelve with the victims sacrificed, and that of A. G. Laird, *Classical Philology*, i, 1906,

The probable interpretation of the divisions of Iguvium, as seen in the enumeration of Tablet IIb, is then as follows:⁷²

1. The **tekvias** correspond to the Roman *curiae*.
2. The **fameñias** correspond to the Roman *gentes*, not to the *familiae*.
3. The **pumpeñias** would represent groups of five, with a suggestion that they may contain five households joined in one group.⁷³ A series of such groups of five households would form a *gens*, and a series of *gentes* was a *curia*.

The Umbrian *tribus* presents another problem in the organization of the community. The material for our understanding of the Umbrian *tribus* is found in the curse of Tablet VIIa, where the god is asked to destroy *totam Tarsinatem, trifo Tarsinatem*, i.e., *populum Tadinatem, tribum Tadinatem*; it is also found in the especially striking passage of Tablet VIb 54, *pisest totar Tarsinater, trifor Tarsinater, quisque est populi T., tribus T.*; and likewise in Tablet III, 25, 30, where a prayer is made *tutape Iiuvina, trefiper Iiuvina*, "for the *populus* and the *tribus* of Iguvium";

329-338, who links the number with the **pumpeñias**. See also Giacomo Devoto, *Il passo b 1-2 della Tavola Iguvina e l'ordinamento dell' antica Iguvio*, in *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze*, lxxxix, Parte Seconda, 1929-1930, 927-936, who makes up the number twelve from the ten *decuviae* and the two quincurial families.

⁷² Devoto, *loc. cit.*, has advanced a new interpretation of the divisions: *decuviae familiae quincuriales* XII. The *decuviae* were the groupings of the community of Iguvium into tens. The ten *decuviae* were then grouped in two 'fives'; the two groups of five *decuviae* were represented at the ceremony by two families who were called *familiae quincuriales*. The ten *decuviae* and the two quincurial families would account for the number twelve at the end of the passage.

⁷³ Laird, *loc. cit.*, considers the **pumpeñias** as groups of five individuals rather than of families. His conclusion is based upon the use of the word both in Oscan and in Umbrian, and especially upon the present passage where the number XII following **pumpeñias** makes him think that each family was represented in some kind of body by sixty individuals, divided into twelve groups of five, each group performing some duty for a month. He compares the manner of voting by **puntes** in Tablet III, 1 ff. where he thinks that unless the members voted in blocks of five we may assume that the **puntes** were the individual members of a *pomperia*. Buck, *op. cit.*, 366, 370, also suggests that the **pumpeñias** were perhaps bodies of men rotating like the Attic *prytanies*, in this case changing from month to month.

other similar instances may be cited from the Tablets. From these passages it is evident that in the Umbrian cities the *tribus* stands on the same footing as the *populus* (*totā*); that the two terms represent two aspects of the same division; and that the individual citizens belonged to one as well as to the other. While the *totā*- or *populus* represents the people themselves or the citizens, the *tribus* is the district, the land to which these people belong. Each citizen is a member of the *populus* and of the *tribus* of his city. Additional evidence for the correctness of this conclusion is furnished by two passages in Livy: *per Umbriam, qua tribum Sapiniam vocant*;⁷⁴ and: *consul per tribum Sapiniam in Boios venit*.⁷⁵ This *tribus Sapinia* is the same community of Sapinates which Pliny (iii, 114) mentions among the cities of the Umbrians which had disappeared. The *populus* is called *Sapinates*; the district, through which it was possible to travel, was known as the *tribus Sapinia*. The *tribus*, therefore, represents the entire community, which is divided next into ten *curiae*, then into *gentes*, and lastly into groups of five households (**pumpeñias**).

The importance of the Umbrian *tribus* for the explanation of the three ancient tribes of Rome has long been recognized.⁷⁶ According to tradition Rome was divided originally into three tribes, the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres. The problem which has confronted all investigators of the early organization of Rome is whether the Rome of the three tribes is the product of a union of three formerly independent states, as Mommsen thought, or whether the system is the result of a deliberate arrangement of the already existing community. The assumption might easily be made that the formation arose naturally from the union of three individual states or clans. But from the evidence of the conditions in Umbria, it is clear that the theory of the organic development of the three tribes and thirty *curiae* from an original single tribe with ten *curiae* is by no means untenable. The process by which the *curiae* were formed at Iguvium may suggest a similar development of the early Roman tribes.

⁷⁴ xxxi, 2.

⁷⁵ xxxiii, 37.

⁷⁶ Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii, 1, 95, n. 3.

Valuable testimony for the whole question of the general organization of the Italic peoples is provided by the information which the Tablets furnish concerning this formation of Umbria with its system of *tribus*, *curia*, and *gentes*. For an understanding of this problem it would be desirable to know more fully than we can from the available evidence, which features are peculiar to one people and which are common to all. It is clear that the Iguvine system had much in common with the early organization of Rome. We know that *curiae* existed at Lanuvium, a community which had preserved especially well the original institutions of the Latins.⁷⁷ The Oscans probably had *curiae* under a name closely related to the Umbrian **tekvias**; for *via Decurialis* (the accusative form, *via . . . Dekkviarim*, occurs in the Oscan inscription) was the name of a street in Pompeii.⁷⁸ The **pumpeñias**, the groups of five, which were divisions of the *gentes* in Umbria, also existed among the Oscans, as inscriptions from Capua show.⁷⁹ The conclusion which we must draw, therefore, is that this system was at the foundation of the organization of the Italic people as a whole. The fact that in Etruscan ritual books mention was made of *tribus*, *curiae*, and *centuriae*,⁸⁰ does not show that the Etruscans were the originators of this system of grouping. We know merely that among the Etruscans there existed subdivisions of the citizenship similar to those among the Italians and Greeks. It is possible that the Etruscans, who in general did not found new cities themselves, may have encountered the system in the Italic towns which they reorganized and may then have incorporated it in their ritual books.⁸¹ The corresponding arrangement among the Etruscans needs to be definitely determined before a complete picture of the formation

⁷⁷ *C. I. L.*, xiv, 2120, 2114, 2126.

⁷⁸ Buck, *op. cit.*, 239 (no. 3); Conway, *Italic Dialects*, no. 39. The adjective is doubtless derived from *decuvia*—tenth part. Rosenberg suggests that probably the house of the *curiae* of Pompeii stood on this street.

⁷⁹ Buck, 248 (no. 23, 27, 28, etc.); Conway, no. 105, 115, 116, etc.

⁸⁰ Festus, 358 L.: *Rituales nominantur Etruscorum libri, in quibus perscribitur est, quo ritu condantur urbes, arae, aedes sacrentur, qua sanctitate muri, quo iure portae, quomodo tribus, curiae, centuriae distribuuntur, . . .*

⁸¹ Cf. the similar conclusion with reference to the relation of the Etruscans to the system of town-planning, page 16 above.

of the early Italic states can be made. With the lack of this evidence, our provisional summary of the organization of the Italic peoples and the distribution of the various divisions is as follows:

1. At the head stands the *tribus*, at least it is attested among the Umbrians and the Latins. This *tribus*, the district, existed either alone or in groups joined into a single higher unit.
2. The *tribus* was divided into *curiae*, **tekvias**, or tenths, and *gentes*, which existed among the Umbrians, Latins, and Oscans.
3. The divisions of fives, perhaps groups of five families within the *gentes*, were present among the Umbrians and Oscans, but apparently lacking among the Latins.

II

THE RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES OF THE CITY

The ceremonies described in Tablet VIa 1–VIIb 47 constitute the lustration of the sacred mount or citadel of Iguvium.¹ The ceremony of the *lustratio* or purification is well known in its various forms from Latin literary records. It is the completeness of the picture which makes the contribution of the Iguvine Tablets exceptional. First there are the introductory auspices. The sacrifice is to be preceded by an observation of the birds: the *parra*, the *cornix*, the *picus*, and the *pica*. Next come the formulae exchanged between the augur and the *flamen*. The augur (he who will go to observe the birds) from his seat in the *tabernaculum* commands the *flamen* (*adfertor*): “Demand that I observe the *parra prospera*, the *cornix prospera*, the *picus iustus*, the *pica iusta*, the *iusti aves*, the *iustae oscines divinae*.” The *flamen* then demands, “Then observe there the *parra prospera*, etc., . . . for me, for the Iguvine State, at this temple.” A warning is given against interruptions of any kind. If there is any interruption before the return of the augur, the ceremony becomes invalid. Careful instructions are given for the boundaries of the *templum* to be used in the lustration of the Arx.² The four sides of the *templum* are marked: from the lowest angle which is nearest to the sacred altar up to the highest angle which

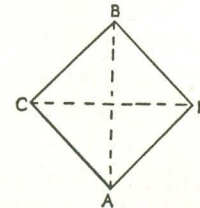
¹ Unless otherwise specified, the interpretation followed is that of Buck (*op. cit.*). I have followed Buck in using bold-face type for the Umbrian in the native alphabet and italics for that in the Latin.

² Varro (*L. L.*, vii, 8) gives a Latin formula, similar to this one, for the marking of a temple by means of certain limits in which the trees formed the *finis* within which the augur looked: [i]tem <pla> tescaque ¶me ita sunt quoad ego ¶eas te lingua[m] nuncupavero. ullaber arbos quiquir est, quam me sentio dixisse, templum tescumque[m] ¶festo in sinistrum. ollaner arbos quiquir est, quod me sentio dixisse te <m> plum tescumque[m] ¶festo dextrum. Inter ea conregione conspicione cortumione utique ea erectissime sensi.

is nearest to the augural seats;³ then from the highest angle next to the augural seats to the end of the city. On each side the boundary lines of the city must be preserved. The *finis urbici* are then stated (the meaning of the Umbrian in this passage is obscure). Below these bounds the *parra prospera* and the *cornix prospera* are to be observed. Above these bounds the *picus iustus* and the *pica iusta* are to be observed.⁴ The concluding directions for the augur are now given. If the birds sing, the augur, from his seat in the *tabernaculum*, takes the auspices. He calls the *flamen* by name; he calls out the *parra*, the *cornix*, the *picus*, the *pica*. The inspection of the birds ends here; the augur leaves the scene and does not reappear. The inscription continues with some general prescriptions applicable to all the following sacrifices. For all the sacred ceremonies of the lustration of the people and the lustration of the Arx the *flamen* must carry the ceremonial wand. At the Porta Trebulana the vessels which are to be used in the purification of the Arx must be shown in order that fire may be kindled from fire; likewise at the Porta Tesenaca and at the Porta Veia.

³ In Livy, i, 18, 7–9, the augur performs the same operation for the kingship of Numa: regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septemtrionem esse dixit, signum contra, quoad longissime conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit.

⁴ Bréal, *op. cit.*, 52–53, explained the augural operation as follows: the augur is standing at point A, near the sacred altar. From this point he fixes another point in front of him which is near the augural seats (B). The points C and D



are on each side the *finis urbici*. CAD forms the lower angle and CBD the higher angle. In order to facilitate the recognition of the limits of the square the inscription enumerates a certain number of places which are situated on sides BC and CA, and on sides BD and DA. All birds which enter lines CB and BD will be above these bounds; all those in CA and AD will be below these bounds.

The sacrifices of the lustration now begin. Sacrifices are performed eight times in the course of the purification, each time at a different point in the procession around the limits of the city. The first takes place in front of the Trebulan gate; three oxen are offered to Iuppiter Grabovius. As the flamen pours the libation he recites an invocation followed by a long prayer, repeated in identical words for each of the three offerings, with a brief general prayer in conclusion. All of the prayers are present only in Tablet VI. The wording of the invocation is as follows: "Thee I invoke, Iuppiter Grabovius, for the Fisian hill, for the Iguvine State, for the name of this hill, for the name of this state. Be propitious, be favorable to the Fisian hill, to the Iguvine State, to the name of this hill, to the name of this state. Sanctus, I invoke thee, Iuppiter Grabovius, with reliance on Sanctus I invoke thee, Iuppiter Grabovius. Iuppiter Grabovius, I invoke thee with this ox, a rich expiatory offering, for the Fisian hill, for the Iguvine State, for the name of this hill, for the name of this state. Iuppiter Grabovius, honored with this, if on the Fisian hill a fire has broken out, if in the Iguvine State the due rites are omitted, overlook it. Iuppiter Grabovius, if there is any fault in thy sacrifice, any offense, any diminution, any neglect, any defect, any fault seen or unseen, Iuppiter Grabovius, if it is permitted, let it be expiated with this ox, the rich expiatory offering. Iuppiter Grabovius, purify the Fisian hill, purify the Iguvine State. Iuppiter Grabovius, purify the name of the Fisian hill, of the Iguvine State, the nobles, the rites, the men, the cattle, the fields, and the fruits of the Fisian hill. Be propitious, be favorable with thy peace to the Fisian hill, to the Iguvine State, to the name of the hill, to the name of the state. Iuppiter Grabovius, preserve safe the Fisian hill, preserve safe the Iguvine State. Iuppiter Grabovius, preserve safe the name, the chiefs, the rites, the men, the cattle, the fields, the fruits of the Fisian hill, of the Iguvine State. Be favorable, be propitious with thy peace to the Fisian hill, to the Iguvine State, to the name of this hill, to the name of this state. Iuppiter Grabovius, with this ox, a rich expiatory offering, I invoke thee for the Fisian hill, for the Iguvine State, for the name of this hill, for the name of this state, thee I invoke."

The second and third oxen are now sacrificed with identical prayers. The ceremony ends with a general summary of the sacrifice: "Iuppiter Grabovius who hast been moved by three rich oxen, expiatory offerings, for the Fisian hill, for the Iguvine State, for the name of this hill, for the name of this state, I invoke thee, Iuppiter Grabovius, thee I invoke." The prayer must be recited in low tones. Then the *exta* must be offered; a cake of spelt and a flour cake are added to the *exta*; field sacrifices are made; the sacrifice must be made either with wine or with *posca* (inferior soured wine).⁵ The *exta* are offered in a litter.

The second sacrifice is offered behind the Trebulan gate. Three pregnant sows are sacrificed to Trebus Iovia⁶ for the Fisian hill, for the Iguvine State, in the same manner as the first sacrifice with a repetition of the prayers. A heap of little offering cakes and a flour cake are added to the *exta*.

The third sacrifice takes place in front of the Tesenacan gate. Three oxen are offered to Mars Grabovius with the same ceremony as in the preceding sacrifices. Spelt cakes and a flour cake are added to the *exta*. The customary prayers occur after the cake offerings in this sacrifice instead of before them as in the former sacrifice.

Behind the Tesenacan gate the fourth sacrifice of three suckling pigs is offered to Fisu Sancius. After the rites and prayers of the former sacrifices are performed, the *flamen* ties a napkin on his right arm. A flour cake and a heap of little offering cakes are added to the *exta*. After the *flamen* has placed the *suppa*⁷ in the rear, leaning on his knee, he makes an offering with a libation and a meal cake to Fisu Sancius⁸ for the Fisian citadel, for the Iguvine State. The prayer which accompanies this operation differs in some phrases from those used before. At the time of the prayer a libation is poured. There follows a command to dance,

⁵ R. Thurneysen, *Glotta*, i, 1909, 242-244, interprets *poni* as from *polni-*, to be connected with Latin *pollen* meaning 'meal'. The difficulty with this interpretation is that meal is not a substitute for wine as an offering.

⁶ This divinity is usually interpreted as Trebus Iovius. For the justification of my use of the feminine form, see pp. 80-81 below.

⁷ The 'under parts' of the victim. The Umbrian is *sopo*.

⁸ Fisu Sancius and Fisu Sancius must be the same god. See page 74.

atripursatu, 'tripodato'.⁹ After this pieces of *exta*¹⁰ are offered. The *flamen*, leaning on his knee, offers the libation. The cake is purified beneath the fire over which a libation is then poured. The vessels are broken in pieces; a prayer is made with the broken pieces. The *flamen* then takes up two bowls that are offered, two consecrated bowls.

The fifth sacrifice in front of the Porta Veia consists in the offering of three oxen with white foreheads to Vofionus¹¹ (or Vofio) Grabovius. The prayers of the first sacrifice are to be repeated.

Behind the Porta Veia the sixth sacrifice of three lambs is made to Tefer Iovius. The customary prayers are repeated. Further offerings are included in a complicated series of ceremonies in which the details are numerous and extremely technical. At the right side he who has sacrificed the lambs now offers what seems to be a cake in the shape of a pig;¹² a libation is poured over it. A trench is made for the cup which the *flamen* continues to hold in his left hand until he has offered the libation. Then, putting down the cup, he offers the *erus*, pieces of the *exta*.¹³ A prayer is now recited to Tefer Iovius according to the usual formula, with a libation; during the prayer the rhythmical dance is performed again. At the left side a cake in the form of a sheep is offered. A trench is made for the cup. The prayer is repeated as with the pig-shaped cake. After the *erus* of the *exta* are

⁹ This Umbrian word *atripursatu* is without doubt the *tripodato* of the Latin formulae. Cf. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, 26, 33. Bücheler, although he translated *tripodato*, gave the word a meaning different from the interpretation in the rites of the Arvales. He explained the command as an order to "spargere in tripudium," connecting the *tripudium* with the usage in the favorable omen in which the sacred chickens ate so greedily that the food fell from their mouths on the ground. Here the same idea of excess would be implied in the act of libation.

¹⁰ Text of Bücheler; Buck translates *erus* as *magmentum*.

¹¹ The Umbrian *f* in the spelling *Vofionus* has been retained; Buck changes to the Latin form *Vovionus*.

¹² For this explanation of *pesondro sorsom*, see Buck, *op. cit.*, 305.

¹³ *erus* (Umbrian form) is explained very satisfactorily by Kent, *Classical Philology*, xv, 1920, 353 ff., in a discussion of the word *iepru* in Ila 32. By proof deduced from several passages in which *erus* occurs, Kent concludes that *erus* was probably an actual part of the *proseto* or entrails (or perhaps even identical with them). Bücheler explained *erus* as *quod dis datur peractis sacris*. Likewise, Buck interprets it as *magmentum*.

offered, the *erus* of the pig-shaped cake are placed in the trench at the right side where the pig-shaped cake was offered. Then at the left side the pig-shaped cake is offered and likewise the *erus*. The pig-shaped cake, placed in the trench where the prayer has been said, is buried. A similar process is performed for the cake in the shape of a sheep. Then the vessels which held the cakes are thrown on top. The *flamen* remains seated until the prayer is made with the broken vessels. Anyone who wishes may now, remaining seated, offer the broken vessels with a prayer. This will complete the sacrifice.

The seventh sacrifice is made after the procession has arrived at the Jovian shrine. When the sheep have been purified, three bull-calves are sacrificed to Mars Hodius. The *exta* are placed in a litter; libations of *posca* and offerings of grain are made; prayers are recited in low tones. After spelt cakes have been added to the *exta*, the prayer formulae of the first sacrifice are repeated.

The eighth and last stop of the circuit is made at the shrine of Coredius for the sacrifice of three bull-calves to Hontus Çerfius.¹⁴ The details of the ceremony are similar to those of the seventh sacrifice at the Jovian shrine.

This completes the lustration of the sacred hill. The inscription states that then the hill will be purified. But if any fault is committed by any omission in the prescribed ritual, then the sacrifices are vitiated. It will be necessary to observe the birds again, to return to the Porta Trebulana, and to begin the entire sacrifice and procession anew.

This account of the lustration of Iguvium supplements the casual allusions to lustrations in our Latin authors, or parallels with even more details the fuller accounts such as the *lustratio* of the farmer's field given by Cato¹⁵ and the description of the *Ambarvalia* in Tibullus¹⁶ and in Vergil.¹⁷ We see here the processional ritual of the *lustratio* of the Arx, the citadel of Iguvium, which undoubtedly represents the original *oppidum* of the historical city. The ceremony consists of a procession around the

¹⁴ The Umbrian spelling with the *f* has been retained here; Buck uses the Latin form *Cerrius*.

¹⁵ *De Re Rustica*, 141.

¹⁶ Tibullus, ii, 1.

¹⁷ Vergil, *Georg.*, i, 338; Servius, *ad loc.*

Arx (*ocris Fisia*) with the sacrificial victims, as in the Latin *lustratio*; at each of the three gates of the city and at two additional stations, a halt is made while sacrifice and prayer are offered on behalf of the citadel, the city, and the people of Iguvium. The suggestion has been made that the gates are chosen as the scene of sacrifice and prayer because they are considered the weak points in the wall and as such need to be strengthened by annual religious ceremonies.¹⁸ From the prayers themselves, however, we should judge that by the time of the inscription of the Tablets the object of the *lustratio* was a truly religious one—to implore the gods of the city of Iguvium to preserve the city and all its inhabitants, both men and beasts.

The essential features in the various lustrations are the same. For an annual lustration of the city of Rome such as we have at Iguvium our actual evidence is not extensive. We may assume, however, from the references which we have that at one time the pomerium of Rome had its holiness secured by an annual ceremony of this kind. The ceremony of the *Amburbium*, from the analogy of *Ambarvalia*, must mean a rite of this processional kind.¹⁹ The *amburbiales* are defined: *hostiae dicebantur, quae circum terminos urbis Romae ducebantur.*²⁰ The term *amburbium* itself is also defined: *sicut amburbiale vel amburbium dicitur sacrificium, quod urbem circuit et ambit victima.*²¹ There are also later passages in Lucan, in which Arruns orders a similar ceremony in order to purify Rome,²² and in Tacitus who states that Nero had the ceremony performed.²³

¹⁸ W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London, 1911, 214–215. Fowler admits that there is doubt whether the *Fratres Atiedii* themselves would have furnished so logical an explanation.

¹⁹ Usener, *Weihnachtfest*, in *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, i, 314, gives this city expiatory procession as the pagan prototype of Candlemas.

²⁰ Festus, 5 L.

²¹ Servius, *ad Buc.*, iii, 77.

²² *Pharsalia*, i, 592–595:

Mox iubet et totam pavidis a civibus urbem
ambiri, et festo purgantis moenia lustrō
longa per extremos pomeriaingere fines
pontifices sacri quibus est permissa potestas.

²³ *Annales*, xiii, 24: *urbem princeps lustravit ex responso haruspicum, quod Iovis ac Minervae aedes de caelo tactae erant.*

For the related ceremony of the *Ambarvalia*, the lustration of the fields, however, we find definite accounts in our Latin authors. The best known example is furnished by the directions which Cato gives for the *lustratio agri*.²⁴ Here we see first the procession of the *suovetaurilia*; then, after libations to Janus and Jupiter, the famous prayer to Mars pater in which protection is asked for the whole *familia* of the farm, together with the crops of all kinds and the cattle within the boundary line. In these directions, as in the lustration of the Iguvine Tablets, there is contained a provision for an additional expiatory offering in case of any defect in the previous sacrifice.²⁵ Vergil gives an interesting description of the Ambarvalian lustrations in the *Georgics*.²⁶ It has been suggested that the substitution of Ceres in this case for the Mars of Cato's formula may show an extension of the worship of Ceres and a contraction of that of Mars, as the more warlike side of the latter was being developed;²⁷ but the fact that we find forms resembling the word *Ceres* also among the gods and goddesses invoked in the Iguvine lustrations may suggest that there is an early relationship between Ceres and lustrations.²⁸

The *lustratio* affords an example of a pagan ceremony which has been adopted in the ritual of the Christian Church. The Italian priest still leads his flock round the fields with the prayers of the *Litania Maior* in Rogation Week, begging a blessing on the crops and cattle, and beseeching deliverance from the vengeance of God. In England also the custom was adopted by the Church and the bounds of the parish were encircled in a yearly rite by the Minister, his Churchwardens, and the Parishioners. The custom still survives at Oxford.²⁹

The lustration of the people, the companion ceremony to the lustration of the citadel, is described fully in Tablets VIIb 48–

²⁴ *De Re Rustica*, 141.

²⁵ Cf. the Latin *instauratio*.

²⁶ i, 338 ff.

²⁷ Fowler, *Roman Festivals*⁴, London, 1925, 126.

²⁸ The titles *Cerrus* (*Çerfus*) and *Cerra* (*Çerfa*) appear with Mars and the goddesses associated with him; a connection with Ceres may exist.

²⁹ Fowler, *Roman Festivals*⁴, 127; Gordon J. Laing, *Survivals of Roman Religion*, New York, 1931, 49–51. Such circumambulations may also be seen in many of the festivals known as *pardons* in Brittany to-day.

VIIa 54 (Ib 10-45). The Iguvine population, formed in companies, assembled in a certain spot and around this host a procession passed three times. At the end of each circuit a sacrifice and prayer were offered to Mars and two female associates of his power, who were asked to bless the people of Iguvium and to curse their enemies. The details of the *lustratio populi* are as definite as those of the *lustratio arcis*.

The inscription states that for the lustration of the people the birds must be inspected and the auspices must be taken in the same manner as for the purification of the sacred hill. After having taken the auspices by observing the birds, the flamen must take up the ceremonial wand; he must take up the girdle; he must be vested upon the right shoulder; he must lay fire in a brazier. At the appointed time he who bears the ceremonial wand must carry to the sacrifice the brazier in which the fire has been placed. He must be accompanied by two attendants who carry the wand of the *ponisiato*.³⁰ Then he must ask the *parfa* (*parra*, the green woodpecker?) to be favorable to him, to the Iguvine State. After the flamen has taken favorable auspices and has announced them at the augural chairs, he, together with his attendants and the sacrificial victims, goes to the sacrifice by the Augural Way. When they come to Aquilonia, to the exits, they must stand at the boundary. He who holds the ceremonial wand must expel the aliens with the following words: "Whosoever is of the Tadinatate State, of the Tadinatate tribe, of the Tuscan, Naharcan, Japudiscan name, must go out from this people. If this people goes not forth, if anyone be caught,³¹ take him to that place to which it is the law, do with him that which is the law." Thrice

³⁰ The exact meaning of this description of the attendants is uncertain. Bréal interpreted the phrase: *praetextam (cum) purpureis (clavis)*. It is interesting to note that at Oxford everyone in the procession carries a white wand.

³¹ The Umbrian phrase *sopir habe* is interpreted differently by the various commentators. The above translation "if anyone be caught," given by Kent, *Class. Phil.* xv, 359-360, seems the most satisfactory both for meaning and for grammatical basis. He understands *habe* as passive, with an implied *r*, equal to Latin *capitur*. The final *r* in passive forms of verbs is more often omitted than expressed (von Planta, *Gram. d. O.-U. Dial.* (1897), i, 568-569, shows that 19 verb forms omit the *r* and six retain it). *Habe* has usually been

he must expel the aliens. Then, standing at the boundary with the attendants the flamen must say: "Be ye drawn up in order, be ye arranged in companies, Iguvines." Then the flamen and the attendants must go round the people with the sacrificial victims. When the circuit has been performed and the boundary has been reached again, the flamen and the attendants, standing at the boundary, pray in low tones: "Çerfus Martius, Praestita Çerfia of Çerfus Martius, Tursa Çerfia of Çerfus Martius,³² alarm, make to tremble (destroy, abolish, scatter, . . . wound, . . . cripple, bind hand and foot) the Tadinatate State, the Tadinatate tribe, the Tuscan, the Naharcan, the Japudiscan name, the nobles girt, not girt, the young men armed with spears, those without spears, of the Tadinatate State, of the Tadinatate tribe, of the Tuscan, the Naharcan, the Japudiscan name. Çerfus Martius, Praestita Çerfia of Çerfus Martius, Tursa Çerfia of Çerfus Martius, be ye favorable and propitious with your peace to the people of the Iguvine State, to the Iguvine State, to the nobles girt and ungirt, to the youths armed with spears and those without spears, to the name of these people, to the name of this state." After they have said this, he who holds the ceremonial wand must say, "Go, Iguvines." The flamen and his two assistants twice repeat the march around the people with the sacrificial victims; at the end of each circuit, standing at the boundary, they make the identical prayer and repeat the command to the Iguvines. When the ceremony has been performed for the third time, the

understood as the Latin *habet*; Aufrecht and Kirchhoff, Bréal, Brugman, and von Planta understood this in the intransitive sense "has property" or "dwells." Bücheler did not decide between *si quis eiusmodi hic habitat* and *si quis id nomen habet*. Conway would translate it "if anyone catches him." Buck interprets *habe* as the Latin *restat*, equal to "fails to withdraw beyond the ritual boundaries." Kent shows the improbability of the interpretation "if anyone dwells here," since the warning is against staying within the boundaries during the ceremony and not against having a residence there at other times. All of the explanations given with *habe* as active assume the omission of the final *t* which is rare.

³² The form *Tursa* which is nearer the Umbrian *Turse* has been retained as in Bücheler's text. Buck uses the Latin form *Torra*.

two attendants go back by the same way by which they came. (The flamen continues the lustration alone.)

The sacrifices of the lustration now begin. The flamen is commanded to sacrifice at Fontuli three boars, red or black, to *Ārfus Martius* for the people of the Iguvine State and for the Iguvine State. The details of the sacrifice (the placing of the *exta* in a litter, the offering of *posca*, the grain offering, etc., and the recital of the prayer in low tones) correspond to those of the former sacrifices. A meal cake and a little flour cake are added to the *prosecta*.³³ In addition, when he has taken the auspices across the Sacred Way (*trans Sanctam*) he must offer *erus* (pieces of the *exta*).

At Rubinia he must sacrifice three sows, red or black, to *Praestita Ārfia* for the people of the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State. The animals are sacrificed stretched out on the ground. *Posca* and fruits of the field are offered. The prayers used in front of the Trebulan gate are repeated in low tones and offerings of a sacrificial cake and a flour cake are added to the *prosecta*. When the flamen has placed the *suppa* behind him he offers a libation with a prayer to *Praestita Ārfia*. Then ceremonies are performed with black and white vessels. With the black vessels there is a prayer to bring misfortune to the aliens and good to the Iguvines; with the white, to avert misfortune from the Iguvines. The essence of the prayer with the black vessels is as follows: "Praestita Ārfia of *Ārfus Martius*, thee with these black vessels, for the people of the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State, for the name of that state, (I invoke). *Praestita Ārfia* of *Ārfus Martius*, direct by every way harm to the Tadinatate State, to the Tadinatate tribe, to the Tuscan, Naharcan, Japudiscan name, to the nobles girt, to the nobles ungirt, etc. *Praestita Ārfia* of *Ārfus Martius*, keep safe the name, the nobles, rites, men, cattle, and fields of the people of the Iguvine State, of the Iguvine State; be favorable and propitious with thy peace to the people of the Iguvine State, etc. *Praestita Ārfia* of *Ārfus Martius*, thee with these black vessels I invoke for the people of the Iguvine State, etc. *Praestita Ārfia* of *Ārfus Martius*, thee I invoke with confidence in the favor of

³³ The *prosecta* represent the parts of the victim which are cut off for sacrifice. Cf. Conway, *op. cit.*, ii, 649, s. v. *prosecā*.

Praestita Ārfia of *Ārfus Martius*." The last invocation is repeated. There are directions now for a libation and the rhythmic dance (*tripodatio*). With prayer *in rusem*³⁴ the flamen must make a libation to *Praestita Ārfia* of *Ārfus Martius*. After this the ceremony of the white vessels begins. The flamen is commanded to place the white vessels crosswise upon the black ones and to repeat the following prayer: "Praestita Ārfia of *Ārfus Martius*, thee with these white vessels for the people of the Iguvine State, etc. *Praestita Ārfia* of *Ārfus Martius*, avert by every way harm from the people of the Iguvine State, from the Iguvine State, from the nobles girt and ungirt, etc." The remainder of the prayer is similar to that made with the black vessels, ending with the final libation and the dance. An additional sacrifice is now offered to *Fisovius Sancius*. After the flamen, leaning on his knee, has offered a libation and a spelt cake in a bowl, he must make an invocation as behind the Tesenacan gate; he must offer the *erus* of the libation; he must purify the cake in the fire and then pour the libation over it. The flamen must go across the Sacred Way. When he returns he must break the vessels in pieces and pray as he offers the broken pieces. He must move the sacred bowls.

The next sacrifice takes place across the Sacred Way. Three heifer-calves are offered to *Tursa Ārfia*. The supplementary offerings are the same as for the other sacrifices. The prayers of the Trebulan gate are repeated. The flamen is next ordered to announce at the place where the sacrifice of the boars was performed that he is offering pieces (of the *exta*). He must announce again at Rubinia that he is offering pieces of the *exta* and then he must do the same across the Sacred Way. Then, returning to Rubinia, he must break the vessels and pray as he offers the broken pieces. He must move the sacred bowls. The same ceremony must be performed across the Sacred Way. Then, the inscription states, the sacrifice will be completed.

After the people have been encompassed for the third time, he who holds the ceremonial wand and the two attendants must pray in low tones to *Tursa Iovia*. The prayer, similar to that

³⁴ The meaning of *in rusem* has not been determined. A place seems to be designated.

made at the end of each circuit, containing the curse of the enemies of Iguvium and the request for favor for the people of the Iguvine State, is repeated three times. Next there occurs the ceremony of the pursuit and sacrifice of the heifers. According to the directions of the tablet, he who holds the ceremonial wand and the two attendants drive forth the heifers for lustral sacrifice. At the lower end of the *Forum Seminarium* any member of the state who wishes is permitted to catch the heifers. As soon as three are caught the flamen must sacrifice them at Aquilonia to Tursa Iovia.³⁵ An invocation must be repeated in the same manner as at the Trebulan gate; the customary supplementary offerings are made. This completes the ceremony of the lustration of the people of Iguvium.

The short inscription of VIIb contains a provision which is closely related to the preceding sacrifice. It stipulates that the Magister (*fratres*) of the College shall provide the victims for the ceremony of the pursuit of the heifers. The Magister of the Atiedian brethren is to bring for his office the victims of the twelve Atiedian brothers. These are the victims which by law must be let loose when it is necessary for the heifers to be chased. This must be done after the flamen of the Atiedians has encompassed the people. If he does not bring them in accordance with the above stipulation the fine for the Magister is to be three hundred asses.

The lustration of the citizens is a ceremony with which we are familiar from the parallel custom at Rome. A lustration which took place in the Campus Martius after the census is described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.³⁶ At this ceremony the three sacrificial victims were driven three times around the assembled host, which was drawn up in companies, and they were then sacrificed to Mars. Dionysius attributes the foundation of the rite to Servius Tullius. His account states that when Tullius had taken the census he ordered all the citizens to assemble with

³⁵ At this point the older and newer versions differ. In Ib 40-44, three heifers are let loose, one by the flamen, two by the assistants, and then caught and sacrificed. In VIIa 51-54, more than three seem to be let loose and the first three caught are sacrificed.

³⁶ *Antiquitates Romanae*, iv, 22.

their arms in the largest of the plains in front of the city. Then, after he had drawn up the horsemen in squadrons and the infantry in a line of battle and the light-armed soldiers in their own centuries, he performed a lustration of these with a bull, a ram, and a goat. The victims were led around the army three times and then sacrificed to Mars, to whom this field was sacred. Dionysius adds that even up to his time the Romans were purified in this lustration by the most sacred magistrates, after the taking of the census, a ceremony which the Romans called *Lustrum*.³⁷ The details of this rite correspond closely with those of the Iguvine lustration; the Tablets, however, give a far more complete and exact account of the ceremony.

It has been suggested that in the *lustratio* religion has been superimposed on an originally magic ceremonial.³⁸ The magic circle drawn round the host would serve, supposedly, as a protection against the wiles of the enemy when it is necessary to leave the confines of the *ager Romanus* (or *Iguvinus*) for places where hostile magical influences might be met. In Macedonia the method was to march the host in spring between the two parts of a dog which had been severed in the middle.³⁹ Here, likewise, the magical power would be brought to bear upon the whole army. At Rome in the later times of the Republic these ceremonies had lost not only their original magical meaning but also perhaps some of their religious significance. The form of the sacrifices and prayers of the lustration of the host remained, but in reality the ceremony became a political census. It is difficult to tell at which stage we see the Iguvine lustration. It seems to be fully developed and beyond the period of magic: the form of the prayers gives evidence for this. The full nature of the direc-

³⁷ Τότε δ' οὖν ὁ Τύλλιος, ἐπειδὴ διέταξε τὸ περὶ τὰς τιμήσεις, κελύσας τοὺς πολίτας ἅπαντας συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ μέγιστον τῶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίων ἔχοντας τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ τάξας τοὺς θ' ἱππεῖς κατὰ τέλη καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν φάλαγγι καὶ τοὺς ἐσταλμένους τὸν ψιλικὸν ὄπλισμόν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκάστους λόχοις, καθαρμὸν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο ταύρω καὶ κριῶ καὶ τράγω. Τὰ δ' ἱερέια ταῦτα τρις περιεχθήναι περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κελύσας, ἔθυσσε τῶ κατέχοντι τὸ πεδῖον Ἄρει. Τοῦτον τὸν καθαρμὸν ἕως τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνων Ῥωμαῖοι καθαίρονται, μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τῶν τιμήσεων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν ἱερωτάτην ἀρχὴν Λουστρον ὀνομάζοντες.

³⁸ Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, 216.

³⁹ Livy, xl, 6.

tions, on the other hand, would seem to justify the belief that the ceremony was still something more than a mere shadow of the past.

A striking detail in the last ceremony, especially in view of its apparent connection with two ceremonies of Roman religion for which no satisfactory explanations have been given, is the flight and pursuit of the heifers, the concluding rite of the *lustratio populi*. The exact meaning of this act is not known. It seems to have contained some idea of the victims as scapegoats. The heifers were put to flight, then caught and killed. The purpose would seem to be to carry off evils from the city and the people by means of the slaughter of the victims, as well as to cause the defeat of the enemies. The only definite reference to an act of this kind, unfortunately brief, is preserved in Varro: *Aliquot huius diei vestigia fugae in sacris apparent, de quibus rebus antiquitatum libri plura referunt.*⁴⁰ But certainly the idea of the scapegoat itself was known in Italy. Such a custom may be implied by Servius: *Ludos Taureos a Sabinis propter pestilentiam institutos dicunt, ut lues publica in has hostias verteretur.*⁴¹

This rite of the flight of the heifers at Iguvium is important for the light it may shed on two puzzling ceremonies of the Roman calendar—the Poplifugia on the fifth of July, and the parallel Regifugium on the twenty-fourth of February. For the former there are two legends which attempt an explanation, one connecting the word with the flight of the Romans from an army of the people of Fidenae and other neighboring people after an invasion of the Gauls,⁴² the other interpreting it as a commemoration of the flight of the people after the disappearance of Romulus.⁴³ Both theories have been dismissed, the first on the evidence that the Poplifugia must have been older than the Gallic invasion; the second for the reason that more probably this story of the death of the mythical Romulus itself grew out of some religious rite performed at this time of the year.⁴⁴ There is probably, however,

⁴⁰ *L. L.*, vi, 18.

⁴¹ *Ad Aen.*, ii, 140.

⁴² Varro, *L. L.*, vi, 18.

⁴³ Dionysius, ii, 56; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 29.

⁴⁴ Fowler, *Roman Festivals*⁴, 174–176; *Intro.*, 15.

some connection between the rites of the two days.⁴⁵ The Iguvine lustration with its related flight (in this case of the victims instead of the people as in the Poplifugia) offers a possible interpretation of the Roman ceremony.⁴⁶ From the similarity to the Iguvine act we may suppose that the flight was carried out as an escape from the victim—the scapegoat which was to carry away from the people some pollution or pestilence.⁴⁷ Likewise, as is suggested by Mommsen's completion of a gloss in Festus,⁴⁸ the Regifugium may be accepted as a flight of the Rex after a sacrifice.⁴⁹

Another feature of the *lustratio populi* which furnishes a parallel to certain Roman customs is the well known curse of the enemies of Iguvium.⁵⁰ The plan of the Iguvine formula is simple enough: the enemies of Iguvium are cursed with a long list of

⁴⁵ J. G. Frazer, *The Fasti of Ovid*, 1929, ii, 415–422, concludes that there must have been a close connection between the Poplifugia on the fifth of July and the traditionary disappearance of Romulus on the seventh of July, but cannot decide what the connection was.

⁴⁶ From the fact that the disappearance of Romulus was supposed to have occurred at a lustration of the citizens (Livy, i, 16, 1: *ad exercitum recensendum*), Schwegler (*Römische Geschichte*, Freiburg i. B. und Tübingen, i, 1884, 532) conjectured that the Poplifugia may have been an ancient rite of lustration. Fowler (*Roman Festivals*⁴, 176) suggests that the Poplifugia was probably a rite in which the priest and the people fled from the spot after the sacrifice had been performed.

⁴⁷ Cf. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*⁴, 176.

⁴⁸ C. I. L., i, 1², p. 289: (Regifugium notatur in fastis dies. a. d.) vi Kal. (Mart. qui creditur sic dict)us quia (eo die Tarquinius rex fugerit ex urbe). Quod fal (sum est; nam e castris in exilium abisse eum r)ettul(erunt annales. Rectius explicabit qui regem e)t Salios (hoc die . . . facere sacri)ficium in (comitio eoque perfecto illum inde fugere n)overit. . . (Cf. Festus, 346 L.)

⁴⁹ See Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii, 499–502, for other explanations.

⁵⁰ The curse of the Iguvine lustration (VI b 53–62) provides valuable material for knowledge of the state of Umbria at this time. The presence of the Etruscans (the *Tusci*) among the people cursed reflects the history of the Umbrians and their ancient enemies. The fact, moreover, that Umbrian peoples are mentioned along with, and even preceding, the foreign enemies, may show that there existed in Umbria no political union or centralized power such as the Latin League. The curse gives evidence that Umbria was split up into individual cities or states which were just as hostile to each other as to the national enemy.

imprecations and then safety and favor are asked for the Iguvines themselves. A similar combination of curse and prayer is found in the formula for a *devotio* on the battle-field, dictated by the *pontifex maximus* for Decius at the battle of Vesuvius in the Latin War (340 B.C.): Iane, Iuppiter, Mars pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares, divi Novensiles, di Indigetes, divi, quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque, diique manes, vos precor veneror veniam peto oroque, uti populo Romano Quiritium vim victoriamque prosperetis hostesque populi Romani Quiritium terrore, formidine morteque adficiatis . . .⁵¹ Except for the fact that in this case the prayer precedes the curse this formula has essentially the same form as the curse of the Iguvines. Another resemblance to the language of the curse may be seen in the *evocatio* given by Macrobius.⁵² In one of Horace's odes there is a prayer, expressed in similar terms, that evil be averted from the Romans and turned against their enemies.⁵³

A possible survival of the lustration of the Iguvine people and of the lustration of the citadel may be seen at Gubbio, the very site of the ancient Iguvium. The people of Gubbio celebrate annually on the fifteenth of May the festival of the Ceri in honor of the Vigil of Sant' Ubaldo, the patron saint of the city.⁵⁴ The festival goes back historically to the year 1154, following the great victory of Gubbio over eleven hostile cities; it was established in order to thank the Saint to whom is attributed the triumph of the arms of Gubbio. There can be no doubt, however, that the festival was adapted, with modifications and additions, at this time in the twelfth century, from a still earlier ceremony the origin of which is now lost.

On the first Sunday in May the three *ceri*, heavy machines of wood formed of two large cylindrical bodies joined together, placed on *barelle* (wooden stretchers borne by heavy shafts at

⁵¹ Livy, viii, 9, 7.

⁵² *Saturnalia*, iii, 9, 7-12.

⁵³ *C.*, i, 21, 13-16.

⁵⁴ A full description of this ceremony is given by Herbert M. Bower, *The Elevation and Procession of the Ceri at Gubbio*, The Folk-Lore Society, London, xxxix, 1897. I have described the ceremony as I saw it at Gubbio, May 15, 1930.

each side) are removed from the Church of Sant' Ubaldo on the summit of Monte Ingino where they rest during the year, and are brought down into the town. Then early on the morning of the fifteenth they are taken to a certain spot on one of the public streets where they remain on exhibition until eleven o'clock in the morning. At this time the elevation of the *ceri* takes place; the statues of the three saints, Sant' Ubaldo, San Giorgio, and Sant' Antonio, are attached to their respective *ceri* and the latter are fixed on their stretchers. At the moment when the stretchers are placed on the shoulders of the *ceraioli* (the name given to the bearers of the *ceri*) and the images of the Saints are elevated about eighteen feet in the air, each of the three *ceraioli* who have attached the images of the respective Saints to the *ceri* pours a vessel of water over his *cero*. The *ceraioli* themselves are divided into three groups: the bricklayers, to whom belongs the *cero* with the statue of Sant' Ubaldo, the shopkeepers, who bear the *cero* with the image of San Giorgio, and the peasants with the *cero* of Sant' Antonio. Their costume consists of white trousers, yellow, blue, or black shirts, according to the *cero* which they carry, and red caps and scarves. The *ceri*, borne by their respective *ceraioli* and accompanied by a great crowd of the populace, are carried through the streets of the town and are then deposited at a little distance from the Church of Santa Maria Nuova for the visits of the public. Meanwhile the *ceraioli* partake of a large dinner, in company with the important civil and religious officials of the town. Later they march through the city singing sacred and patriotic hymns.

At six o'clock the most solemn ceremony takes place. The bells ring and the bishop bears in procession the sacred relics of Sant' Ubaldo, followed by a troop of priests, monks, and brothers of the various fraternities as well as by an immense crowd of the people. The rest of the population of Gubbio and of the surrounding country throng the streets and fill the piazze, the balconies, the terraces, and the windows to watch the procession as it crosses the city and advances to the place where the *ceri* are stationed. When this point is reached, the Bishop solemnly blesses the *ceri*. Immediately after the blessing by the Bishop the *ceraioli*, who have been standing in readiness, raise the *ceri*

on their shoulders, and at once the procession is formed again. A trumpeter on horseback leads, followed by the *Capitano dei Ceri* and his assistant, the *Capitano dell' Accetta*.⁵⁵ The lightning-like course of the *ceri* through the town begins. The heavy machines, tottering by reason of their weight, are borne with amazing rapidity, followed by great crowds of the people shouting and crying with enthusiasm. A stop is made at the Piazza della Signoria, the municipal center of the town. Here, at a signal from the Palazzo Pretorio, the *ceri* are raised impetuously and the *ceraioli* perform three whirlwind-like turns in the centre of the piazza. Then, immediately, the procession, with the *ceri* still raised high in the air, races from the piazza through the Via Venti Settembre, and hence towards Monte Ingino, on the peak of which stands the Sanctuary of Sant' Ubaldo. Within the space of twenty minutes the frenzied ascent over the tortuous paths of the mountain is accomplished. At the top the members of the procession are reunited. Songs are sung to the Saint and prostration is made before his body, which is preserved in state in the sanctuary.

The general character of the festival suggests that it was based on an ancient pagan ceremony. Many of the details have no recognized religious significance to-day; they must be survivals of the festival of an earlier time. The practice of the Church in incorporating pagan ceremonies and celebrations into religious rites is too well known to need further comment. In the present case several stages must have intervened before the final form was reached in relation to the Patron Saint Ubaldo. But at the bottom of it all we may be sure there is hidden a vestige of the ancient Iguvium and its life in the days before Christianity had made its appearance. It is to the *lustratio populi* and the *lustratio arcis*, the most important ceremonies of this district in antiquity, that one would naturally look for the ultimate origin of the Festa of the Ceri, whatever may have been the steps through which it passed in the course of its development. The similarities in the ceremonies strengthen this assumption. First, the date of the celebration, the middle of May, may be significant.

⁵⁵ The *Capitano dell' Accetta* (the captain of the hatchet) is followed by two hatchet-bearers.

Although the date of the lustrations of the Iguvine Arx and of the Iguvine people is not recorded, May is known to be the month when the Roman *Ambarvalia* took place and may well have been the time of the festivals of Iguvium. As in the lustration of the citadel the chief sites of the city are visited with prayers and sacrifices performed at each spot, so in the Festa of the Ceri, the *ceri* are borne through the city passing the most important centres. The hymns and songs here take the place of the prayers and sacrifices of the ancient rites. Very striking is the unique performance in the Piazza della Signoria where three turns are made by the *ceraioli* in a circle in the middle of the piazza.⁵⁶ This may be a concentrated form of the three circuits made in both the Iguvine lustrations. The banquet of the *ceraioli*, moreover, may recall a similar dinner of the Fratres Atiedii after the performance of their sacred duties. Although an actual survival of the Iguvine ceremonies cannot be proved in the case of the Festa of the Ceri, the circumstances are suggestive of such a relationship.⁵⁷

The taking of the auspices before the lustrations of the citadel and of the Iguvine people is significant by reason of the prominent place which this rite holds in Latin life. The importance of the auspices both in Iguvine and in Latin ceremonies suggests that the custom was probably common to the Italic peoples. Nowhere else, however, even in the numerous passages in Latin authors, do we find such a detailed account of the actual process connected with the auspices as is given in the Tablets.⁵⁸ The

⁵⁶ This performance has no known significance in the present religious ceremony.

⁵⁷ An interesting suggestion for the origin of the peculiar double cylindrical shape of the *Ceri* and for the structure of the wooden stretchers on which they are carried is given by Conway, *Ancient Italy and Modern Religion*, Cambridge University Press, 1932, 7. He thinks that these may correspond to the 'litter' for the victim in the Iguvine ceremony of Tablets III-IV (cf. pages 61-62 below), which he describes as consisting of two storeys of wicker framework, with the victim in the third storey, above or below the other two. The Festa of Gubbio is discussed in connection with the ceremonies of the Tablets on pages 2-10.

⁵⁸ For a summary of Roman augury, see Bouché-Leclercq in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, i, 580-585, and Wissova s. vv. *auspicium* and *augures* in Pauly-Wissowa's Real-Encyclopädie, ii².

principal object of augural science was the study of the flight of birds. The *templum* was necessary in order to limit the signs provided by the birds. Only those observed within a given space and a given time could be recognized. The *templum* consisted of a portion of the sky marked out by definite points which the augur designated, and also of the portion of the earth which corresponded to the plan of the sky. In the passage of Varro which describes the laying out of a Roman "temple," trees are used as the defining points.⁵⁹ The Roman *templum* is oriented by two perpendicular lines (*cardo decumanus*) which intersect at the center (*decussis*) at the point where the augur is placed.

The Roman *auspicia* were of several kinds. According to the ritual the augur himself designated the signs which he hoped to obtain from Jupiter and for this reason they were called *impetrativa* or *impetrata*. Unexpected signs which offered themselves were called *oblative*.⁶⁰ The augurs limited the signs to be accepted to five groups.⁶¹ The first four either could be asked for by the augur or they could come by chance. The last was always fortuitous and had only a negative value. The first of these groups consisted of the *caelestia auspicia*, lightning, thunder, and doubtless other celestial phenomena. The second group, which was originally the principal object of augural science, was composed of the signs furnished by birds. Of these, some, such as the vulture, the eagle, etc., were observed for their flight; others, such as the crow, the owl, etc., were noticed for their cries. In a third group birds such as the green woodpecker and the sea-eagle were observed both for their flight and for their cries. The third kind of auspices was made up of the *auspicia extripudiis* (*pularis*) which consisted in the noting of the appetite of birds, usually chickens. The fourth group, the *pedestria auspicia*, consisted in the observation of the movements and positions of quadrupeds and reptiles within the limits of a *templum*. The signs of the fifth group, called *dirae*, always fortuitous, were any unforeseen disturbances which might interrupt the auspices. In this case the auspices would become invalid and have to be begun again.

⁵⁹ *L. L.*, vii, 8.

⁶⁰ Servius, *ad Aen.*, vi, 190; vii, 259.

⁶¹ Festus, 316 L.

In the Iguvine Tablets the auspices belong to the second and principal group, the flight of birds. The birds mentioned in the Tablets are the *parra*, the *cornix*, the *picus*, and the *pica*. Since it is necessary for the birds to sing before the auspices are concluded we may judge that the Iguvine birds were observed both for their flight and for their cries. The fifth group of *auspicia*, the *dirae*, is also implied in the stipulation for complete silence and the necessity for beginning anew if any disturbance occurs. Precise and complicated directions are given for the laying out of the Iguvine *templum*. The points are designated by means of a series of places which are interpreted either as shrines or as private estates.

Tablet II contains directions for various sacrifices to be performed by the Fratres Atiedii. The inscription of side A has no connection with that of B; it is not even written by the same hand. IIa was probably written about the same time as Tablet I, since it ends with the same formula as Ib 45, which appears nowhere else.⁶² The text of Tablet IIa itself is divided into two parts, dealing with sacrifices apparently unrelated. The first (IIa 1-14) describes a sacrifice to be performed in case of unfavorable auspices. The commands are probably addressed to the *flamen*. Directions are given for renewing the sacrifices and for placating the gods in case the omens obtained from the entrails of the first sacrifice have not been satisfactory. For this reason it has been supposed that this inscription is closely connected with Tablet I and gives directions for sacrifices to follow the *lustratio arcis* and the *lustratio populi* if the auspices of these ceremonies were unfavorable.⁶³ The directions state that when the auspices are to be changed at the **Karne Speturie**,⁶⁴ a series of sacrifices must be performed for the Fratres Atiedii. The sacrifices are introduced by a command repeated by the flamen: "If

⁶² Bréal, *op. cit.*, 274.

⁶³ Bücheler, *op. cit.*, 123.

⁶⁴ **Karne Speturie** is not clearly understood. Bréal (P. 274) interpreted it as an expression of time, probably an annual ceremony named for the name or surname of a divinity (cf. *Ludi Apollinares*). Bücheler associated the **karne** with *asegeta karne* of IIa 30 and understood **spectoria* as the inspection of the entrails.

at the **Karne Speturie** disturbances have arisen at the auspices, make it of no account." A victim must be sacrificed for the second time to Vesticius Sancius, a sacrificial ox to Jupiter, and a victim to Spector. A ram must be sacrificed to Jupiter. It must be buried. After the usual supplementary offerings are made, a prayer is repeated in low tones with the offering of grain. Then a piece of swine flesh is sacrificed with an invocation to Jupiter; a trench is made for the bowl; *erus* (pieces of flesh) are offered; prayers are made with pieces which have been pounded. A sacrificial sheep, stretched out on the ground, is sacrificed to Actus Iupater; offerings of *posca* are added. A sacrificial boar is offered to Actus Mars; grain offerings are brought; spelt cakes are added to the *prosecta*; the sacrifice is performed with the victim stretched out on the ground. The sacrifice must be performed **trans ekvine**.⁶⁵ A victim must be sacrificed to the *Agentes* (?).⁶⁶

The act of sacrificing a second series of victims when the entrails of the first did not show themselves favorable was a common practice in Roman ceremonies, as Cicero testifies: *Quae autem inconstantia deorum est, ut primis minentur extis, bene promittant secundis?*⁶⁷ The regular expression for a successful sacrifice was *litatio*.⁶⁸ Often numerous victims were slain before a *litatio* was obtained. In Plautus, for example, the custom of continuing the sacrifice until a favorable one was secured is clearly illustrated by: *si hercle istuc umquam factum est, tum me Iuppiter faciat ut semper sacrificium nec umquam litem*.⁶⁹ The inscription of the Tablets provides interesting testimony for the actual process used in obtaining a *litatio*.

The second ceremony described in Tablet IIa (IIa 15-43) is the sacrifice of a dog to Hontus Iovius. Hontus Iovius was without doubt a divinity of the lower world and the rite one of purifi-

⁶⁵ Bücheler, *op. cit.*, 127, translated *trans equinum*, i.e., *in circo equestri* since Mars who is worshipped here is the patron of horses. He compared the Latin *Equirria* (Ovid, *Fasti*, ii, 859), and also the October horse sacrificed to Mars.

⁶⁶ Text of Bücheler. The meaning of the Umbrian word **Açetus** has not been determined. Bücheler interpreted it as *Agentibus* referring to divinities; Conway follows his rendering. Buck suggests *Ancitibus*, meaning *Dis Ancitibus*.

⁶⁷ *De Divinatione*, ii, 38.

⁶⁸ Cf. Henzen, *op. cit.*, 29.

⁶⁹ *Poenulus*, 488-489.

cation. The sacrifice to Hontus is decreed for sunset on the last day of the interlunary period. The inscription states that if the *flamen* wishes to sacrifice, in the last month of the year, after the birds have been observed, it is fitting for him to do so. He must bring a puppy, grain offerings, cakes, a spelt cake, offerings of *posca*, wine, ground salt, vessels for liquids and for dry materials, and fat. The fire must be placed on the altar; offerings of *posca* must be made. The puppy is now offered to Hontus Iovius for the Petronian *gens* of the Fratres Atiedii. The sacrifice is made on the ground. Certain parts of the flesh are distributed on spits; the *crematra* (another instrument for roasting meat) are placed under the spits. Offerings of grain and *posca* are made; a libation is poured; the dance in triple rhythm (*tripodatio*) is performed nine times. The remainder of the ceremony consists of the offering of various parts of the flesh of the dog. The rites described here, although very important on account of the unique ritual which they provide, are in many cases obscure in the Umbrian. It will be necessary in the following account, therefore, to follow the text more or less closely without an attempt at an interpretation of obscure details.

The *flamen* must say: "thee with offering of *posca*, thee with wine (I invoke)"; he must bring spits and *fripta*. When he brings these for the ninth time, he must bring the *crematra* at the same time. He offers a prayer with a libation in the ditch. Two parts of the flesh of the puppy must be cut off to be burned; a third part must be cut off for *erus*. Likewise, the *crematra*⁷⁰ must be cut. A flour cake and a sacrificial cake are added. The puppy is then offered as a sacrifice; a supplication is made, a second supplication is made with the uncut flesh, and a third supplication is made with the **venpersuntra**.⁷¹ The *suppa lateralia* are spread out. The *flamen* must make a prayer with the consecrated

⁷⁰ While **krematra**, **krematru** in IIa 23, 26, are instruments used in roasting the meat in conjunction with the spits, here in II a 28 **krematru** refers to the flesh itself.

⁷¹ The Umbrian word is rendered *ficticia* (*carne*) by Buck. Bücheler retained the Umbrian form in his Latin interpretation. Conway (*Italic Dialects*, ii, 667) offers the suggestion of Bücheler: *caro semidivina*, i.e., those parts of the victim remote from the *proscia* or choice parts cut off for offering. Here the meaning of the Latin *ve* (in *vēcors*, etc.) is ascribed to **vem**.

vessels; he must pour a libation; he must perform the dance in triple rhythm; he must draw near and then place the vessels in position. He must put the *suppa* behind him. He must heap up the *erus* with his hand.

The scene of the ceremony now changes and the obscure rites continue in the vicinity of the *spina*.⁷² The *flamen* must go to the *spina*. *Posca* must be brought in two bowls. Spits, the uncooked haunches, vessels for liquids and dry materials, and fat must be brought. A libation with a bowl is made to Hontus Iovius for the Petronian *gens* of the Fratres Atiedii.⁷³ A prayer must be made with the sacrificial spits beyond the *spina*. A second prayer is made with the vessels for liquids and for dry materials. A libation is made. The dance in triple rhythm is performed. The *spina* must be annointed. A prayer must be made with the sacrificial fat. The *flamen* must wash his hands with water from the altar.⁷⁴

He must return to the altar. And at the altar he must pray in low tones as he offers the sacrificial wine. The *erus* must be piled up and offered. Wine and *posca* must be offered. Sacrificial cakes, flour cakes, and *sufafiaf* must be ground together. The (fire)⁷⁵ must be extinguished with a bowl of *posca*. A prayer must be recited with the offering of the ground pieces. The *flamen* must rise and must pick up the *statuta*. The sacrifice must be spread out. The puppy must be buried at the altar.

The inscription closes with a dating formula—the quaestorship during which the document was written.⁷⁶

Examples of sacrifices of dogs such as that described in the

⁷² The Umbrian *spinam-ař* corresponds to the Latin *spina* and must represent a barrier of some kind. Buck suggests *columna*.

⁷³ *Gens* is the reading of Bréal. The Latin is obviously *natio* which Buck and Bücheler adopted in their texts. From the context, however, it would seem that a division of the people under the charge of the Fratres, which may be equivalent to *gens*, may be meant.

⁷⁴ This is Bücheler's interpretation (p. 137) of the Umbrian *manf easa vutu* which would be rendered in Latin: *manus ex ara lavito*.

⁷⁵ The fire is not mentioned in the Umbrian, but it seems to be implied in the verb *vepuratu* which is interpreted as *restinguito*.

⁷⁶ The meaning of this passage (*kvestretie, usaçe svesu Vuvçis Ti Teteies*) has not been fully determined.

Iguvine Tablet are numerous.⁷⁷ It is evident that the sacrifice was a purificatory rite. In an answer to the question as to why the Luperci sacrifice a dog, Plutarch suggests that the reason may be that their ritual is one of purification of the city.⁷⁸ The month is called February and the day *februata*; *februare*, signifying to strike some one with a thong, means "to purify." The dog was included among the victims in the purificatory ceremonies of the Greeks. Puppies are presented to Hecate among other objects of purification. A person in need of purification was rubbed with a puppy, a form of purification for which the term was *περισκυλακισμός*. Plutarch does not say that the puppies thus used for purification were sacrificed, but Frazer thinks it probable from the general statements as to the sacrifices of dogs in purificatory rites that the pollution was finally to be got rid of by the sacrifice of the animals.⁷⁹ In Boeotia the method of public purification was to pass between the parts of a dog.⁸⁰ The manner of purifying a Macedonian army was similar.⁸¹

The relation of the sacrifice to the lower world and the identification of Hontus Iovius as a deity of the lower world are to be concluded from the evidence. In Rome the sacrifice is performed in February, the month of the festivals in honor of the dead. While at Iguvium the dog is sacrificed to Hontus Iovius, in Greece it is offered to Hecate;⁸² at Rome there was a similar sacrifice to Genita Mana.⁸³ A more general statement concerning the sacrifice of dogs in order to placate divinities is given by Pliny: *Catulos lactentis adeo puros existimabant ad cibum ut etiam placandis numinibus hostiarum vice uterentur his. Genitae Manae catulo res divina fit et in cenis deum etiamnum ponitur catulina*.⁸⁴ It is interesting to note that the time of the Iguvine sacrifice, as to both hour and month, likewise corresponds with

⁷⁷ See Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii, 168–170.

⁷⁸ *Quaestiones Romanae*, 68; 111.

⁷⁹ Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii, 169.

⁸⁰ Plutarch, *Q. R.*, 111.

⁸¹ See page 39, note 39.

⁸² Plutarch, *Q. R.*, 68.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 52; Pliny, *N. H.*, xxix, 58.

⁸⁴ *N. H.*, xxix, 58.

that of other sacrifices related to the lower world.⁸⁵ We are told that the sacrifice to Hontus was performed at sunset in the interlunary period of the last month of the year. Lydus states that at the end of the day many used to sacrifice lower world offerings; that the Romans on the Ides of February instituted the Parentalia from noon (ἀπὸ ὥρας ἕκτης).⁸⁶ February was definitely the month in which the Romans placated the *manes* of the dead.⁸⁷ The common custom was to sacrifice to the dead at the end of the day and under the waning moon.⁸⁸ Athenaeus testifies, moreover, that the Greeks offered dinners to Hecate in the last days of the month.⁸⁹

The Petronian *gens* for whom the dog is sacrificed also should be noted. The manner in which the *gens* is named, followed by the genitive case of the Fratres Atiedii, shows that this is a division of the people over whom the Fratres presided or from whom they were drawn. In IIB twenty *curiae* are mentioned by name and *gentes* are indicated as subdivisions of them but are not named.⁹⁰ The Petronian *gens* may be considered one of these subdivisions.⁹¹ From this we see that the sacrifice of the dog is a private ceremony performed only for a certain portion of the people served by the Fratres, not a public rite such as the lustrations.⁹²

Tablet IIB is concerned with the sacrifices of the decurial

⁸⁵ The well-known sacrifice of the red dog in the festival of the Robigalia of which Ovid tells us (*Fasti*, iv, 905-942) shows no connection with the lower world. The date of this festival was, moreover, in May.

⁸⁶ *De Mensibus*, iv, 24 (29).

⁸⁷ Varro, *L. L.*, vi, 13: *duodecimus enim mensis fuit Februarius*. Here of course the reference is to February as the last month of the early Roman calendar.

⁸⁸ Plutarch, *Q. R.*, 34.

⁸⁹ *Deipnosophistae*, vii, 325^a; *Schol. Aristoph. Plut.*, 594-6.

⁹⁰ See pages 19ff.

⁹¹ The difference in the Umbrian form for *gens* here (*natine*) and that in IIB (*fameñias*) has already been noted on page 50, note 73.

⁹² Bücheler (*op. cit.*, 131) suggested that the sacrifice in this case may be offered to the dead of the Petronian *gens* which had itself been completely extinguished by death. But it seems more probable that the sacrifice was offered by the Petronian *gens* itself through the agency of the Fratres, the official religious ministrants of the community. Compare the sacrifice in IIB 21-29 performed to Jupiter for the Lucian *gens* (page 54 below).

festivals of the *curiae*, the *gentes*, and the *pumpeñias* in the charge of the Fratres Atiedii.⁹³ These sacrifices are performed by the brotherhood for the allied *curiae* of the district over which it presides. First the *curiae* (*tekvias*) which are represented at the sacrifice are called carefully by name. Then follow the details of the ceremony without the usual explicit instructions in the style of Tablet I with which this tablet seems related in age. At the *Sementivae Decuriae*, the festival in question, of which we know nothing beyond the fact that it was concerned with the *curiae* in groups of ten and that it must have been a periodical event, the seed-time festivals of the *curiae*, a pig and a he-goat must be chosen as victims. The *curiae*, the *gentes*, and the *pumpeñias* to the number of twelve,⁹⁴ which are participants in the sacrifice, must be called by name. The designations are given by *tekvias* (*curiae*): the Atiedias, the second Atiedias, the Clavernii, the second Clavernii, the Curias, the second Curias, the Satani, the second Satani, the Peiedias, the second Peiedias, the Talenas, the second Talenas, the Musias, the second Musias, the Iuiescani, the second Iuiescani, the Casilas, the second Casilas, the third Casilas, the Perasnani. The sacrifice must be made to Admo Iupater. A sacrificial pig must be chosen; he must be consecrated; the sacrifice of the victim must be announced. Fruits of the field must be furnished and likewise announced. The sacrifice must be made either with offerings of *posca* or with wine. The pig must be offered to Sancius with incense. Then the sacrificial he-goat, a victim, must be chosen and consecrated; the sacrifice must be announced; it must be offered at the shrine. Fire is placed on a board; the *prosecta* of the he-goat are added. Spelt and cake are brought. *Posca* is brought in one vessel, wine in a second vessel, and water in a third. When the *flamen* comes to the shrine he sacrifices the he-goat. A prayer is addressed to Sancius Iupater. The *flamen* recites a prayer with the offering of the flesh and of the vessels. He dances, draws near, and

⁹³ *Quinque-familiae* (a group of five families) seems to be the meaning of *pumpeñias*, a word connected with **pompe*, signifying *quinque*. See pages 21-22. Buck renders *pumpeñias* as *quincuriae*.

⁹⁴ The linking of the number twelve to the *pumpeñias* is not certain. See page 21.

places the offerings in position. He puts the vessels behind him. He recites a prayer with the offering of *posca*, then with wine, and lastly with water. The sacrifice is concluded with the offering of *erus*.

The end of the inscription IIb treats of another sacrifice, likewise made to Jupiter but not necessarily linked to the preceding one. This sacrifice is not, like the former one, for the allied divisions of the community under the supervision of the Fratres but for a certain *gens* which seems to have formed a unit in one of the larger groups. The two ceremonies are probably placed on the same tablet for the reason that Iupater Sancius is the recipient of the sacrifices in both.⁹⁵

The directions of IIb are that when the *flamen* wishes to sacrifice a votive calf he should present the offering to Jupiter with the same dedication; during this rite he must have a circle in his hand.⁹⁶ The invocation should be: "Iupater Sancius, I present this votive calf to you." He must say three times that it is to be sacrificed; he must announce the votive offering three times. The sacrifice is performed to Jupiter for the Lucian *gens*.⁹⁷ The *flamen* must have a girdle on his right shoulder when he lays out the victim; the girdle is then placed on the spelt; while the sacrifice is being performed the girdle must be on the right shoulder of the *flamen*. Field offerings and drink offerings form the end of the second sacrifice.

The first sacrifice of IIb is significant for the remarkable insight it furnishes into the organization of the community of Iguvium, which has already been discussed. This material will be considered here only in its bearing upon the grouping of the Iguvine people with regard to the performance of religious duties.

⁹⁵ There is a probability even that the *gens Lucia* for whom the second ceremony is performed was especially charged with the cult of Iuppiter Sancius and hence would be on the scene in both sacrifices.

⁹⁶ The *urfeta* or *orbita* held in the hand of the *flamen* during this sacrifice to Iupater Sancius, a wheel-shaped disk which served as the symbol of covenants, connects Iupater Sancius with the Roman Semo Sancus in whose temple *orbes* were placed (Livy, viii, 20, 8), and with Dius Fidius, another form of the god of faith or oaths.

⁹⁷ Buck interprets *Vuċiaper natine* as *pro Lucia natione*. Here, as in the case of the Petronian *gens*, the form of the group is denoted by *natine* instead of *fameñas*.

The groups for whom the sacrifices of the decurial festival are offered, named in the Umbrian as *tekvias fameñas pumeñas*, are to be interpreted as *curiae*, *gentes*, and groups of five families. Only the twenty *curiae* are called by name; these, therefore, form the units in which the people of the district of Iguvium were considered for religious purposes. The *gentes* and the *pumpeñas* are smaller groupings by which the people were designated.

A decree directly connected with the sacrifice of the united *curiae* at the decurial festival described in IIb is contained in the latter part of Tablet V (b 8-18). The whole of Tablet V is most interesting in that it is from all appearances an extract from the book of accounts of the Atiedian corporation, and gives both the obligations of the Fratres and the recompense received in return for a fulfilment of their duties. The parts of the inscription are otherwise unrelated; a distinct division is indicated by the difference in writing, Va-b 7 being in Umbrian and Vb 8-18 in Latin letters by a different hand. The two were probably placed together on the same tablet in recognition of the fact that they were both concerned with the management of the business of the brotherhood.

The latter division (Vb 8-18) is a statement of the contributions to be made regularly by certain *curiae* to the Atiedian brothers and of portions of flesh to be awarded them in return by the brothers on the occasion of the decurial festival of Tablet IIb. There were doubtless also provisions fixing the contributions and allotments of flesh for each of the remaining *curiae* as for the two of which we have record. The passage in Tablet V is probably the conclusion of the decree passed concerning the contributions of all the *curiae* mentioned in IIb and their shares, individually, in the sacrifice of the pig and the goat performed in their honor at the *Sementivae Decuriae*; the main part of the inscription, of which only the end has been preserved, must have filled an entire tablet; the engraver, lacking space for the last two groups, without doubt took advantage of the empty space on Tablet Vb for the end of his text.⁹⁸ Recalling the testimony of the historian

⁹⁸ Bréal, *op. cit.*, 261, gave an additional fact which would point to a missing beginning for this inscription: after the model of Va 1, Va 14, we should have expected a preamble in V b like: "The Fratres Atiedii have decreed . . . etc." which is not present.

Concioli that the tablets found at Gubbio were originally nine, we may suppose that one of the lost tablets contains our missing inscription.⁹⁹ The decree of the section which remains, dealing with the *curiae* of the Clavernii and the Casilates, makes the following provision: The Clavernii must give to the Fratres Atiedii every year four pounds of grain of the *Ager Latius Piquius Martius*, and dinner for two men who will come to fetch the grain, or else six asses (in place of dinner). The Fratres Atiedii must give to the Clavernii at the *Sementivae Decuriae* (the festival of I Ib) ten parts of the flesh of a pig every year, five parts of goat-meat, the former salted, the latter *fahe* (another kind of preparation, unknown, for which Bücheler suggested *confectas*; Bréal, 'pickled'), and dinner or six asses.

The Casilas (*Curia*) must give to the Fratres Atiedii every year six pounds of grain of the *Ager Casilus Piquius Martius*, and dinner for two men who will come to fetch the grain, or six asses. The Fratres Atiedii must give to the Casilas on the *Sementivae Decuriae* fifteen parts of the flesh of a pig every year, seven and a half parts of goat-meat, and dinner or six asses.

The joint sacrifice of the twenty *curiae* or *tekvias* described in Tablet I Ib, together with the sequel of V b dealing with the exact participation of two of the groups, gives us abundant evidence for a ceremony which must have formed one of the most important institutions of the religious life of Iguvium and perhaps of Umbria. The nature of the festival itself proclaims its antiquity: the gathering together of these related groups for a common sacrifice to Jupiter, in itself an acknowledgment of kinship, and a strengthening or confirming of the bond by the sharing of a sacred victim. The form of communion thus secured gives us an ancient religious conception of the Umbrians which has its parallel among other Italic peoples. The best analogy is the *Feriae Latinae* of the Latins.¹⁰⁰ Here the union is of the Latin peoples, not, as at Iguvium, of the *curiae* which at Rome cannot be shown to have gathered together for a common sacrifice.¹⁰¹ The fulness of our sources for the Latin festival enables us to picture it more

⁹⁹ Concioli, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², 40; 124.

¹⁰¹ Wissowa, *op. cit.*, 158; s.v. *Feriae Latinae* in Pauly-Wissowa.

clearly than we can the celebrations of other groups of people. At the *Feriae Latinae* which was held on the Alban Mount, usually in April, the most ancient Latin communities celebrated a common festival and sacrifice to Jupiter.

The most detailed account of the *Feriae Latinae* is given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus who ascribes the foundation of the temple on the Alban Mount to the Tarquinii.¹⁰² The origin of the celebration has been traced to the pastoral age;¹⁰³ the continuance of the ceremony until the end of the third century A.D. or even later shows the significance and importance of the festival in the life of the people.¹⁰⁴ Dionysius tells of the designation of the Alban Mount as the gathering place, the command for a truce among all the cities, the instructions for the common sacrifice to Iuppiter Latiaris, and the meal which was to follow. The amount that each state had to contribute and the portion that each had to receive were stipulated.¹⁰⁵ The characteristic rite of the *Feriae Latinae* seems to have been the sacrifice of a pure white heifer which had never felt the yoke. This sacrifice was the duty of the consul who acted for all the cities, just as the sacrifice of I Ib was conducted by a member of the Fratres Atiedii for the twenty *curiae* in Iguvium. After the sacrifice the flesh of the victim was divided among the representatives of the various cities.

The importance of this rite is proved by the number of references found in Latin writers. Varro in speaking of the *Feriae Latinae* says: *dies conceptivus dictus a Latinis populis, quibus ex Albano monte ex sacris carnem petere fuit ius cum Romanis, a quibus Latinis Latinae dictae.*¹⁰⁶ The names of the Latin peoples who used to come to seek their part of the sacrifice on the Alban Mount are listed.¹⁰⁷ Livy indicates the necessity for each city

¹⁰² iv, 49.

¹⁰³ Fowler, *Roman Festivals*⁴, 95-97.

¹⁰⁴ *C. I. L.*, vi, 2021, in the reign of Tacitus: *Sacerdotes feriarum Latinarum montis Albani.*

¹⁰⁵ In the time of Dionysius the people participating in the sacrifice brought sheep, cheese, milk, etc.

¹⁰⁶ *L. L.*, vi, 25.

¹⁰⁷ Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 69.

to receive its allotted portion of the flesh of the victim;¹⁰⁸ for when this failed to take place the *Feriae* had to be repeated. The reason, therefore, for the exactness with which these stipulations are recorded in the notes of the Atiedian corporation is obvious. Great concern is shown by each Latin city to secure its portion. To be excluded from this sacrament or common meal would have been equivalent to being shut off from communion with the god and the Latin League. During the festival there was a truce among all the cities; the alliance among the Latins and Rome seems to have been renewed annually on this day. Doubtless a similar idea of union was perpetuated at Iguvium on the *Sementivae Decuriae*, although here of course it was the union among the *curiae*, not the bond among separate cities, that was strengthened.

The first decree of Tablet Va (1-13) sets down the duties of the *flamen* of the Fratres Atiedii; the second decree (Va 14-27; Vb 1-7) states the recompense that he is to receive after the fulfilment of his obligations as well as the fine to be imposed upon him if his actions are not approved by the brotherhood. Together the two resolutions give an insight into the inner organization of the college of priests in which the responsibility was placed largely upon one member, doubtless elected by the Fratres, with provision made for the approval or disapproval of the members as a whole. The Fratres Atiedii passed the following resolution at the **Plenasier Urnasier** with T. Castrucius holding the magistracy (Va 1-13): Let whoever is *flamen* for the Atiedian College look after the sacred ceremony; he must furnish whatever is necessary for that sacred ceremony and the people who are needed. He must select the sacrificial victims; he must consider which of the victims ought to be accepted from those which are offered; when a threefold expiatory sacrifice is made, the *flamen* must go out into the country and decide whether the victims should be accepted or not. Whoever is *flamen* must furnish green vegetables(?)¹⁰⁹ for

¹⁰⁸ xxxii, 1: The *Feriae* were repeated *quod legati ab Ardea questi in senatu erant, sibi in monte Albano Latinis carnem, ut adsolet, datam non esse.* xxxvii, 3, 5: again the (*Feriae*) *Latinae* were repeated *quod Laurentibus carnis, quae dari debet, data non fuerat.*

¹⁰⁹ *Holera* for *felsva* is the suggestion of Buck. Blumenthal, *op. cit.*, 43, considers *felsva* as *poena* and *prehubia* as *solvat*, *vepurus* as *impurus*, and thus

the sacrifices without fire, by the decision of the Atiedian brethren; he must collect a sum for each farm.

After the definite exposition of the duties of the *flamen*, the second decree (Va 14-29; b 1-7) adds the rewards which he may expect in return. At the **Plenasier Urnasier** under the magistracy of C. Cluvius¹¹⁰ the Fratres Atiedii made the following decree: the *flamen*, when he has offered the sacrifice for the Atiedian College at the Atiedian assembly on the citadel, is to receive a present of a *nummus* per farm; after the sacrifice has been made, he is to have a gift of two *nummi* per farm; when the sacrifice has been placed over the fire, he is to be given three *nummi* per farm.¹¹¹ And when the Fratres have dined, the Magister or the Quaestor is to take a vote as to whether the sacrifice has been provided for properly. If the majority of the Fratres Atiedii who are present pronounce in the affirmative, the management is to be considered satisfactory. But if the majority vote in the negative, then the Magister or the Quaestor must take a vote of the brethren as to the amount of the fine for the *flamen*. The fine of the *flamen* shall be as large as the majority of the Fratres Atiedii present shall demand.

interprets the passage: *is pro sacrificiis non puris poenam fratrum Atiediorum solvat.*

¹¹⁰ In the phrases **uhretie T. T. Kastruciie** (Va 2-3) and **uhretie K. T. Kluyiier** (Va 15-16) Bréal (231-232) read the years in which the two decrees were passed, with the name of the officer holding the magistracy used like the names of the consuls in giving dates at Rome. His conclusion is confirmed by one of the minor inscriptions of Umbria, found near Assisi, in which the same kind of phrase without doubt gives the date:

ager emps et
termnas oht (equal to **uhretie**)
C. V. Vistinie Ner. T. Babr
maronatei
Vois. Ner. Propartie
T. V. Voisiener
Sacre stahu (C. I. L., xi, 5389)

¹¹¹ Bücheler, *op. cit.*, 35, interpreted this act as the placing of the vessel on the fire over which the *flamen* then steps. He recalled the *Parilia* as a parallel in which the custom of leaping through the fire remained very late at Rome. Such a sacrifice was not performed on ordinary holidays but was reserved for special festivals and for special gods. For this reason the compensation for this act is the highest.

The **Plenasier Urnasier** (*Plenariae Urnariae*), the occasion on which both the first and second decrees were passed, was obviously the time of the meeting of the Atiedian brotherhood. The meaning of the term, however, has not been established with any degree of certainty. A similar designation occurs in the **ses-tentasiaru urnasiaru** (the *Sextantariae Urnariae*) of Tablet III, the time at which the private sacrifice of the Atiedii took place. The suggestion has been made that the expression gives the month and day of the ceremony;¹¹² the reason for this conjecture is that in the records of the Arval brothers the exact day is always found.¹¹³ A more detailed explanation is that the meetings derived their name from the urns, either the vessels or the liquid measures used at the banquets which formed a part of the event.¹¹⁴ The designations *sextantariae* and *plenariae* were used either to denote the different measures of wine allotted for the different meetings or more probably to mark the time of the year at which the meetings took place—at the sixth part (*sextantariae*) and at the end (*plenariae*); *plenariae* and *sextantariae* would represent the difference between a *librilis as* and a *sextantarius as*, *sextans* being a sixth part of a *libra*. Still another suggestion is that **urnasier** may be connected with the Latin *ordinarius*, the phrase **plenasier urnasier** meaning 'in the regular full sessions'.¹¹⁵ The relation of **plenasier urnasier** to **ses-tentasiaru urnasiaru**, in this case, would remain unexplained.

Tablets III and IV, which complete the seven Iguvine Tablets, describe the annual private ceremonies of the Atiedian brotherhood. These two inscriptions are the most obscure of the seven; many of the details are unintelligible on account of the technical terms which do not occur elsewhere. Their content is interesting, however, both for the information which they afford concerning the

¹¹² Bréal, *op. cit.*, 234.

¹¹³ Cf. Henzen, *op. cit.*, 5.

¹¹⁴ At the banquet of the Arvales the *fercula* are brought *cum campanis et urnalibus mulsi singulorum*. Henzen, 35, explained *urnalia* as vases or jugs containing an urn (urn equals a liquid measure, one half an amphora). Cf. Buck, *op. cit.*, 301, who suggests that the occasion may be the 'Festival of the Urns.'

¹¹⁵ Paul Linde, *Glotta*, iii, 1912, 170.

nature of the Iguvine priesthood whose private rites they record and for the striking parallel which they furnish for the famous ceremonies performed by the companion priesthood of Rome, the *Fratres Arvales*, for the *Dea Dia* in the month of May.

The sacrifice of the *Fratres Atiedii* is decreed for sunset of the *Sextantariae Urnariae*. First the fountain in the shrine is purified. Then the **uhtur** (*auctor*), the officer who is to conduct the ceremonies of the day, is elected by the *Fratres*; this is done by the vote of the *Fratres* who rise by **puntes**¹¹⁶ (certain groups or divisions) to declare their choice. When the *auctor* has been accepted according to the custom of the College, he immediately takes charge of affairs and occupies the chair of state of the College. The *auctor* then announces the sacrifice of the victim **sakre**¹¹⁷ and the sheep, to which the *pontes* give assent. The *pontes*, again rising, choose the victim and the sheep. Then the *Fratres* go by the accustomed way from the shrine into the field. A prayer is made while the fire is lighted. The litter containing the victim and the sheep is brought into the field. This is to be the scene of the sacrifice. The details of the sacrifice itself are extremely intricate and the meaning of several terms can only be surmised; the general outline of the process, however, is clear. The litter is decorated with various appendages. The *flamen* leaves the field and returns to the shrine. The fire is placed on the altar with a prayer. The sacrifices proper now begin. First the victim is offered to Jupiter for the *Fratres Atiedii*, for the rites of the College, for the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine tribe.¹¹⁸ Then the sacrificial sheep is chosen and is offered to *Pomo Publicus* with the customary invocation for the *Fratres Atiedii*, for the rites of the College, for the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine tribe. Fruits of the field are offered with the sacrifice. Two pieces of

¹¹⁶ Bücheler rendered **puntes** by *pontes*; Buck, relating the word to *pompe (= *quinque*) interprets it as *quinionibus*.

¹¹⁷ The identity of the Umbrian **sakre** is unknown. Plautus calls pigs alone *sacres* (Bücheler, 153). The Arval Brothers, moreover, sacrifice young sows first, then a lamb with a cow. But there is a possibility that **sakre** may be another kind of offering, not of the animal type (Bücheler, *loc. cit.*).

¹¹⁸ The *tribus* of Iguvium has been discussed in the introductory chapter on pages 22–23. The Umbrian *tribus* is to be considered equivalent to district or region, the actual territory occupied by the *populus*.

the sheep which are to be burned are next cut off at one side and, with the addition of cakes, are offered in the ditch. Then two pieces of the flesh to be burned are cut off at another side and, with the additional cakes, are offered at the shrine to Pomo Publicus. Next at a third side three pieces of the flesh to be burned are cut off and are offered with cakes at the shrine to Vesona and Pomo Publicus. The same bowls are used for the sacrifices to Pomo and to Vesona. Prayers are made with the uncut flesh and with the **vempesuntres** at the altar of the shrine to Pomo and to Vesona. Prayers are made with vessels for liquids and for dry materials to Pomo and to Vesona at the shrine. With the offering of the haunches of the sheep prayers are made to Pomo and to Vesona. The shrine is now anointed. *Erus* are given to both Pomo and Vesona. The *auctor* makes a libation to Hula and, leaning on his knee, offers a *figmentum* from the *patera* to her at the foot of the shrine. A similar offering of libation and *figmentum* is made to Tursa at the top of the shrine. There is a pounding either of the *erus* or of the vessels. The *auctor* then sings a song from a copy¹¹⁹ and prays as he offers the broken pieces. The **esunu** (either the sacrifice¹²⁰ or the sacred litter itself¹²¹) is burned. At the time of the burning it is necessary to have a *caldariola*¹²² and warm *posca*. The *posca* used in purifying the fountain at the beginning of the ceremony may not be used in the later offerings. The sacrifice is now completed.

The comparison of this festival of the Fratres Atiedii with the

¹¹⁹ This passage is especially interesting on account of the similarity to the action of the Arvales. The Umbrian **ařkani kanetu** has been interpreted in various ways. "Sing a song" is the common translation. Bücheler, rendering it as the Latin *accentum canito*, preferred the explanation of a flute-player playing the instrument. But there seems no reason for rejecting the singing of the song. Interpreting **ařkani** as the Latin *accani*, an ablative of the third declension, we may read "sing from a song" (i.e., book or copy), treating **ařkani** as ablative of source. The exact parallel with the action of the Arvales makes this possibility suggestive.

¹²⁰ This is the view of Buck, whose Latin interpretation is *hoc sacrificium*.

¹²¹ This is the view of Bücheler, who translated *rem divinam* and suggested the litter as the object meant from the analogous expression for the litter in III, 14.

¹²² A small vessel for heating fluids.

ceremonies of the Dea Dia of the Fratres Arvales has already been suggested. The time of the two festivals was probably the same. If we count the *Plenariae Urnariae* of Tablet V as the full year and the *Sextantariae* as the sixth part of the year, on the analogy of the *as* and the *sextans*, and if we assume that the Umbrians reckoned the months of the year from March as the Romans did, or from the equinoctial spring, the *Sextantariae Urnariae*, the time of the Atiedian festival, would fall in April or May. The festival of the Dea Dia regularly took place in May. The private nature of the two ceremonies also corresponds; in each case the rites seem to be carried out for the College itself rather than for the community as a whole¹²³ or for the individual groups of the district over which the Fratres presided. The festival of the *Sextantariae Urnariae* must be a private ceremony of the College to honor the gods especially under their care. In the place of the Dea Dia of the Arvales there stands first Jupiter, to whom the Atiedii perform half their sacrifice, that of the victim (**sakre**). Then Pomo Publicus and Vesona of Pomo Publicus share the second half of the sacrifice, the sheep. Hula and Tursa may be additional goddesses honored by the Fratres but, if so, their position is secondary. We may conclude that Pomo and his associate Vesona form the private gods of the Fratres while Jupiter as chief god of the Umbrians naturally constitutes part of their charge.¹²⁴ As the Arvales sacrificed a sheep to the Dea Dia, so the Atiedii offered one to Pomo and Vesona. The details of the two festivals are likewise similar. As the Arvales passed back and forth between the tetrastyle and the sacred grove, so the Atiedii moved to and fro from the field to the shrine. In both ceremonies the singing of the sacred song has a place. The statue of the Dea Dia was anointed; the altar of Pomo and Vesona also was anointed. An election of officers was a part of both festivals. Here, however, the difference is greater than usual; for while the Magister and flamen of the Arvales were elected for the term of a whole year and did not assume office

¹²³ The Iguvine State and the Iguvine tribe are mentioned after the Fratres Atiedii in the invocation. This, however, seems only a part of the ritual; for the Fratres Atiedii themselves are of primary importance in the ceremony.

¹²⁴ See page 96.

until the following Saturnalia, the *auctor* chosen by the Atiedii held office for the single day of the festival and entered upon his duties at once. The banquet which formed so important a part of the festivities of the Arvales was perhaps paralleled by a similar event in those of the Atiedii. Although the common meal is not mentioned in Tablets III and IV, a provision is made in Tablet V for the voting of the brotherhood after the Fratres have dined. The festival of the *Sextantariae Urnariae* may well have been the occasion of the dinner.

III

THE GODS OF THE CITY

The gods themselves must of necessity form a valuable portion of the material furnished by the Tablets toward our knowledge of the religion of early Iguvium. Here we see them appear in turn in the various ceremonies; their character and relative importance in the religious system of Iguvium are revealed with greater or lesser degrees of completeness. Some stand out clearly at the head of the Iguvine pantheon; the functions which they are to perform, the nature of the prayers addressed to them, and the sacrifices that they receive show the character with which they were endowed in the minds of the Umbrians. Others are less fully defined although their general nature may be ascertained with more or less certainty. A last group consists of deities in subordinate positions whose rôles in the great religious organization are merely suggested by a prayer or sacrifice. The Tablets can give only an incomplete picture even of the official cults of Iguvium. We must, in addition, presuppose gods belonging to the state who are not included in these particular records and also any number of gods privately worshipped by the Iguvine people but not incorporated in the official cults.

Jupiter holds the first place in the circle of gods of Iguvium as in that of Italy as a whole. That his position was the same throughout Umbria is indicated by the large number of minor dedications to him as well as by the famous *Lex Spoletina* from which it appears that a wood was consecrated to him at Spoleto in very ancient times.¹ There is a tradition that the Tablets were found near a temple of Jupiter at Scheggia.² This temple is naturally identified with that of Iuppiter Appenninus which enjoyed fame in antiquity on account of its oracle. The grounds for the identification are strong. An inscription to Iuppiter Appenninus was

¹ *C. I. L.*, i², 366.

² See pages 4 and 8 above.

found near the traditional site of the temple.³ The Tabula Peutingerana locates on its map a temple of *Iovis Penninus* at "Agubio".⁴ The poet Claudian, moreover, in describing the journey of the emperor Honorius from Ravenna to Rome mentions the temple of Jupiter after the places identified as Fanum Fortunae and Saxa Intercisa.⁵ The fact that the title *Appenninus* does not occur for Jupiter in the Tablets may be explained by accepting it as a later geographical surname which developed after the days of the Tablets when the original divinity, however, continued to be worshipped on the temple site. The identification of the Jupiter of the Tablets with the Iuppiter Appenninus of the inscription found near Iguvium, therefore, seems probable. This traditional temple might, accordingly, be the sanctuary of the twenty allied Iguvine *curiae*. The temple, as proper for the sanctuary of an allied group, was thus built outside the pomerium rather than in the city of Iguvium proper.⁶

In the Tablets, Jupiter's preeminence is clear from the lustration of the sacred citadel, the most important ceremony connected with the religion of Iguvium.⁷ As Iuppiter Grabovius he receives the first sacrifice. Immediately after the observation of the birds three oxen are offered to Iuppiter Grabovius in front of the Porta Trebulana with an invocation for the Fisian hill, for the Iguvine city, for the name of the hill, for the name of the city. This position at the inauguration of the most significant ceremony would in itself establish his headship of the Iguvine pantheon. It is evident that the Fisian citadel is sacred to Iuppiter Grabovius; for if any rite due in the Iguvine city has been omitted, or if any fire has broken out on the citadel, the god is asked to overlook the fault.

Epithets of Jupiter used in the course of the ceremony without

³ *C. I. L.*, xi, 5803, now in the Verona museum. The lettering is very old.

⁴ *Iovis Penninus* | idē | agubio.

⁵ *Panegyricus de Sexto Cons. Honorii*, 500-505. Trebellius Pollio (Claudius, 10) tells of the consultation of the Apennine lots: *item cum in Appennino de se consuleret*. Flavius Vopiscus (*Firmus*, 3) refers to their removal to the temple of Sol in Rome with an image of Jupiter who was to be called *Iuppiter Consul* or *Consulens*.

⁶ Cf. the cult of Diana on the Aventine and that of Iuppiter Latiaris on the Alban mount.

⁷ Tablet VIa 22-58 (Ia 2-6).

the addition of the name of the god are Sanctus and Grabovius. The former is a title of Jupiter which occurs later in other combinations such as Sancius Iupater and Fiskus Sancius. The title Grabovius is the significant one for Jupiter in this ceremony. He shares this title with Mars and an unknown god Vofionus.⁸ These three gods, Jupiter, Mars, and Vofionus, thus form a triad of *dei Grabovii*⁹ who stand together at the head of the Umbrian circle of gods and who may thus be compared with the similar triad of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus in pre-Etruscan Rome. The three Grabovian gods are linked together closely in the ceremony of the lustration. They not only share a common title and are worshipped in the same ceremony, but their rites are performed by the same person, the *arfertur*; they receive the same sacrifice, three oxen, which in each case are offered in front of a gate;¹⁰ the prayers addressed to the three gods are identical in form.¹¹

Any interpretation of the title Grabovius, therefore, must hold for Mars and Vofionus as well as for Jupiter. The explanations advanced for the meaning of the title Grabovius have been many and varied.¹² Until recently, however, none of the derivations

⁸ Mars, VIb 1 (Ia 11); Vofionus, VIb 19 (Ia 20).

⁹ The term triad is used here in its general significance of a union of three gods with no implication of a common three-cella shrine, for which the Tablets give no evidence.

¹⁰ The minor gods in the ceremony are worshipped *post portam*.

¹¹ To make these gods a triad in the technical sense only a common shrine is lacking. From the nature of the ceremony, a lustration with sacrifices at stated points in a circuit, such a shrine, even if it existed, need not have been the scene of the sacrifices. It is probably true, however, that the Grabovian group of gods had not yet developed into a triad with a common shrine (cf. Inez S. Ryberg, *Was The Capitoline Triad Etruscan Or Italic?*, *American Journal of Philology*, 1931, 153-155). Giacomo Devoto, *Contatti Etrusco-Iguvini*, *Studi Etruschi*, iv, 243 ff., attributes the triad form in the Iguvine religion to the influence of the Etruscans and considers this form a late elaboration. He recognizes four triads in the Tablets, all the result of Etruscan organization.

¹² Grotefend, *Rudimenta linguae Umbricae*, Particula iii, 23; Bücheler, *op. cit.*, 52; Grassman, *K. Z.*, xvi, 192; Lassen, *Beiträge zur Deutung der Eugubinischen Tafeln*, 17; Pott, *Wurzellexikon*, i, 1010; Aufrecht-Kirchoff, *Die umbrischen Sprachdenkmäler*, ii, 130, considered Grabovius as a simple word with the same ending as in Fisovius. Bréal, *op. cit.*, 66, linked *grabus*, advocated by Aufrecht-Kirchoff as the key to the meaning of the word, with the Latin name *Grādivus*, with which *Grabovius* has often been compared. He then explained both from one original root.

proposed has been acceptable. A common explanation, which is based on a comparison with the Latin *Grādīvus*, is unsatisfactory for two reasons. First, Grabovius could not be equivalent to *Grādīvus* except by word-contamination, since Primitive Indo-European *dh*, which gave *d* in Latin, always became *f* (not *b*) medially in Umbrian.¹³ The meaning of *Grādīvus* itself, moreover, is not clear etymologically.

The most satisfactory interpretation of Grabovius is that given by Kretschmer, who considers it as a word borrowed by the Umbrians from Illyrian with the meaning of 'belonging to oaks, oak god'.¹⁴ We have the word *γράφιον* quoted by Athenaeus from the Macedonian Amerias as a gloss for 'torch'; also from Seleucus of Alexandria who interprets it as the wood of an oak, *πρίνος* or *δρῦς*, from which torches were made.¹⁵ *γράφιον* is obviously an adjective derived from the name of the tree **γράφος*, Slavic *grabz*, with the addition of the suffix *io*, and signifies *iligneus* or *querneus*. Its Illyrian origin is supported by the Illyrian proper names *Γράβος* and *Γράβων*.¹⁶ Kretschmer concludes that *γράφιον* was probably a borrowing from the Illyrian which Amerias took for Macedonian.¹⁷

¹³ Lindsay, *Latin Language*, 289; Brugmann u. Delbrück, *Grundriss der Vergleichender Grammatik*, 355; Buck, *op. cit.*, 85; Somner, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut und Formenlehre*, 2.u.3. Auflage, 172.

¹⁴ Paul Kretschmer, *Der Götterbeiname Grabovius auf den Tafeln von Iguvium*, 89-96, in *Festschrift Adalbert Bezzenberger*, Göttingen, 1921. See also *Indogerm. Jahrbuch*, ix, 119; *Glotta*, xi (1921), 234. Kretschmer's view is accepted in the third edition of Walde's *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Lief. 8, 1935).

¹⁵ xv, 699 e: 'Αμερίας δὲ γράβιον τὸν φανόν, Σέλευκος δὲ οὕτως ἐξηγεῖται ταύτην τὴν λέξιν, 'γράφιον ἐστὶ τὸ πρίνιον ἢ δρύινον ξύλον, ὅπερ ἐθλασμένον καὶ κατεσχισμένον ἐξάπτεσθαι καὶ φαίνειν τοῖς ὀδοιποροῦσιν. Θεοδώριδας γοῦν ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν Κενταύροις διθυράμβῳ φησὶν 'Πίσσα δ' ἀπὸ γραβίων ἔσταζεν.' μνημονεύει δὲ γραβίων κο . . . ἐν Φοινίσσαις.

¹⁶ *Γράβος* was the name of the Illyrian king who in 356/5 B.C. made the alliance with the Athenians against Phillip of Macedonia (*I. G.*, ii, 66b). A bronze helmet from Olympia (*Inscr. v. Olympia*, 695) bears the inscription (fourth century B.C.) *Φέρσαν Γράβωνος* and *Φέρσαντός εἰμι* (with *Φέρσαν* cf. the Illyrian name Verzo Beusantis, *C. I. L.*, iii, C. xvii). On this basis the name was *Γράβων* which bears the same relationship to **γράφος* as the Greek name *Δρῶν* to *δρῦς*.

¹⁷ The foreign origin of Grabovius is supported also by the Slavic adjective Polish, *grabowy*; Czechish, *hrabový*; Serbian, *grabov*; Russian, *grabovýj*; Little

The existence of such an Illyrian word in Umbrian can be explained by the fact that there had been an Illyrian immigration into Umbria, as into other parts of the eastern side of Italy, in prehistoric times.¹⁸ Many traces of this immigration remained in historical times. Pliny mentions the Liburni as former inhabitants of Italy.¹⁹ Festus gives an Illyrian origin for the Paeligni.²⁰ The names of several places in Umbria, moreover, suggest an Illyrian settlement.

The Tablets themselves testify to the relationship between the Illyrian people and the Umbrians by the repeated mention of the **Iapuzkum numem**. The Italian Iapudes are recognized as

Russian, *hrabovýj*. The Slavic adjective is formed, with the addition of the suffix *-ov-*, from the name of the hornbeam, *carpinus betulus*: Polish, *grab*; Czechish, *hrabr*, *habr*; Serbian, *grāb*; Russian, *grabz*, *grabina*; Little Russian, *hrab*. The adjective, designating a place with hornbeams, is very far spread as the name of a locality: *Grabowo* in the Russian governments Lomscha, Minsk, and Plock, and in Posen; *Grabova* in Serbia, *Grabova draga* 'beech valley' in Mostar; *Grabovica* in Zupanjac and in Mostar; numerous places called *Grabow* in Germany. An Umbrian Grabovius could not be cognate with the Slavic *grabov-* since the *b* of the latter usually goes back to Indogermanic *bh* which always became *f* in Umbrian. (Indogermanic *bh* is assumed on account of the rarity of Indogermanic *b*. It is also supported by the form *γράφιον* which Erotian, in his Glossary to Hippocrates, under *θράσσει*, quotes as used by Sophocles in the *Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις*, cf. Nauck, *Trag. gr. fragm.*, 179). The explanation remains, therefore, that Grabovius was an Illyrian word which was taken over into Umbrian. *Γράβος*, an oak, known from the *γράφιον* in Athenaeus, exists in Modern Greek in Epirus (*εἶδος δρῦς*). Cf. Kretschmer, *Glotta*, xi, 1921, 234. G. Meyer (*Ngr. Stud.*, ii, 24) considered this a borrowing from the Serbian and Bulgarian, but Psaltes (*Ἀρχαῖαν*, 26, 55 ff.) points to the Athenaeus passage which shows that the word was ancient and consequently cognate with the Serbian *gaber*. The form with *r* in the second syllable is also found in Modern Greek: *γᾶβρος*, a variety of holm oak in Arcadia, *γκᾶβρος* in Sisanion, *γαβρί* in Kozani. The Modern Greek place names *Γραβριά* and *Γαβριά* form a parallel to the Slavic *Grabovo*. Vasmer, *Osteuropäische Ortsnamen* (Dorpat, 1921), 10, points out a similar preservation of an Illyrian word in modern Epirus.

¹⁸ See Philipp, s. v. *Iapyges* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Ency.*, ix, 1, 737-740; Nissen, *op. cit.*, i, 490 ff., 540; Von Duhn, s. v. *Italien* in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, vi, 1925, 104 ff.; Randall-MacIver, *Iron Age in Italy*, 1927, 3, 112 ff., 123, 145 ff.

¹⁹ iii, 110.

²⁰ 248 L.

remnants of an ancient Illyrian immigration.²¹ The people of the Japudiscan name are among the aliens excluded from the boundaries of Iguvium during the lustration of the citizens;²² later in the same ceremony they appear again in the curse directed against the enemies of Iguvium.²³ Both times they are mentioned with the Tadinates, Etruscans, and Nartes. Tadinum, of which only the modern Gualdo Tadino gives a trace to-day, must have been east of Iguvium. The Nar river, from which the people of the *Naharcum nomen* probably derived their name, flows in the south of this district. The Etruscans lived in the west. Hence it was probably to the north or northeast of Iguvium that a branch of the Illyrian Iapudes had a settlement. The borrowing of an Illyrian title for a god can be easily understood through such Illyrian elements in the population of Umbria.²⁴

The title Grabovius, accordingly, seems to mark Jupiter as god of the oak among the Umbrians. The connections of Jupiter with the oak tree are numerous.²⁵ The *δρῦς* was sacred especially

²¹ See Philipp, s. v. *Iapudes* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Ency.*, ix, 1, 727; J. Whatmough, *Prae-Italic Dialects*, ii, 207-208.

²² VIb 54.

²³ VIb 58, 59.

²⁴ The form *Crabovie* in New Umbrian (VIa 27, 37) gives support for this derivation. The change between media and tenuis occurs also in the name *Iapudes* itself which in New Umbrian is written *Iapusco*, *Iapuscer*, and often *Iabuscom*, *Iabuscer*, *Iabusce* (Old Umbrian makes no recognizable distinction between media and tenuis). This fluctuation between media and tenuis would be very unusual in genuine Umbrian. Grabovius, therefore, for this reason seems to be a borrowed word. The fact that the Illyrian dialect from which Grabovius comes had the Slavic suffix of the adjective *-ov-* which is lacking in the Macedonian *γράβιον* can be merely a dialectic difference. The place name *Bersovia* (*Tab. Peut.* between Viminiacum and Sarmizegethusa) which Tomaschek (Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Ency.*, iii, 318) had associated with Lithuanian *bėržas*, Bulgarian *bréza*, Little Russian *bereza* 'beech' shows that this suffix also existed in Dacian.

²⁵ Vergil, *Georg.*, iii, 332; *Aen.*, iii, 680; Phaedr., iii, 17, 2; Servius, *ad Ecl.*, i, 17; cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 7, 13. Ovid, *Met.*, i, 106. Sen., *Herc. Oet.*, 1639. Also see A. B. Cook, *Zeus, Jupiter, And The Oak*, *Classical Review*, xvii, 1903, 174-186; 268-278; 403-421; xviii, 1904, 75-89; 360-375. P. Wagler, *Die Eiche im Kultus und in der Mythologie der Griechen und Römer*, *Berliner Studien*, xiii, 2, 1892, 1-35. Carl Bötticher, *Baumkultus der Hellenen und Römer*, Berlin, 1856, 406-412.

to *Zeὺς Πολιεύς*, the protector of cities, corresponding to Iuppiter Stator, Victor, Bellipotens, Feretrius. The *quercus* as the tree of oracles was under the special protection of Zeus.²⁶ Under a *quercus* Aeacus prayed to his father Zeus to repeople the island of Aegina which had been depopulated by a plague.²⁷ The *quercus* was *de semine Dodonaeo*. The holm oak, *ilex*, also was sacred to Zeus.²⁸ The Pelasgian Zeus at Dodona, the oldest oracle of Greek antiquity, uttered his oracles by means of a sacred oak²⁹ which was situated in a sacred grove of oaks.³⁰ Traces of the oak as the sacred tree of Zeus are found throughout Greece and Asia Minor.³¹ In Italy the connection is likewise far-spread. At Tibur we have a cult of Iuppiter Praestes³² and also the identification of three ancient oaks as the spot where Tiburnus had been inaugurated.³³ The *sortes Praenestinae* at Praeneste were engraved on oaken tablets (*robur*).³⁴ The Iuppiter-oak would seem comparable, in prophetic power, to the Zeus-tree at Dodona. Finally at Rome itself the temple of Iuppiter Feretrius on the Capitol, reputed to be the oldest in the city, was said to have been planned by Romulus when he had slain the king of the Caeninenses and dedicated his spoils at an ancient oak 'held sacred by the shepherds.'³⁵ The oak seems to have been the original dwelling of the god. Romulus fixed the arms taken from the enemy, the first *spolia opima*, upon the tree as a thank-offering for the assistance which he had received.³⁶ Here we have the beginning of the cult in the tree-worship of the early shepherds.

²⁶ Cicero, *Att.*, ii, 4, 5. Vergil, *Georg.*, ii, 16; iii, 332. Ovid, *Met.*, vii, 623; xiii, 716; *Art. Am.*, ii, 541. Sen., *Herc. Oet.*, 1477, 1627. Silius Italicus, iii, 680. Probus, *ad Georg.*, i, 148. Claudian, *Rapt. Pros.*, i, 31; *De Bello Pollent.*, 137; *De Tert. Hon. Cons. Paneg.*, 118; cf. *Culex*, 134; Servius, *ad Georg.*, i, 149.

²⁷ Ovid, *Met.*, vii, 630, 635.

²⁸ Servius, *ad Aen.*, v, 129.

²⁹ *Iliad*, xvi, 233-235; *Odyssey*, xiv, 327-330; xix, 296-299.

³⁰ Servius, *ad Georg.*, i, 149; *ad Aen.*, iii, 466; Schol. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, iii, 179.

³¹ Cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, *Classical Review*, xviii, 1904, 75-89.

³² *C. I. L.*, xiv, 3555.

³³ Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 237.

³⁴ Cicero, *de Divinatione*, ii, 85.

³⁵ Livy, i, 10; Dionysius Hal., ii, 34; Propertius, iv, 10; Plutarch, *Rom.*, xvi.

³⁶ Cf. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 229; Bötticher, *op. cit.*, 73, 74. For similar examples, see Vergil, *Aen.*, x, 423; Servius, *ad loc.*; Statius, *Theb.*, ii, 707-712.

Such an origin in primitive tree-worship must lie at the basis of the Umbrian epithet Grabovius for Jupiter. Grabovius, therefore, is a synonym of the Lithuanian *Perkūnas*, Old Icelandic *Fjörgynn*, both connected with *quercus*, and the Greek *φηγωναῖος* which means 'god of the oak forest (*φηγών*)'. The Tablets of course show a developed state of religion in which the original significance of the title 'god of the oak' has disappeared.³⁷ The ritual of the Grabovii gods has by this time progressed far beyond the early tree-cult of the primitive Umbrians. In the ceremony of the lustration of the citadel Iuppiter Grabovius is invoked as the god who is able by his special power to promote the development of all things,—the fields, the cattle, and the people; hence he is the divinity responsible for the welfare of the community as a whole.

Jupiter is invoked as *Iupater* in IIa, IIb and III–IV.³⁸ In the first case, at the sacrifices to be performed for a change of auspices, Iupater is associated with Vesticius Sancius and a god called Spector. Here the superior position of Jupiter is apparent at once from the nature of the sacrifice; he alone receives an animal offering of a ceremonial ox while Vesticius Sancius and Spector are honored merely by offerings of the indefinite *sacrum* and *sollemne*.

The sacrifice to Iupater in Tablets III–IV illustrates again the unquestioned position which he occupied at the head of the Umbrian pantheon. Here the rites are those of the private ceremony of the Fratres Atiedii, and the gods concerned, with the exception of Iupater, are the special gods of the brotherhood. But before the rites for the special gods can begin the first sacrifice must be offered to Iupater on the right side of the altar for the Fratres Atiedii, for the Iguvine people, for the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine district. General respect must be paid to Iupater as head of the religion of the community before any honor can be offered to the private gods of the Fratres.

³⁷ It may be noted, however, that the Campo Monte Giove, the traditional site of the temple of Iuppiter Appenninus at Scheggia, contains an impressive grove of oak trees.

³⁸ The form *Iupater* occurs as vocative singular in IIb 24; the dative singular *Iuvepatre* occurs five times in IIa, the form *Iuvepatre* in IIb 7, and *IuVIP* in IIa 10. (The simple form *Iuve* occurs in Ia 3, and *Iuwe* in VIa 22.)

In IIb at the end of the rites of the decurial festivals of the *curiæ*, the Lucian *gens* appears as the donor of a special sacrifice to Iupater. The cult of Jupiter may have had special associations with the Lucian *gens*. The entrusting of the worship of a certain divinity to a special *gens* is familiar from Roman practice.³⁹

In the invocation to the god (IIb 24) the title Iupater Sancius is used for the Iupater of the general directions (IIb 22–26). By this name Jupiter is linked with another god, Sancius, who appears under this title alone and also with the full name of Sancius Iupater in IIb as well as in other combinations in other Tablets. The title Sancius Iupater occurs in the decurial festival after the naming of the participating families. First an offering is made to Admo Iupater, later to Sancius, and lastly to Sancius Iupater. Iupater and Iupater Sancius seem synonymous; Sancius Iupater must represent the complete title of the god. The simple god Sancius, however, is best considered an individual deity—an offshoot from the parental stem of Sancius Iupater now having a specialized sphere of power of his own.⁴⁰ In connection with the relationship of Iupater Sancius to Sancius, the *urfeta* which the priest must have in his hand during the sacrifice to Iupater in IIb 23 is of peculiar significance. This *urfeta* corresponds to the Latin *orbis* designating a circle or wheel of any variety. We know from Livy that objects of bronze called *orbes* were preserved in the temple of Semo Sancus at Rome.⁴¹ Iupater, therefore, shares an individual rite as well as a title with the god Sancus. It may be noted that the emblem of the wheel or disk also appears on bronze pieces of Iguvium.⁴² The interpretation given for this wheel on the coins as a symbol of the alliance existing between the cities to which they belong is in keeping with

³⁹ The Luperci were connected with the care of the *gens Fabia* and the *gens Quinctia*; the Potitii and the Pinarii were charged with the cult of Hercules at the *ara maxima*; the cult of Sol was cared for by the *gens Aurelia*. In the Tablets there is no indication that the members of the *gens* perform the worship themselves as in Rome; the entire ceremony seems to be conducted by the Fratres for the *gens*.

⁴⁰ The relation of Liber and Libertas to Jupiter in the form of Iuppiter Liber is a similar instance of this process.

⁴¹ viii, 20, 8.

⁴² Head, *Historia Nummorum*², 21–22. Mommsen, *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens*, 222 ff.

the idea of the federation between the *curiae* of Umbria of which the Lucian *gens* is a part in the ceremony under discussion.

An even more important form of this same god Sancius is Ficus Sancius who appears in the ceremony of the lustration of the citadel of VIb 3-18. Throughout the long invocation the god is called Fisoivius Sancius; the title Fisoivius is used alone once. Ficus itself does not occur again after the initial instruction is given for three suckling pigs to be offered to Ficus Sancius for the Fisian hill and for the Iguvine State. Fisoivius Sancius, however, is also a member of the group of gods in the lustration of the people (VIIa 37). Ficus Sancius and Fisoivius Sancius are probably one and the same god; Fisoivius would be a derivative from the simple Ficus with an ending *-ovius* such as is found in the title *Grabovius*. Similarly a form *Vediovis* (*Veiovis*) stood by the side of the Roman Vedius. The existence of the two forms of the name may be explained on the simple basis of the old Italian fluidity in titles of divinities. Fisoivius Sancius and Ficus Sancius may be identified with the god Sancius, at least very closely related to him, and by this link connected directly with Jupiter in the form of Iupater Sancius. The temple of the god Ficus Sancius probably stood on the hill called after him (*ocris Fisius*) for which protection and blessing are asked in the Tablets.

A striking detail of the ceremony in connection with the sacrifice to Ficus Sancius gives a strong piece of evidence for the character of the god, the significance of which is strengthened by the parallel which the name itself affords to a prominent Roman god. He who sacrifices to Ficus Sancius *mandra clo difue destre habitu*, i.e., he must have a towel or napkin folded double (in two thicknesses) covering his right hand. We know that the Roman priest of the goddess Fides had his right hand wrapped in a cloth *significantes fidem tutandam, sedemque eius etiam in dexteris sacram esse*;⁴³ according to another source, in a white cloth *per quod ostenditur fidem debere esse secretam*.⁴⁴ The coins of Tuder (Todi),

⁴³ Livy, i, 21.

⁴⁴ Servius, *ad Aen.*, i, 292: *canam Fidem dixit vel quod in canis nominibus invenitur; vel quod ei albo panno involuta manu sacrificatur, per quod ostenditur fidem debere esse secretam.*

moreover, illustrate this gesture of the hand covered with a folded towel or napkin.⁴⁵ The hand, that of a man taking an oath, is covered with a napkin divided crosswise (in the form of an *x*). The Iguvine rite proves that this was the badge of Fides. Statues also have survived representing the priestess of the goddess with her right hand covered in her robe.⁴⁶ Here, therefore, we see a detail of the rite of the god Ficus Sancius agreeing with a similar conception in the picture of the Roman divinity Fides. We have already seen, moreover, a connection of Iupater Sancius with the Roman Semo Sancus in the characteristic circle or wheel common to both gods.

The identification of the Umbrian Ficus Sancius with the Roman Dius Fidius or rather Semo Sancus Dius Fidius follows naturally from the above similarities as well as from the relationship of the names and conceptions of the two divinities themselves. The Umbrian god in this case, with the combination of the two forms of the Roman god in his name, performs a real service in establishing the unity of Dius Fidius and Semo Sancus as the one god Semo Sancus Dius Fidius. Dius Fidius is a representative of the circle of Jupiter, and, once an attribute of Jupiter himself as protector of *fides*, he gradually broke away and developed into an independent individual with his own special cult. The temple or shrine of this god, *aedes Dii Fidii in colle*, was dedicated on the Nones of June, 466 B.C. on the Quirinal.⁴⁷ According to another tradition it had been built, or at least founded, in the days of the last Roman king, Tarquin the Proud.⁴⁸ The god is sometimes called Dius Fidius (Greek Ζεύς Πίστιος, often corrupted to *deus fidius*), sometimes Sancus (corrupted to *Sanctus*).⁴⁹ Semo Sancus is an epithet of the full name Semo Sancus Dius Fidius like *duonus cerus* for Janus or *bona dea* for

⁴⁵ Mommsen, *Römischen Münzwesen*, 275; Aufrecht-Kirchoff, *op. cit.*, Pl. 9; Lepsius, *op. cit.*, Pl. 29.

⁴⁶ S. Reinach, *Repertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, i, 1897, p. 458, fig. 1932.

⁴⁷ Dionysius Hal, ix, 60, 8; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi, 213; *C. I. L.*, i², p. 319.

⁴⁸ Dionysius Hal, ix, 60, 8.

⁴⁹ Cf. Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, xviii, 19: *Sancum sive ut aliqui appellant Sanctum.*

Fauna, etc. Ovid combines the two deities, using three of the names:

Quaerebam Nonas Sanco Fidione referrem,
An tibi, Semo pater; tum mihi Sancus ait
'Cuicumque ex istis dederis, ego munus habebo;
Nomina terna fero, sic voluere Cures.'⁵⁰

Aelius Stilo seems the earliest Latin authority for this identification: *Aelius Dium Fid*<i>*um dicebat Diovis filium, ut Graeci Δίοςκορον Castorem, et putaba<n>t hunc esse Sanc<t>um ab Sabina lingua et Herculem a Graeca.*⁵¹ Varro himself gives no further comment. Verrius, however, mentions an *aedes Sancus qui deus Dius Fidius vocatur*⁵² which is probably the *sacellum* to which Livy refers in Book viii, 22. For a later period the identification of the two gods is settled definitely by inscriptions. On an altar found on the Quirinal, near the supposed site of his temple, there is the dedication: *Sanco Sancto Semon(i) deo fidio sacrum.*⁵³ Another inscription reads *Semoni Sanco deo fidio sacrum.*⁵⁴ The view held by some that Semo Sancus and Dius Fidius were originally independent deities who were later united on account of their similarity in nature seems unnecessary in consideration of the early testimony for the identification, and especially since this clear connection is found in the Umbrian god. Likewise, the existence of this Fesus Sancius among the Umbrians shows that Semo Sancus need not have been, as has been suggested, the original Sabine form of the Latin Dius Fidius; there is no reason to suppose a peculiarly Sabine origin for this god who is identified with Dius Fidius in Umbria as well as at Rome. He is clearly a general Italic conception of the god of Truth and of Oaths,—the preserver of the religious obligation placed upon individuals in their contracts and agreements with each other. In this sense he represents a specialization of a definite side of Jupiter. At his temple in Rome state treaties were preserved as well as the wheel-shaped bronze disks, the symbol of unions

⁵⁰ *Fasti*, vi, 213–216.

⁵¹ Varro, *L. L.*, v, 66.

⁵² Festus, 276 L.

⁵³ *C. I. L.*, vi, 568.

⁵⁴ *C. I. L.*, vi, 567.

which occurs also in the Umbrian ritual in connection with the worship of Sancius Iupater and on coins of Umbria. The formula of the oath *me dius fidius* is yet another example of this same idea of the character of the god.⁵⁵ The connection of Fesus Sancius with the Roman goddess Fides, another form of the specialization of the function of Jupiter as protector of Faith, running parallel to that of Dius Fidius, has already been noted.

An early connection of Dius Fidius Semo Sancus with Jupiter as the god of heaven and thunder is suggested by the *sangualis avis*, a bird in the tradition of Roman augury which must be associated with the cult of Sancus.⁵⁶ Near the *sacellum* of Sancus on the Quirinal was the ancient city gate, the Porta Sanqualis.⁵⁷ Still another connection between Sancus and the augural lore of thunder and lightning exists in the *decuria* of *Sacerdotes Bidentales* associated with the cult of Sancus at Rome.⁵⁸ Two votive altars and the base of a statue dedicated to Sancus by the *decuria* are extant;⁵⁹ of these inscriptions two were found close to the site of the *sacellum* of Sancus on the Quirinal, the location of the present monastery of San Silvestro. In 1887 some lead pipes inscribed with the name of the same priesthood were found a little way down the slope of the monastery. From the meaning of the word *bidental* it is clear that the *decuria* was concerned with the care of the sacred spots which had been struck by thunderbolts.

Little support can be found for the identity which has been suggested of Dius Fidius Semo Sancus with the Greek Heracles.⁶⁰ The etymology maintained by Aelius Stilo (Dius Fidius = Diovis filius)⁶¹ gave support to the view. The discovery of a statue of the god, certified by an inscription on the base,⁶² has proved that this combination of deities rests upon a derived similarity after the influence of the Greek Heracles had made

⁵⁵ Plautus, *Asin.*, 23; Cato in Gellius, x, 14, 3; Festus, 133 L.

⁵⁶ Pliny, *N. H.*, x, 20; Festus, 420 L.

⁵⁷ Festus, 464, 465, L.; Livy, viii, 20; Jordan, *Topogr.*, ii, 264.

⁵⁸ Fowler, *Roman Festivals*⁴, 139–140; Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², 131.

⁵⁹ *C. I. L.*, vi, 567, 568, 30994.

⁶⁰ Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², 130.

⁶¹ Varro, *L. L.*, v, 66; Festus, 133 L. Cf. Servius, *ad Aen.*, viii, 301.

⁶² *C. I. L.*, vi, 30994.

itself felt, rather than upon any real inner relation; for the cult statue represents Dius Fidius not according to the stereotyped picture of Heracles, but according to an archaic type of the Greek Apollo as god of oaths and treaties.⁶³

Another god of the Sancius group appears under the title of Vesticius Sancius in Tablet IIa 1-14. Vesticius is the first of a group of three gods to whom sacrifices are made in case of unfavorable auspices. Iupater and Spector follow. The god Vesticius is unknown elsewhere among Italic deities; he represents one of the few who seem to be peculiar to the Umbrians.⁶⁴ There is a possibility that Vesticius represents the god of a gens.⁶⁵

Jupiter appears again in the ceremonies of the decurial festival of IIb 7 under the title *Admo (or *Admonus).⁶⁶ The offerings of the alliance are made first to him, then to Sancius, and next to Sancius Iupater. Bréal saw in *Admune* (*Ařmune*) a formation analogous to **Puemene, Vesune, Vufiune**, names of other Umbrian deities.⁶⁷ The first part of the word he thought the same as in *arsmor, arsmatia, arsmahamo* which he interpreted respectively as *ritus, lustralis, and lustramini*. The cognomen **Admune*, therefore, which is derived from an original **Admo* as

⁶³ Wissowa, *op. cit.*, 130; C. L. Visconti, *Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto*, ii, 1881, pp. 105 ff.; *Annali d'inst.*, 1885, Tavola d'agg. A. Cf. C. Thulin, *Die Etruskische Disciplin*, i, pp. 42-46, in Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, xi, 1905; Dessau, 3472.

⁶⁴ Bücheler, *op. cit.*, 125, suggested a connection with the Roman Vesta. Vesticius Sancius would then be a similar divinity in a masculine form, pertaining to fires and altars. Bücheler also considered the possibility of the same origin for Vezkei whom the Bovianenses worshipped in conjunction with Ares. There would then be the same relationship between *Vezk-* and *Vestik-* as between *μαζός* and *μαστός*.

⁶⁵ Cf. Schulze, *op. cit.*, 254. The name Vistilius occurs in inscriptions from Interamna (*C. I. L.*, xi, 4317), and Ameria (4511, 4539), both of which are Umbrian towns, and also in Iguvium itself (5825). The name Vesticius itself occurs among the proper names used in defining the limits of the city (VIa 14); see p. 17.

⁶⁶ Buck renders the Umbrian dative *Ařmune* as **Admoni* (cf. *Oscan and Umbrian Grammar*, p. 183, Sec. 247, 2, a). Bücheler interpreted it as *Almoni*. Aufrecht-Kirchoff (p. 341) had suspected *Almuno*, a nourishing god, which does not fit the situation.

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, 265. Also Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 183, Sec. 247, 2, a.

the Latin *Bellona* from *bello-m*, must express an idea of purity or sanctity for which he used the Latin word *castus*. The title of the god would be *Castus Iupater*. This meaning, however, does not fit the significance of Admo in his rôle as the god of the alliance which is shown in the Tablets. The interpretation by which Admo Iupater is the preserver of law and the custodian of sacred rites is preferable. This meaning is reached by the derivation from *admor*, the Umbrian word for the conception of the Greek *Θέμιστες* or laws. Admo Iupater, through this function of preserver of laws and treaties, the regulator of international intercourse, would represent the god of alliance for the Umbrians.⁶⁸

Actus Iupater in the sacrifices in case of unfavorable auspices of Tablet IIa 10 shares the title *Actus* with Actus Mars, another god in the same series of sacrifices. After sacrifices have been made to Vesticius Sancius, Iupater, Spector, and Iovius, a sheep is sacrificed to Actus Iupater together with grain and drink offerings. Another victim, a boar, is then given to Actus Mars. The title *Actus* gives the divinity with whose name it is coupled the function of presiding over *actio*, i.e., the completion of the sacrifice with due religious observance.⁶⁹ Festus, explaining *agonia* and the cognate words, says that the god presiding over the carrying out of these ceremonies is called Agonius;⁷⁰ without doubt the sacrifices of animals especially are meant. An excellent example of this form of functional title for a deity is furnished by the Arval brothers who for the cutting down, bearing away, and burning of the tree of the sacred grove sacrifice to Commo-lenda, Deferunda, and Adolenda.⁷¹ A similar formation at Iguvium is seen also in the god Spector who presides over the *spectio*.⁷²

Related to the circle of Jupiter there remains a Iovius who appears without other title in II a 6, and in II a 9 in the same list of sacrifices for unfavorable auspices as Actus Iupater. First a

⁶⁸ Bücheler, *op. cit.*, 142.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁷⁰ Festus, 9 L.

⁷¹ Cf. also the gods of farming, *Imporcitor, Insitor, Obarator*, etc., Servius, *ad G.*, i, 21.

⁷² Tablet IIa 6.

ram is offered, followed by fruits of the field and drink offerings, and then a piece of swine flesh. The nature of the god Iovius is impossible to determine from the scanty information provided by the Tablets. The name shows a similarity in formation to that of the Dea Dia of the Fratres Arvales.

In like manner there is a small group of gods connected with Jupiter indirectly through this same title of Iovius. The relationship expressed by this surname cannot be determined definitely. It is found also among the Romans in Venus Iovia.⁷³ Perhaps we are to explain these gods simply as companions of Jupiter. Festus explains Heres Martia as one of the companions of Mars: Herem Marteam antiqui accepta hereditate colebant, quae a nomine appellabatur heredum et esse una ex Martis comitibus putabatur.⁷⁴ Since relationships of so different a character as these could be expressed by surnames of the same formation, only a general kinship to the main divinity can be concluded from their use.

Trebus Iovia receives the second sacrifice of three pregnant sows in the ceremony of the lustration of the citadel, behind the Porta Trebulana, with the same invocation as that made in front of the Porta to Iuppiter Grabovius (VIa 58-59). The sex of the deity Trebus is not certain. Two different forms occur in Tablet VI (*Trebo Iovie*) and in the earlier Tablet I (**Trebe Iuvie**). The *trebo* of VI was emended to *trebe* by Aufrecht-Kirchoff to agree with the **trebe** of Tablet I. Bücheler, however, retained *trebo* in VI as a dative of a u-stem. Later editors, including Buck, have followed Bücheler in recognizing a change of stem class (from the second to the fourth declension).⁷⁵ A similar change occurs in **Fise**, *Fiso* (Ia 15, VIb 3). While the form of Trebus's name leaves us in doubt as to the sex of the divinity,⁷⁶ the nature of the

⁷³ In an inscription from Capua, *C. I. L.*, x, 3776. Cf. also the *sacerdos Iovia(e) Vener(iae)*, *C. I. L.*, x, 1207, from Abella, like Capua, a Campanian city.

⁷⁴ Festus, 89 L.

⁷⁵ Kent, *Textual Criticism of Inscriptions, Language Monographs*, ii, 1926, 42, concludes that if there is an error in the *trebo* of Tablet VI, it is one of change without assignable reason.

⁷⁶ Huschke, *op. cit.*, 141, had assumed that the deity was feminine. Bréal, *op. cit.*, 109, however, stated, with no explanation, that it is a masculine god.

sacrifice made to her gives us some evidence. The pregnant victim, in accordance with all that we know of Italic ritual, belongs to a goddess of fertility, Mother Earth, or one of her many manifestations.⁷⁷ *Telluri plenae victima plena datur*, Ovid says of the sacrifice of the pregnant sows to Tellus at the Fordicidia.⁷⁸ It would seem then that the original form **trebe** is a feminine of the second declension which changed into *trebo*, a feminine of the fourth declension.⁷⁹

Trebus, aside from her relationship to Jupiter through the epithet Iovia, is completely unknown. Her name is not shared by divinities of other Italic peoples. Conjectures as to her character have been made from the etymology of the name. Bréal suggested a possible connection between Trebus and the Umbrian from *trebeit* (VIa 8) which he considered equivalent to *pepigitt*, 'determine, conclude'.⁸⁰ The meaning of *trebeit*, however, is merely the Latin *versatur*, 'busies himself'. The sacrifice of the pregnant sows, the most common sacrifice to the earth goddess, gives a better clue to the character of Trebus Iovia and makes it probable that she was a goddess of fertility.

The second of the Iovius gods, Tefer Iovius, appears in the same ceremony of the lustration of the citadel. He receives the sixth sacrifice of three lambs behind the Porta Veia. There is an elaborate invocation and a sacrifice with prayers similar to those of Iupater Grabovius earlier in the ceremony which make

Bücheler, *op. cit.*, 64, showed the possibility of a feminine form but gave preference to the masculine. Buck in his text gives the masculine form, Trebus Iovius.

⁷⁷ The pregnant sow was the victim offered to the earth goddess Tellus, and likewise to the old Italic goddess Maia, one of the manifestations of the earth divinity. The same victim was given by the Greeks to Demeter. For a list of goddesses to whom the sow was sacrificed, see Frazer, *op. cit.*, v, Index, s. v. *sow*, p. 182.

⁷⁸ *Fasti*, iv, 634.

⁷⁹ Both *trebe* and *trebo* could be masculine or feminine according to the rules of gender for the second and fourth declensions. See Buck, *op. cit.*, 119, 132. **Trebe** could be first, second, or third declension, but *Trebo* only fourth. Hence there is nothing decisive in the form itself to settle the sex of the deity. It is necessary, therefore, to rely upon the nature of the sacrifice, which would make the deity feminine.

⁸⁰ *Op. cit.*, 109.

atonement for any fire on the Fisian citadel or any omission of rites in the Iguvine city. The prayers agree with the earlier prayer for Jupiter almost word for word but they are not repeated three times. The fact that Tefer Iovius is deemed worthy of the same ritual as that given to Iupater Grabovius shows that this god is one of the important gods of Iguvium. The sacrifice to Tefer, as well as to Iupater Grabovius, is piacular; these two stand out as the divinities of the ceremony who must be propitiated in case of any offense committed by the Iguvines on the Fisian hill or in the Iguvine city.

The name of the god, Tefer, has been connected with the Umbrian word *tefrum* in VIIa 46 and the Oscan *tefurum* which is found twice on the tablet of Agnone. Bréal, interpreting these as *sacellum* or *templum*, thought that *tefer* signified *sacer* or *sanctus* which would be a natural name for a divinity.⁸¹ But the more favored view is that *tefrum* and *tefurum* mean *igneum sacrificium*,⁸² while the accusative plural *tefra* is interpreted as *carnes cremandas*.⁸³ Huschke had compared the title of the god with the Roman names derived from religious performances such as Iuppiter Dapalis, Venus Sacrificatrix, and Dis Februus.⁸⁴ Some meaning of this kind may be the correct one for Tefer but the exact significance cannot be determined. The god Tefer seems to be peculiar to the Umbrians.

Hontus Iovius is the recipient of the sacrifice of a dog from the Petronian *gens* in IIa 20. The surname Iovius stamps him as a member of the circle of Jupiter. The same god is found in VIIb 45, with the substitution of the adjective *Çerfius* for Iovius, Hontus *Çerfius*. He may likewise be connected with Mars Hodius whose cognomen is perhaps from the same root as Hontus. Hontus is of the same origin as *hondomu* (VIa 9, 10, the superlative form) and *hondra* (positive form) which are equivalent to *infimo* and *infra*.⁸⁵ The name must, therefore, signify *inferus* or *in-*

⁸¹ *Op. cit.*, 141.

⁸² Likewise *ex rogo* for the ablative *tefru-to* (VIIa 46).

⁸³ Conway, *Italic Dialects*, ii, Glossary, 662.

⁸⁴ Huschke believed the divinity was dual—masculine and feminine. This, however, is unwarranted. Tefer is masculine.

⁸⁵ Bücheler, 47; Bréal, 51, 213.

fernus. By this title both gods are designated as divinities of the lower world. The rites of the sacrifices to Hontus are purificatory and are possibly in connection with funeral solemnities. The identification of Hontus as a divinity of the lower world would have been established by the nature of the sacrifice even without the assistance of the derivation of the name. The purificatory character of the sacrifice of a dog and the comparison of Hontus Iovius with other deities of the lower world have already been discussed in the description of the ceremonies of Tablet II.⁸⁶ Especially interesting in connection with the relation of Hontus to the lower world are the sacrifices of dogs made to Hecate by the Greeks⁸⁷ and to Genita Mana at Rome where the prayer is made that none of the household may die.⁸⁸ The purificatory sacrifice of the Petronian *gens* to the god of the lower world may well have reference to the dead and funeral ceremonies, as Bücheler thought, or it may be a question of a more mysterious piacular rite such as is suggested in the sacrifices of the Luperalia.

The last of the Iovius deities and likewise of the circle of Jupiter is Tursa Iovia who appears in VIIa 47 in the lustration of the people of Iguvium. After the sacrifices have been performed to Tursa *Çerfia* and after the people have been encompassed for the third time, he who holds the ceremonial wand and the two attendants offer a prayer in low tones to Tursa Iovia. The prayer, invoking the curse on the enemies of Iguvium and begging favor for the Iguvines themselves, similar to that made at the end of each circuit, is repeated three times. Tursa Iovia here stands in closest relationship to Tursa *Çerfia*. The significance of Tursa will be discussed in the group of gods belonging to Mars under Tursa *Çerfia*, who seems to be the original conception of the two. The force of Tursa, originally perhaps a special attribute of Mars in the form of the deity Tursa *Çerfia* of *Çerfus Martius*, is also carried over to the service of Jupiter and in this capacity is known as Tursa Iovia. For the present it may be sufficient to say that

⁸⁶ See pp. 51–52, above.

⁸⁷ Plutarch, *Q. R.*, 68.

⁸⁸ Pliny, *N. H.*, xxix, 58; Plutarch, *op. cit.*, 52, where the literal rendering is 'may none become good' which is interpreted as 'may none die,' μηδένα χρῆσθόν ἀποβῆναι τῶν οἰκογενῶν.

the force of Tursa represents the terror-striking attribute of the god directed against the enemies of Iguvium. Here, at the end of the long ceremony of special invocations to Mars and his circle, it is natural to find the final, general prayer, summing up the entreaties and curses of the former ones, addressed to the force of Tursa as wielded by the highest god of the state, Jupiter.

Mars stands out prominently in the Tablets at the head of the second great group of gods. His position is even more striking in the comparatively limited and clear-cut picture of the Iguvine Tablets than in the more crowded divine circle at Rome. In Iguvium his rank is scarcely second to that of Jupiter himself. First we see him in the great Grabovian triad of Jupiter, Mars, and Vofionus. Furthermore, as Jupiter is the center from which a whole series of subordinate deities radiates, so Mars has his own group of dependent gods and goddesses. Finally, while the gods of the lustration of the citadel are the Dei Grabovii, Jupiter, Mars, and Vofionus, the *lustratio populi* is concerned solely with Mars and his circle, Tursa Iovia at the end being the single exception. The position of Mars in the Tablets is especially significant in relation to the evidence for the god in Umbria as a whole; for Mars is perhaps the divinity most closely associated with the name of the Umbrians. Silius Italicus in two famous passages associates the city of Tuder, the modern Todi, with his cult;⁸⁹ from this long established tradition of the city perhaps arose the identification of the figure of the bronze warrior in the Vatican as the god Mars.⁹⁰ The god is linked with the city of Iguvium also by an old dedication to Mars Cyprius.⁹¹

Mars Grabovius is one of the most important aspects of Mars in the Tablets. In the lustration of the sacred citadel the third sacrifice of three oxen is performed to him in front of the Porta Tesenaca (VIb 1-2) after the sacrifices to Iupater Grabovius and to Trebus Iovia. The oxen represent the characteristic

⁸⁹ iv, 222: Et Gradivicolam celso de colle Tudertem
Indutosque simul gentilia lina Faliscos,
viii, 462: Et haud parci Martem coluisse Tudertes.

⁹⁰ Helbig, *Führer*³, i, 693 (313), p. 383.

⁹¹ *C. I. L.*, xi, 5805: *Marti Cyprio* . . . signum . . . ex voto posuit et aedem vetustate con(lapsam) refecit adiecto pronao. . .

victims of the Grabovian gods. The significance of membership in the Grabovian triad has already been pointed out; with Jupiter and Vofionus, Mars shares the position of head of the Iguvine State. The title Grabovius has also been discussed in connection with Jupiter.⁹² The meaning accepted in the former place, that of a god of the oak tree, is equally suitable for Mars. We know that the oak was sacred to Mars as well as to Jupiter. Aeneas planted a huge oak on a mound and arrayed it with the arms taken from Mezentius as a trophy to Mars.⁹³ An oak adorned with spoils was likewise promised to Mavors by the poet Claudian.⁹⁴ The tree on which the golden fleece hung was sacred to Mars.⁹⁵ There was an ancient oak sacred to Mars on the suburban estate of the Flavii. The character of the branches which blossomed from this tree at the births of Vespasia's children indicated their future fates.⁹⁶ At Tiora Matiena, an old city of the Aborigines in the Sabine country, an ancient oracle of Mars consisted of a woodpecker sitting on a wooden post.⁹⁷ Dionysius makes a detailed comparison of this oracle with that at Dodona where the dove sitting on an oak gave the oracles. Hence it is probable that the post of Tiora was also of oak.⁹⁸ The woodpecker, *picus*, who is sacred to Mars, is regularly associated with the oak tree. The grove on the Aventine frequented by the woodland deity Picus was of holm oaks (*ilex*).⁹⁹ *Piquier Martier* of Tablet Vb 9, 14, is a reminder of this association of Mars with the *picus* in Umbria.

In Umbria also, therefore, if the explanation of Grabovius is correct, we see Mars as 'god of the oak' in the title Grabovius.

⁹² Pages 67-70.

⁹³ Vergil, *Aeneid*, xi, 5-8:

ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis
constituit tumulo fulgentiaque induit arma,
Mezenti ducis exuvias, tibi, magne, tropoaeum,
bellipotens:

⁹⁴ *In Rufin.*, i, 339.

⁹⁵ Valerius Flaccus, v, 228-230, 250-251; vii, 519.

⁹⁶ Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 5.

⁹⁷ Dionysius Hal., i, 14.

⁹⁸ Cf. Wagler, *op. cit.*, ii, 23-24.

⁹⁹ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii, 295-299.

As in the case of Jupiter, this early significance of the title is not apparent, as far as we can tell from the ritual preserved, in the time of the Tablets. Like Jupiter, Mars Grabovius must have been worshipped originally in a simple tree-cult by the early Umbrians. But by the time of the Tablets Mars Grabovius, with the other two Grabovian gods, has developed into the deity who is to be propitiated in the lustration of the sacred citadel. Here, like Jupiter, he is seen in the rôle of special protector of the state, its people, its fields, and its cattle. The parallel part played by Mars in the ceremony of the lustration described by Cato is already well known.¹⁰⁰

The similarity between the Umbrian title of Mars, *Grabovius*, and the Latin title *Gradivus* has long caused a connection to be drawn between the two gods.¹⁰¹ This striking resemblance in titles, however, seems to have no real basis and must be considered merely accidental.

The general controversy over the character of Mars—whether he was a god of nature or of war or of both—is familiar to all students of religion.¹⁰² From the derivation of the name Gra-

¹⁰⁰ *De Re Rustica*, 141.

¹⁰¹ Attempts have been made to derive *Grādivus* from *grādi* (Serv., *ad Aen.*, iii, 35; Festus, 86 L). Many modern interpreters also explain *Gradivus* as the 'marcher' and strengthen their view by the association of the Palatine Salii (with their processions and dances in the character of the 'marching' god) with the priesthood of Mars *Gradivus* as appointed by Numa. *Gradivus* has the long *ā*, however, while the vowel in *grādi* is short (*Grādivus* occurs in Ovid only in *Met.*, vi, 427, while *Grādivus* occurs seven times; Val. Flaccus, short in v, 650, vi, 602, and long eight times; Sil. Italicus, short, xv, 15, 337, and long twenty-four times). Statius has *Grādivus* twenty times and never the short *Grādivus*. Other derivations are drawn from *gravis*, *κραδαίω* (*ab hastae concussione*) and from *gramen*. Boehm (s. v. *Gradivus* in Pauly-Wissowa) reaches no conclusion as to the meaning of *Gradivus* although he insists that the explanation must be adapted to the warlike character of the god and excludes the possibility of the title denoting an original divinity of nature.

¹⁰² Wissowa (*Religion und Kultus der Römer*,² 143-148) represents the strongest opposition to the view of Mars as a god of nature in any form. He considers him solely as a god of war with no hint of a vegetation or field divinity in his makeup. Wissowa's arguments are in many ways convincing; in two important instances, however, his explanations seem inadequate. First, for the presence of Mars in the Ambarvalia he says that the Romans prayed to Mars on this occasion not in order that he should promote the growth of the

bovius we have seen that in Umbria Mars was in early times connected with a cult of the oak tree and hence was once a woodland divinity. From the evidence provided by the ceremony of the lustration of the citadel, moreover, we must conclude that he was a god of fields and cattle. Nowhere in the long and detailed ceremony do we find any distinction between the prayer and ritual for Jupiter and Vofionus and for Mars. There is no suggestion of the warlike aspect of the later Roman Mars. The ceremony of the lustration of the citadel, therefore, gives support for the characterization of Mars as a divinity who presides over the well-being and increase of fields and cattle and men.¹⁰³

In the form of *Çerfus Martius*, Mars establishes his position as the great god of Iguvium in the lustration of the people. Here with his two female associates, *Praestita Çerfia* of *Çerfus Martius* and *Tursa Çerfia* of *Çerfus Martius*, he occupies the entire stage throughout the long and important ceremony, sharing honors at the end only with *Fisovius Sancius* and *Tursa Iovia*. After the

seeds but in order that he should keep off the destruction of war and devastation from the fields. The wording of the prayer to Mars, however, as well as the nature of the rite itself, demand, I think, the other explanation—that Mars is prayed to as a divinity of nature. The second case is even more striking—the curious ceremony of the *ver sacrum*, the consecration to the gods, in time of stress, of the whole produce of a spring as well as the youths born in this period who, as soon as they are grown, are sent away from the community to establish new settlements elsewhere. It is under the direction of Mars that the youths go forth to find new lands. Wissowa explains this connection with Mars as due to the fact that the new homes must be established through wars and hence the protection of the war god is necessary. But the nature of the *ver sacrum* and the consecration of the results of the fertility of land, cattle, and men suggest, I think, the explanation of Mars as a divinity of nature rather than as a god of war. A more satisfactory interpretation sees in Mars originally a divinity of nature or agriculture who developed a warlike character as the worshippers themselves became more concerned with wars. Another possibility is that the two phases of the god existed side by side and that Mars was acting either in the procreative function in the fields or in violence against the enemy. Cf. Cyril Bailey, *Fasti*, iii, 33-47, who concludes that Mars was not in origin either exclusively a spirit of agriculture or of war, nor the spirit of the woodland, but simply the spirit of the growing year, the power which brings increase alike to fields and cattle and men.

¹⁰³ Cf. Cyril Bailey, *loc. cit.*

circuit with the sacrificial victims has been performed around the Iguvine people the prayer is offered to *Çerfus Martius*, *Praestita Çerfia* of *Çerfus Martius*, and *Tursa Çerfia* of *Çerfus Martius* to destroy the enemies of Iguvium and to bless the Iguvines themselves. The same prayer is repeated after each of the three circuits. Then three boars are sacrificed to *Çerfus Martius* with prayers, at another place three sows are offered to *Praestita Çerfia* with a ceremony of black and white vessels during which all evil is directed to the enemies of Iguvium and all misfortune averted from the Iguvines. Three heifer calves are then sacrificed to *Tursa Çerfia*.

The rôle of Mars as god of lustrations is familiar from the lustration of the people after the census at Rome as described by Dionysius.¹⁰⁴ In the lustration of the field also the principal prayer is made to Mars.¹⁰⁵ From the appearance of Mars also in Umbria as the principal god of the ceremony of the lustration the conclusion may be drawn that this aspect of the god was common to the ancient Italic peoples. The title *Çerfus* which he bears in the Iguvine ceremony, with the identity of Mars signified in adjectival form, *Martius*, has been linked generally with the forms *Cerus* of the song of the *Salii* which Festus explains as *Creator*¹⁰⁶ and the *Kerri* of the votive inscription of Agnone, which Mommsen interprets as the dative of *Genius* and connects with the *Cerus* of the song of the *Salii* and also with the *Keri* of the *patera* from Volcae (*C.I.L.*, i, 46), deriving all three from *c(e)reare*.¹⁰⁷ *Çerfus* would be *cerrus* in Latin just as *parfa* in Umbrian is equivalent to *parra* in Latin. Bücheler pointed out, moreover, that at the time the inscription *Keri pocolom* was written on the *patera* from Volcae the consonants had not yet begun to be doubled in writing.¹⁰⁸ *Çerfus*, *Cerus*, *Kerri*, and *Keri*, therefore, together with *Ceres*, would all come from a common root signifying "to make", "to create", being related to *creare* as *Genius* to *gignere* and *Semo* to *serere*. All three names are designations for the same creative

¹⁰⁴ iv, 22.

¹⁰⁵ Cato, *R. R.*, 141.

¹⁰⁶ Festus, 109 L.: *et in carmine Saliari Cerus manus intellegitur creator bonus.*

¹⁰⁷ *Unterital. Dial.*, 128, 133.

¹⁰⁸ *Op. cit.*, 98.

divinity for which later the name *Genius* is generally understood.¹⁰⁹ The Iguvine *Çerfus Martius*, therefore, represents *Çerfus Martius*, the Creator. This meaning is particularly appropriate for the ceremony of the lustration and gives additional evidence for the generative force claimed for Mars before in connection with Mars Grabovius. In addition, however, we may note a suggestion of the later warlike aspect of the god in the curse against the enemies of Iguvium. In this ceremony the two aspects of the god exist side by side—the power of protection and blessing on the one hand and that of destruction on the other.¹¹⁰ The attribute of violence, however, is here obviously an outgrowth of the primary attribute of protection and benefaction toward the natives.

The two female associates of Mars in the ceremony of the lustration, *Praestita Çerfia* of *Çerfus Martius* and *Tursa Çerfia* of *Çerfus Martius*, express attributes of *Çerfus* himself. *Praestita* recalls the goddess *Anterstita* of the votive tablet of Agnone, but even more the *Lares Praestites* of the Romans and a *Iuppiter Praestes* who is found in several inscriptions.¹¹¹ The meaning of the name is without doubt that of protector or preserver. Ovid in speaking of the *Lares Praestites* says:

Stant quoque pro nobis et praesunt moenibus urbis,
Et sunt praesentes auxiliumque ferunt.¹¹²

Praestita represents the protecting power which is entreated for the welfare of the Iguvine people. *Tursa*, as the complement to her, expresses the hostile force which brings harm to the enemies of Iguvium. The title would be derived from *tursitu*, the Umbrian word which occurs in the imprecation against the aliens addressed to the three divinities, *tursitu tremitu*. *Tursa* thus corresponds to *Pavor* and *Pallor*, the two deities of the Romans personifying Fear, to whom Tullus Hostilius is said to have erected a temple and consecrated a corporation of priests.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Wissowa, s. v. *Cerus*, Roscher's *Lexikon*, i, 867.

¹¹⁰ See the discussion of *Praestita Çerfia* and *Tursa Çerfia* below.

¹¹¹ *C. I. L.*, xiv, 3555. Also *Iuppiter Praestitus*, *C. I. L.*, iii, 4037.

¹¹² *Fasti*, v, 135.

¹¹³ Livy, i, 27, 7.

Pavor and Pallor are known in Roman tradition as the companions of Mars. There was also a goddess Paventia at Rome.¹¹⁴ These interpretations fit the sense of the prayer addressed to the divinities; Praestita represents the protection accorded to the natives, while Tursa expresses the fear and terror inspired in the aliens. The circle of Mars in Umbria may be compared to a similar one at Rome—*Çerfus Martius* associated with *Genius Martis*, *Praestita* with *Honos* and *Virtus*, and *Tursa* with *Pavor* and *Pallor*.¹¹⁵

The exact relationship of *Tursa* and *Praestita* to *Çerfus*, as expressed by the genitive of his name, is difficult to determine. The usual explanation is that of wives or daughters. Gellius furnishes a list of such relationships from the Roman ritual books: *Conprecaiones deum immortalium quae ritu Romano fiunt, expositae sunt in libris sacerdotum populi Romani et in plerisque antiquis orationibus. In iis scriptum est: Luam Saturni, Salaciam Neptuni, Horam Quirini, Virites Quirini, Maiam Volcani, Heriem Iunonis, Moles Martis Nerienemque Martis*.¹¹⁶ Of these *Salacia* is the wife of Neptune, *Hora* of Quirinus, and *Nerieni* must have borne the same relation to Mars, and *Maia* to Vulcan. Yet *Herie* may have been a daughter of Juno and the *Molae* were daughters of Mars. This would carry out the Greek custom of designating the father by the genitive. The possibility also exists that there may be no question here of family relationship but merely the dependence of activities or agents subordinated to the principal deity *Çerfus*.¹¹⁷ The relationship of the gods of early Rome has been the subject of great controversy among students of Roman religion. *Wissowa*,¹¹⁸ *Aust*,¹¹⁹ and *Warde Fowler*¹²⁰ deny all relationships of a conjugal or parental nature to the old Roman deities. These scholars maintain that such ideas were foreign to the Romans and were only incorporated in

¹¹⁴ Augustine, *Civ. D.*, iv, 11.

¹¹⁵ For the relationship of *Honos* and *Virtus* with Mars, and that of *Pavor* and *Pallor* with Mars, cf. *Wissowa*, *op. cit.*, 149.

¹¹⁶ *Noctes Atticae*, xiii, 23.

¹¹⁷ *Huschke*, *op. cit.*, 259.

¹¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, 26 ff.

¹¹⁹ *Die Religion der Römer*, Munster i.w., 1899, pp. 19 ff.

¹²⁰ *Roman Festivals*, 59-62.

their religion after the influence of Greek mythology. Frazer,¹²¹ on the other side, is just as emphatic in his acceptance of the personal relationships of the gods. Ancient evidence supports the conclusion of Frazer. Gellius¹²² cites several old Roman authors who testify to the marriage of Mars and Nerio—*Plautus*,¹²³ the comic dramatist *Licinius Imbrix* of the second century B.C., and *Gnaeus Gellius* who wrote in the same century. *Varro*, as quoted by *Augustine*,¹²⁴ likewise believed in marriage of the gods. The passage quoted from *Plautus* would indicate that the idea of personal relationships of the gods was common at least to the Roman audience of his day. The explanation of *Wissowa* that this was a joke of *Plautus* and one which it would have been dangerous to make if there had been real religious beliefs about the wedded life of the gods does not seem a valid ground for rejecting the testimony which we have. The audience must have accepted the relationship of Mars and Nerio. Nor is there any reason for supposing that the early Romans had not the imagination necessary for the conception of family relationships of the gods. It is much more reasonable to suppose that if such relationships did not exist, it was due to the restraint imposed by the priesthood who are known to have exercised strong control in the use of some of the Greek myths,¹²⁵ just as they prohibited the use of images in the early Roman cults.¹²⁶ In the case of *Praestita Çerfia* and *Tursa Çerfia*, however, the interpretation as abstract attributes of Mars, those of protection of the natives and violence towards their enemies, is sufficient without postulating family relationship.

Mars Hodi occurs among the group of gods in the lustration of the sacred citadel. The next to the last sacrifice in the circuit

¹²¹ *Op. cit.*, iii, 121-125.

¹²² xiii, 23. Gellius himself explains Nerio as "the force, power, and majesty" of Mars: *Nerio igitur Martis vis et potentia et maiestas quaedam esse Martis demonstratur*. But, as Frazer has noted, this is an etymological guess based on a fanciful derivation of Nerio from the Greek *νεῦρον* through the Latin *nervus*.

¹²³ *Truculentus*, 515: *Mars peregre adveniens Nerienem uxorem suam*.

¹²⁴ *De Civitate Dei*, iv, 32.

¹²⁵ *Dionysius*, ii, 20.

¹²⁶ Cf. L. R. Taylor, *Aniconic Worship among the Early Romans*, *Classical Studies in honor of John C. Rolfe*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931.

is performed to him at the Jovian shrine.¹²⁷ Three bull calves are sacrificed with the customary grain and drink offerings. The Jovian shrine seems to have no special relation to Jupiter here, but is probably the designation of some spot on the Fisian hill named after the god to whom the whole citadel was sacred. There is also the possibility that *Jovian* may signify merely 'divine'.¹²⁸ The sacrifice and ceremony give no information as to the character of Mars Hodus. Conjectures can be made only from the name itself. The interpretation suggested by Bücheler rests upon a comparison with the Greek title 'Οδία ἢ Κόρη Θεός from ἀνόδω καθόδω and likewise with Mercurius, called 'Οδιος from the roads.¹²⁹ Roscher gives the translation 'Οδιος, with a question mark, for this title of Mars.¹³⁰

Hontus Cerfius, the last god in the ceremony of the lustration of the citadel, is related to the circle of Mars through his cognomen *Cerfius* which is the same adjective as the *Cerfia* in the names of Praestita Cerfia and Tursa Cerfia. The god Hontus has already occurred in VIa with the title Hontus Iovius and was there recognized as a divinity of the lower world, *Infernus* or *Inferus*. In accordance with the meaning established for Cerfus, the adjective *Cerfius* would be equivalent to *Genialis*.¹³¹ The god is thus a deity of the lower world in his creative or reproductive aspect. Three bull calves, the same victims as for Mars Hodus, are offered to Hontus Iovius at the temple of Coredius. The shrine cannot be identified.

Actus Mars, the last god of the circle of Mars, follows his counterpart Actus Iupater in the sacrifices to be performed in case of unfavorable auspices (IIa 1-14). A sacrificial boar is offered to Actus Mars immediately after the sacrifice of the sheep to Actus Iupater. The title Actus has already been discussed in connection with Jupiter. Here, Mars instead of Jupiter would

¹²⁷ The Umbrian word *vocu-com*, which has been interpreted as shrine or temple, occurs only in this tablet.

¹²⁸ Cf. the inscription published by Herbig, in *Philologus*, lxxiii, 1916, 450, and his interpretation, 457.

¹²⁹ *Op. cit.*, 80.

¹³⁰ *Lexikon*, s. v. *Mars*, vol. 2^o, 2385.

¹³¹ Mommsen, *Unterital. Dial.*, 128, 133.

be the deity exercising this function of presiding over the completion of sacrifices (with Actus related to *actio* as the god Spector to *spectio*). The position of the two gods at the end of the sacrifices made to secure favorable auspices seems significant for the connection of their title.¹³² The use of the same epithet for the two gods is paralleled by many examples in Roman and Greek religion.¹³³

The last group of gods in the Tablets consists of several heterogeneous deities honored in various ceremonies. They seem to have no relation to the two main circles of gods. Of these, some represent the native Umbrian conceptions for which no parallels are found in other Italic peoples and others offer special interest in their connection with the private divine group of the Atiedian brothers.

Vofionus Grabovius, one of the great Grabovian triad, who with Jupiter and Mars stood at the head of the Umbrian system of gods, is peculiar to the Umbrians. It is significant to find one of the major divinities of Iguvium without counterpart in other sections of Italy. In the lustration of the sacred citadel three oxen are sacrificed to Vofionus after the sacrifices to Iuppiter Grabovius, Trebus Iovia, Mars Grabovius, and Fisu Sancius. The oxen sacrificed to Vofionus must be *calersu*, 'callidi'. This is explained by a gloss of Isidorus (*equi*) *qui frontem albam habent, calidi (appellantur)*¹³⁴ and also by a gloss of Philoxenus *callidus, λευκομέτωπος*, as oxen with white foreheads.

The name Vofionus is an adjectival formation like Neptunus, Portunus, Quirinus, Epona, Pomona. The stem may be the same as in *vufetes*, *vufru*, which is that of the Latin *vov-ere*. According to the custom noticed among other gods in the Tablets of fitting

¹³² Bücheler, *op. cit.*, 127, believed that the place of the sacrifice, 'trans equinum', had some relation to the character of the god, since the Roman festival of the Equirria proves that the horses of the Romans were in the hands of this god. The Equirria took place in Mars' own field and here the October horse was also sacrificed to him.

¹³³ Victores: Jupiter, Mars, Hercules
Lucinae: Diana, Juno
παίηνες: Apollo, Aesculapius
Among the Umbrians also, Sancii: Jupiter, Dius Fidius, Vesticius.

¹³⁴ *Origines*, xii, 1, 52.

the name of the deity to the function performed,¹³⁵ Vofionus is possibly the god of vows, he who presides over the fulfilling of undertakings. The victims with white foreheads may be suggestive of the favorable outcome expected of the vows. In the ceremony of the lustration Vofionus with his function in regard to vows seems to complete the offices of the other two Grabovian gods.

The title Grabovius seems to make Vofionus, like Jupiter and Mars, a god of the oak tree. As in the case of the other two gods, no trace of this original tree-cult is left in the ritual of the Tablets. But we may recall that *vota* were hung on tree branches.¹³⁶ Hence in Vofionus Grabovius there may be a connection between the *vows* (represented in the name Vofionus) and the oak tree (suggested in the title Grabovius),¹³⁷ to which the *vota* may have been attached.

The similarities of Vofionus to Quirinus cannot be overlooked. The formation of the name Vofionus is like that of Quirinus. The linking of Vofionus with Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, moreover, corresponds to the union of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, the three gods who had *flamines* at Rome. We might see in Vofionus a deity similar in nature to Quirinus. The name Vofionus may even be derived, as is suggested for Quirinus,¹³⁸ from a place name, and have no further significance. An even more striking connection between the two gods is given by the interpretation of Quirinus as an oak-god.¹³⁹ This derivation, based on the re-

¹³⁵ Servius, *ad Georg.*, i, 21: Nomina numinibus ex officiis imposita.

¹³⁶ Vergil, *Aeneid*, xii, 766-769:

Forte sacer Fauno foliis oleaster amaris
hic steterat, nautis olim venerabile lignum,
servati ex undis ubi figere dona solebant
Laurenti divo et votas suspendere vestis;

Ovid, *Met.*, viii, 743-745:

stabat in his ingens annoso robore quercus,
una nemus; vittae mediam memoresque tabellae
sertaque cingebant, voti argumenta potentis.

¹³⁷ Cf. Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, 96.

¹³⁸ Wissowa, *op. cit.*, 153.

¹³⁹ A. B. Cook, *Classical Review*, xviii, 1904, 368. For a later derivation of Quirinus from **covirion*, Volsc. *covehriom*, as Latinus from Latium, Gabinus from Gabii, see Kretschmer, *Latin quirites und quiritare*, *Glotta*, xiii, 1924, 147-157.

semblance of Quirinus to the Greek *πρίνος*,¹⁴⁰ is directly associated with Vofionus' title Grabovius.¹⁴¹ Both Quirinus and Vofionus are apparently local gods who have been admitted into their respective triads as specialized forms or attributes of one of the major divinities.

In Tablet IIa 5 a new god Spector appears in the ceremony of the **Karne Speturie** over which he obviously presided. At the *Karnis Spectoris*, when it is necessary to change the auspices, the first sacrifice is performed to Vesticius Sancius, then the main sacrifice of an ox to Iupater, and a victim to Spector. As noted before, Iupater is the chief divinity, and Vesticius Sancius and Spector subordinate deities who are to be propitiated for the sake of the new auspices. The importance of Spector lies in his position at the head of the festival or ceremony of the **Karne Speturie**. The form **spectoria* would signify the entrails or other parts of the victim inspected for the sake of inquiring into the divine will and would be connected with the expression *inspicio* used of the examination of entrails, and with *extispicia*, *haruspicia*, and *ignispicia*, all of which occur in the inspection of the auspices in Latium. The Latin word for the observation of the auspices, *spectio*, may be recalled.¹⁴² The god Spector, therefore, is another case of the special deity appointed for a particular function such as the Roman gods Imporcitor,¹⁴³ Insitor,¹⁴⁴ Obarator,¹⁴⁵ etc., each placed over his particular sphere in the activities of the farmers. An even closer parallel is provided by *Iuppiter Consul* or *Consulens*, the title of the god whose image was to be erected in the temple of Sol at the time when the Apennine lots were placed there.¹⁴⁶ Spector would be the divinity who assists the augurs in taking the auspices and would have to be invoked especially when new auspices had to be taken after difficulty with the first. No

¹⁴⁰ The Latin *quercus* would be excluded from this derivation. See J. H. Moulton, quoted by Cook, *op. cit.*, note 22.

¹⁴¹ See page 68.

¹⁴² Festus, 446 L.

¹⁴³ A deity that presides over the drawing of furrows, Fab. Pict. *ap. Serv. ad Georg.*, i, 21.

¹⁴⁴ The god that presides over grafting, *ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ The god of ploughing, *ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Flavius Vopiscus, *Firmus*, 3.

similar conception is found among the other Italic religious groups; Spector remains a peculiarly Umbrian deity.

The gods of Tablets III and IV form a unique group since they represent the special deities honored by the Fratres Atiedii at their private ceremony. Pomo Publicus with his consort Vesona of Pomo Publicus stands at the head of this circle. After the introductory invocation to Iupater, Pomo Publicus occupies the center of the stage throughout the ceremony. A sacrificial declaration is announced and a sheep is offered with the customary invocation for the Fratres Atiedii, for the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine district. Here at once the difference is noted between this prayer to Pomo and those to the divinities of the other Tablets; the mention of the Fratres themselves even before the Iguvine State and district marks Pomo as the god of the Atiedian brotherhood and the ceremony as their own special rite.¹⁴⁷ The Tablets give only a general indication of the character of this Umbrian god. Connections may be made with gods of other places through similarities in name. An inscription of Salernum in Campania, which is an Oscan region, mentions a temple of a god Pomonis.¹⁴⁸ Of greater interest is another inscription now preserved at Aquila and referred by Conway to the North-Oscan group,¹⁴⁹ in which the word *poimuniei*, or *poimunien* occurs.¹⁵⁰ The inscription may designate a sacrifice performed to a god Poimonis in the month Floralis, or, as Conway interprets it, the sacrifice is performed 'in *Pomonio,' i.e. 'in horto, luco Pomonali.' By this step the connection with the Latin Pomona is at once obvious. At Rome Pomona was worshipped as goddess of fruit and fruit trees. She had a temple in a suburban

¹⁴⁷ In former invocations the usual wording is "for the people of the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State," or "for the people of the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State, for the name of the people, for the name of the state." Nowhere else do the Fratres themselves enter into the prayer by name.

¹⁴⁸ *C. I. L.*, x, 532.

¹⁴⁹ *Italic Dialects*, i, 259.

¹⁵⁰ Mommsen, *Unterital. Dial.*, Pl. xv.

mesene || flusare || poimunien || atrno || aunom || hiretum

(Note: The first stroke in the final *n* of *poimunien* is clear and there is the beginning of a second stroke.)

Conway, *op. cit.*, i, 248, p. 259; von Planta, ii, 280, p. 550.

field and a special *flamen Pomonalis*, one of the *flamines minores*, whom Festus mentions as of lesser dignity than any of the *flamines*, *quod Pomona levissimo fructui agrorum praesidet pomis*.¹⁵¹ In the Latin Pomona we see a change in gender from the masculine Pomo of the Umbrians. This is in keeping with the generally masculine character of the Iguvine cults, as compared with the number of feminine deities of the Latins. Without doubt, as has been observed,¹⁵² the majesty of field divinities gradually declined, but at the time of the ceremonies of the Tablets such a god must still have been a prominent member of the divine circle. Pomo of the Umbrians, therefore, represents some fruit-producing deity, a masculine form of Ceres, who brings fertility to the fields and presides at the maturity of all the products of the earth. The Dea Dia honored by the Fratres Arvales in their annual ceremony in May is a divinity of the same nature and has been identified with Ceres herself.¹⁵³ This relationship in character between the god of the private ceremony of the Fratres Atiedii and the Dea Dia of the Fratres Arvales is interesting on account of the similarity between the two brotherhoods.¹⁵⁴

The interpretation of the title **Puprike**, or **Puprice** as it appears later, usually translated *Puplicus* (*Puplico* in the corresponding dative form) or *Publicus* offers more difficulty. Bréal thought it was perhaps a derivative of a proper name in the manner of Numidicus, resembling the Samnite name *Pupidiis* or *Pupdiis* which is probably the Latin *Popilius*.¹⁵⁵ He interpreted it as *Popidicus*. The interpretation *Publicus*, however, seems closer, and is the more acceptable form.¹⁵⁶ The objection which might be raised to the latter lies in the lack of sufficient evidence for the relation of the original *-l-* to the Umbrian *-d-*.¹⁵⁷ Bücheler rendered it as *Puplicus* but interpreted the title in the sense of the Latin *publicus*; the epithet here does not emphasize the

¹⁵¹ Festus, 144 L.

¹⁵² Bücheler, *op. cit.*, 159.

¹⁵³ Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*,² 195.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. the discussion of the organization of the Fratres Atiedii, 110-111.

¹⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, 298.

¹⁵⁶ This assumes a change of *l* to *d* in Umbrian (cf. Buck, *op. cit.*, 106).

¹⁵⁷ Conway, *op. cit.*, ii, 650.

contrast between *publicus* and *peregrinus* that we find in the names of the *Di Publici* and the *Di Peregrini* in Rome.¹⁵⁸ Rather, *Publicus* is used in the sense of *communis*, belonging to all in common, as distinguished from the *di privati*, just as there were the Lares Praestites, protectors of the state, and the Lares Familiares or Domestici of the individual homes. Likewise, although each person worshipped his own Fortuna, the Tutela Fortuna of the city and state is considered *publica*, or the Fortuna of the Roman people.

Vesona of Pomo Publicus receives an offering at her shrine after the second offering to Pomo Publicus. The same bowls are used for her offering as for that of Pomo. She is joined with Pomo both in the supplication made with vessels for liquids and for dry materials and again in that made at the end of the ceremony. The use of the genitive of the name of Pomo with Vesona, as well as the stipulation for the same vessels for the two offerings, shows the relationship of the two deities. In this case the Umbrians seem to consider Vesona as the consort of Pomo Publicus. The examples in Latin of Maia as the wife of Volcanus and Nerio the wife of Mars may be cited again as parallels. A similar use of the genitive of the name of the divinity to whom relationship is signified was found in the Tablets in Praestita Cerfia and Tursa Cerfia of Cerfus Martius.

The goddess Vesona, although not known among the Romans, was known among the Marsi, whose language is closely related to Umbrian. A stone was found at Antinum (Cività d'Antino) which mentions the dedication of two unknown objects to Vesuna by the *meddix* Pacuvius, son of Vibius Pacuvius.¹⁵⁹ Another inscription, written in the native alphabet, comes from Milionia and mentions a gift presented by V. Attidius to Vesuna Erina and Erinus pater.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, 159.

¹⁵⁹ Mommsen, *Unterital. Dialek.*, 321; Conway, *op. cit.*, i, 253; von Planta, *op. cit.*, ii, 242.

¹⁶⁰ Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 345, facsimile, pl. xv; von Planta, *op. cit.*, ii, 308; Conway, *op. cit.*, i, 264:

u a[t]iediu[s]	patre
ve[s]june	dono me[r]ji
erinie et	lib[s]
erine	

Vesuna also seems to have been a Celtic divinity. Perhaps she migrated into Aquitania with the Gauls; the city of Pweigueux received her name and was called Vesunna Petrocoriorum. Two inscriptions of this city give the same name.¹⁶¹ One of these mentions a portico to Tutela Vesunna.¹⁶² It has been suggested that the same name is still found in Vesontio (Besançon) and Vesulus (Monte Viso), and perhaps even in Vesuvius.¹⁶³ The origin and significance of the Umbrian goddess Vesona remains, however, a question to be decided. A connection with the Latin Vesta has been suggested.¹⁶⁴ An actual correspondence with Libera, however, may be deduced from a mirror found in Etruria near Castel Giorgio which is decorated with four figures designated by the names *Ercole*, *Phuphluns*, *Vesuna*, *Soutaph*. Vesuna is characterized as the companion of Bacchus by her nebris and thyrsus.¹⁶⁵ This is a striking corroboration of the evidence of the Tablets by which Vesona must be a field divinity. As the consort of Pomo she must be closely connected with the care of the trees and fruits and the general blooming of nature; her character would be similar to that of Pomona and Libera.

Two other goddesses, Hula and Tursa, are worshipped in this same ceremony with Pomo Publicus and Vesona of Pomo Publicus and complete the circle of the special gods of the Fratres Atiedii. Between the supplication made to Pomo and Vesona with the vessels for liquids and for dry materials and the final supplication to the same deities, offerings are given to the goddess Hula at the foot of the altar, and then to the goddess Tursa on the top of the altar. The position of the offerings to Hula and Tursa in the middle of the principal rites to Pomo and Vesona shows that the

¹⁶¹ *C. I. L.*, xiii, 1¹, 949; xiii, 1¹, 956.

¹⁶² *C. I. L.*, xiii, 1¹, 949:

Numinib(us) Augusti [et . . . A]ugustae Bellic[us] et] Bello Prim[i]ani (fil.) Tutelae Vesunnae porticum exp[ol]iendum et [exorna]nd[um] curaverunt].

¹⁶³ Bréal, *op. cit.*, 301-302.

¹⁶⁴ Corssen (*Aussprache*², i, 580) formed Vesona from the same stem as the Latin Vesta, derived from the root *vas* 'shine, burn,' with the meaning of 'shining' divinity. Bücheler also (*op. cit.*, 162) believed that Vesona must be derived from the same source as Vesta. An etymological kinship to the Sanskrit *vāsanā*, 'the bright, the shining,' had been proposed by Grassman (*K. Z.*, xvi, 183).

¹⁶⁵ *Bulletino dell' Instituto Archaeologico*, 1880, 102.

two goddesses are subordinate to the chief deities of the occasion and are revered at this time simply for the sake of some special function or attribute related to the main divinities. Hula receives her sacrifice **supu ereçle**,¹⁶⁶ 'sub sacrario', which would mean on the lower step of the altar. The significance of the goddess is not disclosed by the small part she plays in the ceremony. We may suppose, however, that she is of the same general class as Pomo and Vesona.¹⁶⁷

The goddess Tursa has appeared before as Tursa Çerfia of Çerfus Martius and as Tursa Iovia in the lustration of the Iguvine people.¹⁶⁸ Here, however, Tursa is without a title and belongs definitely to Pomo's group of deities. From the analogy of the other gods of the ceremony Tursa should have some connection with the field divinities. If the interpretation accepted for her in the previous tablet¹⁶⁹ is correct, however, such a connotation would be difficult to find. It is possible that the Tursa of this ceremony, named without a title, may represent a totally different goddess, although such a change would be unusual. Bücheler evidently inclined to this view, however, since he wished to see in Tursa, as she is joined with Vesona in the annual rites for the cultivation of the fields, a picture of Mother Earth.¹⁷⁰ Such an interpretation of Tursa by which she might be related to

¹⁶⁶ IV 17.

¹⁶⁷ A relationship also with Mars Hadius may possibly be inferred (**Marti Hurie** in Ib 2, *Horse* in VIb 43). On the ground that **Hule** seems to agree with the word *holtu* used in cursing the enemy (VIb 60), and **Hunte**, *Honde* (Ib 4, VIb 45) with the other similar *hondu* in the curse (VIb 60), Bücheler (*op. cit.*, 166) thought that Hula must belong to the *di inferi*. Since there is a close connection between the *di inferi* and the earth and crops, the appearance of Hula in the ceremony with Pomo and Vesona would be fitting. Bréal, 303, considered **Hule** not as a proper name but as a pronoun referring to the dative singular **ereçle** with the sense *super caespite eodem*. But the presence of the goddess Tursa in the position similar to that occupied by **Hule**, before the phrase **super ereçle** instead of after it (IV 19), favors the interpretation of Hula also as a goddess. Buck (p. 299) and Conway (ii, p. 626) interpret **Hule** as a goddess.

¹⁶⁸ VIb 58 and VIIa 47.

¹⁶⁹ See pages 83-84 and 89-90.

¹⁷⁰ *Op. cit.*, 165. In this connection Bücheler recalled that Tellus Ops Magna Mater was *turrita, turrigera*: *τύρσος τι ἐν ὑψει οἰκοδόμημα*.

the fruits and fields without doubt would be fitting for the nature of the ceremony in which she appears. It is difficult, however, to harmonize this conception of the goddess with the interpretation of Tursa Çerfia and Tursa Iovia.

In addition to the gods who are definitely worshipped in the Tablets, several names appear which may be those of divinities. The shrine of a god Corelius is mentioned in Tablet VIb 45. The suggestion has also been made that several of the names given in defining the limits of the city in Tablet VIa 12-14, especially *Padellar*, represent deities. But if this is the case it is impossible to determine anything concerning their nature from the evidence of the Tablets.

IV

THE ATIEDIAN BROTHERHOOD

The Fratres Atiedii were a religious brotherhood, composed of twelve members,¹ similar to the Fratres Arvales of Rome. The duties and functions of the Atiedii indicate the prominent position held by this College at Iguvium. They are responsible for the purification of the citadel, a ceremony of political as well as religious significance; they perform the lustration of the people themselves, likewise an event of primary importance in the life of the community. In both ceremonies the Fratres manage the rites from beginning to end; they provide the victims and whatever else is necessary for the performance; they say the prayers to the divinities; they make the sacrifices; they pronounce the citadel and the people purified. The lay members of the community, for whom the Fratres act, rarely enter into the activities and then only for minute details, such as the addition of supplementary offerings at the end of a sacrifice.

Most important as evidence of the influence of the brotherhood is the fact that the Fratres presided at the semi-political ceremony of the decurial festival of the twenty *curiae* of the district of Iguvium. This festival, which has some correspondence with the *Feriae Latinae* of the Latin cities, possessed political as well as religious significance. The Fratres, moreover, were in charge of the distribution of the parts of the sacred flesh which followed the sacrifice—the symbol not only of the communion with the god, but also of the unity existing among the allied groups themselves. That the private sacrifices of the individual *gentes* of the community of Iguvium were also under the charge of the Atiedian corporation is shown by the record of the sacrifice of a dog to the god of the underworld which the Fratres performed for the Petronian *gens*.

The Fratres Atiedii stand out clearly then as a priestly organi-

¹ Cf. Tablet VIIb 2.

zation in the form of a brotherhood which possessed very great religious authority as well as a certain marked political influence on account of the functions which they performed. The effect of this powerful priesthood upon the organization of the religion of Iguvium is evident from the testimony of the Tablets. The tendency of an organized body of this kind, devoted to the maintenance of religious details, to elaborate and systematize the material under their control is indicated by the general character of the records of the Atiedii.² The careful attention to detail, the elaboration of the ceremonies, which in fact represent the most highly developed form of Italian ritual known to us, prove conclusively the influence of the priestly brotherhood with their constant care and guardianship of the functions of their office. Interesting material for a knowledge of the part played by the Atiedian brotherhood in the organization of the cults of Iguvium is offered by a comparison of Tablet I, the brief account of the *lustratio* of the sacred mount and of the people, with Tablets VI and VII, the amplified versions of the same ceremonies. For example, in the lustration of the citadel, Tablet I states merely that the sacrifices must be begun by the taking of the auspices; Tablet VI gives in the most minute details complete directions for each step in the taking of the auspices. Next, Tablet I orders that three oxen should be sacrificed in front of the Trebulan gate; Tablet VI gives the exact wording of the lengthy invocation and the prayer, repeated even with the second and with the third victim. Throughout the accounts of the two lustrations this difference in the two remains the same. This elaboration of ritual during the long period between the date of Tablet I (probably between 400 and 300 B.C.) and that of Tablets VI and VII (between 100 and 50 B.C.) was the inevitable result of the development of the power of the Atiedian College itself. Along with the development of the priesthood there was without doubt a concomitant organization and systematization of the religion of the community under its jurisdiction.

The composition of the Atiedian corporation may be reconstructed from references scattered throughout the Tablets. The

² The same tendency existed in the pontifical college at Rome.

title *Fratres* (Umbrian *frater*)³ is perhaps the most distinctive feature of the priesthood; among the Italic peoples the *Fratres Arvales* furnish the only other example of the name.⁴ The number of the *Fratres Atiedii*, like that of the *Arvales*, was twelve. The Tablets fail to provide information concerning the selection of the members of the brotherhood. From the mention of certain *gentes* belonging to the *Fratres Atiedii* in the records of private sacrifices,⁵ there is a possibility that the title of *Atiedian Brother* may have been hereditary in certain families in the district over which the corporation presided.⁶ We know that such systems existed at Rome: the *Luperci* came originally from the *Fabian* and *Quinctian gentes*; the cult of *Hercules* was in the hands of the *Potitii* and the *Pinarii*.⁷ Definite knowledge on these subjects in the case of *Iguvium*, however, cannot be obtained. A relationship may exist between the name of the *Atiedii* and that of one of the *curiae* mentioned in Tablet IIb, the *Atiedias*. It is possible that the *Fratres* may have been chosen originally from members of this *curia*.⁸

The *Fratres* presided over the entire community of *Iguvium*. The relationship of the *Fratres* to the people of the community was clearly defined. The brotherhood was obliged to perform certain ceremonies for the entire community, such as the *lustratio arcis* and the *lustratio populi*; sacrifices at stated times, both private and collective; and to distribute the parts of the sacred flesh from the decurial sacrifice among the allied *curiae*. In return a stated recompense was paid the *Fratres* by the people of their district.

Definite information is given by the Tablets for the inner organization of the college. The *Fratres* were divided into *pontes* (*puntes*) which seem to represent the official groups of

³ Va 1, *frater atieñiur*; Vb 11, *frater Atiersiur*.

⁴ Henzen, *op. cit.*, 1.

⁵ In IIa the *gens Petronia* is mentioned. In IIb a sacrifice is offered for the *gens Lucia*.

⁶ Bréal, *op. cit.*, 273.

⁷ The *gens Lucia* may have been especially charged with the cult of *Iupater Sancius*. See page 73, note 39.

⁸ The *Attidates* whom *Pliny* (*N. H.*, iii, 113) mentions among the *Umbrians* and the town *Attidium* (the modern *Attigio*) may have some relation to the name of the *Atiedii*, or at least to the name of the *curia Atiedias*.

the brotherhood. Our knowledge of the *pontes* depends upon the directions for the festival of the *Sextantariae Urnariae* in which the *Fratres* must rise in *pontes* to elect the *auctor*.⁹ Later the *pontes* approve the announcement of the victim and the sheep. Again the *pontes* of the *Fratres* by rising choose the victim and the sheep.¹⁰ Since the *pontes* formed the division of the brotherhood by which the vote was taken, they clearly represent the official grouping of the corporation. The meaning of the term itself is more difficult to determine. A connection may exist with **pompe*, *quinque*.¹¹ The *Umbrians* divided their people in *pumpeñias*, the *Oscans* likewise in *pumperias*; *pontis* in *Oscan* is equivalent to *quinquiens*.¹² In form, however, the identification of the *Umbrian pontes* with the Latin *pons* is preferable.¹³ In meaning also the Latin *pons* seems to offer a more satisfactory explanation of *pontes* than the *Umbrian *pompe*. In this connection the problem of the original meaning of the Latin *pontifex* cannot be disregarded. The word has been generally interpreted as a compound of *pons* and *facere*, 'maker of bridges'. Recently, however, scholars have been inclined to assign to *pons* an earlier meaning of 'path' or 'road' which, although not found in Latin, is supported by the Greek *πάτος*, *Skt. panthan*, meaning 'path, way'.¹⁴

⁹ III 4-11.

¹⁰ In support of rendering the *Umbrian* phrase *urter puntis* as *surgentibus puntis* the following passage in *Veliu Longus*, vii, 74, 18 *Keil*, may be cited: *ori enim apud antiquos surgere frequenter significabat ut apparet ex eo quod dicitur 'oriens consul magistrum populi dicat,' quod est surgens.*

¹¹ Bücheler, *op. cit.*, 152.

¹² Bücheler (p. 152) suggested the derivation of *puntes* from a number containing five on the analogy of the Greek *πεντάς*. Cf. *πεμπάζειν*.

¹³ *Conway*, *op. cit.*, ii, 650, considers this derivation preferable in point of form.

¹⁴ Cf. *Kent*, *Class. Phil.*, viii, 1913, 317, for a full discussion of the various theories; also *F. A. Wright*, *Class. Review*, xxxv, 1921, 155; *Conrad Glaser*, *rev. Phil. Wochen.*, xlvii, 1927, 1156. *Kent* has shown that *Walde's* explanation (*Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. *pontifex*) of *ponti-* as *piatio* by an identification with the *Umbrian puntes* is impossible since *Walde* has misinterpreted the *Umbrian* passages which do not allow the meaning of *piatio* for *puntes*. In the second edition *Walde* retains the general significance of 'holy' for *puntes* from the interpretation 'procession,' hence a religious procession. See also *Eugen Täubler's* discussion of *Pontifex* in *Terremare und Rom*, Heidelberg, 1932, 67-79.

Pontifex would thus be 'pathmaker', as for processions. On the basis of this derivation a religious significance has been assigned to *pontifex* by Kent.¹⁵ Following the suggestion of Kuhn that *pontifex* meant a 'Pfadbereiter, der zum Pfade der Götter leitet,'¹⁶ he has shown, from a comparison with the religious beliefs of other Indo-European peoples and especially with the religious significance of the cognates of the Latin *pons*, that *pontifex* may represent "the one who made or kept in order the *pontes* or 'paths' between the world of the living and the world of the dead." These suggestions would offer for the Umbrian *pontes* the possibility of a body of men whose duty it was to take care of these paths. In this connection the association of *pons* with the way or path from the *saepta*, at which the voting tablets were collected, may have bearing upon the derivation of the Umbrian *pontes*. *Pontifex* would thus be the 'maker of ways' for the purpose of voting.¹⁷ However problematical this explanation may be for a final judgment concerning the Latin *pontifex*, the suggestion which it offers for the Umbrian *pontes* is of value since the connection of the place for voting fits especially well the context of the Umbrian word *puntes*, where it is obvious that the *puntes* are bodies of the Umbrians who vote for the election of the *uhtur*, and again for the acceptance of the victims for sacrifice.¹⁸

The principal officers of the Atiedian brotherhood are mentioned in the course of the records and their respective duties prescribed. At the head of the college stood the *fratreks*¹⁹ (*fratres*),²⁰ the 'Fratricus' or 'Magister'. This office was primarily an executive one entailing a general supervision over the activities of the corporation. The Fratricus was responsible for furnishing the victims for the pursuit of the heifers at the lustration of the people; his fine, if he did not fulfil his obligations as

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁶ *K. Z.*, iv, 1855, 75-77; Vanček, *Ety. Wörtl. d. lat. Spr.*, 1874, 87; *Gr. Lat. etym. Wörtl.*, i, 1877, 383.

¹⁷ Cf. Netusil, *B. P. W.*, xi, 1891, 867 ff.; Kent, *op. cit.*, 318.

¹⁸ III 4, 10. This is perhaps the meaning of Conway (*loc. cit.*) in his suggestion of the "comital sense of the Latin *pons*."

¹⁹ Va 23, Va 1.

²⁰ VIIb 1.

prescribed, was three hundred asses.²¹ After the banquet of the Fratres, it was the duty of the Fratricus or the Quaestor to ask the opinion of the members of the brotherhood present on the management of the sacrifice by the *flamen*. The Fratricus or the Quaestor had to consult the members again in regard to the size of the fine for the *flamen*, if the majority had voted that the ceremony had not been managed properly.²²

The second officer mentioned, the *kvestur* or 'Quaestor', appears in the Tablets chiefly as a substitute for the Fratricus in taking the vote of the college.²³ The quaestorship is also mentioned at the end of the two decrees.²⁴ The meaning of the Umbrian term in these passages is not clear. From the presence of the same phrase at the end of Ib and IIa—*Kvestretie usaçe svesu Vuvçis Ti Teteies, Quaestura . . . sua Lucius Tetteius Titi f.*—the date of both decrees seems to be given by the name of the man holding the quaestorship. Both Fratricus and Quaestor are mentioned in Roman records of colleges.²⁵

By far the most prominent officer in the records of the corporation is the *arsfertur*²⁶ (*arfertur*),²⁷ the *adfertor* or *flamen*. The chief functions of the whole college of the Atiedii are centered in this office. It is the *adfertor* who performs the *lustratio* of the citadel and of the people—those ceremonies most important in the religious and civic life of the community of Iguvium. The *adfertor* receives the announcement of the auspices from the augur; he repeats the prescribed prayers and performs the sacrifices in the manner demanded; he conducts the entire *lustratio* from beginning to end. In addition to the general directions given throughout Tablets VI and VIIa,²⁸ a passage in VIIb

²¹ VIIb 1-4.

²² Va 23-b 1.

²³ Va 23, Vb 3.

²⁴ Ib 45, IIa 44.

²⁵ A wax tablet from a funeral college in Dacia is especially interesting in the union of the two officers: (*C. I. L.*, iii, p. 925) Artemidorus Apolloni magister collegi Iovis Cerneni et Valerius Niconis et Offas Menofili Questores collegi eiusdem posito hoc libello publice testantur.

²⁶ VIa 3, 8, VIIb 3.

²⁷ Ib 41, IIa 16, Va 3, 10.

²⁸ Also Ib 41 at a place where the *flamen* is not mentioned by name, although he is clearly designated.

definitely names him as the person responsible for the *lustratio*: *ubi flamen Atiediis populum lustraverit*.²⁹ In Tablet Va, moreover, there is a clear statement that the *adfertor* must take charge of the sacred ceremony and must provide everything necessary for the rites—both offerings and assistants.³⁰ In return the *adfertor* receives set rewards at various steps in the ceremony.³¹ The *adfertor* also performs the sacrifices for the individual *gentes*.³² With the exception of the private rites for the Fratres themselves, then, the *adfertor* seems to have been in charge of all the ceremonies included in the jurisdiction of the Atiedian brotherhood.

The power and authority of the *adfertor*, therefore, cannot be doubted. He managed the religious affairs of Iguvium with complete independence until the final accounting at the general meeting of the brotherhood. On that occasion, the *Plenariae Urnariae*, the management of the *adfertor* is voted upon by the Fratres who are present. If, in reply to the inquiry of the *Fratricus* or *Quaestor*, the majority of the members say that the *adfertor* has performed his duties properly, there is no further discussion. If, however, the majority vote that the performance was not satisfactory, the fine of the *adfertor* is decided immediately by a similar vote. The college has the right to impose as large a fine upon the *adfertor* as the majority of the members present shall demand.³³ Here we see the check of the college upon the *adfertor*: the vote of the members as a whole was final. At the time of the Iguvine Tablets, therefore, the obligations of the brotherhood were vested in one man, the *adfertor*, with provision always for the right of control by the college as a whole; the college also retained for itself certain material advantages. A similar condition seems to have existed in the college of the Arvales at Rome in the time of the reorganization under Augustus.³⁴

The *uhtur* or *auctor* was a special magistrate in the Atiedian

²⁹ VIIb 3 *Appai arfertur Atiersir poplom andersafust*.

³⁰ Va 15–22.

³¹ *Idem*.

³² IIa 16.

³³ Va 23–b 7.

³⁴ Bréal, *op. cit.*, 251.

College elected by the Fratres to manage their private ceremonies on the *Sextantariae Urnariae*.³⁵ Immediately after the election by the *pontes* of the brotherhood, the *auctor* takes his place in the chair of state of the college and announces the sacrifices which are offered. The rites of the day are in his hands. From the fact that the festival of the *Sextantariae Urnariae* is the only occasion upon which the *auctor* is mentioned in the Tablets the conclusion may be drawn that the office belonged to this day alone; the possibility of functions of which the Tablets have preserved no record, however, must always be considered in an account of the various offices.

In addition to the *Fratricus*, the *Adfertor*, and the *Auctor*, there were certain minor officers of the college of whom not much is known aside from their general duties as assistants to the higher officials. The *prinuatur* or *legati* are necessary for the *lustratio populi*.³⁶ These attendants must accompany the *adfertor* in his procession with the sacrificial animals around the Iguvine people. They stop with him at the boundary line in Aquilonia for the expulsion of the foreigners; they march around the people with the sacrificial victims; at the end of each of the three purificatory processions around the people, the *prinuatur* repeat with the *adfertor* the sacred prayers to *Çerfus Martius*, to *Praestita Çerfia* of *Çerfus Martius*, and to *Tursa Çerfia* of *Çerfus Martius*. After the prayer has been repeated for the third time the *prinuatur* return the same way by which they have come and the *adfertor* continues the ceremony alone.³⁷ From the nature of the functions which the *prinuatur* perform, they seem to be *legati* of rank and dignity who actually participate in the execution of the *lustratio* along with the *adfertor* and who bear no resemblance to *calatores* or ordinary assistants in religious ceremonies.³⁸

³⁵ III 4–9.

³⁶ VIb 50.

³⁷ VIb 48–VIIa 2.

³⁸ Bücheler, *op. cit.*, 90, translated *prinuatur* as *prinovati*. He explained the name as *praenovati*, i.e. *recens ad hoc creati*, or *novi magistratus*. Although the *-novati* is possible, *pri* cannot stand for *prae* (Buck, 63). Among the most potent arguments advanced for the rank of the *prinovati* are the following: 1. Since the *prinovati* and the *adfertor* are commanded together to stand at the boundary, to pray, and to go around the people, the *prinovati* must be

The *calatores* themselves, however, were included, without doubt, in the minor officers of the brotherhood. These are probably implied in the passage containing the obligations of the *adfertor*, who must provide whatever is necessary for the ceremony and the men who are needed as assistants (i.e. both the offerings and the assistants).³⁹ Their duties would correspond to those of the *calatores* of the *Fratres Arvales*.

The presence of yet another official, the augur, is mentioned in the Tablets. Although he is never mentioned by name, the reference *qui oscines observatum ibit* is unmistakable.⁴⁰ Before the *lustratio* of the citadel and again before that of the people, the auspices must be taken by the official augur who announces them to the *adfertor*. Whether the office of augur was held by a member of the Atiedian College or whether it belonged to a separate college, as at Rome, is uncertain. The latter theory, however, seems probable. The Iguvine augur corresponds closely to the Roman augur; the two ceremonies are similar.

The striking parallel between the college of the Atiedii and that of the Roman *Arvales* is important for a consideration of the Iguvine brotherhood. With the title of *Fratres*, peculiar to the two colleges, as a starting point, a comparison of the two bodies shows a series of remarkable agreements. The fundamental structure of both was a religious priesthood in the form of a fraternity. Each contained twelve members with a *magister* and a *flamen* as chief officers. The purpose and functions of the organizations from all appearances are likewise similar; each is concerned with the definite religious rites under its particular care and with such ceremonies as the state had introduced into the religion of the community. If, as seems probable, the *Fratres Arvales* were connected with the *Ambarvalia*, the resemblance

of equal rank and dignity with the *adfertor*. 2. If the *prinovati* were servants of the *adfertor* there would be no need to designate the *adfertor* by *qui virgam ritualetn habebit*. The necessity arises from the fact that all three held positions of dignity.

³⁹ Va 5-6.

⁴⁰ VIa 1-2: *Poei angla aseriatu eest*.

between the two colleges becomes even stronger.⁴¹ The linking of the two priesthoods in the execution of the ceremonies which have been shown already to stand in the closest relationship must be considered significant. The private festivals of the colleges also correspond in detail.⁴² The finding of two religious brotherhoods as similar as the *Arvales* at Rome and the *Atiedii* in Umbria suggests that this form of organization may have been common among the Italic peoples.

The power of the *Atiedii* at Iguvium, however, seems to have been greater than that of the *Arvales* at Rome. From the fact that the *Atiedii* had charge of the lustrations of the people and of the citadel it seems possible that the brotherhood had duties more closely analogous to those of the *pontifices*, that they were in fact the chief priests of the city. We must, however, bear in mind the possibility that there were other priesthoods at Iguvium, perhaps even more important than the *Atiedii*, of which we have no record.

⁴¹ From the general similarity of the *Ambarvalia* and the festival of the *Arvales* and from the evidence of the emended passage of Festus, 5 L., the association of the *Arvales* with the *Ambarvalia* seems likely.

⁴² See discussion of Tablets III-IV, pages 60-64.

V

THE CHARACTER OF THE EARLY IGUVINE
RITUAL AND CULTS

A SUMMARY

The material of the Iguvine Tablets, from the nature of the Tablets themselves, the records of a religious priesthood, represents the official worship of Iguvium. Yet even for the official religion of the city our picture must be considered fragmentary. The tablets preserved are probably only a portion of the entire records of the Fratres Atiedii and hence we must remember that they can give only a section even of the official cults of Iguvium. Of the unofficial part of the Iguvine religion, the numerous private cults which must have existed, there are no traces whatsoever.

The gods of the Iguvine Tablets may be classified in two main groups: those which are related to the gods of Rome or of Italy as a whole and who thus are proved to be original Italic conceptions,¹ and those who seem to be peculiar to the Umbrians, for whom no real identification can be made with the deities of other Italic peoples. Here again, however, caution must be used in drawing conclusions; for there always remains the possibility that if we had more evidence for the early cults of some of the other

¹ The view of Franz Altheim (*Griechische Götter im alten Rom*, Giessen, 1930; *Terra Mater*, Giessen, 1931; *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, i, ii, Berlin, 1931-1932) that we have no gods whom we can call original Italic conceptions has not been discussed in the previous chapters. Altheim maintains that even Jupiter cannot be proved to be an "uritalische" divinity; he suggests, rather, that the god *Dieus was first known to the Italic peoples on the Apennine peninsula (*Römische Religionsgeschichte*, i, 75-76). He considers Mars a Latin god who was later adopted by the other Italic peoples (*Römische Religionsgeschichte*, i, 68-71). Although it is obviously impossible to refute Altheim's theory in regard to the pre-historic period, the evidence of the Tablets themselves, giving proof for the worship of Jupiter and Mars among the Umbrians at a very early date, is strong support for the assumption that these gods were a common Italic heritage.

Italic peoples, especially the Oscans, light would be shed upon some of these otherwise unknown Umbrian gods.

To recapitulate: at the head of the Iguvine State stood the gods who are given the epithet Grabovius—Jupiter, Mars, and Vofionus, the chief deities in the lustration of the sacred citadel. Jupiter and Mars are recognized at once as occupying a position similar to that which they hold in the other Italic religions. Jupiter is worshipped also as Iupater, Fiskus Sancius Iupater, Admo Iupater, and Actus Iupater. Several deities are connected with Jupiter indirectly by the title Iovius: Trebus Iovia, Tefer Iovius, Hontus Iovius, and Tursa Iovia. Mars is worshipped also in the form of Çerfus Martius with his two female associates Praestita Çerfia of Çerfus Martius and Tursa Çerfia of Çerfus Martius; they appear as the chief deities in the lustration of the Iguvine people. Other forms of Mars are Mars Hodius and Actus Mars. A third deity, Hontus Çerfus, also is connected with Mars by his title of Çerfus. Of the gods independent of the circles of Jupiter and Mars, Vofionus Grabovius is the most important. As a member of the Grabovian triad with Jupiter and Mars he may be likened to Quirinus. The name Vofionus itself is peculiar to the Umbrians. Pomo Publicus recalls the Roman Pomona. The goddess Vesona, associated with Pomo, although not found among the Latins, is a goddess of the Marsi, a people whose language is closely related to Umbrian. There remain Vesticius Sancius, Spector, Hula, and Tursa, who, with Vofionus, were peculiar to the Umbrians.

The preponderance of male divinities in the Iguvine Tablets is striking. Aside from Praestita Çerfia and Tursa Çerfia, the associates of Mars, and Vesona, the associate of Pomo, and the minor divinities Tursa Iovia, Hula, and Tursa, Trebus Iovia is the only female divinity who occupies a position of importance. It is difficult to decide whether this small proportion of prominent female divinities is to be interpreted as showing a generally masculine character for the Iguvine gods. More probably we should assume that there were female deities of importance of whom no record has been preserved.

An interesting development of new gods from old is noticed in the case of Fiskus Sancius who, with his full title of Fiskus Sancius

Iupater, is identified with Semo Sancus Dius Fidius of the Latins. Here we see Ficus Sancius who originally was an attribute of Jupiter himself in his function of guardian of *fides* develop into a separate god with a sphere of his own as preserver of oaths and treaties. This development of special gods with individual functions from older, more comprehensive deities is found also among the Latins. The tendency toward a specialization of functions for the gods, illustrated in the case of Ficus Sancius, occurs also in other gods of the Tablets. Spector, for example, is the special god who presides over the festival or ceremony of the **Karne Speturie** just as Imporcitor, Insitor, Obarator, etc., are the Latin divinities of the various activities of farming.

The Tablets do not prove the existence of any cult image or of any temple structure such as might house a cult image. The lack of any reference to images in the Tablets may be significant. Perhaps the early official worship of Iguvium, like the early Latin, was observed without the representation of the gods in human form. A number of shrines seem to be mentioned. An *aedes* (*uocu-com*) *Iovia* is the scene of a sacrifice to Mars Houdius in the lustration of the sacred citadel. In the same ceremony there is an *aedes* *Coredii* where the sacrifice to Hontus Çerfius is performed. A *fanum* (**fesnaf-e**) is mentioned in the sacrifice to Admo Iupater and both a *sacrarium* (**ereçlum-e**) and an *aedes* occur in the description of the private festival of the Fratres Atiedii. It is impossible to say whether these shrines had the peculiar form that later belonged to the Italic *templum*. Certainly they are none of them designated by the Umbrian word *verfale* which is used for a place marked off for augury.² The list of sanctuaries is probably by no means complete; it seems to be limited, in great measure, by the course of the procession in the purification of the citadel and people.

The most important festivals described in the Tablets are the lustration of the sacred citadel and the lustration of the Iguvine people. We have seen that both of these correspond to cere-

² There is of course a reference to the space consecrated by augury (*verfale*) which corresponds with the original meaning of the Latin *templum*. That word, however, used in the taking of the auspices, is not repeated for any of these shrines.

monies of the Latins. Of special significance also is the festival of the *Sementivae Decuriae*, the seed time festival of the united *curiae* of Iguvium, an annual event, which may be compared with the *Feriae Latinae* celebrated by the Latin peoples on the Alban Mount. The **plenasier urnasier** is mentioned as the time at which a certain decree of the college was passed but no information is given as to the nature of the festival. A festival related to the **plenasier urnasier** occurs in the **sestentasiaru urnarsiaru** at which the private ceremonies of the Fratres Atiedii took place. The private festival of the Fratres Atiedii closely resembles the festival of the Dea Dia of the Arval brothers. The **karne speturie** represents an unknown festival, at which sacrifices were performed to several gods, first among whom are Vesticius Sancius, Jupiter, and Spector, the special god of the ceremony.

The sacrifices in the Tablets correspond on the whole to Roman sacrifices. The victims consist of oxen (to the three Grabovian gods, Jupiter, Mars, and Vofionus, those with white foreheads specified for Vofionus), pregnant sows, suckling pigs, lambs, bull calves, boars red or black, sows red or black, heifers, heifer calves, a ram, a boar, a he-goat, sheep, and a puppy for the chthonic deity Hontus Iovius. The sacrifice of a male victim to a male divinity and a female victim to a female divinity, which was a regular characteristic of the *ritus Romanus*, seems to have been observed in the Iguvine ritual. An unusual detail in the method of sacrifice is the manner in which some of the victims were to be stretched out on the ground for slaying. This practice is used for sows, suckling pigs, heifers, heifer calves, and also for a sheep, a boar, and a dog. The removal of the *sopo*, 'under parts', was usually an accompanying act in these cases.³ The bloodless offerings in the Tablets likewise correspond to the conventional offerings of the Romans—the *libum*, the *offa*, *frumenta*, the *strues*, *farrea*, and ground salt. Peculiar among the supplementary offerings are a *strues pectinata*, a comb-shaped cake, and a *persondro sorsom* and a *pesondro staflare* which are most satis-

³ The mention of the removal of the *sopo* is usually preceded by the statement that the sacrifice is to be **peñae** (cf. IIa 22-32). One of the acts seems to imply the performance of the other. VIa 57-59 has only *persae fetu*, while the older version Ia 7-10 has only **supa sumtu**.

factorily explained as small cakes in the form of a pig and a sheep respectively, symbolic offerings given as a substitute for the animals themselves. Wine and *posca*, a form of diluted wine, constitute the liquid offerings. Water also is mentioned on one occasion as a form of libation.

The ritual of the Tablets is very close to Roman ritual. Numerous details, such as the augural ceremony, the directions given for *piaculum* and if necessary for *instauratio*, and the regulation for the arrangement of dress, correspond with points of the ritual of the Latins. The prayers are set out in full and surpass all old Italic evidence in their exact specifications and their careful repetitions. The handling of the sacred vessels and the exact positions during the ceremony are stipulated with meticulous precision. Mistakes in ritual are also provided against and the god is asked to pardon them. So elaborate and advanced a type of ritual as that seen in the Tablets must be the result of the influence of a body of priests who have occupied themselves with the preservation and development of the religion of the community. Traces of this continuous activity on the part of the priesthood may be seen by a comparison of the simple form of the early Tablet I with the expanded and detailed version of the same material in the later Tablets VI-VII.

This priesthood, composed of the twelve Fratres Atiedii, seems to have stood at the head of the religion of the community. The Atiedian brotherhood bears a striking resemblance to the Arval Brothers. Its power, however, seems to have been greater than that of the Arvales and corresponds rather to that of the Pontifices at Rome. Other priesthoods probably existed at Iguvium, as at Rome, but of these we have no record.

The religious evidence provided by the Tablets has demonstrated the close relationship between the inhabitants of Umbria and the other Italic peoples. Because of the scantiness of early records for the rest of Umbria and for the Oscans, who were most closely related to the Umbrians, it is to the Latins, and particularly to the Romans, that we must look for analogies. And here we find them in abundance. The entire Umbrian conception of cults and ritual corresponds to that of the Latins. The principal deities of the Umbrians, Jupiter and Mars, are the same as those

of the other Italic peoples. The form of the ritual itself is almost identical with that of the Latins. The process of augury, described in such detail in the Tablets, is a component part of Latin religious practice. The most important festivals of the Iguvines are similar to festivals of the Latins. The sacrifices throughout the Tablets recall Roman sacrifices. The priesthood in charge of the religion of Iguvium resembles a priesthood of the Latins.

The Tablets give us a picture only of a section of the religious life of early Iguvium. Yet, fragmentary as this picture is, it is still far more complete than that which we have for any other early Italian city aside from Rome. The later inscriptions of Iguvium, of which a large number have been preserved from the period after the city had come under Roman influence, show no traces of the cults of the Tablets. It is difficult to believe, however, that the ancient worship and ritual could have disappeared entirely. But the absence of evidence for them in later records is important for the student of religion: it shows how incomplete we must consider the pictures of other early cities whose ancient cults have remained for the most part unrecorded. Tarquinii and Veii, for example, which we know were the sites of very early settlements, might well have possessed ancient ritual and cults as highly developed as those found at Iguvium.

APPENDIX

THE IGUVINE TABLES

(From Buck's *Oscan and Umbrian Grammar*, pages 260-300)

V A, B

<p>A Esuk frater Atiieñiur eitipes plenasier urnasier uhtretie 3 T. T. Kastruñie. Añfertur pisi 4 pumpe fust eikvasese Atiie- 5 ñier, ere ri esune kuraia, pre- habia piñe uraku ri esuna 6 si herte, et pure esune 7 sis. Sakreu perakneu upetu, revestu, puñe teñte, 8 eru emantur herte, 9 et piñaklu pune tribñiçu fu- 10 iest, akrotu revestu emantu herte. Añfertur pisi pumpe 11 fust, erek esunesku vepurus 12 felsva añputrati fratri Atiie- 13 ñiu prehubia, et nuñpener prever pusti kastruvuf. 14 Frater Atiieñiur esu eitipes 15 plasiasier urnasier uhtretie K. T. Kluviier. Kumnah kle 16 Atiieñie ukre eikvasese Ati- 17 ieñier, ape apelust, muneklu 18 habia numer prever pusti kastruvuf, et ape purtitu 19 fust, muneklu habia numer 20 tupler pusti kastruvu, et ape 21 subra spafu fust, muneklu habia numer tripler pusti 22 kastruvu. Et ape frater çers- 23 natur furent,¹ ehvelklu feia</p>	<p>Ita fratres Atiedii decreverunt plenariis *urnariis *auctura T. Castrucii T. f. Flamen qui- cumque erit <i>collegis</i> Atiediis, is rem sacram curet, praebeat quidquid ad illam rem sacram sit oportet, et qui in sacrificiis sint (oportet). Hostias sollemnis deligito, revisito, cum datur, (ali- quae) earum accipiuntur oportetne, et cum piaculorum ternio fiet, ex agro revisito accipiuntur oportetne. Flamen quicumque erit, is ad sacrificia <i>sine igne</i> <i>holera</i> arbitrato fratrum Atie- diorum praebeat, et —pondiis singulis in <i>fundos</i>. Fratres Atiedii ita decreverunt plenariis *urnariis *auctura C. Cluvii T. f. In conventu Atiedio in arce, <i>collegis</i> Ati- ediis, ubi impenderit, sportulam habeat nummis singulis in <i>fundos</i>, et ubi porrectum erit, sportulam habeat nummis binis in <i>fundos</i>, et ubi superiectum erit, sportulam habeat nummis trinis in <i>fundos</i>. Et ubi fratres ce- nati erunt, sententiam roget</p>
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¹ Aes *furenñ*.

<p>24 fratreks ute kvestur, sve rehte kuratu si. Sve mestru 25 karu fratri Atiieñiu, pure ulu 26 benurent, prusikurent rehte 27 kuratu eru, eñek prufe si. Sve mestru karu fratri Atiieñiu, 28 pure ulu benurent, prusiku- 29 rent kuratu rehte neip eru, B enuk fratri ehvelklu feia 2 fratreks ute kvestur, panta 3 muta añferture si. Panta 4 muta fratri Atiieñiu mestru 5 karu, pure ulu benurent, añ- 6 ferture eru pepurkur ent he- 7 riñi, etantu mutu añferture si. 8 <i>Claverniur dirsas herti</i> <i>fratrus Atiersir posti</i> 9 <i>acnu farer opeter p. IIII</i> <i>agre Tlatie Piquier Martier</i> 10 <i>et ñesna homonus duir,</i> <i>puri far eisçurent, ote a. VI.</i> 11 <i>Claverni dirsans herti</i> <i>frater¹ Atiersiur sehmenier</i> 12 <i>deçurier pelmner sorser</i> <i>posti acnu uef X cabri-</i> 13 <i>ner uef V, pretra toco</i> <i>postra fahe, et ñesna</i> <i>ote a. VI. Casilos dirsa her-</i> 14 <i>ti fratrus Atiersir posti</i> <i>acnu farer opeter p. VI agre</i> 15 <i>Casiler Piquier Martier et</i> <i>ñesna homonus duir, puri</i> <i>far eisçurent, ote a. VI. </i> 16 <i>Casilate dirsans herti frateer</i> <i>Atiersiur sehmenier deçu-</i> 17 <i>rier pelmner sorser posti</i> <i>acnu uef XV cabriener uef</i> 18 <i>VII s., et ñesna ote</i> <i>a. VI.</i></p>	<p>magister aut quaestor, si recte curatum sit. Si maior pars fratrum Atiediorum, qui illuc venerint, pronuntiaverint recte curatum esse, id probe sit. Si maior pars fratrum Atiediorum, qui illuc venerint, pronuntiave- rint curatum recte non esse, tum fratrum sententiam roget magister aut quaestor, quanta multa flamine sit. Quantam multam fratrum Atiediorum maior pars, qui illuc venerint, fla- mini esse oportuerit poposcerint, tanta multa flamine sit. Clavernii dent oportet fratribus Atiediis in singulos annos farris lecti pondo IIII agri Latii Piquii Martii, et cenam hominibus duobus, qui far arcessierint, aut asses VI. Claverniis dent oportet fratres Atiedii sementivis deçuriis pulpamenti suilli in singulos annos partes X, capri- ni partes V, priores <i>sale (condi-</i> <i>tas)</i>, posteriores —, et cenam aut asses VI. Casilas det oportet fratribus Atiediis in singulos annos farris lecti pondo VI agri Casili Piquii Martii, et cenam hominibus duobus, qui far arcessierint, aut asses VI. Casilati dent oportet fratres Atiedii sementivis deçuriis pulpamenti suilli in singulos annos partes XV, caprini partes VII semissem, et cenam aut asses VI.</p>
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¹ Aes *frateer* with first *e* erased.

VI A

- 1 †*Este persclo aueis aser-*
iater enetu, parfa curnase
dersua, peiqu peica merstu.
2 *Poei angla aseriato | eest,*
eso tremnu serse arsfert-
ture ehueltu: 'stiplo aser-
iaia parfa dersua, curnaco
3 *dersua, | peico mersto, peica*
mersta, mersta auuei, mersta
angla esona'. Arfertur eso
4 *anstiplatu: | 'ef aserio*
parfa dersua, curnaco ders-
ua, peico mersto, peica mers-
ta, mersta aueif, merstaf |
5 *anglaf esona mehe, tote Iio-*
ueine, esmei stahmei stah-
meitei'. Sersi pirsi sesust,
6 *poi angla | aseriato est, erse*
neip mugatu nep arsir ander-
sistu, nersa courtust porsi
7 *angla anseriato | iust. Sue*
muieto fust ote pisi arsir
andersesust,¹ disleralinsust. |
8 *Uerfale pufe arsfertur*
trebeit ocrer peihaner, erse
stahmito eso tuderato est:
9 *angluto | hondomu, porsei*
nesimei asa deueia est,
anglome sono, porsei
nesimeu uapersus auiehcleir |
10 *est, eine angluto sono*
uapefe auiehclu todcome
tuder, angluto hondomu
asame deueia todcome |

I A

- 1 †*Este persklum aves anzer-*
2 *iates enetu | pernaies pusnaes.*

Istud sacrificium avibus obser-
vatis inito, parra cornice
prospera, pico pica iusto.
Qui oscines observatum ibit,
sic in tabernaculo sedens flami-
nem iubeto: 'stipulare ut obser-
vem parram prosperam, cornicem
prosperam, picum iustum, picam
iustam, iustas avis, iustas
oscines divinas'. Flamen sic
instipulator: 'tum ibi observa
parram prosperam, cornicem pros-
peram, picum iustum, picam ius-
tam, iustas avis, iustas
oscines divinas mihi, civitati Igu-
vinae, huic statui sta-
tuto'. In sede cum sederit
qui oscines observatum ibit, tum
nec muttito nec *alius* *inter-
sidito, donec revorterit qui
oscines observatum ierit. Si
muttitum erit aut quis *alius*
*intersederit, inritum fecerit.

Templum ubi flamen
versatur arcis piandae, id
statutum sic finitum est:
ab angulo imo qui
proxime ab ara divina est,
usque ad angulum summum qui
proxime ab sellis auguralibus
est, deinde ab angulo summo
iuxta sellas auguralis usque ad
urbicum finem, ab angulo imo
iuxta aram divinam usque ad

- 11 *tuder. Eine todceir* urbicum finem. Tum in urbicis
tuderus seipodruhpei se- finibus seorsum utroque ser-
ritu. | vato.
12 *Tuderor totcor: uapersus-* Fines urbici: ab sellis
to auieclir ebetrufe, ooser- auguralibus ad exitus, ad **obser-*
clome, presoliafe Nurpier, *vaculum,* ad ——— Nurpii,
13 *uasirslome, | smursime, tet-* ad ———, ad ———, ad ———
tome Miletinar, tertiam pra- Miletinae, ad tertiam *sae-*
co pracatarum; uapersusto *pium saeptarum;* ab sellis
14 *auieclir carsome | Uestisier,* auguralibus ad ——— Vesticii,
randeme Rufrer, tettome No- ad ——— Rubri, ad ——— No-
niar, tettome Salier, carsome niae, ad ——— Salii, ad ———
Hoier, pertome Padellar. | Hoi, ad ——— Patellae.
15 *Hondra esto tuderu porsei* Infra istos finis qui
subra screihtor sent, parfa supra scripti sunt, parram
dersua, curnaco dersua prosperam, cornicem prosperam
16 *seritu. Subra esto | tuderu* servato. Supra istos finis
peico mersto, peica mersta picum iustum, picam iustam
seritu. servato.
Sue anclar procanurent, Si oscines cecinerint,
17 *eso tremnu serse | combifiatu,* sic in tabernaculo sedens nuntiato,
arsferturo nomne carsitu: flaminem nomine appellato:
'parfa dersua, curnaco 'parram prosperam, cornicem
dersua, peico mersto, peica prosperam, picum iustum, picam
18 *meersta, | mersta aueif, mers-* iustam, iustas avis, iustas
ta ancla esona tefe, tote oscines sacras tibi, civitati
Iiouine, esmei stahmei stah- Iguvinae, huic statui sta-
mitei'. Esisco esoneir seueir | tuto'. Ad haec sacra omnia
19 *popler anferener et ocrer pi-* populi lustrandi et arcis pi-
haner perca arsmatia habitu. andae virgam rituales habeto.
Uasor uerisco Treblanir Vasa ad portam Trebulanam
20 *porsi ocrer | pehaner paca* quae arcis piandae causa
ostensendi, eo iso ostendu, ostendentur, ea sic ostendito,
pusi pir pureto cehefi dia. ut ignis ab igne *accensus sit* faciat.
Surur uerisco Tesonocir. | Item ad portam Tesenacam.
21 *Surur uerisco Uehieir. |* Item ad portam Veiam.
22 †*Pre ueieir Treblaneir* Ante portam Trebulanam
Iuue Grabouei buf treif fetu. Iovi Grabovio boves tris facito.
Eso naratu uesteis: 'teio sub- Sic narrato libans: 'te in-
23 *ocau suboco | Dei Gra-* voco invocationes Iovem Gra-

¹ Aes andersesusp.

- boui, ocriper Fisiu, totaper Iiouina, erer nomneper, erar nomneper; fos sei,*
 24 *pacer sei ocre Fisei, | tote Iiouine, erer nomne, erar nomne. Arsie, tio subocau suboco Dei Graboue,*
 25 *arsier frite tio subocau | suboco Dei Graboue. Di Grabouie, tio esu bue peracrei pihaciu ocreper Fisiu, totaper Iouina, irer*
 26 *nomneper, | erar nomneper. Dei Grabouie, orer ose, persei ocre Fisie pir orto est, toteme Iouine arsmor*
 27 *dersecor | subator sent, pusei neip heritu. Dei Grabouie, persei tuer perscler uaseto est, pesetom est, peretom est, |*
 28 *frosetom est, daetom est, tuer perscler uirseto auirseto uas est, Di Grabouie, persei*
 29 *mersei, esu bue | peracrei pihaciu pihafei. Di Grabouie, pihatu ocre Fisei, pihatu tota Iouina. Di Grabouie, pihatu ocer |*
 30 *Fisier, totar Iouinar nome, nerf, arsmo, ueiro pequo, castruo fri pihatu; futu fos pacer pase tua ocre Fisi, |*
 31 *tote Iiouine, erer¹ nomne, erar nomne. Di Grabouie, saluo seritu ocre Fisi, salua seritu tota Iouini-*
- bovium pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina, pro arcis nomine, pro civitatis nomine; favens sis, propitius sis arci Fisiae, civitati Iguvinae, arcis nomini, civitatis nomini. Sancte, te invoco invocationes Iovem Grabovium, sancti fiducia te invoco invocationes Iovem Grabovium. Iuppiter Grabovi, te hoc bove opimo piaculo pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina, pro arcis nomine, pro civitatis nomine. Iuppiter Grabovi, huius (piaculi) opere, si in arce Fisia ignis ortus est, in civitate Iguvina ritus debiti omissi sunt, (facito) quasi non consulto. Iuppiter Grabovi, si tui sacrificii (quid) vitiatum est, peccatum est, peritum est, fraudatum est, delictum est, tui sacrificii visum invisum vitium est, Iuppiter Grabovi, si ius sit, hoc bove opimo piaculo piatum sit. Iuppiter Grabovi, piato arcem Fisiam, piato civitatem Iguvinam. Iuppiter Grabovi, piato arcis Fisiae, civitatis Iguvinae nomen, principes, ritus, viros pecua, fundos fruges piato; esto favens propitius pace tua arci Fisiae, civitati Iguvinae, arcis nomini, civitatis nomini. Iuppiter Grabovi, salvam servato arcem Fisiam, salvam servato civitatem Iguvi-

3 †Preveres Treplanes | Iuve Krapuvi tre buf fetu.

Ante portam Trebulanam Iovi Grabovio tris boves facito.

¹ Aes erlr.

- 32 *na. Di | Grabouie, saluo seritu ocerer Fisier, totar Iouinar nome, nerf, arsmo, ueiro pequo, castruo fri*
 33 *salua | seritu; futu fos pacer pase tua ocre Fisi, tote Iouine, erer nomne, erar nomne. Di Grabouie, tio*
 34 *esu bue | peracri pihaciu ocreper Fisiu, totaper Iouina, erer nomneper, erar nomneper, Di Grabouie, tio subocau.' |*
 35 *'Di Grabouie, tio esu bue peracri pihaciu etru ocreper Fisiu, totaper Iouina, erer nomneper, erar nomneper.*
 36 *Di | Grabouie, orer ose, persei ocre Fisie pir orto est, tote Iouine arsmor dersecor subator sent, pusei*
 37 *neip | hereitu. Di Grabouie, persi tuer perscler uasetom est, pesetom est, peretomest, frosetomest, daetomest,*
 38 *tuer | perscler uirseto auirseto uas est, Di Grabouie, persi mersi, esu bue peracri pihaciu etru pihafi. Di*
 39 *Grabouie, | pihatu ocre Fisi, pihatu tota Iouina. Di Grabouie, pihatu ocer Fisier, totar Iouinar nome,*
 40 *nerf, arsmo, ueiro | pequo, castruo fri pihatu; futu fos pacer pase tua ocre Fisie, tote Iouine, erer nomne,*
 41 *erar nomne. Di | Grabouie, saluo seritu ocre Fisim, salua seritu totam Iouina. Di Grabouie, saluom seritu ocerer Fisier, to-*
- nam. Iuppiter Grabovi, salvum servato arcis Fisiae, civitatis Iguvinae nomen, principes, ritus, viros pecua, fundos fruges salvas servato; esto favens propitius pace tua arci Fisiae, civitati Iguvinae, arcis nomini, civitatis nomini. Iuppiter Grabovi, te hoc bove opimo piaculo pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina, pro arcis nomine, pro civitatis nomine, Iuppiter Grabovi, te invoco.
 'Iuppiter Grabovi, te hoc bove opimo piaculo altero pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina, pro arcis nomine, pro civitatis nomine. Iuppiter Grabovi, huius (piaculi) opere, si in arce Fisia ignis ortus est, in civitate Iguvina ritus debiti omissi sunt, (facito) quasi non consulto. Iuppiter Grabovi, si tui sacrificii (quid) vitiatum est, peccatum est, peritum est, fraudatum est, delictum est, tui sacrificii visum invisum vitium est, Iuppiter Grabovi, si ius sit, hoc bove opimo piaculo altero piatum sit. Iuppiter Grabovi, piato arcem Fisiam, piato civitatem Iguvinam. Iuppiter Grabovi, piato arcis Fisiae, civitatis Iguvinae nomen, principes, ritus, viros pecua, fundos fruges piato; esto favens propitius pace tua arci Fisiae, civitati Iguvinae, arcis nomini, civitatis nomini. Iuppiter Grabovi, salvam servato arcem Fisiam, salvam servato civitatem Iguvinam. Iuppiter Grabovi, salvum servato arcis Fisiae, civi-

- 42 tar | *Iiouinar nome, nerf, arsmo, uiro pequo, castruo frif saluua seritu; futu fons pacer pase tuua ocre Fisi,*
 43 tote | *Iiouine, erer nomne, erar nomne. Di Grabouie, tiom essu bue peracri pihacclu etru ocriper Fissiu,*
 44 totaper *Iouina, erer | nomneper, erar nomneper, Di Grabouie, tiom subocau.'*
 45 'Di Grabouie, tiom esu bue peracri pihacclu tertiu ocriper Fisiu, totaper *Iouina, erer nomneper, erar nomneper. Di | Grabouie, orer ose, pirse ocrem Fisiem pir ortom est, toteme Iouinem arsmor dersecor subator sent, pusi neip |*
 47 heritu. *Di Grabouie, perse tuer pescler uasetom est, pesetom est, peretom est, frosetom est, daetom est,*
 48 tuer | *pescler uirseto auirseto uas est, Di Grabouie, pirsu mersi, esu bue peracri pihacclu tertiu pihafi. Di*
 49 *Grabouie, | pihatu ocrem Fisiu, pihatu totam Iouinam. Di Grabouie, pihatu ocrer Fisier, totar Iiouinar nome, nerf, asmo, |*
 50 *uiro pequo, castruo fri pihatu; futu fons pacer pase tua ocre Fisi, tote Iiouine, erer nomne, erar*
 51 *nomne. Di | Grabouie, saluo seritu ocrem Fisiu, saluam seritu totam Iouinam. Di Grabouie, sal-*

tatis Iguvinae nomen, principes, ritus, viros pecua, fundos fruges salvas servato; esto favens propitius pace tua arci Fisiae, civitati Iguvinae, arcis nomini, civitatis nomini. Iuppiter Grabovi, te hoc bove opimo piaculo altero pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina, pro arcis nomine, pro civitatis nomine, Iuppiter Grabovi, te invoco.'

'Iuppiter Grabovi, te hoc bove opimo piaculo tertio pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina, pro arcis nomine, pro civitatis nomine. Iuppiter Grabovi, huius (piaculi) opere, si in arce Fisia ignis ortus est, in civitate Iguvina ritus debiti omissi sunt, (facito) quasi non consulto. Iuppiter Grabovi, si tui sacrificii (quid) vitiatum est, peccatum est, peritum est, fraudatum est, delictum est, tui sacrificii visum invisum vitium est, Iuppiter Grabovi, si ius sit, hoc bove opimo piaculo tertio piatum sit. Iuppiter Grabovi, piato arcem Fisiu, piato civitatem Iguvinae. Iuppiter Grabovi, piato arcis Fisiae, civitatis Iguvinae nomen, principes, ritus, viros pecua, fundos fruges piato; esto favens propitius pace tua arci Fisiae, civitati Iguvinae, arcis nomini, civitatis nomini. Iuppiter Grabovi, salvam servato arcem Fisiu, salvam servato civitatem Iguvinae. Iuppiter Grabovi, sal-

- uom seritu ocrer Fisier, |
 52 totar *Iiouinar nome, nerf, arsmo, uiro pequo, castruo frif salua seritu; futu fons pacer pase tua ocre Fisi, |*
 53 tote *Iiouine, erer nomne, erar nomne. Di Grabouie, tiom esu bue peracri pihacclu tertiu ocriper Fisiu,*
 54 totaper | *Iouina, erer nomneper, erar nomneper. Di Grabouie, tio comohota tribrisine buo peracrio¹ pi-*
 55 *haclo | ocriper Fisiu, totaper Iouina, erer nomneper, erar nomneper, Di Grabouie, tiom subocau.'*
 56 †*Tases persnimu | seuom. Surur purdovitu, proseseto naratu, prosesetir mefa spefa, fiela arsueitu, aruio fetu. Este | esono heri uinu heri poni fetu. Uatuo ferine fetu. |*
 57 †*Post uerir Treblanir si gomia trif fetu Trebo Iouie ocriper Fisiu, totaper Iouina. Persae*
 vum servato arcis Fisiae, civitatis Iguvinae nomen, principes, ritus, viros pecua, fundos fruges salvas servato; esto favens propitius pace tua arci Fisiae, civitati Iguvinae, arcis nomini, civitatis nomini. Iuppiter Grabovi, te hoc bove opimo piaculo tertio pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina, pro arcis nomine, pro civitatis nomine. Iuppiter Grabovi, te commoto ternione bouum opimorum piaculorum pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina, pro arcis nomine, pro civitatis nomine, Iuppiter Grabovi, te invoco.'
- Tacitus precator totum. Item porricito, prosecta narrato, prosectis libum sparsum, offam addito, frumenta facito. Istud sacrificium vel vino vel posca facito. *Extā in ferculo facito.*
- Post portam Trebulanam sues gravidas tris facito Trebo Iovio pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina. (Sacrificium) *humi*
-
- 4 †*Arvia ustentu, | vatuva ferine feitu, heris vinu heri puni, |*
 5 *ukriper Fisiu, tutaper Iku-*
 6 *vina feitu. Sevum | kutef pesnimu ařepes arves. |*
 7 †*Pusveres Treplanes tref*
 8 *sif kumiaf feitu | Trebe Iuvie ukriper Fisiu, tutaper Ikuvi-*
 9 *na. | Supa sumtu, arvia usten-*
 10 *tu, puni fetu, | kutef pesnimu ařepes arves.² |*
- Frumenta ostendito, *extā in ferculo facito*, vel vino vel posca, pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina facito. Totum murmurans precator adipibus frumentis.
- Post portam Trebulanam tris sues gravidas facito Trebo Iovio pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina. Suppa sumito, frumenta ostendito, posca facito, murmurans precator adipibus frumentis.

¹ Aes *peracnio*.² Aes *aře*arv*es*.

fetu, aruio fetu, | stratum facito, frumenta facito,
59 pone fetu, tases persnimu. posca facito, tacitus precator.
Surur naratu puse pre uerir Item narrato ut ante portam
Treblanir. Prosetir struša, Trebulanam. Prosectis struem,
fcla arsueitu. | offam addito.

VI B

1 †Pre uerir Tesenocir buf Ante portam Tesenacam boves
trif fetu Marte Grabouei tris facito Marti Grabouio pro
ocriper Fisiu, totaper Iiouina. arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina.
Aruio fetu, uatuo ferine Frumenta facito, exta in ferculo
2 fetu, poni | fetu, tases persnimu. Prosetir farsio, fcla facito, posca facito, tacitus pre-
arsueitu. Surur naratu puse cator. Prosectis farrea, offam
pre uerir Treblanir. | addito. Item narrato ut
ante portam Trebulanam.
3 †Post uerir Tesenocir sif Post portam Tesenacam sues
filiu trif fetu Fiso Sansie lactentes tris facito Fiso Sancio
ocriper¹ Fisiu, totaper Iio- pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Igu-
uina. Poni fetu, persae vina. Posca facito, (sacrificium)
fetu, aruio fetu. | humi stratum facito, frumenta fa-
cito. Item narrato ut ante portam
4 Surur naratu pusi pre uerir Trebulanam. Tacitus precator.
Treblanir. Tases persnimu. Mantele bifidum in dextra habeo.
Mandraclo difue destre habi- to. Prosectis offam, struem
5 tu. Prosetir fcla, | struša addito. Ubi suppa retro po-
arsueitu. Ape sopo postro pe- suerit, libamento et libo sparso
perscusc, uestisia et mefa spefa patera genu nixus facito Fisouio
scalsie conegos² fetu Fisoui

11 †Preveres Tesenakes tre Ante portam Tesenacam tris
12 buf fetu, Marte Krapuvi | fetu boves facito, Marti Grabouio faci-
ukripe Fisiu, tutaper Ikuvina. to pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Igu-
13 Arviu ustentiu, | vatua ferine vina. Frumenta ostendito, exta in
fetu, puni fetu, kutef ferculo facito, posca facito, murmu-
pesnimu ařpes arves. | rans precator adipibus frumentis.
14 †Pusveres Tesenakes tref Post portam Tesenacam tris
15 sif felluf fetu | Fise Saçi sues lactentis facito Fiso Sancio
ukriper Fisiu, tutaper Iku- pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvi-
16 vina. | Puni fetu, supa sumtu, na. Posca facito, suppa sumito,
17 arviu ustentiu. Mefa, | ves- frumenta ostendito. Libum, liba-
tića ustetu, Fisuvi³ fetu, mentum ostendito, Fisouio facito,
ukriper Fisiu fetu, | pro arce Fisia facito,

¹ Aes ocriper. ² Aes confgos. ³ Aes fiuvi.

6 Sansi|ocriper Fisiu, totaper Sancio pro arce Fisia, pro civitate
Iouina. Eso persnimu uestisia Iguvina. Sic precator libamentum
uestis: 'tio subocau suboco libans: 'te invoco invocationes
Fisoui Sansi, ocriper Fisiu, | Fisovium Sancio, pro arce Fi-
7 totaper Iiouina, erer nom- sia, pro civitate Iguvina, pro ar-
neper, erar nomneper, cis nomine, pro civitatis nomine,
fons sir, pacer sir ocre favens sis, propitius sis arci
Fisi, tote Iiouine, erer Fisiae, civitati Iguvinae, arcis
8 nomne, | erar nomne. Arsie, nomini, civitatis nomini. Sancte,
tiom subocau suboco Fisoui te invoco invocationes Fisovium
Sanši, asier frite tiom sub- Sancio, sancti fiducia te invoco
ocau suboco Fisoui Sanši.' invocationes Fisovium Sancio.
9 Suront|poni pesnimu. Mefa Item posca precator. Libo
spefa eso persnimu: 'Fiso- sparso sic precator: 'Fisovi
uie Sanšie, tiom esa mefa Sanci, te hoc libo
spefa Fisouina ocriper sparso Fisovino pro arce
Fisiu, totaper Iiouina, | Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina,
10 erer nomneper, erar nom- pro arcis nomine, pro civitatis
neper. Fisouie Sanšie, nomine. Fisovi Sanci,
ditu ocre Fisi, tote dato arci Fisiae, civitati
Iouine, ocerer Fisie, totar Iguvinae, arcis Fisiae, civitatis
11 Iouinar dupursus | petur- Iguvinae bipedibus quadru-
pursus fato fito, perne post- pedibus factum fitum, ante post,
ne, sepse sarsite, uouse auie sane sarte, voto augurio
esone; futu fons, pacer sacrificio; esto favens propitius
pase tua ocre Fisi, tote pace tua arci Fisiae, civitati
12 Iiouine, | erer nomne, erar Iguvinae, arcis nomini, civitatis
nomne. Fisouie Sanšie, sal- nomini. Fisovi Sanci, sal-
uo seritu ocrem Fisi, vam servato arcem Fisiam,
totam Iouinam. Fisouie civitatem Iguvinam. Fisovi
13 Sanšie, saluo seritu | ocerer Sanci, salvum servato arcis
Fisier, totar Iouinar nome, Fisiae, civitatis Iguvinae nomen,
nerf, arsmo, uiro pequo, principes, ritus, viros pecua,
castruo frif salua seritu; fundos fruges salvas servato;
14 futu fons, pacer pase | tua esto favens propitius pace tua
ocre Fisi, tote Iiouine, erer arci Fisiae, civitati Iguvinae, arcis
nomne, erar nomne. Fisouie nomini, civitatis nomini. Fisovi
Sanšie, tiom esa mefa spefa Sanci, te hoc libo sparso
Fisouina ocriper Fisiu, | Fisovino pro arce Fisia,
15 totaper Iiouina, erer nom- pro civitate Iguvina, pro arcis
neper, erar nomneper. nomine, pro civitatis nomine.

- Fisouie Sansie, tiom subocau, Fisouie frite¹ tiom subocau.* Fisovi Sanci, te invoco, Fisovii fiducia te invoco.
 16 *Pesclu | semu uesticatu, atripursatu. Ape eam purdinsust, proseseto erus ditu. Eno scalseto uestisiar erus conegos | dirstu. Eno mefa, uestisia sopa purome efurfatu, subra spahmu. Eno serse comoltu, comatir persnihimu. | †Capif purdita dupla aitu, sacra dupla aitu.* In precatione media libato, tripodato. Ubi id (libum) porrexerit, prosectorum magmentum dato. Tum ex patera libamenti magmentum genu nixus dato. Tum libum, libamentum sub ignem expurgato, superiacito. Tum sedens commolito, commolitis precator. Capides porrectas binas agito, sacras binas agito.
 19 *†Pre uerir Uehier buf trif calersu fetu Uofione Grabouie ocriper Fisiu, totaper Iiouina. Uatuo ferine fetu. Herie uinu | herie poni fetu, aruio fetu, tases persnimu. Proseseter mefa spefa, fiela arsueitu. Suront naratu pusi pre uerir | Treblanir.* Ante portam Veiam boves tris frontem albam habentis facito Voviono Grabovio pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina. *Extā in ferculo* facito. Vel vino vel posca facito, frumenta facito, tacitus precator. Prosectis libum sparsum, offam addito. Item narrato ut ante portam Trebulanam.
 22 *§Post uerir Uehier habina trif fetu Tefrei Ioui ocriper Fisiu, totaper Iiouina.* Post portam Veiam agnas tris facito Tefro Iovio pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina.
-
- 18 *†kapiř purtitaf sakref, etraf purtitaf, etraf | sakref, tutaper Ikuvina. Kutef pesnimu ařepes arves.* capides porrectas sacras, alteras porrectas, alteras sacras, pro civitate Iguvina. Murmurans precator adipibus frumentis.
 20 *†Preveres Vehiies tref buf kaleřuf fetu Vuřune | Krapuvi ukriper Fisiu, tutaper Ikuvina. | Vatuva ferine fetu, heri vinu heri puni, | arviu ustentu, kutef pesnimu ařepes arves.* Ante portam Veiam tris boves frontem albam habentis facito Voviono Grabovio pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina. *Extā in ferculo* facito, vel vino vel posca, frumenta ostendito, murmurans precator adipibus frumentis.
 24 *§Pusveres Vehiies tref hapinaf fetu Tefre Iuvie | ukriper* Post portam Veiam tris agnas facito Tefro Iovio pro arce

¹ Aes erite.

- Serse fetu, pelsana fetu, aruio fetu, poni | fetu, tasis pesnimu. Prosesetir struřla, fiela arueitu. Suront naratu puse uerisco Treblanir. Ape habina purdinsust, | eront poi habina purdinsust, destruco persi uestisia et pesondro sorsom fetu. Capirse perso osatu, eam mani | nertru tenitu, arnipo uestisia uesticos. Capirso subotu, isec perstico¹ erus ditu. Esoc persnimu uestis: 'Tiom | subocau suboco Tefro Ioui, ocriper Fisiu, totaper Iiouina, erer nomneper, erar nomneper; fonsir pacer si ocre Fisi, tote | Iouine, erer nomne, erar nomne. Arsie, tiom subocau suboco Tefro Ioui, arsier frite tiom subocau suboco Tefro Ioui.* Sedens facito, *sepeliendas* facito, frumenta facito, posca facito, tacitus precator. Prosectis struem, offam addito. Item narrato ut ad portam Trebulanam. Ubi agnas porrexerit, idem qui agnas porrexerit, ad dextrum pedem libamentum et figmentum suillum facito. Capidi fossam facito, eam manu sinistra teneto, donec libamentum libaverit. Capidem deponito, item ad pedem magmentum dato. Sic precator libans: 'Te invoco invocationes Tefrum Iovium, pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina, pro arcis nomine, pro civitatis nomine; favens sis propitius sis arci Fisiae, civitati Iguvinae, arcis nomini, civitatis nomini. Sancte, te invoco invocationes Tefrum Iovium, sancti fiducia te invoco invocationes Tefrum Iovium. Tefer Iovi, te hoc *suillo figmento*, Tefrali piaculo, pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina, pro arcis nomine, pro civitatis nomine. Tefer Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina. *Post* —facito, sedens facito, *sepeliendas* facito, frumenta ostendito, posca facito, tacitus precator adipibus frumentis. Ubi agnas porrexeris, figmentum suillum facito, ei libamentum singillatim figito, Tefro Iovio facito pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina, ad dextrum pedem capidi fossam facito.
-
- 26 *asiane fetu, zefef fetu, | pelsana fetu, arvia ustentu, puni fetu, tařez pesnim | u ařiper arvis. Api habina purtius, suřum pesuntru | fetu, esmik vestiřam preve fktu, Tefri Iuvi fetu ukri | per Fisiu, tutaper Ikuvina, testruku peři kapiře peřum feit | u.*

¹ Probably persico.

- 29 Iouie, orer ose perse Iovi, huius (piaculi) opere si in
 ocre Fisie pir orto est, tote arce Fisia ignis ortus est, in civi-
 Iiouine arsmor dersecor sub- tate Iguvina ritus debiti omissi
 ator sent, pusi neip heritu. sunt, (facito) quasi non con-
 30 Tefre Iouie, | perse touer sulto. Tefer Iovi, si tui
 pescler uasetomest,¹ pesetom- sacrificii (quid) vitiatum est, pec-
 est, peretomest, frosetom- catum est, peritum est, fraudatum
 est, daetomest, touer pescler est, delictum est, tui sacrificii
 uirseto auirseto uas est, | visum invisum vitium est,
 31 Tefre Iouie, perse mers est, Tefer Iovi, si ius est,
 esu sorsu persondru pihaclu hoc suillo figmento piaculo
 pihafi. Tefre Iouie, pihatu piatum sit. Tefer Iovi, piato
 ocre Fisi, tota Iiouina. arcem Fisiam, civitatem Iguvi-
 32 Tefre Iouie, pihatu | ocer nam. Tefer Iovi, piato arcis
 Fisier, totar Iiouinar nome, Fisiae, civitatis Iguvinae nomen,
 nerf, arsmo, uiro pequo,² principes, ritus, viros pecua,
 castruo fri pihatu; futu fundos fruges piato; esto
 fons pacer pase tua ocre favens propitius pace tua arci
 33 Fisi, tote | Iiouine, erer Fisiae, civitati Iguvinae, arcis
 nomne, erar nomne. Tefre Iovi, salvam servato arcem Fisiam,
 Iouie, saluo seritu ocre Fisi, civitatem Iguvinam. Tefer Iovi,
 totam Iouinam. Tefre Iouie, saluom seritu ocer Fisier, |
 34 totar Iouinar nome, nerf, civitatis Iguvinae nomen, prin-
 arsmo, uiro pequo, castruo cipes, ritus, viros pecua, fundos
 fri salua seritu; futu fons fruges salvas servato; esto favens
 pacer pase tua ocre Fisi, propitius pace tua arci Fisiae,
 35 tote Iiouine, erer | nomne, civitati Iguvinae, arcis nomini,
 erar nomne. Tefre Iouie, civitatis nomini. Tefer Iovi,
 tiom esu sorsu persondru te hoc suillo figmento
 Tefrali pihaclu ocriper Tefrali piaculo pro arce
 Fisiu, totaper Iiouina, Fisiam, pro civitate Iguvina,
 36 erer nomneper, erar | nom- pro arcis nomine, pro civitatis
 neper. Tefre Iouie, tiom nomine. Tefer Iovi, te
 subocau.' Persclu sehemu invoco.' In precatione media
 atropusatu. | tripodato.
 37 †Pesondro staflare ner- Figmentum ovillum ad sinis-
- 30 †Api eřek³ purtitiu, enuk Ubi id porrexeris, tunc
 suřum pesuntrum feitu staf|li⁴ figmentum facito ovillum Iovis,

¹ Aes uasetomesf. ² Aes pfquo. ³ Aes eřel. ⁴ Aes stafli iuvesmik.

- truco persi fetu. Suront trum pedem facito. Item
 capirse perso osatu, suror capidi fossam facito, itidem
 persnimu puse sorsu. Ape precator ut cum suillo. Ubi
 38 pesondro purdinřus, | pro- figmenta porrexerit, prosecto-
 seseto erus dirstu. Enom rum magmentum dato. Tum
 uestisiar sorsalir destruco libamenti suilli ad dextrum
 persi persome erus dir- pedem in fossam magmentum da-
 tu, pue sorso purdin- to, ubi (figmentum) suillum por-
 39 řus. Enom | uestisiam rexerit. Tum libamentum
 staflarem nertruco persi, ovillum ad sinistrum pedem,
 sururont erus dirstu. Enom itidem magmentum dato. Tum
 pesondro sorsalem persome, figmentum suillum in fossam
 40 pue persnis fust, ife | enden- ubi precatus erit ibi impo-
 du, pelsatu. Enom pesondro nito, sepelito. Tum figmentum
 staflare persome, pue pesnis ovillum in fossam, ubi precatus
 fus, ife endendu, pelsatu. erit, ibi imposito, sepelito.
 Enom uaso porse pesondrisco Tum vasa quae ad figmenta
 41 habus, | serse subra spahatu. habuerit, sedens superiacito.
 Anderuomu sersitu, arnipo Inter — sedeto, donicum
 comatir pesnis fust. Serse commolitis precatus erit. Sedens
 pisher comoltu, serse comatir quilibet commolito, sedens com-
 42 persnimu. | Purdito fust. | molitis precator. Porrectum erit.
 43 †Uocucom Iouiu, ponne Ad aedem Ioviam, cum
 oui furfant, uillu toru trif ovis purgant, vitulos tauros tris

- 31 Iuv(ie), esmik¹ vestiřa afiktu, ei libamentum infigito, pro arce
 32 ukriper Fisiu, tutaper Ikuvin|a² Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina facito,
 feitu, nertruku peři kapiře pe- ad sinistrum pedem capidi fossam
 33 řum feitu. Puni feitu. | Api facito. Posca facito. Ubi fig-
 suřuf purtitiu,³ enuk hapinaru menta porrexeris, tum agnarum
 34 erus titu, zeřef | kumultu, magmentum dato, sedens commo-
 zeřef kumates⁴ pesnimu. | lito, sedens commolitis precator.

I B

- Ad aedem Ioviam, cum ovis
 1 †Vukukum Iuviu, pune uvef purgant, tris vitulos tauros Marti
 2 furfař, tref vitluf turuf | Marte Hodio facito pro populo civitatis
 Huřie fetu pupluper tutas Iguvinae, pro civitate Iguvina.
 Iiuvinas, tutaper Ikuvina. |
 3 Vatuva ferine fetu, puni Exta in ferculo facito, posca
 fetu, arvia ustentu, kutep facito, frumenta ostendito, murmu-
 4 pesnimu | ařepes arves. rans precator adipibus frumentis.

¹ Aes stafli iuvesmik. ² Aes ikuvinp|a. ³ Aes purtitiu. ⁴ Aes kumats.

- fetu. Marte Horse fetu facito. Marti Hodio facito
 popluper totar Iiouinar, pro populo civitatis Iguvinae,
 totaper Iiouina. Uatuo pro civitate Iguvina. Exta
 44 ferine | fetu, poni fetu, in ferculo facito, posca facito,
 aruio fetu, tases persnimu. frumenta facito, tacitus precatō.
 Prošetir fasio, ficla ars- Prosectis farrea, offam ad-
 ueitu. Suront naratu puse dito. Item narrato ut
 uerisco Treblanir. | ad portam Trebulanam.
- 45 †Uocum Coredier vitlu Ad aedem Coredii vitulos
 toru trif fetu. Honte Šerfi tauros tris facito. Honto Cerrio
 fetu popluper totar Iio- facito pro populo civitatis Igu-
 uinar, totaper Iiouina.¹ vinae, pro civitate Iguvina.
 Uatuo² ferine fetu, aruio | Exta in ferculo facito, frumenta
 46 fetu, heri uinu heri poni facito, vel vino vel posca
 fetu, tases persnimu. Pro- facito, tacitus precatō. Pro-
 šesetir tesedi, ficla arsueitu.³ sectis —, offam addito.
 Suront naratu puse uerisco Item narrato ut ad portam
 Treblanir. Trebulanam.
- 47 †Eno ocar | pihos fust. Tum arx piata erit.
 Suepo esome esono ander- Sive horum sacrificiorum inter-
 uacose, uasetome fust; vacatio sit, in vitiatum erit;
 auif aseriatu, uerofe Tre- avis observato, ad portam Tre-
 blano couertu, reste esono bulanam revertito, instaurans sa-
 feitu. | crificium facito.

- †Vukukum Kuretias tref vitlup
 5 turup Hunte Če|fi feitu pu- Ad aedem Coredii tris vitulos
 pluper tutas Iiuvinas, tutaper tauros Honto Cerrio facito pro
 6 Iiuvina. Vatuva | ferine populo civitatis Iguvinae, pro
 fetu, arvia ustentu, tenzitim civitate Iguvina. Exta in ferculo
 7 arveitu, heris vinu heris | puni facito, frumenta ostendito, —
 feitu, kutef persnimu aſi- addito, vel vino vel posca
 pes arvis. facito, murmurans precatō adipi-
 8 †Inuk ukar pihaz fust. | Svepu bus frumentis.
 esumek esunu antervakaze Tunc arx piata erit. Sive
 vačetumi se;⁴ avif azeriatu, | horum sacrificiorum intervacatio
 9 verufe Treplanu kuvertu, sit, in vitiatum sit; avis observa-
 restef esunu feitu. | to, ad portam Trebulanam reverti-
 to, instaurans sacrificium facito.

¹ Aes Iiouinar.² Aes Uatue.³ Aes ficlmrsueitu.⁴ Aes vakazevacetumiseavif.

- 48 †Pone poplo afero heries, Cum populum lustrare volet,
 auif aseriatu etu. Sururo avis observatum ito. Itidem
 stiplatu pusi ocrer pihaner. stipulator ut arcis piandae.
 Sururont combifiatu. Erir- Itidem nuntiato. Isdem
 49 ont tuderus auif | seritu. finibus avis servato.
 Ape angla combifiansiust. Ubi oscines nuntiaverit,
 perca arsmatiam anouihimu. virgam ritualement induitor.
 †Cringatro hatu, destrame Cinctum capito, in dextram
 scapla anouihimu. Pir en- scapulam induitor. Ignem im-
 50 dendu. Pone | esonome¹ ponito. Cum in sacrificium
 ferar,¹ pufe pir entelust, feratur, id in quo ignem impo-
 ere fertu poe perca ars- suerit, is fertu qui virgam ritu-
 matiam habiest. Erihont aso alem habebit. Idem arsum
 destre onse fertu. Erucom in dextro umero fertu. Cum
 51 prinuatur dur | etuto, perca eo legati duo eunto, virgas
 ponisiater habitato. Ennom calatoris habento. Tum
 stiplatu parfa desua seso, stipulator parram prosperam sibi,
 tote Iiouine. Sururont combifiatu uapefe auieclu. Neip | civitati Iguvinae. Itidem nun-
 52 amboltu, prepa desua tiato ad sellas auguralis. Neve
 combifiansi. Ape desua ambulato, priusquam prosperam
 combifiansiust, via auiecla nuntiaverit. Ubi prosperam
 esonome etuto com peracris nuntiaverit, via augurali
 sacris. §Ape Acesoniame | in sacrificium eunto cum opimis
 53 hebetafe benust, enom term- hostiis. Ubi in Acedoniam
 nuco stahituro. Poi percam ad exitus venerit, tum ad ter-
 arsmatia habiest, eturstahmu. minum stanto. Qui virgam
 ritualement habebit, exterminato.
- 10 †Pune puplum aferum heries, Cum populum lustrare voles,
 avef anzeriatu² etu pernaia|f avis observatum ito anticas
 11 pustnaiaf. Pune kuvurtus, posticas. Cum reverteris,
 †krenkatrum hatu. Enumek | cinctum capito. Tunc
 12 pir ahtimem ententu. ignem ad caerimonium imponito.
 Pune pir entelus ahtimem, | Cum ignem imposueris ad caer-
 13 enumek steplatu parfam monium, tunc stipulator parram
 14 tesvam tefe, tute Ikuvine. | Va- prosperam tibi, civitati Iguvinae.
 pefem avieklufe kumpifiatu. Vea Ad sellas auguralis nuntiato. Via
 15 aviekla esunume etu. | Prinuvatu augurali in sacrificium ito. Lega-
 etutu, perkaf habetutu puniçate. ti eunto, virgas habento calatoris.
 16 §Pune menes | Akeřuniamem, Cum venies in Acedoniam,
 enumek etuřstamu tuta tunc exterminato civitatem

¹ Aes esonomf ffrar.² Aes anzvriatu.

- Eso eturstahmu. 'pisest*
 54 *totar | Tarsinater, trifor*
Tarsinater, Tuscer Naharcer
Iabuscer nomner, eetu ehesu
poplu. Nosue ier ehe esu po-
 55 *plu, sopir habe | esme¹*
pople, portatu ulo pue
merseset, fetu uru pirse mers
est.' Trioper eheturstahamu.
Ifont termnuco com prinu-
 56 *atir | stahitu, eno deitu:*
'arsmahamo caterahamo Io-
uinur'. Eno com prinuatir
peracris sacris ambretuto.
 57 *Ape ambrefurent, | termnome*
benurent, termnuco com
prinuatir eso persnimumo
tasetur: 'Serfe Martie, Prae-
 58 *stota Šerfia Šerfer | Martier,*
Tursa Šerfia Šerfer Martier,
totam Tarsinatem, trifo
Tarsinatem, Tuscom Nahar-
 59 *com Iabuscom nome, | totar*
Tarsinater, trifor Tarsinater,
Tuscer Naharcer Iabuscer
nomner nerf šihitu anšihit-
 60 *tu, iouie hostatu | anhos-*
tatu tursitu tremitu, hondu
holtu, ninctu nepitu, sonitu
sawitu, preplotatu preui-
- Sic exterminato: 'quisquis est
 civitatis Tadinatis, tribus
 Tadinatis, Tusci Narci
 Iapudici nominis, ito ex hoc
 populo. Nisi itum sit ex hoc po-
 pulo, siquis restat in hoc
 populo, (eum) portato illuc quo
 ius est, facito illo quod ius
 est.' Ter exterminato.
 Ibidem ad terminum cum lega-
 tis stato, tum dicito:
 'ordinamini *catervamini Igu-
 vini'. Tum cum legatis
 opimis sacris ambiunto.
 Ubi ambierint, ad terminum
 venerint, apud terminum cum
 legatis sic precantor
 taciti: 'Cerre Martie, Prae-
 stita Cerria Cerri Martii,
 Torra Cerria Cerri Martii,
 civitatem Tadinatem, tribum
 Tadinatem, Tuscum Narcum
 Iapudicum nomen, civitatis
 Tadinatis, tribus Tadinatis,
 Tusci Narci Iapudici
 nominis principes cinctos incin-
 tos, iuvenes hastatos inhastatos
 terreto tremefacito, pessumdato
 aboleto, ninguito inundato, sonato
 sauciato, *praeplauditato *prae-
- Tadinatem, tribum Tadinatem,
 Tuscum, Narcum nomen,
 Iapudicum nomen: 'siquis
 restat, (eum) portato illuc quo ius
 est, facito illo quod ius est'.
 Cum legati stabunt ad ter-
 minos, tunc 'ordinamini
 *catervamini, Iguvini'. Tunc
 ambito tauris et igne. Cum

¹ Aes *fsme*.² Aes *armanu*.

- 61 *latu. | Serfe Martie, Prae-*
stota Serfia Serfer Martier,
Tursa Šerfia Šerfer Martier,
fututo foner pacrer pase
uestra pople totar Iiouvinar, |
 62 *tote Iiouvine, ero nerus*
sihitir anšihitir, iouies
hostatir anostatir, ero
nomne, erar nomne.' Ape
 63 *este dersicurent, eno | deitu*
'etato Iiouvinar', porse perca
arsmatia habiest. Ape este
dersicust, duti ambretuto
 64 *euront. Ape termnome [couor-*
tuso, sururont pesnimumo.
Sururont deitu, etaians dei-
tu. Enom tertim ambretuto.
Ape termnome benuso, |
 65 *sururont pesnimumo, surur-*
ont deitu etaias. †Eno pri-
nuatur šimo etuto erafont
uia, pora benuso. |
- vinculato. Cerre Martie, Prae-
 stita Cerria Cerri Martii,
 Torra Cerria Cerri Martii,
 estote faventes propitii pace
 vestra populo civitatis Iguvinae,
 civitati Iguvinae, eorum prin-
 cipibus cinctis incinctis, iuveni-
 bus hastatis inhastatis, eorum
 nomini, eius nomini'. Ubi
 istud dixerint, tum dicito
 'itatote Iguvini', qui virgam
 ritualement habebit. Ubi istud
 dixerit, iterum ambiunto
 iidem. Ubi ad terminum rever-
 sum erit, itidem precantor.
 Itidem dicito, ut eant di-
 cito. Tum tertium ambiunto.
 Ubi ad terminum ventum erit,
 itidem precantor, itidem
 dicito ut eant. Tum le-
 gati retro eunto eadem
 via, qua ventum erit.

VII A

- 1 *Sururont pesnimumo, su-*
ururont deitu etaias. Eno
prinuatur šimo etuto erafont
 2 *uia, pora | benuso.¹ |*
 3 *†Fondlire abrof trif fetu*
heriei rofu heriei peiu.
Šerfe² Martie feitu popluper
totar Iiouvinar, totaper |
- Itidem precantor, itidem
 dicito ut eant. Tum
 legati retro eunto eadem
 via, qua ventum erit.
 In Fontulis apros tris facito
 vel rufos vel piceos.
 Cerro Martio facito pro populo
 civitatis Iguvinae, pro civitate
- 21 *amprefu | us, persnimu. Enumek*
'etatu Ikuvinus'. Triiuper am-
 22 *prehtu, | triiuper pesnimu, triiu-*
per 'etatu Ikuvinus'. Enumek |
 23 *‡prinuatus čimu etutu, erahunt*
vea čimu etutu prinuatus. |
 24 *‡Funtlere trif apruf rufu*
- ambieris, precator. Tunc
 'itatote, Iguvini'. Ter am-
 bito, ter precator, ter
 'itatote, Iguvini'. Tunc
 legati retro eunto, eadem
 via retro eunto legati.
 In Fontulis tris apros rubros

¹ Repetition of last sentence of VI b to show connection of VII with VI.² Aes *Seree*.

- 4 *Iouina. Uatuo ferine feitu, poni fetu, aruio fetu, tases persnimu. Prosetir mefa spefa, ficla arsueitu.* | Iguvina. *Exta in ferculo facito, posca facito, frumenta facito, tacitus precator. Prosectis libum sparsum, offam addito.*
- 5 *Suront naratu puse uerisco Treblanir. Ape traha Saha-ta combifiansust, enom erus dirstu.* | Item narrato ut ad portam Trebulanam. Ubi trans Sanctam nuntiaverit, tum magmentum dato.
- 6 †*Rubine porca trif rofa ote peia fetu Prestote Šerfie Šerfer Martier popluper totar Iouinar, totaper Iouina.* | In Rubinia porcas tris rufas aut piceas facito Praestitae Cerriae Cerri Martii pro populo civitatis Iguvinae, pro civitate Iguvina.
- 7 *Persaia fetu, poni fetu, aruio fetu. Suront naratu pusi pre uerir Treblanir.* | *Humi stratas facito, posca facito, arvia facito. Item narrato ut ante portam Trebulanam.*
- 8 *Tases persnimu. | Prosetir strušla, ficla arsueitu. Ape supo postro pepescus, enom pesclu ruseme uesticatu* | Tacitus precator. Prosectis struem, offam addito. Ubi suppa retro posuerit, tum precatatione in — libato Praestitae Cerriae Cerri Martii pro populo civitatis Iguvinae, pro civitate Iguvina.
- 9 *Prestote Šerfie | Šerfer Martier popluper totar Iouinar, totaper Iouina. Enom uesclir adrir ruseme eso persnihimu:* | Tum vasculis atris in — sic precator: ‘Praestita Cerria Cerri Martii, te his vasculis atris pro populo civitatis Iguvinae, pro civitate Iguvina, pro populi

ute peiu feitu Čerfe Marti. |
 25 *Vatuvu ferine¹ fetu, arviu*
 26 *ustentu, puni fetu,² | tačez*
pesnimu ařepe arves. |
 27 †*Rupinie e tre purka rufra*
 28 *ute peia fetu Prestate | Čer-*
fie Čerfe Marties. Peřaia fei-
 29 *tu, arviu ustentu, | kapi*
sakra aitu, vesclu vetu atru
 30 *alfu, puni fetu, | tačez pesnimu*
ařeper arves. |

¹ Aes ferime.² Aes feiu.

aut piceos facito Cerro Martio.
Exta in ferculo facito, frumenta
 ostendito, posca facito, tacitus
 precator adipibus frumentis.

In Rubinia tris porcas rubras
 aut piceas facito Praestitae Cerriae Cerri Martii. *Humi stratas* facito, frumenta ostendito, capides sacras agito, vascula dividito atra alba, posca facito, tacitus precator adipibus frumentis.

- 11 *neper, | erar nomneper.* | nomine, pro civitatis nomine.
Prestota Šerfia Šerfer Mar- Praestita Cerria Cerri Martii,
tier, preuendu uia ecla atero advertito via omni malum
tote Tarsinate, trifo Tarsina- civitati Tadinati, tribui Tadi-
 12 *te, | Tursce Naharce Iabusce* nati, Tusco Narco Iapudico
nomne, totar Tarsinater, nomini, civitatis Tadinatis,
trifor Tarsinater, Tuscer tribus Tadinatis, Tusci
Naharcer Iabuscer nomner | Narci Iapudici nominis
 13 *nerus šitir anšihitir, iouies* principibus cinctis incinctis, iuve-
hostatir anostatir, ero nom- nibus hastatis inhastatis, eorum
ne. Prestota Šerfia Šerfer nomini. Praestita Cerria Cerri
 14 *Martier, futu fons|pacer pase* Martii, esto favens propitia pace
tua pople totar Iouinar, tua populo civitatis Iguvinae,
tote Iouine, erom nomne, civitati Iguvinae, eorum nomini,
erar nomne, erar nerus šihitir eius nomini, eius principibus cinctis
 15 *anšihitir, iouies | hostatir* incinctis, iuvenibus hastatis
anostatir. Prestota Šerfia inhastatis. Praestita Cerria
Šerfer Martier, saluom seritu Cerri Martii, salvum servato
poplom totar Iouinar, salua populum civitatis Iguvinae, sal-
 16 *serituu | totam Iouinam.* vam servato civitatem Iguvinam.
Prestota Šerfia Šerfer Mar- Praestita Cerria Cerri Martii,
tier, saluo seritu popler totar salvum servato populi civitatis
Iouinar, totar Iouinar | Iguvinae, civitatis Iguvinae
 17 *nome, nerf, arsmo, uiro* nomen, principes, ritus, viros
pequo, castruo frif salua pecua, fundos fruges salvas
seritu; futu fons pacer pase servato; esto favens propitia pace
tua pople totar Iouinar, | tua populo civitatis Iguvinae,
 18 *tote Iouine, erer nomne,* civitati Iguvinae, populi nomini,
erar nomne. Prestota Šer- civitatis nomini. Praestita Cer-
fia Šerfer Martier, tiom esir ria Cerri Martii, te his
 19 *uesclir adrer popluper | totar* vasculis atris pro populo civitatis
Iouinar, totaper Iouina, Iguvinae, pro civitate Iguvina,
erer nomneper, erar nomne- pro populi nomine, pro civitatis
per. Prestota Šerfia Šer- nomine. Praestita Cerria Cer-
 20 *fer Martier, tiom | subocauu,* ri Martii, te invoco,
Prestotar Šerfiar Šerfer Praestitae Cerriae Cerri
Martier foner frite tiom sub- Martii faventis fiducia te in-
ocauu.’ Ennom persclu eso voco.’ Tum precatatione sic
 21 *deitu: | ‘Prestota Šerfia Šer-* dicito: ‘Praestita Cerria Cerri
fer Martier, tiom isir uesclir Martii, te his vasculis
adrir tiom plener popluper atris, te plenis pro populo

- totar Iouinar, totaper* | civitatis Iguvinae, pro civitate
 22 *Iouina, erer nomneper, erar nomneper. Prestota* | Iguvina, pro populi nomine, pro civitatis nomine. Praestita
Šerfia¹ Šerfer Martier, tiom Cerria Cerri Martii, te
 23 *subocauu. Prestotar | Šerfiar* Cerri Martii faventis fiducia
Šerfer Martier foner frite te invoco. Tum li-
tiom subocauu. Enom uesti- bato, tripodato. Tum
catu, ahatripursatu. Enom in ——— precatione libato
 24 *ruseme | persclu uesticatu* Praestitae Cerriae Cerri Martii
Prestote Šerfie Šerfer Marti- pro populo civitatis Iguvinae,
er popluper totar Iouinar, pro civitate Iguvina. Tum vas-
 25 *totaper Iouina. Ennom ues-* culis albis precator, super
clir | alfir persnimu, superne atra transverse imposito, sic
adro trahuorfi andendu, eso precator: 'Praestita Cerria
 26 *persnimu: 'Prestota Šerfia* Cerri Martii, te his
Šerfer Martier, tiom | esir vasculis albis pro populo civitatis
uesclir alfir popluper totar Iguvinae, pro civitate Iguvina,
Iouinar, totaper Iouina, pro populi nomine, pro civitatis
 27 *erer nomneper, erar nomne-* nomine. Praestita Cerria Cerri
per. Prestota | Šerfia Šerfer Martii, avertito via omni
Martier; ahauendu uia ecla malum populo civitatis Iguvinae,
atero pople totar Iouinar, civitati Iguvinae, populi civita-
 28 *tote Iouine, popler totar* tis Iguvinae, civitatis Iguvinae
Iouinar, | totar Iouinar principibus cinctis incinctis, iu-
nerus šihitir anšihitir, io- venibus hastatis inhastatis, eorum
uies hostatir anhostatir, ero nomini, eius nomini. Praestita
 29 *nomne, erar nomne. Prestota* Cerria Cerri Martii, salvum
Šerfia | Šerfer Martier, sal- servato populum civitatis Igu-
uom seritu poplo totar Iou- vinae, salvam servato civitatem
inar, salua seritu totam Iguvinam. Praestita Cerria
 30 *Iouinam. Prestota Šerfia* Cerri Martii, salvum servato
Šerfer | Martier, saluom seritu populi civitatis Iguvinae, civitatis
popler totar Iouinar, totar Iguvinae nomen, principes, ritus,
Iouinar nome, nerf, arsmo, viros pecua, fundos fruges
 31 *uiro pequo, castruo frif |* salvas servato, esto favens propi-
salua seritu, futu fons pacer tia pace tua populo civitatis Igu-
pase tua pople totar Iou- vinae, civitati Iguvinae, populi
inar, tote Iouine, erer nomini, civitatis nomini. Prae-

¹ Aes Šerfiar.

- 32 *stota | Šerfia Šerfer Martier,* stita Cerria Cerri Martii,
tiom esir uesclir alfer poplu- te his vasculis albis pro popu-
per totar Iouinar, totaper lo civitatis Iguvinae, pro civitate
Iouina, erer nomneper, erar | Iguvina, pro populi nomine, pro
 33 *nomneper. Prestota Šerfia* civitatis nomine. Praestita Cerria
Šerfer Martier, tiomsuocauu, Cerri Martii, te invoco,
Prestotar Šerfiar Šerfer Mar- Praestitae Cerriae Cerri Mar-
 34 *tier foner frite tiom | subocauu.'* tii faventis fiducia te invoco.
Ennom persclu eso persni- Tum precatione sic preca-
mu: 'Prestota Šerfia Šerfer tor: 'Praestita Cerria Cerri
Martier, tiom isir uesclir al- Martii, te his vasculis albis,
 35 *fer, tiom plener | popluper to-* te plenis pro populo civitatis
tar Iouinar, totaper Iouina, Iguvinae, pro civitate Iguvina,
erer nomneper, erar nomne- pro populi nomine, pro civitatis
 36 *per. Prestota Šerfia Šerfer* nomine. Praestita Cerria Cerri
Martier, tiom | subocauu, Pre- Martii, te invoco, Prae-
stotar Šerfiar Šerfer Martier stitae Cerriae Cerri Martii
foner frite tiom subocauu.' faventis fiducia te invoco'.
Enom uesticatu, ahatripursa- Tum libato, tripodato.
 37 *tu. | Uestisa et mefa spefa* Libamentum et libum *sparsum*
scalsie conegos fetu Fisoui in patera genu nixus facito Fiso-
Sansii popluper totar vio Sancio pro populo civitatis
Iouinar, totaper Iouina. Iguvinae, pro civitate Iguvina.
 38 *Suront | naratu puse post ue-* Item narrato ut post por-
rir Tesonocir. Uestisiar tam Tesenacam. Libamenti
erus ditu. Enno uestisia *magmentum* dato. Tum libamen-
mefa spefa sopam purome tum, libum *sparsum* sub ig-
 39 *efurfatu, | subra spahamu,* nem *expurgato*, superiacito,
traf Sahatam etu. Ape traha trans Sanctam ito. Ubi trans
Sahata couortus, ennom co- Sanctam reverterit, tum com-
moltu, comatir persnihimu. molito, commolitis precator.
 40 *Capif | sacra aitu. |* Capides sacras agito.
 41 *†Trahaf Sahate vitla trif* Trans Sanctam vitulas tris
feetu Turse Šerfie Šerfer facito Torrae Cerriae Cerri
Martier popluper totar Iou- Martii pro populo civitatis Igu-
-
- 31 *†Tra Sate tref vitlaf feitu* Trans Sanctam tris vitulas faci-
 32 *Tuse Čerfie Čerfe Marties. |* to Torrae Cerriae Cerri Martii.
 32 *Peřaia feitu, arviu us-* *Humi stratas* facito, frumenta os-
 33 *tetu, puni fetu, tačez pes-* tendito, posca facito, tacitus, pre-
 33 *nimu | afeper arves. Pune* cator adipibus frumentis. Cum

- uinar, totaper Iiovina. 42 Persaea fetu, poni | fetu, aruio fetu, tases persnimu. Prosetir struŝla, ficlam arsueitu. Suront naratu puse uerisco Treblaneir. Ape | 43 †purdinsiust, carsitu, pufe abrons facurent, puse erus dersa. Ape erus dirsust, postro combifiatu Rubiname, 44 erus | dersa. Enem traha Sahatam combifiatu, erus dersa. Enem Rubiname postro couertu, comoltu, comatir 45 persnimu et|capif sacra aitu. Enom traha Sahatam couertu, comoltu,comatir persnihimū. Enom purditom fust. | 46 Postertio pane poplo andirsafust, porse perca arsmatia habiest et prinuatur durtefruto Tursar eso tasetur| 47 persnihimūmo: 'Tursa Iouia, totam Tarsinatem, trifo Tarsinatem, Tuscom Naharcom 48 Iapusco nome, totar | Tarsinater, trifor Tarsinater, Tuscer Naharcer Iapuscer

- †purtingus, kařetu, pufe apruf | 34 fakurent, puze erus teřa. Ape 35 erus teřust, pustru | kupifiatu Rupiname, erus teřa. Ene tra Sahta kupifiaia, | 36 erus teřa. Enu Rupiname 37 pustru kuvertu, antakre | kumate pesnimu. Enu kapi sakra aitu, vesklu vetu. | 38 Enu Satame kuvertu, antakre kumate pesnimu. Enu 39 esunu | purtitu fust. |

vinae, pro civitate Iguvina. Humi stratas facito, posca facito, frumenta facito, tacitus precator. Prosectis struem, offam addito. Item narrato ut ad portam Trebulanam. Ubi porrexerit, vocato, quo loco apros fecerint, ut *magmentum* det. Ubi *magmentum* dederit, retro nuntiato in Rubiniam, ut *magmentum* det. Tum trans Sanctam nuntiato, *magmentum* det. Tum in Rubiniam retro revertito, commolito, commolitis precator et capides sacras agito. Tum trans Sanctam revertito, commolito, commolitis precator. Tum porrectum erit.

Postquam tertium populum lustraverit, qui virgam rituales habebit et legati duo ex rogo Torrae sic taciti precantor: 'Torra Iouia, civitatem Tadinatem, tribus Tadinatem, Tuscum Narcum Iapudicum nomen, civitatis Tadinatis, tribus Tadinatis, Tusci Narci Iapudici

- nomner nerf sihitu ansihitu, iouie hostatu anostatu | 49 tursitu tremitu, hondu holtu, ninctu nepitu, sunitu sauitu, preplohotatu preuŝlatu. Tursa Iouia, futu 50 fons | pacer pase tua pople totar Iouinar, tote Iouine, erar nerus ŝihitir ansihitir, iouies hostatir an 51 hostatir, erom | nomne, erar nomne.' Este trioper deitu. †Enom iuenga peracrio tursitoto, porse perca arsmatia 52 habiest et | prinuatur: Hondra furo sehemienar hatuto totar pisi heriest. Pafe trif promom haburent, eaf 53 Acersoniem | fetu Turse Iouie popluper totar Iiouinar, totaper Iouina. Suront naratu puse uerisco Treblanir. 54 Aruio fetu, | persaea fetu, struŝla, ficla prosetir arsueitu, tases persnimu, poni fetu. |

- 40 †Pustertiu pane puplu ateřafust, iveka perakre tusetu¹ | 41 super kumne ařfertur, prinuvalu 42 tu tuf tusetutu, | hutra furu sehemienar hatutu. Eaf iveka | 43 tre Akeřunie fetu Tuse 44 Iuue. Arviu ustetu, | puni fetu, peřaia fetu, tařez pesnimu ařepe arves. | 45 Kvestretie usaie svesu Vuvřis Titis Teteies.

Postquam tertium populum lustraverit, iuencam opimam fugato super comitio flamen, legati duas fuganto, infra forum seminarium capiunto. Eas iuencas tris Acedoniae facito Torrae Iouiae. Frumenta ostendito, posca facito, *humi stratas* facito, tacitus precator adipibus frumentis. Quaestura — sua *Lucius Tetteius Titi f.*

¹ Aes tuseiu.

VII B

- 1 *Pisi panupei fratres fratrus Atiersier just, erex sueso fratrecate portaia seuacne* Quisquis quandoque magister fratribus Atiediis erit, is suo magisterio portet hostias
 2 *fratrom | Atiersio desenduf, pifi reper fratrecate parsest erom ehiato, ponne iuengar* fratrum Atiedium duodecim, quas pro re collegii par est esse emissas, cum iuveneae
 3 *tursiandu hertei, | appei arfertur Atiersir poplom andersafust. Sue neip portust issoc pusei subra screhto est, |* fugentur oportet, ubi flamen Atiediis populum lustraverit. Si non portaverit ita, uti supra scriptum est, magistro multae sint asses CCC.
 4 *fratrei motar sins a. CCC.*

I A

- 1 *Este persklum aves anzer-* Istud sacrificium avibus obser-
 2 *2 iates enetu | pernaies pusnaes.* vatis inito anticis posticis.
 3 *Preveres Treplanas | Iuve* Ante portam Trebulanam Iovi
 4 *Krapuvi tre buf fetu.* Grabovio tris boves facito.
 5 *Arvia ustentu, | vatuva ferine* Frumenta ostendito, *exta in*
 6 *feitu, heris vinu heripuni, |* *ferculo* facito, vel vino vel posca,
 7 *ukriper Fisiu, tutaper Iku-* pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Igu-
 8 *vina facito. Totum murmurans* precator adipibus frumentis.
 9 *na. | Supa sumtu, arvia ustent-* Post portam Trebulanam tris
 10 *tu, pwni fetu, | kutef* sues gravidas facito Trebo Iovio
 11 *pesnimu ařpes¹ arves.¹ |* pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvi-
 12 *Preveres Tesenakes tre* na. Suppa sumito, frumenta os-
 13 *buf fetu, Marte Krapuvi | fetu* tendito, posca facito, murmurans
 14 *ukripe Fisiu, tutaper Ikuvina.* precator adipibus frumentis.
 15 *Arviu ustentu, | vatuva ferine* Ante portam Tesenacam tris
 16 *feitu, puni fetu, kutef* boves facito, Marti Grabovio faci-
 17 *pesnimu ařpes arves. |* to pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Igu-
 18 *Pusveres Tesenakes tref* vina. Frumenta ostendito, *exta in*
 19 *sif feliuf fetu | Fise Saři* *ferculo* facito, posca facito, murmu-
 20 *ukriper Fisiu, tutaper Iku-* rans precator adipibus frumentis.
 21 *Post portam Tesenacam tris*
 22 *sues lactentis facito Fisis Sancio*
 23 *pro arce Fisia, pro civitate Iguvi-*

¹ Aes aře*arv*es.

- 24 *16 vina. | Puni fetu, supa sumtu,* na. Posca facito, suppa sumito,
 25 *17 arviu ustentu. Mefa, | ves-* frumenta ostendito. Libum, liba-
 26 *tića ustetu, Fisuv¹ fetu,* mentum ostendito, Fisovio facito,
 27 *18 ukriper Fisiu fetu, | kapiř* pro arce Fisia facito, capides
 28 *purtitaf sakref, etraf pur-* porrectas sacras, alteras porrec-
 29 *titaf, etraf | sakref, tutaper* tas, alteras sacras, pro civitate
 30 *Ikuvina. Kutef pesnimu* Iguvina. Murmurans precator
 31 *ařpes arves. |* adipibus frumentis.
 32 *20 Preveres Vehiies tref buf* Ante portam Veiam tris boves
 33 *kaleřuf fetu Vufiune |* frontem albam habentis facito Vo-
 34 *21 Krapuvi ukriper Fisiu,* viono Grabovio pro arce Fisia,
 35 *22 tutaper Ikuvina. | Vatuva ferine* pro civitate Iguvina. *Exta in fer-*
 36 *feitu, heri vinu heri puni, |* *culo* facito, vel vino vel posca,
 37 *23 arviu ustentu, kutef* frumenta ostendito, murmurans
 38 *pesnimu ařpes arves. |* precator adipibus frumentis.
 39 *24 Pusveres Vehiies tref hapi-* Post portam Veiam tris *ag-*
 40 *25 naf fetu Tefre Iuvie | ukriper* *nas* facito Tefro Iovio pro arce
 41 *Fisiu, tutaper Ikuvina. Puste* Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina. *Post*
 42 *26 asiane fetu, zeřef fetu, | pelsana* —facito, sedens facito, *sepe-*
 43 *feitu, arvia ustentu, puni* *liendas* facito, frumenta ostendito, posca
 44 *27 fetu, tařez pesnim|u ařiper* facito, tacitus precator adipibus
 45 *arvis. Api habina purtius,* frumentis. Ubi *agnas* porrexeris,
 46 *28 suřum pesuntru | fetu, esmik* *figmentum suillum* facito, ei
 47 *vestiřam preve fktu,* libamentum singillatim figito,
 48 *29 Tefri Iuvi fetu ukri|per Fisiu,* Tefro Iovio facito pro arce Fisia,
 49 *tutaper Ikuvina, testruku* pro civitate Iguvina, ad dextrum
 50 *peři kapiře peřum feit|u.* pedem capidi fossam facito.
 51 *30 Api eřek² purtius, enuk* Ubi id porrexeris, tunc
 52 *suřum pesuntrum feitu staf|li* *figmentum* facito *ovillum* Iovis,
 53 *31 Iuv(ie), esmik³ vestića afktu,* ei libamentum infigito, pro arce
 54 *32 ukriper Fisiu, tutaper Ikuvin|a⁴* Fisia, pro civitate Iguvina facito,
 55 *feitu, nertruku peři kapiře peřum* ad sinistrum pedem capidi fossam
 56 *33 feitu. Puni feitu. | Api su-* facito. Posca facito. Ubi *fig-*
 57 *řuf purtius,⁵ enuk hapinaru* *menta* porrexeris, tum *agnarum*
 58 *34 erus titu, zeřef | kumultu,* *magmentum* dato, sedens commo-
 59 *zeřef kumates⁶ pesnimu. |* lito, sedens commolitis precator.

¹ Aes fiuvi.² Aes eřel.³ Aes staffi iuvesmik.⁴ Aes ikuvin|a.⁵ Aes purtitiis.⁶ Aes kumats.

I B

- 1 Vukukum Iuviu, pune uvef
 2 furfaθ, tref vitluf turuf | Marte
 Huñie fetu pupluper tutas
 Iiuvinas, tutaper Ikuvina. |
 3 Vatuva ferine fetu, puni
 fetu, arvia ustentu, kutep
 4 pesnimu | ařepes arves.
 Vukukum Kuretias tref vitlup
 5 turup Hunte Çe|fi feitu pu-
 pluper tutas Iiuvinas, tutaper
 6 Iiuvina. Vatuva | ferine
 fetu, arvia ustentu, tenzitim
 7 arveitu, heris vinu heris | puni
 feitu, kutef persnimu aři-
 pes arvis.
 8 Inuk ukar pihaz fust. | Svepu
 esumek esunu antervakaze,
 vaçetumi se;¹ avif azeriatu, |
 9 verufe Treplanu kuvertu,
 restef esunu feitu. |
 10 Pune puplum aferum heries,
 avef anzeriatu² etu pernaia|f
 11 pustnaiaf. Pune kuvurtus,
 krenkatrum hatu. Enumek |
 12 pir ahtimen ententu.
 Pune pir entelus ahtimem, |
 13 enumek steplatu parfam
 14 tesvam tefe, tute Ikuvine. | Va-
 pefem avieklufe kumpifiatu. Vea
 15 aviekla esunume etu. | Prinuvalu
 etutu, perkaf habetutu puniçate.
 16 Pune menes | Akeñuniamem,
 enumek etuřtamu tuta
 17 Tařinate, trifu | Tařinate,
 Turskum, Naharkum numem,
 18 Iapuzkum numem: | 'svepis
 habe, purtatulu pue meřs
 est, feitu uru peře mers ets'. |

¹ Aes vakazevaçetumiseavif.² Aes anzvriatu.

Ad *aedem* Ioviam, cum ovis
 purgant, tris vitulos tauros Marti
 Hodio facito pro populo civitatis
 Iguvinae, pro civitate Iguvina.
Extā in ferculo facito, posca
 facito, frumenta ostendito, murmu-
 rans precator adipibus frumentis.

Ad *aedem* Coređii tris vitulos
 tauros Honto Cerrio facito pro
 populo civitatis Iguvinae, pro
 civitate Iguvina. *Extā in ferculo*
 facito, frumenta ostendito, —
 addito, vel vino vel posca
 facito, murmurans precator adi-
 pibus frumentis.

Tunc arx piata erit. Sive
horum sacrificiorum intervacatio
sit, in vitiatum sit; avis observa-
 to, ad portam Trebulanam reverti-
 to, instaurans sacrificium facito.

Cum populum lustrare voles,
 avis observatum ito anticas
 posticas. Cum reverteris,
 cinctum capito. Tunc
 ignem ad caerimonium imponito.
 Cum ignem imposueris ad caerim-
 onium, tunc stipulator parram
 prosperam tibi, civitati Iguvinae.
 Ad sellas auguralis nuntiato. Via
 augurali in sacrificium ito. Lega-
 ti eunto, virgas habento *calatoris*.
 Cum venies in Acedoniam,
 tunc exterminato civitatem
 Tadinatem, tribum Tadinatem,
 Tuscum, Narcum nomen,
 Iapudicum nomen: 'si quis
restat, (eum) portato illuc quo ius
 est, facito illo quod ius est'.

- 19 Pune prinuvalu staheren term-
 nesku, enumek 'armamu' |
 20 kateramu Ikuvinu'. Enumek
 apretu tures et pure. Puni
 21 amprefu|us, persnimu. Enumek
 'etatu Ikuvinus'. Triiuper am-
 22 prehtu, | triiuper pesnimu, triiuper
 'etatu Ikuvinus'. Enumek |
 23 prinuvalu çimu etutu, erahunt
 vea çimu etutu prinuvalu. |
 24 Funtlere trif apruf rufu
 ute peiu feitu Çerfe Marti. |
 25 Vatuvu ferine² fetu, arviu
 26 ustentu, puni fetu,³ | taçež
 pesnimu ařepe arves. |
 27 Rupinie e tre purka rufra
 28 ute peia fetu Prestate | Çer-
 fie Çerfe Marties. Peřaia fei-
 29 tu, arviu ustentu, | kapi
 sakra aitu, vesklu vetu atru
 30 alfu, puni fetu, | taçež pesnimu
 ařeper arves. |
 31 Tra Sate tref vitlaf feitu
 Tuse Çerfie Çerfe Marties. |
 32 Peřaia feitu, arviu us-
 tetu, puni fetu, taçež pes-
 33 nimu | ařeper arves. Pune
 purtinçus, kařetu, pufe apruf |
 34 fakurent, puze erus teřa. Ape
 35 erus teřust, puřtu | kupifia-
 tu Rupiname, erus teřa.
 Ene tra Sahta kupifiaia, |
 36 erus teřa. Enu Rupiname
 37 puřtu kuvertu, antakre | ku-
 mate pesnimu. Enu kapi
 sakra aitu, vesklu vetu. |
 38 Enu Satame kuvertu, anta-
 kre kumate pesnimu. Enu
 39 esunu | purtitu fust. |

Cum legati stabunt ad ter-
 minos, tunc 'ordinamini
 *catervamini, Iguvini'. Tunc
 ambito tauris et igne. Cum
 ambieris, precator. Tunc
 'itatote, Iguvini'. Ter am-
 bito, ter precator, ter
 'itatote, Iguvini'. Tunc
 legati retro eunto, eadem
 via retro eunto legati.

In Fontulis tris apros rubros
 aut piceos facito Cerro Martio.
Extā in ferculo facito, frumenta
 ostendito, posca facito, tacitus
 precator adipibus frumentis.

In Rubinia tris porcas rubras
 aut piceas facito Praestitae Cerri-
 ae Cerri Martii. *Humi stratas* fa-
 cito, frumenta ostendito, capides
 sacras agito, vascula dividito atra
 alba, posca facito, tacitus precator
 adipibus frumentis.

Trans Sanctam tris vitulas faci-
 to Torrae Cerriae Cerri Martii.
Humi stratas facito, frumenta os-
 tendito, posca facito, tacitus pre-
 cator adipibus frumentis. Cum
 porrexeris, vocato, ubi apros
 fecerint, ut *magmentum* det. Ubi
magmentum dederit, retro nuntia-
 to in Rubiniam, *magmentum* det.
 Tum trans Sanctam nunties,
magmentum det. Tum in Rubi-
 niam retro revertito, integris com-
 molitis precator. Tum capides
 sacras agito, vascula dividito.
 Tum in Sanctam revertito, inte-
 gris commolitis precator. Tum
 sacrificium porrectum erit.

¹ Aes armanu.² Aes ferime.³ Aes feiu.

- 40 Pustertiu pane puplu Postquam tertium populum
ateřafust, iveka perakre tusetu¹ | lustraverit, iuvenecam opimam fu-
41 super kumne ařfertur, prinuva- gato super comitio flamen, lega-
42 tu tuf tusetutu, | hutra furu ti duas fuganto, infra forum
sehmeniar hatutu. Eaf iveka | seminarium capiunto. Eas iuven-
43 tre Akeřunie fetu Tuse cas tris Acedoniae facito Torrae
44 Iuvie. Arviu ustetu, | puni Ioviae. Frumenta ostendito, pos-
fetu, peřaia fetu, tařez ca facito, *humi stratas* facito, taci-
pesnimu ařepe arves. | tus precator adipibus frumentis.
45 Kvestretie usaie svesu Vuvřis Quaestura — sua *Lucius*
Titis Teteies. *Tetteius Titi f.*

II A

- 1 Pune karne speturie Atiieřie Cum carni *spectoriae Atiediae
2 aviekate naraklum | vurtus, auspicatae nuntiatio mutaverit,
estu esunu fetu fratusper ista sacrificia facito pro fratri-
3 Atiieřie. Eu esunu | esu bus Atiediis. Ea sacrificia sic
naratu: 'peře karne spetu- nuntiatio: 'si carni *spectoriae
4 rie Atiieřie aviekate | aiu Atiediae auspicatae *agitationes*
urtu fefure, fetu puze neip ortae fuerint, facito quasi non
5 eretu'. Vestiče Saře | sa- consulto'. Vesticio Sancio hosti-
kre, Iuvepatre bum perakne, am, Iovi patri bovem sollemnem,
Speture perakne restatu. | Spectori hostiam instaurato.
6 Iuvie unu erietu sakre Iovio unum arietem sacrificium
pelsanu fetu. Arviu ustenu- *sepeliendum* facito. Frumenta os-
7 tu, | puni fetu, tařez tendito, posca facito, tacitus pre-
pesnimu ařepe arves. Pune cator adipibus frumentis. Cum
8 purtius, | unu suřu pesu- porrexeris, unum *suillum figmen-*
tru fetu tikamne Iuvie, tum facito dedicatione Iovio,
9 kapiře | peřu preve fetu. capidi fossam singillatim facito.
Ape purtius suřu,² erus Ubi porrexeris *suillum, magmen-*
10 tetu. Enu kuma |tu, ku- tum dato. Tum commolito, com-
mate pesnimu. Ahtu Iuvip. molitis precator. Actui Iovi patri
11 uve peraknem | peřaem ovem sollemnem *humi stratum*
fetu, arviu ustentu, puni facito, frumenta ostendito, posca
fetu. Ahtu Marti abrunu | facito. Actui Marti aprum
12 perakne fetu, arviu uste- sollemnem facito, frumenta osten-
tu, fasiu pruseřete ařveitu, | dito, farrea prosectis addito, (sac-
13 peřae fetu, puni rificium) *humi stratum* facito, pos-

¹ Aes tuseiu.² Aes purtiusuřu.

- fetu, tra ekvine fetu. | ca facito, trans *equinum* facito.
14 Ařetus perakne fetu. | *Ancitibus* hostiam facito.
15 Huntia katle tiřel stakaz Hontia catuli dedicatio statuta
16 est sume ustite | anter- est summa *tempestate* intermen-
menzaru ģersiaru. Herieiei struarum *cenariarum. Voluerit
17 řařiu ařfertur, avis | anzeriates facere flamen, avibus observatis
menzne kurĉlasiu řařia tiřit. mense *ultimo* faciat decet.
18 Huntia fertu | katlu, ar- Hontia ferto catulum, fru-
via, struhĉla, fikla, pune, menta, struem, offam, poscam,
19 vinu, salu¹ maletu, | mantrah- vinum, salem molitum, mante-
klu, veskla snata asnata, le, vascula umecta non umecta,
20 umen fertu. Pir ase | an- unguen ferto. Ignem arae im-
tentu. Esunu puni feitu. ponito. Sacrificium posca facito.
Hunte Iuvie ampentu ka- Honto Iovio impendito catu-
21 tlu, | sakre sevakne, Petrunia- lum, hostiam sollemnem, pro Pe-
per natine fratri Atiieřiu. troniam natione fratrum Atiedium.
22 Esunu | peřae futu. Sacrificium *humi stratum* esto.
Katles supa hahtu, sufafař Catuli suppa capito, *partis exser-*
23 supaf hahtu. | Berus aplenies *tas* suppas capito. Veribus imple-
pruseřia kartu, krematra tis prosicias distribuito, *crematra
24 aplenia sutent | u. Peřu seri- impleta supponito. *Pedem* serva-
tu.¹ Arvia puni purtuvitu vesti- to. Frumenta posca porricito, li-
25 katu ahtrepuřa | tu, pustin anĉif bato, tripodato, in vices
vinu. Nuvis ahtrepuřatu, 'tiu vino. Noviens tripodato, 'te
26 puni tiu vinu' | teitu, berva posca te vino' dicitu, verua,
frehtef fertu. Puře nuvime *frita* ferto. Cum nonum
27 ferest, krematruř | sumel fertu. feret, *crematra simul ferto.
Vestiřia peřume persnihmu. Libamento in fossam precator.
28 Katles tuva tefra, | terti Catuli duo carnes cremandas, ter-
erus prusekatu. Isunt tium *magmentum* prosecato. Item
krematru prusektu. Struhĉla | *crematra prosecato. Struem,
29 fikla ařveitu. Katlu purtuvitu, offam addito. Catulum porricito,
ampeřia persnihmu, aseřeta | — precator, non secta
30 karne persnihmu, venpersun- carne precator, (carne) *fic-*
tra² persnihmu. Supa spantea | *ticia* precator. Suppa lateralia
31 pertentu. Veskles vefutes protendito. Vasculis votis
persnihmu vestikatu ahtrepu- precator, libato, tripodato,
32 řatu | ařpeltu statitatu. Supa admoveto, statuito. Suppa
pustra perstu. Iepru erus retro *ponito*. — *magmen-*

¹ s expressed by the san (25, a).² Aes eenpersuntra.

- mani kuveitu. |
 33 Spinamař etu. Tuvere
 kapiřus pune fertu. Berva,
 34 klavlaf a|anfehtaf, vesklu sna-
 tu asnatu, umen fertu.
 35 Kapiře Hunte | Iuvie vesti-
 katu Petruniaper¹ natine fratri
 36 Atiieři. Berus | sevaknis
 persnihmu pert spinia. Isunt
 37 klavles persnihmu. | Veskses
 snate asnates sevaknis
 spiniama persnihmu vestikatu |
 38 ahtrepuřatu. Spina umtu,
 umne sevakni persnihmu.
 39 Manf easa | vutu.
 Asama kuvertu. Asaku
 vinu sevakni tačež persnihmu. |
 40 Esuf pusme herter, erus
 kuveitu teřtu. Vinu, pune
 41 teřtu. | Struhčlas, fiklas, sufa-
 fias kumaltu. Kapiře punes
 42 vepuratu. | Antakres kuma-
 tes persnihmu.² Amparihmu,
 statita subahtu. Esunu |
 43 purtitu futu. Katel asaku
 pelsans futu. |
 44 Kvestretie usače svesu Vuv-
 čis Ti Teteies.

tum manu congerito.
 Ad *columnnam* ito. Duabus in
 capidibus poscam fertu. Verua,
 clunis non coctas, vascula umec-
 ta non umecta, unguen fertu.
 Capide Honto Iovio libato
 pro Petronia natione fratrum
 Atiedium. Veribus sollemnibus
 precator trans *columnnam*. Item
 clunibus precator. Vasculis
 umectis non umectis sollemni-
 bus ad *columnnam* precator, libato,
 tripodato. *Columnnam* unguito,
 unguine sollemni precator.
 Manus ex ara lavito.
 Ad aram revertito. Apud aram
 vino sollemni tacitus precator.
 Ipse quem oportet, *magmentum*
 congerito, dato. Vinum, poscam
 dato. Struis, offae, *partis exser-*
tae commolito. Capide poscae
 (*ignem*) *restinguito*. Integris com-
 molitis precator. Surgito,
 statuta deponito. Sacrificium
 porrectum esto. Catulus apud
 aram *sepeliendus* esto.
 Quaestura — sua *Lucius*
Tetteius Ti. f.

II B

- 1 Semenies tekuries sim ka-
 2 prum upetu. Tekvias | fameři-
 as pumpeřias XII. 'Atiieři-
 3 etre Atiieři-ate, | Klaverniie,
 etre Klaverniie, Kureiate, etre
 4 Kureiate, | Satanes, etre Satane,
 Peieři-ate, etre Peieři-ate, Tale-
 5 nate, etre Talenate, Museiate,
 6 etre Museiate, Iuieskane, | etre

Sementivis decuriis suem, ca-
 prum deligito. Decuriales fami-
 liae *quincuriae XII. 'Atiediati,
 alteri Atiediati, Claverniis,
 alteris Claverniis, Curiati, alteri
 Curiati, Satanis, alteris Satanis,
 Peiediati, alteri Peiediati, Tale-
 nati, alteri Talenati, Musiati,
 alteri Musiati, Iuiescanis, alteris

¹ Aes petruniapert.² Aes persmhniu.

- Iuieskanes, Kaselate, etre Kase-
 7 late, tertie Kaselate, | Peraz-
 nanie' teitu.
 Ařmune Iuve patre fetu.
 8 Si pera|kne, sevakne upetu
 eveietu. Sevakne naratu.
 9 Arviu | ustetu, eu naratu
 puze fačeŕele¹ sevakne. Heri
 10 puni | heri vinu fetu. Va-
 putu Sači ampetu. Kapru
 11 perakne, seva|kne upetu, eve-
 ietu, naratu. Čive ampetu,
 12 fesnere purtu|etu. Ife fertu,
 tafle e pir fertu, kapres pru-
 13 sečetu | ife ařveitu. Persutru
 vapusis, mefa, vističa feta
 14 fertu. | Sviseve fertu pune,
 etre sviseve vinu fertu, tertie |
 15 sviseve utur fertu. Pistu
 niru fertu, vepesutra fertu, |
 16 mantraklu fertu, pune fertu.
 17 Pune fesnafe benus, | kabru
 purtvetu. Vaputu Sači Iuve-
 18 patre prepesnimu. | Vepesu-
 tra pesnimu, veskses pesnimu,
 19 atrepuřatu, | ařpeltu, statitatu.
 Vesklu pustru pestu, ranu |
 20 pesnimu, puni pesnimu, vinu
 21 pesnimu, une pesni|mu. Enu
 erus tetu.
 Vitlu vufru pune heries |
 22 faču, eruhu tičlu sestu
 23 Iuvepatre. Pune seste, |urfeta
 manuve habetu. Estu iuku
 24 habetu: | 'Iupater Sače, tefe
 estu vitlu vufru sestu'. |
 25 Purtifefe triiuper teitu, triiu-
 26 per vufru naratu, | fetu² Iu-
 vepatre Vučiiaper natine fratri

Iuiescanis, Casilati, alteri Casi-
 lati, tertiae Casilati, Peras-
 naniis' dicito.

Admoni Iovi patri facito.
 Suem sollemnem, hostiam deli-
 gito, voveto. Hostiam nuntiatio.
 Frumenta ostendito, ea nuntiatio
 quasi *sacrificabilem hostiam. Vel
 posca vel vino facito. *Ture* (su-
 em) Sancio impendito. Caprum
 sollemnem, hostiam deligito, vo-
 veto, nuntiatio. Citra impendito,
 in fano porricito. Eo fertu,
 in tabula ignem fertu, capri pro-
 secta eo addito. *Figmentum*
turibus, libo, libamento facto
 fertu. In sino fertu poscam,
 in altero sino vinum fertu, in ter-
 tio sino aquam fertu. Pistum
 —ferto, (carnem) *ficticiam* fertu,
 mantele fertu, poscam fertu.
 Cum in fanum veneris, caprum
 porricito. *Ture* Sancio Iovi
 patri praefator. (Carne) *ficticia*
 precator, vasculis precator,
 tripodato, admoveto, statuito.
 Vascula retro *ponito*, —
 precator, posca precator, vino
 precator, aqua precator. Tum
magmentum dato.

Vitulum votivum cum voles
 facere, eadem dedicatione sistito
 Iovi patri. Cum sistis, orbitam
 in manu habeto. Istas preces
 habeto: 'Iuppiter Sanci, tibi
 istum vitulum votivum sisto'.
 *Porricibilem ter dicito, ter
 votivum nuntiatio, facito Iovi
 patri pro *Lucia* natione fratrum

¹ Aes fačeŕefete.² Aes feiu.

- 27 Atlieftu. | Pune anpenes, kri- Atiedium. Cum impendes, cinc-
katru testre e uze habetu. tum in dextro umero habeto.
28 Ape apel|us, mefe atentu. Ubi impenderis, libo imponito.
Ape purtuvies, testre e uze Ubi porricies, in dextro umero
29 habetu | krikatru. Arviu us- habeto cinctum. Frumenta os-
tetu, puni fetu. tendito, posca facito.

III, IV

- III Esunu fuia herter sume | Sacrificium fiat oportet summa
2 ustite sestentasiaru | urna- *tempestate* sextantariarum *urna-
siaru. Huntak vuke prumu riarum. *Puteum in aede* primum
4 pehatu. | Inuk uhturu urtes piato. Tum auctorem, surgenti-
5 puntis | frater ustentus- bus quinionibus, fratres osten-
6 ta, puře | fratra mersus- dunto, quomodo fratrum ex
7 fust | kumnakle. Inuk moribus erit in conventu. Tum
8 uhtur vapeře | kumnakle sistu. auctor in sella in conventu con-
9 Sakre, uvem uhtur | teitu, sidito. Hostiam, ovem auctor di-
punte terkantur. Inumek cito, quiniones *suffragentur*. Tunc
10 sakre, | uvem urtas puntes hostiam, ovem surgentes quini-
11 fratrum upetuta. | Inumek ones fratrum deligunt. Tunc
via mersuva arvamen etuta. | via solita in arvum eunto.
12 Erak pir persklu uřetu. Ea ignem cum precatione ado-
13 Sakre, uvem | kletra fertuta leto. Hostiam, ovem lectica fe-
aituta. Arven kletram | runto, agunto. In arvo lecticam
14 amparitu. Eruk esunu futu. conlocato. Illic sacrificium esto.
15 Kletre tuplak | primum an- Lecticae *furcam* primum im-
tentu, inuk ċihčeřa ententu, | ponito, tum *cancellos* imponito,
16 inuk kazi ferime antentu. Isunt tum — — imponito. Item
17 feřehtru | antentu, isunt sufe- — — imponito, item — —
18 řaklu antentu. Seples | ahesnes imponito. *Simpulis* ahenis
tris kazi astintu, feřehtru tribus — — distinguito, — —
19 etres tris | ahesnes astintu, alteris tribus ahenis distinguito,
20 sufeřaklu tuves ahesnes | an- — — duobus ahenis distin-
stintu. Inenek vukumen esu- guito. Tum in *aedem* in sacri-
21 numen etu. Ap | vuku kukehes, ficium ito. Ubi *aedem incendet*,
iepi persklumař kařitu. Vuke *ibi* ad precationem vocato. In
22 pir | ase antentu. Sakre *aede* ignem arae imponito. Hos-
sevakne upetu. Iuvepatre | tiam sollemnem deligito. Iovi pa-
23 prumu ampentu testru sese tri primum impendito dextrorsus

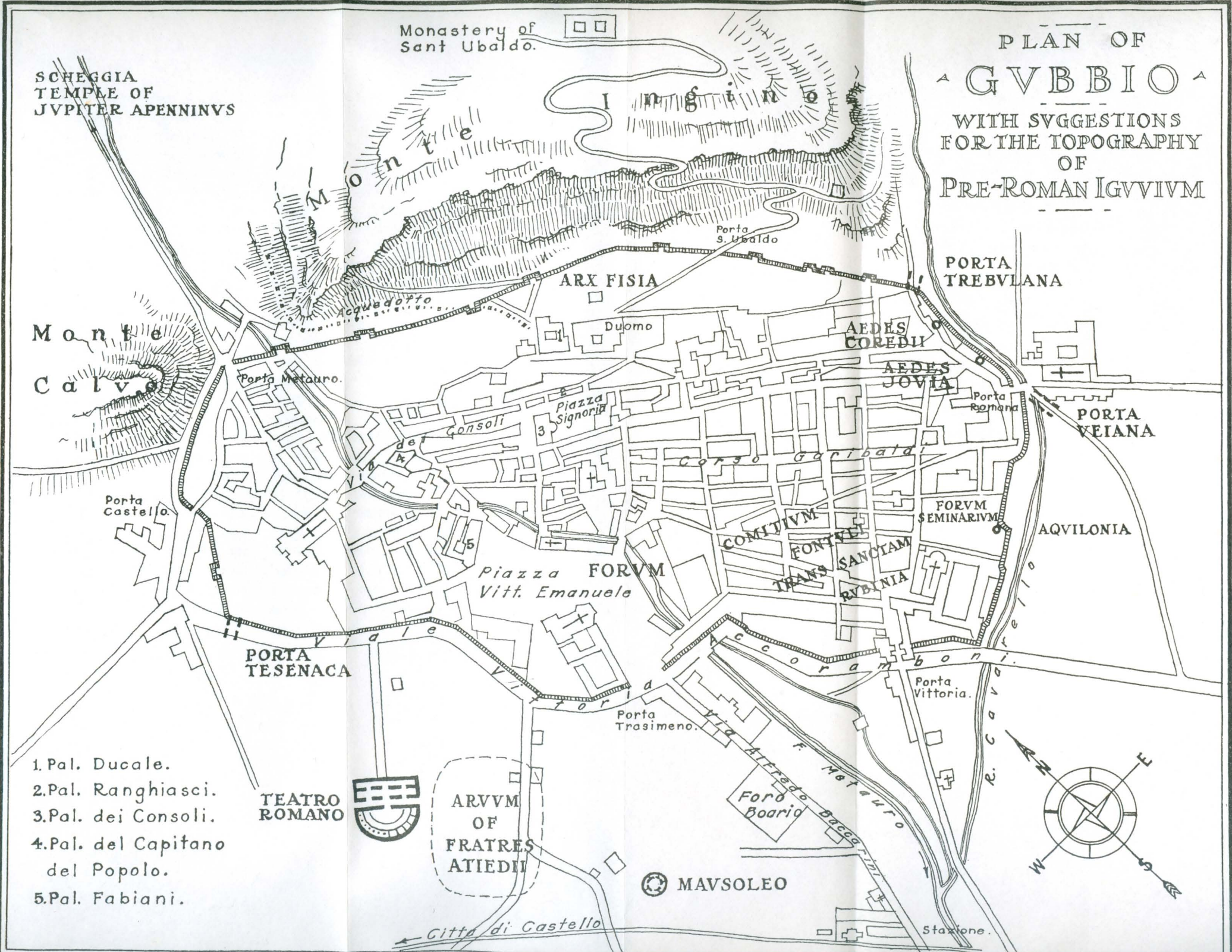
- 24 asa fratruster | Atlieřies, ab ara pro fratribus Atiediis, pro
ahtisper eikvasatis, tutape *caerimoniis collegialibus*, pro civi-
25 Iiuvina, | trefiper Iiuvina. tate Iguvina, pro tribu Iguvina.
Tiřlu sevakni teitu. | Dedicationem sollemnem dicito.
26 Inumek uvem sevakni upetu. Tunc ovem sollemnem deligito.
27 Puemune | Pupřike apentu. Pomono Publico impendito. De-
Tiřlu sevakni naratu. | dicationem sollemnem narrato.
28 Iuka mersuva uvikum habetu Preces solitas apud ovem habeto
29 fratruster | Atlieře, ahtisper pro fratribus Atiediis, pro *caeri-*
30 eikvasatis, tutaper | Iiu- *moniis collegialibus*, pro civitate
vina, trefiper Iiuvina. Sakre | Iguvina, pro tribu Iguvina. Hos-
31 vatra ferine feitu, eruku tiam *in extari ferculo* facito, cum
32 aruvia feitu. Uvem | pe- ea frumenta facito. Ovem *humi*
řaem pelsanu feitu. Ererek *stratum sepehendum* facito. Eius
33 tuva tefra | spantimař duo carnes cremandas ad latus
prusekatu, eřek peřume purtu- prosecato, tum in fossam por-
34 vitu, | struřla ařveitu. Inumek ricito, struem addito. Tunc
etrama spanti tuva tefra | alterum ad latus duo carnes
35 prusekatu, eřek ereřluma cremandas prosecato, tum ad
IV Puemune Pupřike || purtuvitu, sacrarium Pomono Publico por-
erarunt struřlas eskamitu ricito, eiusdem struis — —
2 aveitu. | Inumek tertiam addito. Tunc tertium ad
spanti triia tefra prusekatu, | latus tris carnes cremandas pro-
3 eřek supru sese ereřluma secato, tum sursus ad sacrarium
4 Vesune Puemunes | Pupřices Vesonae Pomoni Publici
purtuvitu, struřla petenata porricito, struem pectinatam
5 isek | ařveitu. Ererunt¹ ka- item addito. Isdem capidibus
6 piřus Puemune, | Vesune pur- Pomono, Vesonae porricito.
tuvitu. Asamař ereřlumař² | Ad aram ad sacrarium
7 aseřetes karnus, iseřeles et non sectis carnibus, insectis et
8 vempesuntres, | supes sanes per- *ficticiis*, suppis sanis protendito,
9 tentu, persnimu, ařpeltu, | sta- supplicato, admoveto, statuito.
titatu. Vesklus snates asnates Vasculis umectis non umec-
10 sevakne | ereřluma persnimu- tis sollemnibus ad sacrarium pre-
Puemune Pupřike, Vesune | cator Pomono Publico, Vesonae
11 Puemunes Pupřikes. Klavles Pomoni Publici. Clunibus
12 persnihmu | Puemune Pupřike³ precator Pomono Publico et
13 et Vesune Puemunes | Pupřikes Vesonae Pomoni Publici in sin-
pustin ereřlu. Inuk ere- gulis sacrariis. Tunc sacrarium
14 řlu umtu, | putrespe erus. unguito, utriusque *magmentum*

¹ Aes erererunt.² Aes ereřlamař.³ Aes pupřikes.

Inuk	vestiċia,	mefa	(dato). Tunc libamentum, libum
15	Purtupite skalċeta	kunikaz	<i>Porricienti</i> ex patera genu nixus
16	apehtre esuf testru sese asa		extrinsecus ipse dextrorsus ab
	asama purtuvitu, sevakne		ara ad aram porricito, sollemne
17	sukatu. Inumek vesteċa, ¹		declarato. Tunc libamentum,
	persuntru supu ereċle Hule		<i>figmentum</i> sub sacrario Hulae
18	sevakne skalċeta kunikaz		sollemne ex patera genu nixus
19	purtuvi <u>u</u> . Inumek ² vestiċia		porricito. Tunc libamentum,
	persuntru Turse super ereċle		<i>figmentum</i> Torrae super sacrario
20	sevakne skalċeta kunikaz		sollemne ex patera genu nixus
	purtuvitu. Inumek tehteřim		porricito. Tunc <i>tegumentum</i>
21	etu veltu, eřek persuntre an-		ito deligito, tum <i>figmentum</i> im-
22	tentu. Inumek arċlataf vasus		ponito. Tunc arcuatas vasis
	ufestne sevaknef purtuvitu.		<i>operculatis</i> sollemnis porricito.
23	Inumk pruzuře kebu sevakne		Tunc <i>praestante</i> cibo sollemni
24	persnihmu Puemune Pupře.		precator Pomono Publico.
25	Inumek kletra, veskles vufetes		Tunc lectica, vasculis votis
26	sevaknis, persnihmu ³ Vesune		sollemnibus, precator Veso-
	Puemunes Pupřes. Inumek		nae Pomoni Publici. Tunc
27	svepis heri, ezariaf antentu.		si quis vult, <i>escas</i> imposito.
28	Inumek erus taċez tertu.		Tunc <i>magmentum</i> tacitus dato.
	Inumek kumaltu, ařkani		Tunc commolito, cantum
29	kanetu, kumates persnihmu.		canito, commolitis precator.
30	Esuku esunu uřetu, tapis-		Cum hoc sacrificium adoletu, <i>cal-</i>
31	tenu habetu, pune frehtu		<i>dariolam</i> habeto, poscam <i>calidam</i>
	habetu. Ap itek fakust,		habeto. Ubi ita fecerit,
32	purtitu futu. Huntak piři		porrectum esto. <i>Puteum</i> cum
33	prupehast, eřek ures punes		ante piabit, tum illis poscis
	neiřhabas.		ne adhibeant.

¹ Aes vesveċa.² Aes inuntek.³ Aes persihmu.

PLAN OF
G V B B I O
 WITH SUGGESTIONS
 FOR THE TOPOGRAPHY
 OF
 PRE-ROMAN IGVVIVM



SCHEGGIA
 TEMPLE OF
 JVPITER APENNINVS

Monte
 Calvo

Monastery of
 Sant Ubaldo.

ARX FISIA

PORTA
 TREBVLANA

Duomo

AEDES
 COREDII

Porta Metauro.

AEDES
 IOVIA

del Consoli

Piazza
 Signoria

Porta
 Romana

PORTA
 VEIANA

Corso Garibaldi

Porta
 Castello.

FORVM
 SEMINARIVM

AQVILONIA

Piazza FORVM
 Vitt. Emanuele

COMITIVM

FONTELL
 TRANS SANCTAM
 RUBINIA

PORTA
 TESENACA

Porta
 Trasimeno.

Porta
 Vittoria.

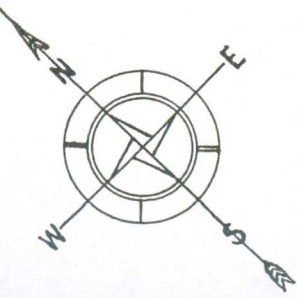
1. Pal. Ducale.
2. Pal. Ranghiasci.
3. Pal. dei Consoli.
4. Pal. del Capitano
 del Popolo.
5. Pal. Fabiani.

TEATRO
 ROMANO



ARVVM
 OF
 FRATRES
 ATIEDII

MAVSOLEO



Citta di Castello

Stazione.