

Iguvine Tablets

Subjects: Others

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The Iguvine Tablets, also known as the Eugubian Tablets or Eugubine Tables, are a series of seven bronze tablets from ancient Iguvium (modern Gubbio), Italy, written in the ancient Italic language Umbrian. The earliest tablets, written in the native Umbrian alphabet, were probably produced in the 3rd century BC, and the latest, written in the Latin alphabet, from the 1st century BC. The tablets contain religious inscriptions that memorialize the acts and rites of the Atiedian Brethren, a group of 12 priests of Jupiter with important municipal functions at Iguvium. The religious structure present in the tablets resembles that of the early stage of Roman religion, reflecting the Roman archaic triad and the group of gods more strictly related to Jupiter. Discovered in a farmer's field near Scheggia in the year 1444, they are currently housed in the Civic Museum of the Palazzo dei Consoli in Gubbio. The tablets are by far the longest and most important document of any of the Osco-Umbrian group of languages, which are closely related to Latin. The tablets shed light on the grammar of this ancient dead language, and also on the religious practices of the ancient peoples of Italy, including the archaic religion of the Romans. Parts of tablets VI and VII appear to be written in an accentual metre, similar to the Saturnian metre that is encountered in the earliest Latin poetry. The complete text, together with a translation into Latin, was published in London in 1863 by Francis Newman and 1931 in a book by Albrecht von Blumenthal. They were translated into English and published by James W. Poultney in 1959. Although the general meaning of the tablets is clear, there are still many obscure and debated points and issues. The main difficulty in understanding the text is the insufficient knowledge of the Umbrian vocabulary. These are the only documents of full details of sacred rituals from the ancient religions of Europe which have come down to us in an almost complete state. Moreover, their content deals with the rituals (sacrifices and prayers) addressed to the highest gods of the local community and to some extent may reflect the common religious beliefs and practices of the Italic peoples. Consequently, a great number of scholars have devoted their efforts to reading and deciphering them since their discovery. The modern Festival of Ceri, celebrated every year in Gubbio on May 15 in honor of Bishop Ubald or Ubaldo of Gubbio (1084–1160), shares certain features with the rites described in the text and so may be a survival of that ancient pre-Christian custom. It is also celebrated in Jessup, Pennsylvania, a town with a large number of immigrants from the Gubbio area, as Saint Ubaldo Day.

Keywords: local community ; religious beliefs ; blumenthal

1. Discovery

About the discovery of the Tablets there are two versions: the first one says that a farmer found them in a field near Scheggia in 1444. After his death, his son-in-law with his wife and his sister-in-law sold them to the city of Gubbio with a notarial deed on 25 August 1456 for two years' worth of farming rights.^[1] Since Scheggia was the site of the temple of Jupiter Apenninus, an important Umbrian sanctuary, it is conceivable that the plates were kept in the temple itself.^[2] The second version, born in the 17th century, states that the tablets were found in a basement of the Roman theater in Gubbio.^[3] However, given that all the actors involved in the sale of the tablets were natives of Scheggia, that the tradition of finding them in Scheggia has been attested in Scheggia itself since at least the early 1600s, and that the sources of the Gubbio find at the same time attested that the tablets were originally nine and that two of them, loaned to Venice, were never returned (which is patently false), it is likely that the version of the Gubbio find has a chauvinistic origin.^[4]

2. Decipherment

The content of the tablets concerns the religions and ceremonies that were celebrated at Iguvium, the town's religious organization and its boundaries.

The first attempt at deciphering their meaning was made by Bernardino Baldi in the beginning of the 17th century, and he was followed by Adriaan van Schrieck who believed he had got possession of the oldest monument of the Low German language, and interpreted accordingly. Olivieri recognized the name of Eugubium in one frequently recurring word. Louis Bourget pointed out that one of the tablets written in the Etruscan letters corresponded in the main with two written in

Roman letters. Karl Otfried Müller, in his great work *Die Etrusker*, showed that in spite of the use of Etruscan letters the language of the inscriptions was totally different from the Etruscan language. Lepsius added greatly to the epigraphical criticism of the tablets, and Lassen and Grotefend made several successful attempts at interpretation. And finally Aufrecht and Kirchhoff, summing up the labors of their predecessors, and working according to strict scientific method, brought the interpretation of the tables to a degree of perfection that could hardly have been hoped for.

3. Epigraphic Note

The tablets are engraved on bronze. Analysis of the external appearance of the supporting material has led scholars to conclude that only tablets V, VI and VII were meant to be exposed in public. The other ones were cast as an archive document.^[4] They are inscribed in Italic alphabet derived from Etruscan (T. I to Vb 8) and in Latin alphabet (T. Vb 9 onwards, VI, VII).

4. Date

The study of the *ductus* (writing style), conducted by comparing the tablets with other inscriptions from the area of Central Italy, has allowed scholars to conclude that they date from no later than the end of the 3rd century for T. III and IV to the first half of the 1st century for the latest T. VI and VII.^[5]

5. Content

Tablets I to V present their topic in a concise, matter of fact manner. Tablets VI and VII repeat the same subject of Tablet I in a much more detailed and diluted way, with apparent literary and encomiastic intentions and overtones. The content of the tablets is given below, in their relative order of antiquity as established by Newman on the authority of Aufrecht and Kirchhoff, which is identical to that recently indicated by A. Maggiani.^[6]

5.1. Tablets III and IV

Sacrifice to **Puemonos Popricos** and **Vesuna**.

General prescriptions concerning the holding of the sacrifice, sacrifice of the *ovis* (lamb) to *Puemonos* and *Vesuna* near a sacred grove. Containing details on the choice of the *ohstur* (*auctor*, head, perhaps *augur*) of the ceremony, the dispositions of the ritual instruments, the ritual invocations for the safety of the city to *love Patre* and *Puemonos*, the distribution of the sacrificial meat and the libations.

5.2. Tablet II

Side a (b of Lepsius)

(Lacuna at the beginning of the text).

Sacrifice of an ox to *love Patre*, of a ram to *Iovio*? (*Iuno* according to Newman), of a lamb to *Iovio* (*Iuno*) and of a boar to *Marte*.

The **Hondia** (elements that pertain to ritual sacrifice to Hondus, an earth deity)

Preparations made by the *arfertur*: readying of the victim(s), grains, *strues*, *fertum*;^[7] incense or meal, wine; salt, *mola*; *mandraculum* (white linen used to wrap the officiant's hand), vases; pure water; ignition of the fire at the *ara*. Petronian Feast to *Hontos Iovios*: sacrifice to *Hontos Iovios* of puppies, offers of wine, libation, partition of the meats and their exposition on a board. Holding and turning of the *ara* with the hands and offer of wine. Division of the wine, the *strues* and *ferctum*, the meats among the participants. Burning (or inhumation) of the puppies at the *ara*.

Side b (a of Lepsius)

Sacrifice and feast of the **Attidian Brotherhood**:

Sacrifice of a pig and a ram to *love* at the time of the *decuriae* of month *Semonius* by the ten sets of families of each of the 12 regions. Sacred *Epulum* (feast) in honour of *love Patre*, started in town and profanated at the various *fana* with libations using the *mandraculum*.

Vocian (Buck: Lucian) **Feast** to *Iupater*:

Sacrifice of a calf to *love Patre* for the Vocian (Lucian?) *gens* of the Attidians. The sacrifice is conducted with the *urfeta* in one hand at the offering and the *crencatro* (augural implement comparable to the *lituum* but crossed (Newman), or toga wore slanted across the right shoulder (Buck)) in the right hand at the time of the slaughtering.

5.3. Tablet I

Side a

Six triplet sacrifices to the Grabovian triad and the minor triad:

After observing the birds before and the behind, three oxen are sacrificed to *love Grabovius* before (without) the *Trebulana Gate*. Behind (within) it three sows are sacrificed to *Trebus Iovio*.

Before the *Tesenaca Gate* three oxen are sacrificed to *Marte Grabovie*. Behind it three pigs are sacrificed to *Fisus Sancius*. A libation ensues.

Before the *Vehiia Gate* three white fronted oxen are sacrificed to *Vofione Grabovie*. Behind the Gate three ewe lambs are sacrificed to *Tefre Iovie*. After the profanation of the lambs, the rump is offered in expiation and a libation for the *tota*, local community, ensues, on the two sides separately starting with the right side. After the profanation of the rumps is over the backs shall be profanated.

Side b

Two more triplet sacrifices to *Marte Hodie* and *Hondos Çerfios* in atonement for the citadel:

At the Jovian grove after the shearing of sheep three male calves shall be sacrificed to *Marte Hodie* for the Iguvine people and *tota*.

At the Coreties (Quiritius or Curiatius) grove three male calves shall be sacrificed to *Hontos Çerfios*.

Henceforth the citadel will be expiated. If any anything vicious happened in the discharge of the rite the birds shall be observed, the rite shall be reinstated once again after returning to the Trebulana Gate.

Review of the city militia and expulsion (*exterminatio*) of the traditional enemies of Iguvium (Tadinates, Etruscans, Nahartes, Iapuzcoi) by the *arfertur* and the two *prinovatus* (*augures* or their attendants):

- Tadinates (*tařinate(m)*), refers to the Umbrians from Gualdo Tadino;^{[8][9]}
- Tusci (*tursku(m)*) refers to the Etruscans, with the possible meaning in Umbrian of boundary;^{[8][9]}
- Nahartes (*Naharku(m)*), refers to the Umbrians from around the Nera valley in southeastern Umbria, from Nahar the ancient name of the river Nera. According to another interpretation, it refers to the Sabines east of Nahar/Nera river.^{[8][9]}
- Iapuzcoi (*Iapuzku(m)*), a tribe of unclear origin,^{[8][9]} on which there are various hypotheses: a people of the Adriatic side near Piceni at the borders with the Umbrians, Iapygians of southeastern Italy, or the Iapydes of Illyria. The first hypothesis is the most plausible.

Four more triplet sacrifices:

Near the small fountains three red boars shall be sacrificed to Çerfos Martios.

On the Rubinian *ager* three she boars shall be sacrificed to Prestata Çerfia of Çerfos Martios. The sacred jugs, black and white, shall there be ordered and turned.

Beyond the *Sahata* (*Sahata* is probably the area considered within the pomerium, possibly marked by a stream) three she calves shall be sacrificed to Tursa Çerfia of Çerfios Martios.

The assignation of the place where to carry out the slaughter of the boars shall be decided according to the site upon which the officiant is watching, whether either behind on the *Rubina* or beyond on the *Sahata*.

Three days later the people shall be assembled and three heifers sacrificed below the Forum of *Sehemanian* (*Semonia*) to *Tursa Iovia* at *Acedonia*. One of the heifers shall be consecrated by the *arfertur* and two by the *prinovatus*.

5.4. Tablet V

Side a

Duties of the *arsfertur*:

The *arsfertur* must provide whatever is essential for the ceremony and select the victims.

Fees to be levied for the performance of the rites.

Whenever the banquet of the brotherhood takes place, the *fratreks* or the *cvestor* must put to votes whether the banquet was properly arranged. If the majority of those present think it was not, a further vote must be taken to fix the penalty for the *arsfertur*.

Side b

Contributions to be made by two *gentes* to the brethren, and portions of flesh to be awarded them by the brethren on the decurial festival.

5.5. Tablet VI and VII

These two tablets repeat the content of tablet I while expanding it to include and expound the minutest details of the rituals.

VI Side a

Lustration of the *arx*

Introductory auspices: as in I the sacrifice is to be preceded by the taking of the auspices. Formulae passed between the augur and the *arsfertur* (legum dictio); warning against noises, interruptions, meddling; boundaries of the augural templum; formulae of announcement of the auspices (conspectio, nuntiatio); prescriptions applying to the ensuing sacrifice concerning the military rod (*pīrsca arsmatia*), the disposition of the pots and the fire.

1. Sacrifice of three oxen to Iove Grabovios before the Trebulan gate. An opening prayer is followed by three long prayers in identical words for each of the three offerings to the three Grabovian gods and these by a general prayer in conclusion. Then follow prayers especially devoted to the rites connected with the sacrifice.

2. Sacrifice of three pregnant sows to Trebo Iovios behind the Trebulan gate: the prayers used in the first sacrifice are to be repeated.

Side b

3. Sacrifice of three oxen to Marte Grabovios before the Tesenaca gate. The prayers of the first sacrifice are to be repeated.

4. Sacrifice of three suckling pigs to Fiso Sancius behind the Tesenaca gate. The prayers of the first sacrifice are to be repeated. Then an offering of cakes accompanied by specific prayers and ceremonies ensues (involving the use of the *mandraculum*, white linen cloth wrapping the right hand of the officiant): special attention is given to Fiso Sancius, patron of the citadel (*ocre Fisia*).

5. Sacrifice of three oxen with a white forehead (*calersuf*) to Vofionos Grabovios before the Vehia gate. The prayers of the first sacrifice are to be repeated.

6. Sacrifice of three she lambs to Tefer Iovios behind the Vehia gate. The prayers of the first sacrifice are to be repeated. Then supplementary offerings follow, thereafter prayers and accompanying rites with vases on both sides of a trench.

7. Sacrifice of three bull calves to Marte Horse at the Iovian grove. The prayers of the first sacrifice are to be repeated.

8. Sacrifice of other three bull calves to Hondos Çerfios at the Coredian grove. The prayers of the first sacrifice are to be repeated.

Rites for the lustration of the *poplo* (people, i. e. city militia) and execration of the enemies:

The auspices are to be taken in the same way as for the lustration of the *arx*. Holding the *perca arsmatia* (ritual staff) and the *cringatro* the *arsfertur* lights the fire then with the two assistants (*prinovatus*), who hold rods of pomegranate wood, marches with the victims along the Augural Way to the district of *Acedonia*. Proclamation is made expelling the alien enemies. The Iguvines are ordered to form in companies. The *arsfertur* and the assistants march about them thrice with the victims and the fire. At the end a prayer is made invoking misfortune upon the aliens and blessings upon the Iguvinians.

VII Side a

Sacrifice of three boars to *Çerfios Martios* at the *Fontuli*, accompanied by the prayers used at the Trebulan gate.

Sacrifice of three sows to *Praestita Çerfia* at *Rubinia*, with the prayers used at the Trebulan gate. Ceremonies with the black vessels and the white vessels, the former meant to bring misfortune to the aliens, the latter to avert it from the Iguvians. Offering to *Fisovius Sancius* with the prayers used behind the Tesenaca gate.

Sacrifice of three female calves beyond the *Sahata* to *Tursa Çerfia* of the *Çerfios* of *Marte*. The prayers used at the Trebulan gate are to be repeated. The profanation of the offerings must take place where the *nuntiatio* happened: either in *Rubinia* or beyond the *Sahata*.

After three days the holder of the *perca arsmatia* and the two assistants pray silently for the execration of the enemies and the safety of Iguvium from the shrine of *Tursa*. Then heifers are set free below the Forum of *Sehemenia*: the first person who has caught any of the first three shall sacrifice them to *Tursa Iovia* at *Aceronia* for Iguvium. The prayers and rituals (offer of cereals, strues, fertum, *persea*) used at the Trebulan gate are to be repeated.

Side b

Obligations of the *fratrex* and entity of the fine he must pay in case of omissions (300 asses).

6. The Religion of the Umbrians as Reflected in the Iguvine Tablets

6.1. The Triad of the Grabovii

The triad of the *Grabovii* is the highest group of deities of the Iguvian pantheon and looks to be strictly aligned with the archaic triad of Roman religion.^{[10][11]} The epithet *Grabovius* seems to be related to Etruscan *crapis*, ceremonial litter, which might derive from a word meaning oakwood.^[12]

The triad is composed by *love* or *love Patre*, *Marte* and *Vofionos*. The identity of the last has been understood as corresponding to Roman gods *Quirinus* or *Liber*, the former from an IE root **leudh-* meaning people,^{[9][13][14]} the latter either directly from the Italic theonym *Loifer* or through the intermediary of the Italic or Etruscan interpretation of Greek god (*Dionysos*) *Eleutheros*, recorded also in the Etruscan theonym *Tin Luth* (=Iuppiter Liber) of the Piacenza Liver.

The gods of the triad of the *Grabovii* receive in sacrifice three oxen (*buf*) outside the three town gates (*Preveres Treblanes*, *Tesenaces*, *Vehiies* before the Trebulan, Tesenacan, Vehiian Gate). Those to be offered to *Vofionos* are qualified as *calersu*, probably correspondent in meaning to Latin *callidus*, with a white forehead.^[15]

6.2. The Minor Triad

The gods of this triad receive sacrifices in correspondence with those of the major one but these gods are honoured within the town gates. *Trebus Iovios* corresponds to *love Grabovios*, *Fisus Sancius* to *Marte Grabovios* and *Tefer Iovios* to *Vofionos Grabovios*. They received sacrifices of three pregnant sows, three suckling pigs and three ewe lambs respectively. Only the identity of the second one is known with any degree of certainty from attestations of his existence in Rome and elsewhere in Italy. In Rome he is known as *Semo Sancus Dius Fidius*. It is odd that he is here associated with *Mars* while his association with *Jupiter* would seem more well grounded theologically. The topic has been the object of a study by Dominique Briquel: he opines the reason should lie in the repressive and henceforth military connotation of the notion of divine sanction of the law.^[16] This aspect is particularly relevant as to the divine sanction of the town wall,^[17] a fact which is of primary concern in the content of the Tablets.

Trebus in *Trebus Iovios* is usually understood as corresponding in meaning to Latin *trabs*, ridge of the roof. *Tefer* of *Tefer Iovios* is often explained as burner, from the IE root **tep* haet. This interpretation though is very debated.^[18]

Both Benveniste and Dumézil have argued that the Iguvine triads are just another testimony of their three functional hypothesis of IE religion. In particular the sacrificial offerings roughly correspond to those of Rome in their three functional significance and the sixfold invocations of *Via* 30 and 39, *Vib* 13 and 32 (*nerf*, *arismo*; *veiro*, *peiquo*; *castruo*, *fri*: princes, priests; men, cattle; fields, land produce) show a direct connection to the sovereign, military and productive activities.^[19]

6.3. Other Deities

Hondos Iovios

Many scholars, from Bücheler to Prosdocimi, opine this deity is an underworld god of agricultural fertility and plenty on the grounds of the sacrifice of puppies he receives at his festival. Prosdocimi calls it the *intermestruae cereales*: the declaration of the dog is set at the climax of the *feriae*.^[20] Jörg Rüpke remarks the association of Hondos with Jupiter is one among the numerous in the tablets, in which a complex multilevel and hierarchic structure of relationship among theonyms is envisaged. This phenomenon would put the god into a sort of host–guest relationship with the one given in the attributive. In the case of Hondos this feature is apparent also in the fact that his cults at the Hondia festival take place in the Jovian Grove but those at the lustration of the citadel (when the god bears the epithet of Çerfios) in the Coredian Grove.

It has been suggested that the theonym *Hunte Çefi* (*Honde Serfi*), referring to a chthonic god,^{[21][22]} derives from the Proto-Indo-European root **ǵʰm-to* 'earth',^{[23][24]} a stem attested in several branches.

Çerfos Martios, Praesta(o)ta Çerfia, Tursa Çerfia, Tursa Iovia

These deities are invoked and receive sacrifices aimed at obtaining their favour for the protection of the *arx* itself, of the community and of the fields in connexion to the lustration rites of the Iguvian citadel at different locations of augural relevance.

The rites concerning the *Praestota* and the two *Tursae* involve a complex of libations aimed at obtaining a twofold action: the safety for the Iguvine community and the offsetting and expulsion of its traditional enemies.

The debated points are few as far as the *Praestota* and *Tursa* are concerned. The two theonyms correspond to the Latin *Iuppiter Praestes*, *Iuppiter Praestitus*, *Iuppiter Praestabilis* and the *Lares Praestites*. *Tursa* corresponds to god *Terminus*, being the deity that represents the boundaries of the city at different locations of augural relevance: these are without and within the city for *Tursa Çerfia* and *Tursa Iovia* respectively (TI I b; VII a). Such a meaning is connected to the Umbrian word for border, *tuder*: *Tursa* is written *Tuda* in the Etruscan tablets, the intervocalic *d* being pronounced as a weak *rs* (i.e.: *d*). Dumézil on the other hand, on the grounds of the function of *Tursa*, a deity whose action is to scare, inspire terror into the enemies, opines the theonym derives from a verbal root equivalent to Latin *terreo*, I scare (interpreting accordingly *tursitu*, *tremitu* in VIb 60).^[25]

There is no agreement among scholars on the meaning of the epithet *Çerfios* and as to whether this is also a theonym, i. e. *Çerfos Martios* is a god different from Mars or not. An inscription from Corfinium reads: *Çerfom sacaracicer Semunes sua[d]*, "priest of the Çerfi and the Semones", placing side by side the two categories of entities, the *çerfi* and the *semunes*. *Çerfos* is most times associated to IE root **ker(s)* and Latin theonyms *Ceres* and *Cerus*. This view though might create interpretative problems concerning the theology of Mars and of the two deities who in Rome are associated with the sphere of law and defence, i. e. gods Jupiter and Semo Sancus Dius Fidius. Georg Wissowa and Dumézil both underline that the derivation from root **ker(s)* is not certain: Umbrian group *-rf* could have a different origin than *-rs*.^[26]

Marte Hodie; Hondos Çerfios

Marte and Hondos appear also under these epithets. Here too the only certain indication is from Roman *Heres* (or *Here*) *Martea*, connected with *heres*, he who inherits and also *dominus*, the position of master of the house.^[27] Some scholars though connect the epithet to Latin adjective *fodius*, he who destroys. The two gods both receive sacrifices of male calves in the rites for the lustration of the citadel at the Iovian and Coredian groves respectively; theirs are the last in the series of sacrifices after the two triads and before the execration of the enemies.

God Hondos receives the epithet *Iovios* in II and that of *Çerfios* in VI. This fact raises the question of whether these epithets were used alternatively in connexion with local or temporal constraints. Another similar instance is that of *Tursa Çerfia* and *Tursa Iovia*, who are found without and within the *pomerium* respectively.

Puemonos Pupricos and Vesuna of Puemonos Pupricos

This divine couple appears only in tablets III and IV, the most ancient ones. Puemonos's name seems to be related with Roman goddess Pomona; moreover both the name itself and the epithet *Popricos* (*Publicus*) hint towards a universal fertility god, similar to Latin god Liber. Vesuna is also found on a coin from Marsian territory.^{[28][29]}

6.4. General Remarks on Iguvinian Theonyms

O. de Cazanove observes Iguvinian theonyms appear to be compound formations of two, three and four terms:^[30] they may consist of a substantive plus an epithet (e. g. Hondos Iovios, Tursa Iovia, Puemonos Podpricos), of a substantive plus a possessive phrase plus epithet (e. g. Vesuna of Puemonos Podpricos) and of a substantive plus epithet plus possessive phrase plus epithet (e. g. Prestota Çerfia of Çerfios Martios, Tursa Çerfia of Çerfios Martios). In his view this

situation is comparable to that of Rome where are recorded purely functional deities in the pontifical books. These divinities were invoked in the prayers according to the Roman rite as mentioned by Gellius:^[31] "*Lua Saturni, Salacia Neptuni, Hora Quirini, Virites Quirini, Maia Vulcani, Heries Iunonis, Moles Martis, Nerio Martis*". These entities would be a concrete representation of the powers of their respective god.

At Iguvium though the situation looks more complex and less fixed as Tursa and Hondos are alternatively Çerfian and Martian and Çerfian and Iovian respectively.

Other theonyms

Some other deities are known just because they are mentioned occasionally in specifying the limits of augural observation (included those of the town). These theonyms are for the most part known in Roman religion. They are Tursa and (possibly) Hulos in IV 17 and 19 respectively, Vestisios (Libasius) apparently god of libations (possibly related to Latin Vesta ^[32]), Hoios (cf. Latin Holus, Helus, Roman grove of Helernus in Ovid's *Fasti* II 67-68) god of vegetation^[33] and Padella (cf. Roman goddess Patella), goddess of opening sheaves in VIa 14. Possibly adjective *deueia* of Asa *Deueia* (VIa 9, 10) implies a cult of the sky under the name *Dius, Dia*, similar to that of Dea Dia outside Rome (Ancellotti & Cerri).

6.5. Priesthoods

The Attidian brethren had an *arsfertur* (literally the Umbrian equivalent of Latin *adfertor*, i. e. "he who carries something to somewhere", clearly referring to a role in the ceremonies, holder of the *pirca arsmatia*, ceremonial rod). Other mentioned offices include the *fratreces* interpreted as *curator arcae*,^[34] the *cvestor* and the *prinovatus*, probably agrimensors, attendants of the person who takes the auspices. An *ohtor (auctor)* is mentioned in T. III and IV: the term denotes the person responsible for the ceremony.^[35]

6.6. Rites

The tablets record different sets of rites held on different festive occasions: the main and recorded in greatest detail one is the annual lustration of the citadel (*ocre*, Latin *arx*) of Iguvium (Tablets I, VI and VII). This rite includes sacrifices to the *Grabovian* (major) triad and the minor one near the gates of the town, sacrifices to *Marte Hodie* and *Hondos Çerfios* at the two sacred groves of *Iove* and *Coredios* (interpreted as *Quiritius* or *Curiatius*) respectively, the lustral review of the people of Iguvium in arms, i. e. the city militia, the execration and ritual expulsion (*exterminatio*) of the traditional enemies of Iguvium and final sacrifices to *Çerfios Marti(os)*, the *Praestita Çerfia* and the two *Tursae, Çerfia and Iovia*, at various locations without and within the pomerium. Tablets VI and VII relate the ritual actions such as circumambulations, libations, kneelings and dance in minute detail recording all the prayers and the other augural formulae. The older tablet I gives a more concise record.

The ritual triple (three time) circumambulation with fire and the victims about the city militia looks parallel to the Roman ritual performed by king Tullius as described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.^[36]

The most complex ceremonies are those concerning **Tefer Iovios** and **Fisus Sancius**. A summary is appended below.

Tefer Iovios (VIb 22-42):

Sacrifice of the ewe lambs with the usual prayers used for each god of the two triads.

(23) Offering of the *persondro sorsom* (suine) at the right foot of the gate with accompanying libation.

(24) Offering of the libations.

(25-36) Prayer to Tefer Iovios with *tripodium*.

(37) Offering of the *persondro stafflare* (bovine or ovine) at the left foot of the gate.

Prayer repeated.

(38) Assigning of the *prosecta* (cuts of sacrificial meat).

Assigning of the libation accompanying the *persondro sorsale* at the right foot where the *sorso* was offered to the god (profanated).

Assigning of the libation accompanying the *persondro stafflare* at the left foot as above.

Burning or inhumation of the *persondro sorsale*.

Burning or inhumation of the *persondro stafflare*.

(40) Throwing away over the head the vessels used for the *persondro* during the prayer on the incense (or cereal meal).

Fisus Sancius (here appealed to also as *Fisovius* = *Fiducius*) (VIb 3-18):

Sacrifice of three suckling piglets with the usual prayers, consecration with incense (or meal) and grains as at the Trebulan gate.

Wearing of the *mandraculum* (white cloth) around the right hand by the officiant.

Adding of the *ficla* and *strucla* to the *prosecta*.

Placing of the *sopo* (offa) at the back.

(5) The officiant while kneeling offers the libation, the *mefa* and the *spefa* spilling them from the vessels.

(6) Prayers for the *arx* and the community.

(16) During the prayers libation and *tripodium*.

Offering of the libation.

Distribution of the *prosecta* and of the libation while kneeling.

(17) Crushing and spilling over the fire of the *mefa*, libation, *sopa* (possibly lower entrails).

Milling while sitting, prayer over the milled incense or meal.

(18) The two profane and the two sacred jugs are disposed in rows.^[37]

The opening lines (1-14) of **Tablet II** records various sacrifices to *love*, *lovio* (or *lovia*? Newman: *luno*) and *Marte* to be held in atonement of possible unknown ritual faults:

the *Hondia* festivals on which occasion dogs were offered in sacrifice to *Hondos lovios*--apparently "Earthly Zeus" or "CHTHONIC Zeus"; the feast to *Hondos lovios* held by the gens *Petronia* (these last two festivals might in fact be one); the sacrifice and feast of the *sodalitas* of the *Fratres Atiedii* on which rams and pigs were sacrificed to *love* by the ten sets of families of the twelfth *pomperias*, districts of Iguvium; finally the sacrifice of a calf at the feast of *love Patre* held by the gens *Vocia* (*Lucia*). The tablet might be fragmentary, i. e. record only the final part of a ritual at its beginning.

Here is the summary of the ceremonies at the **festival of Hondos** with dog sacrifice (IIa 15-44) (oddly, in the following translation, **katlu** is translated both "kid" and "dog"):

(15) the sum of money for the kid(s) is to be raised among the dining tables at the published price

the arfertur makes preparations after observing the birds

(18) the kid(s), grains, *strues*, *fertum*; incense, wine, salt, *mola*; *mandraculum*, vases (consecrated and not or wet and dry), water (or ointment) are to be prepared

(the rite, proper, seems to begin here:)

(19)--the fire is lit on the *ara* (probably "altar")

the *puni* (incense) is consecrated

(20) offering of the kid(s) to *Hondos lovios*, declaration of its purity, for the gens *Patrona* among the *Atiedian* Brotherhood

(22) the *sopas* (underparts?) of the kid are taken and the *prosiciae* (cutlets) divided upon the breadcrusts

(23) empty baskets are placed behind and the cereals before at the foot (of the *ara*)

offering of the incense

libation and *tripodium*

(25) *tripodium* near the vessels of wine chanting in turn nine times: "I honour Thee with incense and wine."

(26) bringing of the crusts with the entrails

(27) libation

two cuts of the kid(s) are divided into three pieces or three times

addition of *strues* and *fertum*

(29) offering of the dog

prayer over the [dog's] foot and over the uncut flesh

addition [of *strues* and *fertum*] to the flesh cuts

offering of the kid(s); prayer in front of it

prayer on the flesh, both uncut and roasted

offering of the *suppa* on the plates
prayer on the dedicatory jugs

(31) libation, *tripodium*, moving and placing down of the offerings

suppas are placed behind, the flesh is taken by hand

(33) the incense is placed in two jars on the bracket

breadcrusts, fried placentas, pots both containing water (ointment) and empty are brought over

(34) libation to Hondos Iovios from the jugs for the gens Petronia of the Attidian Brethren

beyond the bracket, prayer on the pure breadcrusts

same prayer on the placentae, the pure jugs filled with water and the empty ones on the bracket

(37) libation and *tripodium*

the bracket is moved aside; prayer on the pure water (ointment)

(38) hands are washed from the *ara* (or the *ara* is turned in the hands)

(39) back to the *ara*, near it silent prayer on the pure wine

(40) bringing and distribution of whatever the participants wish: wine, incense

(41) grinding of the *strues*, *fertum*; spilling of the incense or meal on the jar

(42) prayer on the whole and the ground grains

the rite is proclaimed over

(43) the kid(s) is burnt near the *ara*.^[38]

Sacrifices of dogs were not common among ancient Italic people. Instances in Rome include the Lupercalia and a parallel may be found in the *Augurium Canarium*^[39] and the Robigalia, both held in late Spring for the propitiation of a good harvest and for the preservation of the grains from mildew respectively. According to the explanation given in Ovid by the *flamen Quirinalis*^[40] the dog was sacrificed because at the time in which the grains in the ears are in danger for the heat and draught the sun enters the constellation of the Dog: this explanation is erroneous. Another ritual aimed at protecting corn in danger from fires concerned foxes which were set afire in the Circus Maximus on the last day of the *Cerialia* (*Cerealia*).^[41] Finally dogs were crucified on the Capitol at the beginning of August, time of the *canicula* to avert the rabies contagion or lessen their barking which disturbed sick people.^[42]

The hymn has a fairly clear structure, with the central offering of the dog sacrifice and following prayer enveloped in sequence by offerings of *strues* and *fertum*, followed by two parallel offerings and prayers, and more distantly preceded and followed by two *tripodia*. Activities both before and after the formal period of the rite are specified. Prayers and libations are repetitively offered throughout, while consecrating and offering (presumably this involves lighting) of the incense is prominent near the beginning and ritual washing toward the end of the ceremony.

Tablet III and IV record in minute detail the rituals of the festival of Puemonos Popricos and Vesuna at a sacred grove outside the town. Recently Michael Weiss has advanced the view that this was a new year ritual on the grounds of comparative material.

6.7. Treatment of the offerings

Latin sources concerning the cooking of the *viscera* underline the difference between the Etruscan and Roman customs distinguishing the *exta aulicocta* boiled in the *olla extaris* before the offering to the god, from the Tuscan *exta* roasted *in veru* and partly eaten during the sacrificial rite. At Iguvium the description of some sacrificial rites documents both the use of spits for the viscera and the presence of *prosiciae* displayed on the table of the offerings beside the fire and perhaps consecrated and burnt to the gods.^[43]

I 7. Augury

Augural practices are presented in the tablets, most notably in the last two ones. They include the *praeire verba*, i.e. the uttering of the words to be repeated by the *arfertur*, the *legum dictio*, the rules for the taking of the auspices such as silence (*silentium*) and the avoidance of other incidents, the definition of the boundaries of the augural *templum*, the *nuntiatio*, announcement of the appearance of the expected signs from birds, the circumambulation of the army with fire.

Tablet VIa begins with an **augural song**. Here below is the text (VIa 1-5) with Poultney's translation of the passage:

Este persclo aveis asseriater eneto:

parfa curnace dersua,

peiqu peica merstu.

Poei angla asseriato eest

esso tremnu, serse,

arsferture ehuelto:

"Stiplo asseriaia parfa dersua, curnaco

dersua;

peico mersto, peica mersta;

mersta auei, mersta angla esona."

Arfertur eso anstiplatu:

"Ef asserio parfa dersua, curnaco

dersua;

peico mersto, peica mersta;

mersta aueif merstaf anglaf esona;

mehe, tote lioveine,

esmei stahmei stahmeitei."

This ceremony [the *adfertor*--officiating priest] shall commence by observing the birds:

a *parra* (perhaps jay, green woodpecker or hoopoe) and crow in the west, a (black) woodpecker and magpie in the east.

The one who goes out to observe the messengers (or 'signs') while in the tent, seated, shall call out to the *adfertor*:

"Demand that I observe a *parra* in the west, a crow in the west; a woodpecker in the east, a magpie in the east; in the east, birds; in the east, divine messengers."

The *adfertor* shall thus demand:

"There observe a *parra* in the west, a crow in the west; a woodpecker in the east, a magpie in the east; in the east, birds; in the east, divine messengers; for me, for the state of Iguvium, for this established ordinance."

Rules for the observation of bird signs are given in V1a 15-18: below a certain boundary line (*hondra esto tudero* V1a 15) defined previously, the augur must see and hear the verse of a *parfa* (*parrha*) and a crow; above that line (*supu*) he must see and hear a woodpecker *peiqu* and a magpie *peica*.

7.1. Augural Terminology

Aveis asseriates 1a 1; *aves asseriates* V1a 1: *avibus observatis*, "having observed the birds."

persnaies, pusnaies 1a 1: *antici, postici*, "(in the part) before and behind."

dersua V1a 1: *dextera*, "right hand, prosperous." The right hand was apparently seen as auspicious in Umbria as in Greece. Newman (Appendix II) cites the position of the augur in the inauguration of Numa, in which he faced east while Numa faced south. Right and left have both an auspicious and inauspicious meaning in Latin.^[44] One problem with this enticing analysis is that there is a distinct and separate word that means 'right (hand)' in Umbrian: **destre/testre** which is in the expected phonological form for a cognate of Latin *dexter/dextra*. Poultney suggests a possible relationship of Umbrian *dersua* to Latin *dorsum* 'back' since when *oriented* toward the rising sun, the west is to ones back. ^[45]

merstu V1a 1: *iustissimus*, "rightest, most correct, propitious," superlative of *mersos*. Adjective *mersos*, from *medos* (literally *medius*),^[46] means *iustus* (cf. Oscan *meddix*: supreme magistrate, *iudex*). Both words in Latin and Osco-Umbrian have a broader meaning than just, lawful: they may mean augurally correct, favourable, in agreement with the divine forces.^[47] But here again, the Umbrian word that fits this analysis: *mers* "law, right, custom" which is likely from the PIE root *med- as in Greek *medomai* "to think on". Also, Umbrian formed superlatives with -emo-/temo-, not with -sto. The context seems to call for a direction that contrasts with *destrua* above. As Poultney points out, the most probable source here is PIE *merk- "spark" with cognates in Germanic meaning 'morning' (including that word itself). The semantic shift for words for "morning/sunrise" to words for "east" is, of course, ubiquitous. ^[48]

anglaf V1a 1: *oscines*, "giving signs through their voice." < *an-kla-; compare Latin *cla-mo* "I cry (out)", *cla-rus* "famous"

stiplo, anstiplatu V1a 2, 3: *stipulare, leges dicere*, "stipulate."

mersta auei, mersta angla, esona V1a 3: "most propitious birds (auspices), most propitious singing, divine [signs]" or more likely "birds in the east, messengers in the east, divine [signs]" The last of these may refer to lightening, according to Poultney.

stahmei stahmeitei V1a 5: *statio statuta, templum designatum*, "augural templum," the designated space of augural observation.

neip mugatu Vla 6: *ne mugito, muttito*, "that nobody shall make utterances, murmur." Silence is essential in augural practises.^[49]

nep arsir andersistu Vla 6: *ne divis intersistito*, "that nobody shall come in between, barge in," between the divine (signs) and the augur.

disleralinsust Vla 7: *alteravit (e)rali, erali=alter* "render irritable, impair the auspice"; *attero* VII a 11, 27: "bad, unlucky."^[50]

verfale Vla 8: *formula* of the templum. According to a new etymology, de Vaan connects this noun to Latin cognate *urbs*, both having the meaning of defined space for augural observation, from a PIE root **u(o)rb(h)* plus /d(h)-h(2) enclosure, enclosed area.^[51]

stahmito Vla 8: *statutum*, "designated, established."

tuderato Vla 8: *finitum*, "defined, provided with boundaries." From noun *tuder* boundary, Etruscan *tular*.

vapersus auiehcleir Vla 9: *lapidibus auguralibus* (ablative), "(near) by the augural stones, rocks." Note the change from **l-* to *v-* in Umbrian, also seen in Umbrian *vuco* versus Latin *locus*

tuder Vla 9: "boundary, limit."

anclar Vla 16: *oscines* "songbirds, messengers", literally "those who call out" < **an-kla:-* compare Latin *clamo* "I cry (out)"

combifiatu Vla 17: *conspectum capito, nuntiatio*, "(the augur) shall announce the appearance of the auspices." Literally *confidato* "confide".

popler anferener Vla 19: *populi recensendi, lustrandi*, "review of the levied army." Buck cites the parallel instance of the ritual circumambulation holding a lit torch performed by king Tullus Hostilius in Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* IV 22.

perca arsmatia Vla 19: *virga ritualis*, "ritual (and/or military) rod."

perne postne sepse sarsite uouse auie esone Vlb 11: *antice postice septe sarcte voce (et) ave (i. e. auspicio) divina*, "from before and behind, clear and cut (fully, wholly) voice and bird sacred."^[52] Or ...*voto, augurio, sacrificio* "by vow, auspice and sacrifice."^[53]

peiqu: picus "woodpecker"; *peica* perhaps "magpie"; *parfa: parrha*, perhaps *oxifraga* or "upupa/hoopoe"; *curnace: cornix*, "crow" (Vla 1 etc.).

prinovatus: legatus, assistant to the *arsfertur*, possibly *agrimensor*, land-surveyor: probably from Greek πρινοϋς, Celtic *prinni* oakwood.^[54]

percaf poniçate Ib 15; *perca poniçiater* Vlb 51: *virgas Punicae-mali* "rods," wands of pomegranate wood.

fato fito Vlb 11: it looks *fito* had an active meaning in Umbrian, i.e. "(having) become"; *fato* has been interpreted as a passive past participle of a verb corresponding to Latin *fateor*, thence *fato fito*: having become defined by utterance.

8. Topography

Studies have been devoted recently to identifying the location of the rituals described in the tablets, particularly of the *Fisian Arx*, which has been placed with certainty on Monte Ingino, to the southwest of Gubbio.^[55]

9. Text Samples

Here is a sample of their language and content, from **Tablet VI** a 26 ff. (note that there is no punctuation in the original texts):

Dei Grabouie
orer ose, persei ocre fisie
pir orto est,
toteme louine arsmor dersecor
subator sent,
pusei neip heritu.

Jupiter Grabovius...
by the effect of this, if on the Fisian mount
fire has arisen,
or if in the nation of Iguvium the owed preparations
have been omitted,
let it be as if they had been made [properly].

Dei Grabouie
persei tuer perscler uaseto est
pesetomest, peretomest,
frosetomest, daetomest,
tuer perscler uirseto auirseto
uas est. . .

Jupiter Grabovius,
if in your sacrifice there has been any flaw,
any defect, any ritual violation,
any fraud, any error,
if in your sacrifice either seen or unseen
there is a flaw. . .

Here is the fuller text of **Tablet VI** a 22-34, being the first of three very repetitive and formulaic prayers that the head/officiating priest (arsfertur = "the one who carries [the sacred fire] to [the altar]) is instructed to say during the libation (line numbers in parentheses):

teio subocau suboco (23)

dei graboui

ocriper fisiu, totaper iiouina,
erer nomneper erar nomneper.

fos sei, pacer sei,
ocre fisei, (24) tote iiouine,
erer nomne, erar nomne.

arsie tio subocau suboco,
dei grabouie;
arsier frite tio subocau (25) suboco,
dei grabouie.

di grabouie
tio esu bue peracrei pihacalu
ocreper fisiu, totaper iiouina,
irer nomneper, (26) erar nomneper.

dei grabouie,
orer ose, persei ocre fisie pir orto est
toteme iouine arsmor dersecor (27)
subator sent,
pusei neip heritu.

dei crabouie
persei tuer perscler uaseto est
pesetomest peretomest (28)
frosetomest daetomest
tuer perscler uirseto auirseto uas est;

di grabouie
persei mersei esu bue (29) peracrei
pihacalu pihafei.

di grabouie
pihatu ocre fisiu pihatu tota iouina.
di grabouie
pihatu ocrer fisier (30) totar iouinar nome:

nerf arsmo
veiro pequeno
castruo frif
pihatu.

futu fos pacer pase tua
ocre fisi (31) tote iiouine
erer nomne erar nomne.

di grabouie
saluo seritu ocre fisi
salua seritu tota iiouina.

di (32) grabouie
saluo seritu ocrer fisier
totar iouinar nome:

Thee I invoke as the one invoked, (23)

Jupiter Grabovius,

for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium,
for the name of the mount, (24) for the name of the state.

Be thou favourable, be thou propitious
to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium,
to the name of the mount, to the name of the state.

In the consecration I invoke thee as the one invoked,
Jupiter Grabovius;
in trust of the consecration I invoke thee (25) as the one invoked,
Jupiter Grabovius.

Jupiter Grabovius,
thee I invoke with this perfect ox as a propitiatory offering
for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium,
for the name of the mount, (26) for the name of the state.

Jupiter Grabovius,
by the effect of this [ox bring it to pass that], if on the Fisian Mount fire
hath occurred
or in the state of Iguvium the due rites (27) have been omitted,
that it be as not intended.

Jupiter Grabovius,
if in thy sacrifice there hath been any omission,
any sin, any transgression,
(28) any damage, any delinquency,
if in thy sacrifice there be any seen or unseen fault;

Jupiter Grabovius,
if it be right, with this perfect (29) ox as a propitiatory offering,
may purification be made.

Jupiter Grabovius,
purify the Fisian Mount, purify the state of Iguvium.
Jupiter Grabovius,
purify the name of the Fisian Mount, (30) of the state of Iguvium:

the magistrates, the priesthoods,
the men and the cattle,
the heads [of grain] and the fruits
purify.

Be favourable and propitious with thy peace
to the Fisian Mount, (31) to the state of Iguvium,
to the name of the mount, to the name of the state.

Jupiter Grabovius,
keep safe the Fisian Mount,
keep safe the state of Iguvium.

Jupiter (32) Grabovius,
keep safe the name of the Fisian Mount,
of the state of Iguvium:

nerf arsmo
veiro pequo
castruo fri
salua (33) seritu.

the magistrates, the priesthoods,
the men and the cattle,
the heads [of grain] and the fruits
keep safe. (33)

futu fos pacer pase tua
ocre fisi tote iouine
erer nomne erar nomne

Be favourable and propitious with thy peace
to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium,
to the name of the mount, to the name of the state.

di grabouie
tio esu bue (34) peracri pihaclu
ocreper fisiu totaper iouina
erer nomneper erar nomneper
di grabouie
tio subocau

Jupiter Grabovius,
thee with this perfect (34) ox as a propitiatory offering
for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium,
for the name of the mount, for the name of the state,
Jupiter Grabovius,
thee I invoke.

(The chiasitic--AB...BA--envelope construction, beginning with "Thee I invoke ... JG," and ending "JG, Thee I invoke" probably was a stylistic way to clearly mark that this was the end of the complete first prayer, to be followed by the second (below, ll. 35-44) and third (ll. 45-55) essentially identical prayers, both capping with the same phrase, and notably with the verb separated from the phrase at the opening of each of the next two prayers.)

Note that *veiro pequo...salua seritu* "the men and cattle...keep safe" in lines 32-33 matches Latin *pastores pecua salua seruassis* "the herdsmen and cattle...keep safe" (in Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum* 2.1.12), and further afield, Avestan *θrāθrāi pasuuā: viraiiā:* "for the protection of cattle [and] men" (*Yasht* 13.10), suggesting that some form of the formula goes back to Proto-Indo-European.^[56]

["**Jupiter Grabovius, thee**--with this perfect ox as a second propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state--**I invoke**. Jupiter Grabovius, by the effect of this ox bring it to pass, if on the Fisian Mount fire hath occurred or in the state of Iguvium the due rites have been omitted, that it be as not intended. Jupiter Grabovius, if in thy sacrifice there hath been any omission, any sin, any transgression, any damage, any delinquency, if in thy sacrifice there be any seen or unseen fault, Jupiter Grabovius, if it be right, with this perfect ox as a second propitiatory offering may purification be made. Jupiter Grabovius, purify the Fisian Mount, purify the state of Iguvium. Jupiter Grabovius, purify the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, (40) purify the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favourable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Jupiter Grabovius, keep safe the Fisian Mount, keep safe the state of Iguvium. Jupiter Grabovius, keep safe the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, keep safe the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favourable and propitious with thy peace to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the name of the mount, to the name of the state. Jupiter Grabovius, thee with this perfect ox as a second propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state, **Jupiter Grabovius, thee I invoke.**] "^[57]

References

1. Paolucci (1965), p. 40-44
2. Paolucci (1965), p. 30-31
3. Paolucci (1965), p. 44
4. On the holes bored on the last three tablets, Prosdocimi (p. 161) remarks they testify that the documents were meant for public exhibition. As this seems odd for ritual prescriptions it can be interpreted as a political operation of the Augustan period.
5. Adriano Maggiani in Aldo L. Prosdocimi *Le Tavole Iguvine* Firenze 1984. This may though be considered only a terminus post quem since a style of ductus may last in peripheral areas well after its inception and even well after its demise in culturally dominant areas has occurred. Prosdocimi above p. 153.
6. In Aldo Luigi Prosdocimi *Le Tavole Iguvine I* Firenze Olschki 1984.

7. Strucla, ficla would be equivalent to the Latin terms denoting the sweetmeats always accompanying religious ceremonies in ancient Roman religion. Cf. Festus s.v. strufertarii. Literally ficla, ficula made into a shape.
8. Elena Isayev, "Italy before the Romans" (2008) in Jörg Rüpke (editor) A Companion to Roman Religion.
9. Olivier de Cazanove (2008). Religion in Preroman Italy, in Jörg Rüpke (editor) A Companion to Roman Religion.
10. Dumézil, Georges. (1954) Remarques sur les dieux Grabovio- d' Iguvium, Revue de Philologie 28 pp. 226–234
11. Rosenzweig, Irene (1937). Ritual and Cults of pre-Roman Iguvium. London.
12. from Illyrian for oak or beech: cf. Russian grab beech; Macedonian γράβιον wood of the oak. P. Kretschmer. Festschrift Bezzenberger, p. 89 ff., cited in Buck, above, p. 371.
13. Vittore Pisani "Mytho-Etymologica" Revue des études Indo-europeennes (Bucarest) 1, 1938
14. Benveniste, Émil. (1945). Symbolisme social dans les cultes gréco-italique, p.7-9. Revue de l' histoire des religions, 129. as cited by Dumézil, Georges. (1977). ARR It. tr. La religione romana arcaica, p. 144. Milan.
15. Isidore Origines, cited by Newman above.
16. D. Briquel "Sur les aspects militaires du dieu ombrien Fisis Sancius" in Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité 1979 pp.135-137.
17. Gaius Institutiones II 8.
18. The same root of Tefer is also found in names of rivers such as Tiber, Tifernus, placenames such as Tibur, Tifernum Tiberinum and proper names as Etruscan Tefaries or Latin Tiberinus, Tiberius and Tiburtus. The most likely etymology of these names is from Mediterranean word teba meaning hill. Hubschmid 1954, Alessio 1949.
19. Rolf Noyer PDF by University of Pennsylvania: Linguistics Courses 051 (online at: linguistics upenn.edu).
20. TI II a 15-44. Aldo Luigi Prodocimi "L'Umbro." in Lingue e dialetti dell' Italia antica (= Popoli e civiltà 1. Italia antica VI) Roma e Padova 1978 a cura di A. L. Prodocimi p. 713-717; 761-762. Hondra in Umbrian means under(neath), below.
21. Lacam, Jean-Claude Lacam. "Le «prêtre danseur» de Gubbio. Étude ombrienne (iiiie-iiie s. av. J.-C.)". In: Revue de l'histoire des religions [En ligne], 1 | 2011. \$20, mis en ligne le 01 mars 2014, consulté le 13 février 2021. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/rhr/7709>. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/rhr.7709>
22. Pfiffig, Ambros J. (1972). "Megalithische Elemente in den altitalischen Kulturen". *Almogaren* III/1972, Graz 1973. pp. 111 and 114.
23. Lacam, Jean-Claude. "Le sacrifice du chien dans les communautés grecques, étrusques, italiques et romaines: approche comparatiste". In: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité*, tome 120, n°1. 2008. Antiquité. p. 45. [DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3406/mefr.2008.10414>]; www.persee.fr/doc/mefr_0223-5102_2008_num_120_1_10414
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25. G. Dumézil La religione romana arcaica Milan 1977 p. 222-223.
26. G. Wissowa Religion und Kultus der Römer Munich 1912 p. 192 n. 9; Dumézil Archaic Roman Religion It. tr. Milan 1977 p. 222-223. Derivation from IE root *kerr (horn) would seem to suit the functions of these gods.
27. Gellius XIII 23, 1 and 18; Festus s. v. p. 89 L; Ennius Annales 104 "...Nerienem Mavortis et Herem...". Hendrik Wagenvoort Pietas. Selected Essays on Roman Religion Leiden 1980 p. 175.
28. Newman p. 4 citing Mommsen.
29. According to toponomastic studies, Vesuna is a potamonym. i.e. a river-name in the hydronymy of Central Italy.
30. Olivier de Cazanove in Jörg Rüpke (Editor) A Companion to Roman Religion London Wiley 2007 part I chapter 4 p. 50 f.
31. Aulus Gellius Noctes Atticae XIII 23, 2.
32. Poultney, J.W. "Bronze Tables of Iguvium" 1959 p. 1
<https://archive.org/details/bronzetablesfig00poul/page/n19/mode/2up>
33. He may have a cave if carso Hoi is interpreted as cave of Hoios (Ancellotti & Cerri), but the most likely meaning of carso is ditch (Newman after A. & K.).
34. Prodocimi above p. 713 f.
35. Francis W. Newman The Iguvine Tablets London 1863 p. 1 and 24 citing Aufrecht and Kirchhof.
36. Carl D. Buck A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian Boston 1928 p. 308 citing Dionysius Halicarn. IV 22.

37. After Newman, Buck, Ancellotti & Cerri.
38. After Newman and Buck.
39. Pliny Naturalis Historia XVIII 14.
40. Ovid Fasti IV 939-942.
41. Ovid Fasti IV 691-712.
42. Plutarch Roman Questions.
43. Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae Paul Getty Foundation "Sacrifices" in "Processions, Sacrifices, Libations, Fumigations" p. 182.
44. Cicero De Divinatione II 39, cited by Newman p. 53.
45. Poultney, J.W. "Bronze Tables of Iguvium" 1959 pp. 302
<https://archive.org/details/bronzetablesfig00poul/page/n19/mode/2up>
46. Adjective derived from PIE medh-ios middle, cf. Latin medius middle, central: M. de Vaan Etymological Dictionary of Latin and Other Italic Languages Leiden 2008 sv.
47. G. Dumézil ARR It. tr. p. 91 n. 7 on the authority of Plautus.
48. Poultney, J.W. "Bronze Tables of Iguvium" 1959 pp. 311
<https://archive.org/details/bronzetablesfig00poul/page/n19/mode/2up>
49. Festus sv. silentio surgere.
50. Festus s.v. alterum: "Alterum et pro non bono ponitur, ut in auguriis altera cum appellatur avis quae utique prospera non est...pro adverso dicitur et malo". "Other is understood as meaning not good, as in the auguria when a bird is named other i. e. not propitious... it is said for adverse and evil". Ehlich Zu indogermanische Sprachengeschichte p. 78 as cited by Buck p. 308.
51. M. de Vaan Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages Leiden/Boston 2008 sv. urbs citing Driessen 2001 and Meiser 1998. Cf. Hittite uarpa- enclosure.
52. Festus s. v. sarte p. 429 L: "Sarcte in auguralibus pro integre ponitur. Sane sarcteqe audire videreque". "In augural lore sarcte means "wholly: hearing and seeing clearly and wholly". As cited by Newman from Aufrecht & Kirchhof.
53. C. D. Buck p. 273.
54. G. M. Facchetti Appunti di morfologia etrusca 2002 p. 52.
55. Francesco Marcattili in Thesaurum Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum. Cult Places s. v. Arx p. 187 Paul Getty Foundation 2006. Citing Simone Sisani Tuta Ikuvin. Sviluppo e ideologia della forma urbana a Gubbio Rome Quasar 2001.
56. Watkins, Calvert How to Kill A Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics, Oxford, pp210- 212
57. J. W. Poultney The Bronze Tables of Iguvium 1959 pp. 242 ff.
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