on the day of the Mederiniana, a feast in honor of Mederina the healing "goddess", in order to dispel illness: "Noscum sui numum bibo homo sequi mortem medico (Varro L.L. 6.21)."
I do not believe that this can be deduced from the text: "Octobr mens Mederiniana dies dictus a medendo, quo Flaccus flamen Martialis dicat, hoc die solium iniunum nosse et aetum libri et deputari medicamentum causa: quo facere solent etiam mens multi quam dicant. Noscum sui numum bibo, etc. Flaccus, the flamen of Mars, is thus not the only source of the information. Ernout maintains this interpretation in his edition of Pliny, N.H. 28 (1960), p. 125, n. 4.

15. The connection established by the belief between Consus and the agricultural Abundance is confirmed by the fact that Consus is one of the old deities (Seia, Segesta, etc.) of the valley of the Circus, all of them agrarian. The best etymology of his name is the one which connects it with *condare.* The form Consauli may be analogical (Feaiaulci, etc.), or it may be based on a verbal substantive in *-a*; there is nothing in it to suggest an Iliuscan origin. Contrary opinion in A. Ernout, Philologica 2 (1957): 174. <See below, pp. 267–68.>


17. On the Fornacalia, see L. Delatte, Recherches sur quelques rites mobiles du calendrier roman (1937), pp. 13–22. The character of "god of the dead" which some have tried to draw from the date of the Quirinalia (H. Wagenknecht, Studies in Roman Literature, Culture, and Religion [1956], p. 182) is not supported by the facts. Only the calendar of P. L. Silvius places the death of Romulus on 17 February (Quirinalia, quo die Romulius accidit a suco; all the other sources associate this legend with 7 July [Consulinae]. Ovid, F. 2.481–512, speaks of the transformation of Romulus into Quirinus at the beginning of his treatment of the Quirinalia, but leaves it associated with Caprea Pallas, thus with the Nones Caprines of July.

18. The interpretation of G. Rohde, Die Kulisseiten
gen der römischen Festivals, RV 25 (1936): 123–24, is vitiated by the theory which makes Quirinus a god "adopted" when syncretism took place. Among the other ancient explanations of the name of Quirinus, the association with the city of Cures is no longer defended. The etymology based on a Sabine *cura,* "spear" (the authenticity of which is guaranteed by a related Celtic word) is rather unlikely: (1) Sabine *cura* causes difficulty; (2) the spear belongs to Mars rather than to Quirinus; (3) the Quirites, as opposed to the milites, can scarcely have been defined by the spear or by any other weapon; (6) on the basis of the "spears" how are we to explain *curae?*

19. R. Aribas, *El sistema gentilicio de los indo-europeos occidentales y las origines de Roma* (1948), pp. 35–59, thinks that the *cura* was not originally a division of the tribes, but a direct (military) "mustering": for him, in primitive times, *cura = decuria.*

20. This is not the place to criticize the volume written by J. Gonda for the same collection, *Die Religionen Indiens,* vol. 1: Veda und alter Hindoeismus (1960), in which the author speaks several times of my work. I have also examined his method of discussion several times and shall probably return to it elsewhere.


22. <Above, pp. 60–78.>


### 8. Iguvine Tablets VIIa 1–VIIb 47

Discovered in the Italian city of Gubbio in 1444, the bronze Iguvine tablets record the rites of an ancient Italic priesthood, the Frater Atitlium or Atitlium Brothers. The documents are written in the Italic language of Umbrian (belonging to the subset of Sabellian languages of the Italic group, rather than the Latin-Faliscan subset) and were produced between the third and first centuries BCE, though the religious ceremonies and structures that they evidence are far, far older. The passage below describes a ceremony of purification of the Fisan Mount, that is, of the ancient city of Iguvium (modern Gubbio) itself. The rites begin with the taking of auspices by the adfertor (the most important of the priests officiating in the tablets) then follows the offering of various porcine, bovine, and ovine sacrifices to deities such as Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Venerius Gravonius.

The translator of this text is James Wilton Poulton, among the most learned and distinguished practitioners of Italic linguistics that the twentieth century produced. (RDW)

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**IGUVINE TABLETS VIIa 1–VIIb 47**

**Translated by James W. Poulton**

(The *adfertor*) shall commence this ceremony by observing the birds, the *parra* and crow in the west, the woodpecker and magpie in the east. The one who goes to observe the messengers, sitting shall call out from the tent to the *adfertor*: "Demand that I may observe a *parra* in the west, a crow in the west, a woodpecker in the east, a magpie in the east, 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, the east birds, in the east divine messengers, for me, for the state of Iguvium, for this established ordinance." While he goes to observe the messengers sits in the seat, during that time no one shall make a noise nor shall any other person sit in the way until he who has gone to observe the birds returns. If a noise is made or any other person sits in the way, he will make (the ceremony) invalid.

From The Bronze Tables of Iguvium by James W. Poulton, copyright © 1959. Reprinted by permission of the American Philological Association.
The templum where the adfertor remains for the purpose of purifying the Mount, when established, is bounded thus: from the lowest angle, which is next to the Ara Divina, to the highest angle, which is next to the augural seats: thence from the highest angle to the augural seats to the city boundary, from the lowest angle to the Ara Divina to the city boundary. Then within the city boundaries he shall make observation in either direction.

The city boundaries are: from the augural seats to the Exit, to the observation-post, to the fore-area of Nurpius, to the Vale, to the Temple of Smurcia, to the house of the gens Miletina, to the third tower of the rampart; and from the augural seats to the avenue of Vestician, to the garden of Rufer, to the house of the gens Nonia, to the house of Saliius, to the avenue of Huius, to the gate of Padella. Below these limits which are described above, watch for a parva in the west, a crow in the west. Above these limits watch for a woodpecker in the east, a magpie in the east. If the messengers sing forth, they (the augury) sitting shall thus make announcement from the tent and shall call the adfertor by name: "(I have seen) a parva in the west, a crow in the west, a woodpecker in the east, a magpie in the east, the east birds, in the east divine messengers for you, for the state of Iguvium, for this established ordinance." At each of these rites for the lustration of the people and the purification of the mount (the adfertor) shall hold a ritual wand. The vessels at the Trebule Gate which are to be exhibited for the purification of the mount he shall so exhibit as to cause fire to be kindled from fire. Similarly at the Tesuncan Gate, similarly at the Veian Gate.

Before the Trebule Gate he shall sacrifice three oxen to Jupiter Graboivius. Thus shall he speak after making the libation: "Thee I invoke as the one invoked, Jupiter Graboivius, for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state. Be thou favorable, 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 Graboivius; in trust of the consecration I invoke thee as the one invoked, Jupiter Graboivius, Jupiter Graboivius, 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, for the name of the state. Jupiter Graboivius, 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 Graboivius, 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 Graboivius, if it be right, with this perfect ox as a propitiatory offering may purification be made. Jupiter Graboivius, purify the Fisian Mount, purify the state of Iguvium. Jupiter Graboivius, purify the name of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, purify the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable 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 Graboivius, keep safe the Fisian Mount, keep safe the state of Iguvium. Jupiter Graboivius, 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 favorable 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 Graboivius, 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 Graboivius, thee I invoke."
Behind the Tesenacan Gate he shall sacrifice three suckling pigs to Fisius Sancius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. He shall sacrifice with mead, perform (the sacrifice) upon the ground, offer grain, recite the same formulas as before the Trebualan Gate, pray silently, have a maniple folded double upon his right hand, and add to the parts cut off a *fica* cake and a *strusia* cake. When he has put the under-parts at the back (of the altar), kneeling he shall offer a libation and a *mefa spefa* cake in a cup to Fisius Sancius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. Thus shall he pray after pouring the libation: "Thee I invoke as the one invoked, Fisius Sancius, for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state. Be thou favorable, 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, Fisius Sancius, in trust of the consecration I invoke thee as the one invoked, Fisius Sancius." Likewise shall he pray with the mead. Thus shall he pray with the *mefa spefa* cake: "Fisius Sancius, thee with this Fisovian *mefa spefa* cake for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state (I invoke). Fisius Sancius, grant to the Fisian Mount, to the state of Iguvium, to the men and beasts of the Fisian Mount, of the state of Iguvium, (success in) word and deed, before and behind, in private and in public, in vow, in augury, in sacrifice. Be favorable 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. Fisius Sancius, keep safe the Fisian Mount, the state of Iguvium. Fisius Sancius, 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 favorable 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. Fisius Sancius, thee with this Fisian *mefa spefa* cake for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state, I (invoke). Fisius Sancius, bringing forward the triad of perfect oxen as propitiatory offerings for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state, Fisius Sancius, thee I invoke." He shall pray each (portion) silently. In the same manner he shall make the presentation, make pronouncement upon the parts cut off, add to the parts cut off a *mefa spefa* cake and a *fica* cake, and offer grain. He shall perform this sacrifice either with wine or with mead. He shall place the ribs on a tray.

Behind the Trebualan Gate he shall sacrifice three pregnant sows to Trebus Jovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. He shall perform (the sacrifice) upon the ground, offer grain, sacrifice with mead, pray silently, recite the same formulas as before the Trebualan Gate, and add to the parts cut off a *strusia* cake and a *fica* cake.

Before the Tesenacan Gate he shall sacrifice three oxen to Mars Grabovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. He shall offer grain, place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice with mead, pray silently, add spelt-cakes and a *fica* cake to the parts cut off, and recite the same formulas as before the Trebualan Gate.

"Jupiter Grabovius, thee with this perfect ox as a third 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 third 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, purify the magistrates, the priesthoods, the lives of men and of beasts, the fruits. Be favorable 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 favorable 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 third 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, bringing forward the triad of perfect oxen as propitiatory offerings 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." He shall pray each (portion) silently. In the same manner he shall make the presentation, make pronouncement upon the parts cut off, add to the parts cut off a *mefa spefa* cake and a *fica* cake, and offer grain. He shall perform this sacrifice either with wine or with mead. He shall place the ribs on a tray.

Behind the Trebualan Gate he shall sacrifice three pregnant sows to Trebus Jovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. He shall perform (the sacrifice) upon the ground, offer grain, sacrifice with mead, pray silently, recite the same formulas as before the Trebualan Gate, and add to the parts cut off a *strusia* cake and a *fica* cake.
Before the Veian Gate he shall sacrifice three oxen with white foreheads to Vofionus Grabovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. He shall place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice either with wine or with mead, offer grain, pray silently, and add to the parts cut off a *mea spefa* cake and a *fica* cake, and recite the same formulas as before the Trebutal Gate.

Behind the Veian Gate he shall sacrifice three lambs to Tefer Jovius for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium. He shall sacrifice sitting, he shall sacrifice (the victims) for burial, offer grain, sacrifice with mead, pray silently, add to the parts cut off a *straula* cake and a *fica* cake, and recite the same formulas as at the Trebutal Gate. When he has presented the lambs, the same one who has presented the lambs shall offer at his right foot a libation and a pig-*persondro*. He shall make a mound for the bowl; he shall hold it in his left hand until he has poured the libation; he shall set down the bowl. In like manner he shall distribute the erus at his foot. Thus shall he pray after making the libation:

"Thee I invoke as the one invoked, Tefer Jovius, for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, for the name of the state. Be thou favorable, 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, Tefer Jovius. In trust of the consecration I invoke thee as the one invoked, Tefer Jovius. Tefer Jovius, (I invoke) thee with this pig-*persondro* for Tefer as a propitiatory offering for the Fisian Mount, for the state of Iguvium, for the name of the mount, and for the name of the state, Tefer Jovius, thee I invoke." In the middle of the prayer he shall dance the *tripedium*.

He shall offer a *persondro* for Stabilis at his left foot; he shall make a mound for the bowl in the same manner, he shall pray in the same manner as in the case of the pig-*persondro* (for Tefer). When he has presented the *persondro*, he shall distribute the *erus* of the parts cut off. Then he shall distribute the *erus* of the libation accompanying the pig-*persondro*, at his right foot, toward the mound, where he has offered the pig-*persondro*. Then he shall offer the libation for Stabilis at his left foot, and likewise distribute the *erus*. Then where he has prayed, there he shall place the pig-*persondro* (for Tefer) on the mound and bury it. Then where he has prayed, there he shall place the *persondro* for Stabilis on the mound and bury it. Then, sitting, he shall throw over (his head) the vessels which he has kept with the *persondro*. He shall sit during the interval until he has prayed with the ground (cakes). Anyone at all, sitting, shall grind (the cakes). Sitting, (the adjustor) shall pray with the ground (cakes). The sacrifice will have been completed.

At the Grove of Jupiter, while they are placing on a platter (the remains of) the sheep, he shall sacrifice three bull-calves; he shall sacrifice to Mars Hodius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall place the ribs on a tray, sacrifice with mead, offer grain, pray silently, add spelt-cakes and a *fica* cake to the parts cut off, and recite the same formulas as at the Trebutal Gate.

At the Grove of Coredius he shall sacrifice three bull-calves; he shall sacrifice to Hondus Serlius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall place the ribs on a tray, offer grain, sacrifice either with wine or with mead, pray silently, add to the parts cut off a twisted cake and a *fica* cake, and recite the same formulas as at the Trebutal Gate. Then the Mount will have been purified. If there is any interruption of these rites, they shall be invalid; he must take an observation of the birds, return to the Trebutal Gate, and perform the rite anew.
Umbria: The Tables of Iguvium

Among the most interesting texts that antiquity has left us are the seven bronze tablets discovered in 1444 in Gubbio, Latin Iguvium, a small town of Umbria, where they still remain. The Iguvine tables, by far our most extensive source of information for the Umbrian language, are no less important for the study of religion in ancient Italy, for they consist of an extremely detailed set of liturgical and cultic instructions for a college of priests, the Ateadian Brethren. As the late Arnaldo Momigliano wryly remarked (1963:115), ‘Like the laws of Gortyna, the Iguvine Tables owe something of their fascination to the double fact of being preserved near the place where they originally stood, and of being very difficult to understand.’

Tables VI and VII are written in the Latin alphabet, probably in the 1st century B.C.; their content is nearly identical to that of Tablet I, written in the native Umbrian alphabet (derived from the Etruscan) probably in the 3rd century B.C., but with the important difference that Tables VI and VII include the full text of all the prayers and invocations only alluded to in I. They are thus invaluable for the study of the poetic form of Umbrian liturgical language as well.

I begin with the first of three virtually identical prayers accompanying the sacrifice of three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius, the first of the ‘Grabovian’ triad Di, Marte, Vofione, which strikingly recalls the old Roman triad Iuppiter, Mars, Quirinus.1 Though not all scholars accept the Dumézilian account of these Roman and Umbrian deities, a more adequate hypothesis has yet to be proposed. The interpretation has in any case no consequence for the poetic analysis of the prayer itself.

In order to show the manner in which the inherited figures, many of which we saw in the preceding section, are incorporated into a liturgical whole, I present this first prayer in its entirety (Vla 22-34), dividing into line units of syntactic cohesion.2

1 Benveniste 1945:6-9 first provided the etymology of Vofione as *lōudhjōno- (*lōudhjōno-) to Lat. Liber, German Leute.
2 The text is readily available in Poulton 1959. For later literature and invaluable discussion see Meiser 1986.
3 Literally, ‘to the name of this (masculine) [the Fisan Mount], to the name of this (female) [the State of Iguvium].’
4 The translation is tentative and modeled on that of Vedic brahman-. Meiser 1986:194 translates arsmo as ‘Ordningen’, arsmo- (and related words like arsī(e)r) as ‘Ordnung, Gesetz’. Vendryes’ old etymology (1959:13) to Old Irish ud. i. diged ‘law, right’ and related forms is certainly plausible, though not mentioned by Poulton or Meiser.
5 The gapped verb feta is present in the parallel passage IIa 4.
The similarity in style, rhythm, and temper to Cato’s _swoutaurilia_ prayer has been evident to all observers over the past century and a quarter, the period of scientific study of the Umbrian language. Let us examine its devices more carefully.

The prayer is bounded by nested ring composition at a distance of more than 50 lines: 1-2 *teo subocau suboco d i degrabouie 55-6 d i degrabouie / tio subocau. The insistent, almost relentless doubling of grammatical parallel phrasing on the “horizontal” (linear) axis—for/to the Fissian Mount, for/to the Iguvine State, lines 3, 6, 14, 37, 49, 53—is in counterpoint to the “vertical” (non-linear) reference to the following lines 4, 7, 15, 38, 50, 54, for/to the name of this (masc.), for/to the name of this (fem.).

6. For a play on ‘N and the name of N’ in Vedic text TS 3.3.3.2 *yad se sambaddhyam namā jāgrayi täsmai te soma sūdhya svadha “What (to thy) undescribed, watchful name, o Soma, to that of thine, o Soma, to Soma hail!”

18 Umbria: The Tables of Iguvium

31) and the other with _saluo seritu_ (40-43). These two straddle one of the squares (37-38). The symmetry is only partial; the first colon is bipartite and balanced,

39 pihatu ocra fisi  pihatu tota iouina,

the second is not:

31 pihatu ocra fisi  totar iouinar nome.

The complexity is increased in 40-43 by the doubling of the sentence-initial imperative to an alliterative phrase _saluo seritu_ occupying the same slot: symmetric

40-41 saluo seritu ocra fisi saluo seritu tota iouina

but asymmetric

43 saluo seritu ocra fisi  totar iouinar nome.

40-3 are furthermore grammatically more complex since the adjective _saluo_ of the phrase ‘keep safe’ must agree with the object of the verb. The two neuter accusatives, adjective _saluo_ and noun _nome_, thus frame the whole sentence:

[ _salu_ ser. [[ocr. fis. tot. iou, nom.]]].

The symmetrical “squares” and asymmetrical lines occupy 17 of the 56 short lines. The name and epithet of the divinity addressed accounts for 13 more lines.

We have three instances of figura etymologica: _subocau suboco 1, 8, 10; pihaciu pihafei . . . pihatu 27-29; and pacer pase 36, 48._ In _teo subocau suboco 1, arsier tio subocau suboco 8, arsier frie tio subocau suboco 10_ we have a figure akin to the _xkma_ or _gradanv_ of classical rhetoric. The first “square” separates the first and second of the three cola of the latter figure.

The _capitatio benevolentiae_ formula ‘Be favorable (and) propitious’ is expressed in 5 with the symmetrical clause-final 2sg. subjunctives _fes sei pacer sei_, before the second “square”, and in 36 and 49 before the fourth and fifth “square” with the clause-initial imperative and doubly alliterative but grammatically asymmetrical _futu fos pacer pase tua_ “be favorable (and) propitious in thy peace.” P. Leo (cited by Norden 1939:127n.) long ago compared the prayer in Plautus, _Merc. 678-80:)_
The passage—'das schöne Gebet' (Norden loc. cit.)—also shows close similarities to Cato's suovetaurilia prayer. With the first formulation pacer sei 'may you be propitious' compare the closely related Marrucinian pacrisi 'may it be propitious, acceptable' (Vetter 218, ca. 250 B.C.)

The fourth and fifth "squares", introduced by the futu fom, are themselves framed by the third and sixth "squares", introduced by the elliptic formula tiom esu bue perecre pihaku 'thee by this yearling ox as purificatory offering (I invoke, propitiate). The syntax of tiom esu bue pihaku is identical to that of the corresponding Latin te hoc porco piaculo 'thee by this pig as offering (I propitiate)', Cato, De agr. 141.4 (and te hice suovetaurilius piaculo ibid.), down to the very ellipse of the verb. There is no Latin verb *piaculo 'I make atone to', despite the Oxford Latin Dictionary s.v., as is proved by nacte hoc porco piaculo immolando esto (ibid. 139), with the same nouns and an overt verb phrase. The elliptic expression is the rule in Umbrian, with and without pihaku: Vlb 28 tiom esu sorsu personru tefrali pihaku 'thee with this Teferal (divine name Tefer) pork fat as offering'; Vlb 14 tiom esa mefa spefa fisovina 'thee with this Fisovian (divine name Fisovius) sacrificial flat cake'; Vlf 10/26 tiom estr uexcir aditralsir 'thee with these black/white vessels'. The oldest and simplest is Il a 25 in the native alphabet, tiu puni tiu vini 'thee with mead, thee with wine'.

In the two phrases

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tiom esu bue pihaku} & \quad \text{thee with this ox as offering,} \\
\text{te hoc porco piaculo} & \quad \text{thee with this pig as offering,}
\end{align*}
\]

both with ellipsis (gapping of a finite verb), we have a sacrificial formula of Common Italic date, i.e., a formula which might go back to the period of community of the ancestors of Umbrian and Latin.\(^7\)

It is in fact far more likely that this formula was diffused over part of the geographic area of Italy, perhaps sometime in the middle of the first millennium B.C., rather than being inherited from a period of linguistic community that might antedate the migration of its speakers into the Italian peninsula. The sacrificial formula in its particularity and cultic setting is rather more characteristic of the first millennium B.C. than an earlier period. In such cases we speak of a linguistic area (German Sprachbund, Russian jazykovyi soyuiz), as in cases like the Balkans, India, or areas of Australia. The direction of the diffusion, the spread of 'areal' features is often indeterminate, particularly where the history is largely unknown. In comparative and historical poetics (and other cultural manifestations) the role of diffusion, as against either genetic transmission or occasional or systematic borrowing (for example of the dactylic hexameter and other meters from Greek into Latin), should not be underestimated, particularly in geographically contiguous and contemporary cultures as in Ancient Italy.\(^8\)

Lines 16-18 and 21-24 are concerned with heading off the consequences of any act which might invalidate the prayer and the ritual: a lightning fire on the mountain, incorrect formulation in the state, or omitted ritual actions: 'Bring it about that (it be) as not intended' pusei neip heriti. The conjunction pusei recalls the use of its Latin cognate ui (and unique) in the suovetaurilia prayer. Lines 16-18 come the closest of any in the Umbrian prayer to unadorned prose;\(^9\) but in the balance of ocr., fis. and toto. iou, they continue the parallelism of the "squares". In intent and function these lines are similar to Cato's instructions at the end of the suovetaurilia prayer (141.4): Si minus in omnis liabit, sic uerba concipito:

Mars pater, siqqu tibi in illeque suovetaurilius neque satisfactum est, te hisce suovetaurilius piaculo.

\[\text{Si in uno duobusque dubitatib, sic uerba concipito:}\]

Mars pater, quod tibi in illoque porco neque satisfactum est, te hoc porco piaculo.

If favorable omens are not obtained in response to all (three victims), use these words:

Father Mars, if anything in the offering of those sucklings did not satisfy thee, thee by the offering of these suovetaurilia (I propitiate).

If there is doubt about one or two, use these words:

Father Mars, whatever in that pig did not satisfy thee, thee by the offering of this pig (I propitiate).

---

7. And Lewis and Short, Forcellini, etc.

8. Methodologically note the equation of two zero signs (the gapped verbs), plus the two accusative pronouns, the two ablative deictics and animal names, and the identical case as well as lexical form in pihaku/piaculo. In both we may see paritice apposition, 'thee by the offering of this piglet'. Note also that to assume that piaculo in hoc porco piaculo is sometimes a 1sg. verb and sometimes an abl. sing. noun in Latin, with translators and lexicographers, is uneconomical given the unambiguous Umbrian pihaku: a 1sg. verb would be *pihaku. The Latin ablatives in Cato's time would in any case have still ended in final *-d, thus eliminating any possible ambiguity.

9. For a modern example of cross-linguistic verbal diffusion compare the spread of the expression no problem, pas de problem, kein Problem etc. all the way to a's problem in Albania by at least 1991 (Fide C. Reiss). Another typical example is the spread of jokes in contemporary folklore, down to such particulars as the characteristic phonetic distortion in the telling of "the wide-mouthed frog", which I heard exactly repeated in Paris in 1991 as "la grenouille à grande gueule".

10. It is doubtful that in ocr. uro... ocre... otto we should see intentional alliteration.
The (probably symbolic) contrast in deixis ‘those (illeis) - these (hisce)’, ‘that (ille) - this (hoc)’ parallels Umbrian orer (not erer).

Lines 21-24 of the Umbrian prayer clearly constitute a strophe, bound together by rhythm, repetition, grammatical parallelism, and a double inherited grammatical and formulaic figure. Rhythm and morphological parallelism characterize the center two lines 22-3,

22 pesetomest peretomest (If there has been) any defect, any trangression,

23 frosetomest daetomest any decease, any delinquency,

all of four syllables (da-etomest), and all impersonal 3sg. perfect passives. 22a and 23a are linked by semantics (compare their Latin equivalents peccatum - fraudatum); 22a and b are linked by alliteration; and 22b and 23b are linked grammatically as compounds of *ej- ‘go’, as though they were in Latin *per-i-tom and *de-i-tom. We have three sides of a ‘magic square’ again, and the linkage horizontal-sound (alliteration)/vertical-meaning (semantics) can be exactly paralleled in another Sabellic dialect: Oscan.

The lead tablet curse Vetter 3 (ca. 100 B.C.) is a true malum carmen, both for its alliteration and for its semantic catagories. It contains two ‘magic squares’, each consisting of two alliterative merisms, followed by a single merism. These five lines—2 1/2 ‘squares’—are flanked by the name of the intended victim and the fragmentary dative 2sg. pronoun iffe ‘to you’, referring to the divinity to whom the effection of the curse is directed. It is interesting that there is not room in the lacuna for a verb like Latin trado, mando ‘I hand over’; the verb in this utterance as well must have been gapped, understood. Strophically the lines may be presented as

| aginnis | urinss | ülleis | his actions | utterances |
| fakinnis | fangvam | | deeds | tongue |
| bias | biitam | strength | life |
| afitum | anamum | ability | soul |
| aitatum | amrikum | lifespan | livelihood |

Each horizontal line pair alliterates (boldface); the enclitic possessive ülleis comes after the first merism rather than the first word, by an optional poetic version of Wackernagel’s rule. Each of the four vertical pairs are semantically similar, i.e. have features in common. The last merism stands alone, as a global merism designating the victim’s life (Lat. aetas) and the means to live it (Lat. merx). Observe finally that the

merism biass biitam may be of Common Italic date; with lexical replacement of the first member (‘strength’) under semantic and grammatical identity (the plural number) it recurs in the alliterative Old Latin uires uitaque (Ennius, Ann. 38), as we have seen.12

Returning to the Umbrian prayer, we saw that lines 22-23 form a symmetrical central “square”, bipartite on all sides, in the middle of the strophe. They are framed first by the repetition in 21 and 24 of the genitive uer persoter ‘in the sphere of your sacrifice’, and then an inherited stylistic figure found in many early Indo-European traditions: the resumption or iteration of a verb form V1 by a nominal form from the same root N1 in a semantically equivalent verb phrase (N1 + V), including copula sentence or nominal sentence:

21 uaseto(m)13 est (V1) (If there has been any flaw,

literally, impersonal ‘(if) it has been flawed’, with a verb form corresponding to Latin uacatum est, beside

24 uas est (N1 + V) If there is a flaw,

with a related abstract noun, s-stem *yak-os.14 The nominalization in the last example made possible the addition of the likewise inherited merism of adjectives ‘seen (and) un

seen’:

uirseto auirseto uas est.

The latter is the figure of Latin uios inuisosque, Vedic dṛṣṭānī ca adṛṣṭānī ca discussed in chap. 17.

The Indo-European stylistic figure (V1) . . . (N1 + V) has been discussed and illustrated in chap. 13.

Of the 56 short lines of this prayer there remain only 6 to be accounted for. These are the two three-line strophes discussed in the preceding chap. 12, the triad of asyndetic

merisms

nerf arsno | magistrates (and) formulatios,
uire poqno | men (and) cattle,
castru frf | heads [of grain] (and) fruits,

followed by pihatru (32-5) and salua seritu (44-7) respectively. The functional hierarchy is the same as that of the central strophes II-III of Cato’s prayer, as Benveniste recognized. The structure is thus

11. Following Pisani 1964:95. Meiser’s (1966:91) ‘sight’ from *h₂,₃-si- is semantically out of place in the above scheme, and in any case phonologically impossible.

12. For the diachronic dynamics see further in chap. 12.

13. The final -m is present in the second and third repetitions of the prayer.

14. Morphologically the relation of stative *yak-₃- (uasatem) to *yak-os (uas) parallels Latin decer : decus and is old.
A₁ (+) B₁
A₂ (+) B₂
A₃ (+) B₃

and may be read both linearly (horizontally) and vertically: nerf ueiro castru and arsmo pequo frif, as in the Oscan curse examined earlier. Note also the little phonetic ring linking the first and last words and thus delimiting the strophe. The last word provides at once a double response:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
neRF \\
FRif \\
neRF \\
fRif.
\end{array}
\]

Compare the phonetic respondate of Sophocles' paean to sleep studied in chap. 55: huPN . . . PāiON.

Of the other longer Umbrian prayers in tablets VI and VII two contain similar strophic structures. In VIb 10-11 the offering to Fisiovius Sancius is accomplished by a prayer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fisioie sansie</th>
<th>Fisiovius Sancius</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ditu</td>
<td>grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ocere fisie</td>
<td>to the Fisian Mount, to the Iguvine State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toto iouine</td>
<td>of the Fisian Mount, of the Iguvine State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dupursus peturpurus</td>
<td>to the two-footed (and) the four-footed (success) in word (and) deed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fato fito</td>
<td>before (and) behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perne postne</td>
<td>hedged (and) whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sepse sarsite</td>
<td>in vov, in augury, in sacrifice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uouse auie esone</td>
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</table>

In *dupursus peturpurus* we have another Indo-European formulaic merism, a specification (and here equivalent) of *ueiro pequo* 'men and cattle', as noted in the preceding section. In the sequence beginning farto fito the interpretation of some of the words is still tentative, but the structure is clear; three alliterative two-word figures followed by a three-word figure (grammatically parallel with the same locative ending, homoioiteleuton). The four lines have thus the form of an inverted T, exactly as we noted in strophe II of Cato's prayer in Latin.

The second of the three bipartite figures belongs to I.1.b of our typology in the preceding section, argument + counter-argument, while the third is I.2.b, argument + synonymous argument. 'Before (and) behind' designates 'everywhere', whereas 'hedged (and) unbroken' is intensive, 'very protected'. The latter, if the usual connection with Latin sarcire 'repair, mend (as in fences)' is correct, is similar to both Latin *sane sarteque* 'safe and sound' (with the same adverbial ending as the Umbrian), and Latin *sarcia secta* 'whole (and) rooted'. They are probably related, either by genetic filiation or by diffusion within Italy.

18 Umbria: The Tables of Iguvium

The translation of *fato fito* as 'word (and) deed' is loose, but the two must be related to Latin *fari* 'speak' and *fieri* (as passive of *facere* 'do') respectively, probably *bhh₂-to- and *bhu₂-to-*. Semantically, recall Oscan agins uinus 'actions (and) utterances'.

The final strophe-like structure is found in the ritual curse pronounced on the neighboring peoples, their magistrates and armies, in VIb 58-60, repeated VIIa 47-9:

| totam tarsinatem | the Tadinate State, |
| trifo tarsinatem | the Tadinate tribe, |
| tuscom naharcom iabuscom nome | the Etruscan, Narcan, |
| totar tarsinater | Lapudic name, |
| trifor tarsinater | of the Tadinate State, |
| tuscer naharcer iabucser nomner | the Tadinate tribe, |
| | of the Etruscan, Narcan, |
| | Lapudic name |

\[
\begin{array}{c}
nerf sīhītu ansīhītu \\
iouie hostatu unhostatu \\
tursitu tremitu \\
hondu holtu \\
ninctu nepitu \\
ositu saitu \\
preplotatu preui(š)latu
\end{array}
\]

We saw in chap. 12 the figure of 'girt (and) ungirt' etc., I.1.a Argument + Negated Argument. The remaining set of five alliterative pairs are clearly all II.2.b Argument + Synonymous Argument, even if the translations of the underlined verbs are mere guesses; for the others see Meiser 1986. Both figures have exact parallels in Cato's prayer, strophes II-III. The last is finally linked both by alliteration and grammatical anaphora, the preverbs *pre- ... pre-*. For the figure compare from the Old Latin Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus of 186 B.C. *neu ... consianse neu consianse neu consianse neu consianse neu compromisise* 'not to swear, vow, pledge, or make promise with others', almost all hapax legomena.

The poetic units discussed through this chapter are identified and individuated by different type styles and other marks in Figure 3, beginning and ending with the ring in upper case letters.

The systematic links in poetic technique between Cato's prayer and the Umbrian prayers thus go far beyond the simple parallelism in rhythm and alliteration rightly noted long ago by F. Buecheler and E. Norden. The latter could evoke with great charm 'welche Kraft und Natürlichkeit, welcher Ernst und Würde, welche sanctitas,

---

15. With Meiser 1986:53. Umbrian *fato* probably shows the inherited short of Latin *fatt(ere)* rather than the long of *fātus*.

16. 1883 and 1958 (1898) respectively.
kurz welches echt italische Wesen’ (p.163). In the domain of poetics we may well think of Ancient Italy in the early to middle first millennium B.C. as a linguistic area. Over this territory certain poetic features, like linguistic features, could be diffused across language boundaries in an ambience of largely shared cultural institutions, both material and symbolic. The analogy with the Balkans, both in language and poetics, is illustrative. In this way we can perhaps more easily account for such “uncanny” — i.e. remarkably particular — similarities as Latin pastores pecuacre salua seruassis and Umbrian neyro pequo ... salua seriu, with both noun phrases occupying second place in a triadic strophic structure, or Oscan blass billiam and Latin uires ulitique, with the first member of each pair (“strength (and) life”) in the plural. In the first case the diffused similarities were building on a conventionally inherited material, as we saw in the preceding section; in the second case the merism may have been created on the soil of Italy. Here also doubtless belongs the shared usage with ‘name’ illustrated by tuscom nahecom iabucom nome ‘Etruscan, Narcan, Iapadic name’ and nomen Romanum etc. (first attested in the Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus, nominus Latini ‘of Latin name’). The mystical importance of the ‘name’ is itself probably a universal.

We have spoken frequently of strophic structures in these Italic texts, and we have posited a characteristic Italic ritual offering formula. The next sections look to other traditions to see if these very particular features of Italic verbal style have the possibility of any greater antiquity.

Figure 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEI0 SUBOCAU subocu dei grabouie</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ocreper fisu lootaper iouina</td>
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<tr>
<td>erer nommeper erer nomneper</td>
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5   fos sei pace sei                |
| ocre fisie tote iouine           |
| erer nomine erer nomine          |

arsie tio subocau suboco dei grabouie |
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<tr>
<td>ocre fisu tote iouine</td>
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<td>erer nomine erer nomine</td>
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arsier frite tio subocau suboco dei grabouie |
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ocreper fisu toto iouina</td>
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<tr>
<td>erer nommeper erer nomneper</td>
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15  dei grabouie                      |
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ocreper fisu toto iouina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erer nommeper erer nomneper</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. ‘What power and naturalness, what gravity and worthiness, what sanctitas, in short, what real Italianess.’

18. Cf. Homeric πηρεψ, (πηρψ, with the old instrumental plural suffix, whatever their synchronic status.