

# **The Etruscan Loanwords In Latin of Political and Military Significance**

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## **Abstract**

This study seeks a clearer understanding of the cultural contexts and connotations attributed to Etruscan loanwords of political-military significance in order to clarify the Roman perception of Etruscan culture with respect to their sociopolitical and military standing. Presented here is a contextual analysis of a group of probable Etruscan loanwords in Latin that pertain to the political-military semantic sphere. By the time these words appear in the texts of later historians, grammarians, and antiquarians, their origins along with military and political conventions and symbology, have been displaced from their Etruscan cultural context and appropriated by Roman culture. However, little is known of both the Etruscan language and sociopolitical structure from which such words were borrowed. Scholars are left with scant evidence in the forms of various inscriptions and ceramics in addition to artistic and archaeological evidence, which provides little factual indication about the systems of Etruscan governance and military organization. There are a number of loanwords known to be of Etruscan origin which signify occupations, material objects, and institutions directly related to the Roman political and military sphere. Roman authors' and historians' usages of these Etruscan loanwords of the political and military sphere is evaluated here by means of a thorough examination of the various contexts in Latin literature. In addition, etymologies constructed by Roman grammarians and antiquarians provide explicit accounts of the Roman understanding of Etruscan loanword origins, thus placing them within the greater Roman cultural narrative. Findings indicate that a number of Etruscan loanwords denoting aspects political or military life have associations respectively with Roman national identity and class status.

## **1. Introduction**

Three different types of sources exist that provide evidence about the Etruscan loanwords in Latin of the political and military semantic sphere: (1) Literary and historical documents dating to the Republican period provide a context their cultural institutions; (2) Accounts of grammarians and antiquarians provide from within the context of Roman culture explicit information about words' etymologies and usage; (3) Contemporary linguists, by means of a synthesis of the available evidence from both types of ancient sources and the application of the scientific discipline of linguistics, attempt to provide objective accounts of the origin, grammatical function, and cultural connotations and usages of the words. I will examine and critique information presented the ancient grammarians for their construction of the etymologies of the Etruscan loanwords in Latin as well as analyze the literary contexts in which they exist to seek to better understand the Roman perception of Etruscan culture.

This study relies on the historical linguistic studies of R. Wallace<sup>1</sup>, M. Watmough<sup>2</sup>, G. Breyer<sup>3</sup>, and H. Rix<sup>4</sup> to provide information about linguistic aspects, such as morphology, phonology, and semantics, relating to the Etruscan loanwords in Latin. Of scholarship pertaining to Etruscan loanwords in Latin, they provide the most recent and detailed analyses and criticisms of previous accounts. Each of these sources presents a different approach to the

analysis of Latin words of potential Etruscan origin; they range from introductory texts to detailed linguistic accounts of words and semantic groups. However, each source does not consider the same group of words, for instance Breyer's work provides an expansive list of over one hundred possible loanwords whereas Watmough and Wallace seek an in depth account for only a handful of words. They also vary in their methodologies. Some rely on only on linguistic evidence while others take cultural aspects that may have changed the usage of the loanwords into consideration. In order to construct my preliminary list of words relating to the political-military semantic range, I compiled lists of the words that each scholar examined. Words that may have any connection with political or military significance were determined based on their meaning, and each list was then cross-listed per each study's specific contribution. Once the list was refined to only political-military words, I evaluated information from each all of the sources for each loanword. Of the original list, ten words fail to meet specific linguistic criteria indicating that they have an Etruscan origin.<sup>5</sup> I had also chosen to exempt four additional words due to a lack of evidence and because they did not fit into the political or military semantic sphere.<sup>6</sup>

The final list of Etruscan loanwords that I evaluated consisted of thirteen words which I located in each of their literary contexts. I then analyzed each instance in literature and etymological account per word for their relevance and significance in the wider Roman cultural narrative. Table 1 shows the preliminary list of words that I evaluated:

Table 1. List of Etruscan loanwords in Latin of political-military semantic sphere organized by Latin word, Latin meaning, possible Etruscan word from which it originates, meaning of original Etruscan word, indications of Etruscan origin, and reconstruction of phonological changes

Latin Word	Latin Meaning	Etruscan Origin or Reconstruction of Etruscan Origin	Probable Etruscan Meaning	Indications of Etruscan Origin or Mediation	Phonological Changes from Etruscan to Latin
<i>lucumo</i>	king; an Etruscan king	<i>lauχme</i> , <i>lauχume</i> <sup>7</sup> ; <i>lucumu</i> <sup>8</sup> ; <i>lauχumna</i> <sup>9</sup>	“noble” or “king”	Similar stems <i>laχ-</i> , <i>lauχ-</i> , <i>luvc-</i> , <i>luc-</i> demonstrating semantic relationship <sup>10</sup>	Etr. <i>χ</i> > Lat. <i>c</i> ; ending changed on analogy to Latin third declension endings
<i>sculna</i>	judge	* <i>s(e)cul-</i> , * <i>secula</i> , <i>scvulna</i> <sup>11</sup>	unknown	- <i>na</i> ending; masculine noun ending in - <i>a</i> ; similar forms in inscriptions <sup>12</sup>	First syllable syncopated
<i>cacula</i>	cadet; low-ranking soldier	* <i>cace</i> , * <i>cacla</i> <sup>13</sup>	unknown	masculine noun ending in - <i>a</i> <sup>14</sup>	Etr. - <i>le</i> > Lat. - <i>la</i> <sup>15</sup> ; anaptyxis of - <i>u-</i> in penultimate syllable
<i>metellus</i>	mercenary	Lack of Indo-European derivation and by analogy with <i>camillus</i> “priest's servant;” <i>meteli</i> <sup>16</sup>	unknown	Inscriptive evidence; reconstructed on analogy with <i>camillus</i> <sup>17</sup>	metathesis of - <i>l-</i> in medial syllable
<i>veles</i>	skirmisher	unknown	unknown	Lack of Indo-European etymology; ending in - <i>es</i> , - <i>itis</i> ; similarity to Etruscan loanword <i>satelles</i> <sup>18</sup>	inconclusive
<i>celeres</i>	name for early Roman cavalry	<i>celez</i> , <i>celes</i> , <i>celsa</i> <sup>19</sup>	unknown	similarity with <i>flexuntes</i> ; Pliny's <i>NH</i> 33.35	inconclusive

<i>flexuntes</i> , <i>flexuntae</i>	name for early Roman cavalry	unknown	unknown	-nt- in medial syllable; semantic relationship with other probable loanwords <i>trossuli</i> and <i>celeres</i> ; masculine noun ending in -a, - ae <sup>20</sup>	<i>flexuntae</i> adopted as older form, reconstructed on analogy to Latin present active participles in -uns, -untis producing <i>flexuntes</i> <sup>21</sup>
<i>trossuli</i>	name or early Roman cavalry	unknown	unknown	testimony of ancient authors <sup>22</sup> ; similarity to <i>celeres</i> and <i>flexuntes</i>	inconclusive
<i>balteus</i> , <i>balteum</i>	belt; swordbelt	Etruscan origin unknown, possibly from Mycenaean Greek /palto-/ which also refers to “missiles” <sup>23</sup>	meaning in Etruscan is unknown, but similarity Greek or Mycenaean origins suggest “missile”	Varro ; -eum/-eus ending <sup>24</sup>	Greek π- > Etr.-Lat. b-
<i>cassis</i> (acc. <i>cassida</i> )	helmet made of metal	originates from Doric Greek kotti/j, -i/doj “crested helmet”, and mediated through Etruscan; or from Etruscan stem *cas <sup>25</sup>	Possibly from Greek “crested helmet”; meaning; Etruscan *cas possibly “a sharp or acute blade” <sup>26</sup>	<i>cassis</i> (nom.), <i>cassida</i> (acc.) appear Etruscan because of -is ending in nominative <sup>27</sup>	Greek -o- > Etr.-Lat. -a-; Greek - ττ- (> Etruscan -t- > Latin -tt-) > Etr.-Latin -ss- <sup>28</sup>
<i>laena</i>	lined cloak or mantle	Greek origin of xlai=na “cloak, robe” mediated through Etruscan *laina <sup>29</sup>	“cloak, robe”	Festus p. 177M. <sup>30</sup>	Greek χλ- > Etr. χl- > Lat. l- (or cl-, gl-); or Etr. χlaina > *hlaina > *laina <sup>31</sup>
<i>clipeus</i> , <i>clupeus</i>	round, brazen shield part of the hoplite panoply	*clup-, *cluf-, *cluv-; <i>cluvienias</i> and <i>cluviesa</i> <sup>32</sup>	Etruscan type of shield, or reference to city name Clupea <sup>33</sup>	-eus/-eum ending; vowel fluctuation between i/u in first syllable <sup>34</sup>	near liquids or nasals a p > f shift, then f > v, so *clup- > *cluf-/*cluv- <sup>35</sup>
<i>idus</i>	the Ides	<i>it(u)-</i> ; <i>eidus</i> , <i>eit(u)-</i> , <i>eiθ(u)-</i> ; <i>eθ</i> , <i>eitva</i> <sup>36</sup>	Repetitions, or an event like a full moon that repeats <sup>37</sup>	Varro <i>LL</i> L.6.28; Macrobius <i>Sat.</i> 1.15.14; Etruscan singular adopted as Latin plural <sup>38</sup>	Etr. <i>it-</i> > Lat. <i>id-</i>

I divided the words into semantic sub-classification to account for trends that may occur for words that have similar meanings. The semantic sub-classifications are as follows: Official positions and magistrates, *lucumo* and *sculna*; types of soldiers, *cacula*, *metellus*, and *veles*; three names for the early Roman cavalry, *celeres*, *flexuntes*, and *trossuli*; arms and personal implements, *balteus*, *cassis*, *laena*, and *clipeus*. I considered *idus* in a separate category on its own because it did not fit well into any of the above sub-classifications since it had strong religious connotations in addition being an aspect of the political sphere. In this instance, the religious and government spheres overlap because it was a set day of the month for the consideration of public affairs.

The results of this preliminary analysis demonstrate that there is a distinct connection between a number of the

Etruscan loanwords in Latin of the political and military semantic sphere and social status. The words that most clearly exhibited this association were ones in the sub-categories of official positions, *lucumo* and *sculna*, types of soldiers, *cacula* and *metellus*, names for cavalry, *celeres* and *trossuli*, and finally words for arms and personal implements *balteus*, *laena*, and *clipeus*. In the following section, I will present a close examination of these words paying careful attention to both etymological evidence and literary contexts that best exemplify this association. I will not argue that each in the body of chosen words are all related to one particular social group, but that all of them have strong connotations relating to the social groups with which each is individually associated. In making these observations, I hope to demonstrate that, through a close analysis of elements of the Etruscan language in Latin, a better understanding of the role the loanwords played in literature can act as a basis for understanding social structures within Roman society that related to the Etruscan people and culture. Such literary and etymological accounts yield information about words with an Etruscan origin but do so through Roman perspective. Thus this study aims at understanding social roles and occupations associated with Etruscan culture from linguistic evidence.

*Lucumo* “king,” *celeres* “member of the cavalry,” and *clipeus* “shield” all carry positive associations, and I argue that this is because of their displacement from their Etruscan origins made possible by etymologists and historical accounts. Drawing from Livy’s accounts of the founding of Rome in addition of various etymological sources, the evidence shows that these two words signified an aspect of the Roman political identity closely associated to the origins and foundation of political structures in the monarchical period. Much of what is known about this period is conjecture due to a lack of explicit or conflicting sources of evidence, so it is safe to assume that fictional accounts act as a substitute for where factual historical evidence is lacking.<sup>39</sup> The appropriation of these two words by etymologists from their Etruscan origins, and their subsequent adoption as part of the foundational stories of Rome account for the positive perception of *lucumo*, *celeres*, and *clipeus*. This appropriation facilitated their acceptance as part of the Roman identity. I further explore this in my first section, “Etruscan Loanwords, Early Roman Political Institutions, and Constructing the Roman National Identity.”

*Sculna* “judge”, *cacula* “low-ranking soldier”, and *metellus* “mercenary” are each words associated with low class status. *Sculna* is a colloquialism used to signify “judge”, and it is considered a vulgar term used by common people. This usage has implications for it being of probable Etruscan origin, and the Roman perception of this word sheds light on the social status for whom it was part of their vocabulary. *Cacula* and *metellus* both signify military occupations associated with low class status, and I explore how their association with an Etruscan origin may have contributed to or reinforced such an association. I devote an analysis to these three words associated with a low social standing in the second section, “Etruscan Loanwords Associated with Low Social Standing.”

A final group of related words emerges from the original body of evidence relating to the contrary position in society. Several Etruscan loanwords of the political and military semantic sphere seem to be perceived negatively by Roman authors, and they signify wealth or a high class social standing. These are *trossuli* “member of the cavalry” and two terms for arms and clothing respectively, *balteus* “belt” and *laena* “cloak”. In my final section, “Etruscan Loanwords Associated with High Social Standing,” I further explore the relationship between these words having an Etruscan origin, their signification of high status social roles and occupations, and their negative perception as evidenced by Roman authors.

## 2. Analysis

### 2.1. Etruscan Loanwords, Early Roman Political Institutions, and Constructing the Roman National Identity: The case of *lucumo*, *celeres*, and *clipeus*

#### 2.1.1. *lucumo*, -onis (*m*), “king”

Two most widely seen Etruscan forms of *lucumo* are the praenomina *lauχme* and *lucumu*. A less common form, *lauχume*, also appears. It appears that *lucumu* functioned in Etruscan both as a personal name and as a noun that signifies king.<sup>40</sup> Evidence of forms found in inscriptions include the genitive patronymic *lauχumes* (CIE 2541), *lucumu* (CIE 5617), *lauχme* (CIE 262), and genitive *lauχmes* (CIE 4668).<sup>41</sup>

Breyer notes the phonological similarity the Italic stem \**louk-* meaning “light” and Etruscan roots *lauχ-*, *lauχ-*, *luvc-*

, and *luc-*. She posits that an associative link exists between the meanings of these two stems.<sup>42</sup> Both words have similar connotations. The term “king” signifies an individual who stands apart from the community as its leader. “Light” signifies a means of guidance in darkness or, in a more abstract sense, as a source of clarity in times of obscurity. Just as light is a source of guidance because it provides a sense of security from the unknown by eliminating darkness or obscurity, an adequate king should also act as a trustworthy guide who has the best intentions in mind for the well-being of his people and country. The phonological similarities between the *\*louk-* and Etruscan *laχ-* stems reinforces this apparent semantic association between “king” and “light”. From this association, Breyer infers that it was this very association in addition to Latin speakers' prior familiarity with *\*louk-* stem and its meaning that encouraged the adoption of *lucumu* into the Roman's political vocabulary.<sup>43</sup>

Rix notes that, according to Livy, *Lucumo* is the original name of the fifth king of Rome, the Etruscan Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. Latin speakers simply associated the name *Lucumo* with kingship, so the name eventually evolved to be a noun meaning “king” from its original use as a praenomen.<sup>44</sup> Further, two Etruscan kings of the early Roman monarchy Tarquinius Priscus mentioned above and Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh and final king, had the praenomen Lucius. Here *lucumo*'s association with the meaning Italic stem *\*louk-* “light” emerges. This is because *Lucius* and the related noun *lux* “light” are derived from this Italic stem, whereas the Etruscan *lucumo* is unrelated because it does not come from an Indo-European stem. Festus even defines the name *Lucius* as *est eius, qui primum fuit, quia oriente luce natus est*, “[the name] is his, who was first, because he was born at the light of daybreak.”<sup>45</sup> Festus' etymology of the name reveals an association with light at the break of dawn and the name *Lucius*.

In addition, passages from Livy's account of Priscus' rise to power in Rome strengthen the association between the *\*louk-* stem, the praenomen Lucius, and *lucumo*. Priscus migrated to Rome at his wife Tanaquil's request after banishment from Etruria. He had inherited a large sum of money from his father's death which allowed him to establish himself in Rome.<sup>46</sup> Not only does Livy use forms of the name *Lucumo* to refer to this figure,<sup>47</sup> but he explicitly states that this Lucumo changed his name to Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. Livy states *domicilioque ibi comparato L. Tarquinius Priscum edidit nomen*, “when a residence had been established there, he used the name L. Tarquinius Priscus.”<sup>48</sup> Priscus' adoption of *Lucius* as the Latin equivalent to his original Etruscan name *Lucumo* reinforces the notion that the two names are related. As such, *lucumo* gained the connotations of the native Italic stem *\*louk-* and reinforced the significance of the praenomen Lucius as related to light in some way.

Aside from the explicit connection with the king Priscus, the name *lucumo* is also associated with accounts about the founding of Rome in passages from Varro, Cicero, and Propertius. Just as in Livy, in each of these texts the authors employ the term *lucumo* as a personal name, referring to a Lygmon or Lucumo. Varro describes the organization of the Romans into three tribes, the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres, stating that Luceres was named for an individual called Lucumo.<sup>49</sup> Cicero in *de Republica* also refers to Lucumo in terms of the division of the Roman populace into three tribes by the Sabine king Titus Tatius and Romulus. He adds that Lucumo was *Romuli socius*, “an ally of Romulus” who had died in battle with the Sabines.<sup>50</sup> Propertius offers a similar explanation of the division of the tribes, associating the naming of the Luceres with Lucumo.<sup>51</sup> The usages of *lucumo* in these instances refer to a significant figure in Roman history associated with its founding. Lucumo was an ally to Romulus, and it is recorded in the Roman literary tradition that he was an important enough figure that a founding tribe was named for him. Thus the name carried with it both implications of power and a connection with foundational structures of the Roman national identity. Livy's account of Priscus provides evidence linking the name Lucumo to an Etruscan origin and to *\*louk-* “light”, and these three instances associate it with an integral aspect of the development of the organization of Rome's early government. It is because of its perceived relationship with the connotations of *\*louk-* that allowed *lucumo* as an Etruscan loanword to develop from being just a name to signifying “king”.

Servius and Festus provide etymological accounts for *lucumo* that support an Etruscan etymology and the association of word with the variety of meanings explored above. Servius' simply explains that *lucumones* are *reges*, kings, in the Etruscan language.<sup>52</sup> Festus, on the other hand, offers a vague explanation for *lucumones*, stating that they are *quidam homines ob insaniam dicti quod loca, ad quae venissent, infesta facerent*,<sup>53</sup> in short, they have made hostile the places to which they came due to madness. Although Festus does not explicitly refer to the Etruscans in his definition, this may be an allusion to the expulsion of the Tarquins from the government which resulted in resentment toward the monarchy and the customs with which it was associated. The Etruscan monarchs may have been perceived as foreigners not sharing a similar cultural identity with the people over which they ruled, and this was perceived as a source of discontent by the Roman populace. If this is the case, then it resulted in a negative

perception of this institution that is reflected in Festus' account written much later in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. This demonstrates that this perception has persisted centuries later than the actual events and it still effected the usage of the word in that period. This negative perception conveyed by Festus toward an institution associated with Etruscan culture, the monarchy, could have acted as a motivating factor for the Roman appropriation of Etruscan loanwords associated with this early period of developing a political identity. Since the monarchy was ingrained as an aspect of the foundational period of Roman political identity, in order to identify it as a Roman and not an Etruscan institution, the similarities with derivatives of the *-\*louk* stem were emphasized by etymologists and authors such as Livy. Thus changing the origin of a word affected the perceptions of institution which it signified at least to a degree, as Festus' account here shows that just changing the value associated with a word does not change the reality from which its original meaning emerged.

Festus also defines a similar term *Lucomedi*, stating *Lucomedi a duce suo Lucomo dicti, qui postea Lucereses sunt appellati*,<sup>54</sup> “*Lucomedi* are named from the leader *Lucumo* himself, who are called such after the *Lucereses*.” *Lucomedi* is a derivative of *Lucumo*'s name, the influential figure to which Cicero's, Varro's, and Propertius' literary accounts refer that also connect him with the name of one of the three original Roman tribes, *Luceres*.<sup>55</sup> Again, another testimony draws connections between the organization of the earliest founding organization of Rome and the influential Etruscan figure *Lucumo*.

Literary and etymological evidence shows that Latin speakers were aware that *lucumo*, “king”, is derived from an Etruscan origin. Historical accounts such as Livy's provides explicit evidence that the Romans saw a connection between the name *Lucumu* and the Latin name *Lucius* as correlative. It was clear to them that the foreign term *Lucumu* could be translated into Latin as *Lucius* because of its phonetic similarities, but this also implies that their respective meanings were associated as well. This assumption means that the implications and connotations of the name *Lucius* as it is related to *lux* (from the stem *\*louk-*), “light”, were also considered in regards to the Etruscan name *Lucumu*. As its usage evolved, and it expanded to become a noun signifying “king”, the implications of its association with “light” acted as a further encouragement for it to be used in this way. Since an individual with the name *Lucumu* held office, for the Romans a relationship with this word and the position it came to signify was already in place. It then seemed a natural step in the evolution of *lucumo*'s meaning to be associated with the connotations of “light”, as a king guides his country politically just like a light guides people through darkness; it is also not a great leap for it then to become associated with other aspects of nobility such as wealth, illustriousness, and grandeur. Historical and literary accounts from Varro, Cicero, and Propertius further reinforce this association between the word *lucumo* and political institutions because they each of their testimonies make explicit reference between an Etruscan individual *Lucumo* and the foundation of the government of early Rome. Finally, etymological accounts show that Romans recognized this association as part of their history. Festus' definition in particular sheds light on the cultural perception of *lucumo* persisted into the Roman Imperial period.

*Lucumo*'s association with light, signifying a position associated with power, seems natural because of the illustriousness and brilliance connoted by the term “light”. This shows that, because of this association, the word was positively perceived as per evidence from Roman authors and etymologists. Since it is a term that is temporally associated with the earliest events in the founding of Rome, events whose veracity are contested and are often considered to be mythical, then this demonstrates that the *lucumo* acted as a figure within the mythos of foundational stories.<sup>56</sup> Authors writing about the *lucumo* much later, such as Festus and Livy, were not writing factual details about an actual individual or group of people, but rather they were creating a character that fits within the mythos of Rome's foundation loosely based on a historical figure. This suggests that the Roman perception of the word *lucumo* arises from stories constructed by Romans themselves about their origin rather than an association with the actual origin of *lucumo* himself. The positive associations with this word do not derive from its Etruscan origin, but from its displacement from its origin and appropriation by later authors by constructing a place for it within a story that affirms their national identity as Romans. The associations with *\*louk-* and its derivatives *lux* and *Lucius* encouraged this disassociation because the phonological similarities between these words and *lucumo* gave it the appearance of being naturally part of the language associated with the Roman national identity.

### 2.1.2. *celeres*, -itis (*m*), “member of the cavalry”

Livy's accounts connect *celeres* with social institutions also related to the Etruscan loanword *lucumo*, dating to the period of Rome's earliest social and political development. This suggests Roman authors and etymologists shared the same cultural perceptions concerning *lucumo* with *celeres*. *Celeres* occurs twice in Livy. In the first instance, he

explains that Romulus kept a bodyguard of three hundred men surrounding him which he referred to as *celeres*.<sup>57</sup> The second time Livy mentions *celeres*, he recounts of the rape of Lucretia, the story constructed around events spurring the expulsion of the monarchy. He refers to the office Brutus held as “*tribunum celerium*,” or Tribune of the *Celeres*.<sup>58</sup> *Celeres* in both of these instances operates as a word that only refers to the earliest stages of the founding of Rome. Livy's accounts of *lucumo* also only refer to events in this time period.<sup>59</sup> Thus by this temporal connection exhibited in Livy, these two words must reference similar and concurrent sociopolitical institutions. As mentioned in the section concerning *lucumo*, *lucumo* was positively perceived as per evidence from Roman authors, and this may have been due to its association with the \*louk- stem signifying “light”. Thus *celeres* can be interpreted just as *lucumo*. It was appropriated as an aspect of the Roman national identity associated with the foundational myths of Roman political institutions. *Celeres* does not merely signify a class of individuals, but the use of the word draws associations with the glorification of the founding of Rome itself.

For *celeres*, there are a number of forms attested from inscriptions: *celeus* (CIE 5189), *celes* (CIE 5191), *celesa* (CIE 1981). The meaning is unknown for the *cel-* root, but Breyer suggests “knight” as a plausible meaning due to its close association with other words referring to cavalry, such as *trossuli* and *flexuntae*, in addition to Pliny's testimony.<sup>60</sup>

The etymological accounts of *celeres* indicate such appropriation and displacement from its Etruscan origins. Roman writers suggest that *celeres* may have emerged from a variety of sources, but they do not claim that it has an Etruscan origin. Servius explains that it is either derived from the noun *celeritas*, referring to the quickness and agility of the early Roman cavalry. He also posits that the name was a dedication by Romulus to Celerus, the individual who murdered his brother Remus. He finally offers that it may come from the Greek *ke/1h.j* “race-horse.”<sup>61</sup> The etymologist Isidorus of Seville agrees with Servius' first suggestion, stating that *celeres* directly refers to *celeritas*, and he also explains that this is because the kind of work that a cavalry undertakes requires swiftness.<sup>62</sup> Festus, on the other hand, agrees with the second proposal of Servius, directly linking Celerus, the murderer of Remus, with the earliest name attributed to the Roman cavalry.<sup>63</sup> Thus attestations of the origins of *celeres* by Roman grammarians show associations both with attributes of horses and the historical figure Celerus. The former makes obvious sense because horses are an essential part of the cavalry. This also strengthens its association with the Latin *celeritas* “swiftness” because horses are faster and more agile than armed soldier in battle. The latter association is an explicit connection with an individual who had a relationship with Romulus, the founder of Rome, and by correlation the sociopolitical institutions ascribed to him. The stories of Romulus and the foundation of Rome through its earliest kings had a mythical following, and the accounts of historians such as Livy were probably conjecture more so than the recounting of factual events.<sup>64</sup> Thus *celeres* signified an aspect of the mythos of the foundational stories of Rome, as evidenced by Livy's account and confirmed by the etymologists' appropriation of the word as having a Latin and not Etruscan origin. *Celeres*, like *lucumo*, denotes more than just a social class; it signifies an aspect of the Roman national identity associated with the origins and foundation of Rome. In this way, etymological evidence reinforces this association by affirming an origin directly from Latin. These accounts demonstrate that Roman authors had a positive association with *celeres*, but this is because its probable Etruscan origin was disregarded and replaced with one more closely aligned with their national identity.

### 2.1.3. clipeus, -ei (m), “shield”

*Clipeus* is a commonly used word denoting a large circular shield, the specific kind that was used as part of the hoplite panoply in the early Roman army.<sup>65</sup> It occurs in a variety of literary contexts, from historical writings denoting its use as a personal implement in the army<sup>66</sup> to poetic and dramatic descriptions of combat<sup>67</sup>. In poetic contexts, *clipeus* sometimes occurs alongside descriptors that signify brightness or sparkling qualities exemplified by its bronze material, suggesting a heroic splendor and fortitude. In the *Aeneid*, Virgil writes about Aeneas' *sidereo flagrans clipeo* “blazing with a starry shield”, the *clipeis atque aere sonoro* “the resounding bronze shields” of Latinus and Aeneas rushing into combat, the shield of Turnus as *micantia fulmina mittit* “hurling flashing lightning”, or even Anchises says that *propinquant ardentis clipeos atque aera micantia cerno*, “they draw near brilliant shields and I discern flashing bronze” when he sees oncoming enemy forces.<sup>68</sup> Statius writes of glowing shields stating, *clipeoque incenditur ignis*, “fire is kindled with the shield” and *ille etiam clipeum galeamque incendit honore sidere*, “even that man is enflamed in starry honor with respect to shield and helmet.”<sup>69</sup> Plautus' Pyrgopolynices gloats about the luster of his *clipeus*, stating *Curate ut splendor meo sit clipeo clarior quam solis radii esse olim quom sudumst solent*, “Take care that the luster for my shield may be more illustrious than the rays of the sun once it is

accustomed to be clear and bright.”<sup>70</sup> These dynamic depictions of sparking, brilliant, and flashing shields heightens the drama of accounts of men rushing into battle, and it evokes a sense of heroism that is only present in fantastical or mythical stories. These kinds of descriptions are stylized and wholly unrealistic as literal accounts of battle, but the excitement and passion conveyed by them resounds with the audience. This causes the audience to associate the *clipeus* with heroism. Since it was part of the equipment constituting the earliest hoplite panoply in Roman history, then all readers will associate such heroism with the earliest soldiers. This contributes to the mythos of the foundational stories as an aspect of Roman identity because a mythical or fantastic sense of heroism is associated with the warfare of that time period.

No grammarian refers to *clipeus* as having an Etruscan origin, but linguistic evidence demonstrates that it is probably an Etruscan loanword. For Breyer, the *i/u* orthographic variance present in literary attestations of *clipeus* indicates an Etruscan origin; another indicator is its *-eus/-eum* ending (as seen in *balteus*). Evidence shows that the *clip-/clup-* stem resembles an Etruscan-Latin name forms *Clupearius* and *Clipearius*.<sup>71</sup> Other attested Etruscan forms are *cluenias* and *cluviesa*, which derives from the stem *cluvie-* with an *-sa* definite article suffix.<sup>72</sup> Breyer also posits a reconstructed form *\*clup-*, a derivative from the city name Clupea, citing that sometimes there is a connection between weapon names and cities in which they originated. This explanation assumes that the *clipeus* signification origination of the round bronze shield itself in Clupea. If this is the case, then the development follows *\*clup- > \*cluf-/ \*cluv-* to account for a relationship to attested forms *cluenias* and *cluvies-*.<sup>73</sup> Even though ancient etymologists do not acknowledge an Etruscan origin for *clipeus*, the linguist evidence makes a strong case otherwise.

Isidorus of Seville explains that a *clipeus* is so called because it performs the function of shielding or *clipeare*, and Latin speaking people borrow this term from the Greek word *kle/ptein* “to steal, disguise.”<sup>74</sup> Charisius and Velius Longus try to account for the orthographic variations both present in Latin literature, *clipeus* and *clupeus*. Charisius, referring to Pliny the Elder, claims that use of the variant *clupeus* is problematic. He explains that the difference between *i* and *u* changes the meaning for the word because *clipeus* comes directly from the Greek *α0ποϣ tou= kle/ptein*. This, to Charisius, more accurately signifies its purpose as a means of concealment, whereas the *u* of *clupeus* evokes the phrase “a cluendo” from *clueo* “to purify, clean,” and this fails to convey the function of the shield.<sup>75</sup> Conversely, Velius Longus denies that this orthographic variant is an issue for meaning, stating that it is a minor superficial difference among writers.<sup>76</sup> Servius also affirms its derivation from Greek *α0ποϣ tou= kle/ptein*.<sup>77</sup> Festus provides a completely different explanation for *clipeus*, he states that it is known for its roundness and bull hide material, also making a connection that its significance derives from a pact between the Romans and the Gabinians having been written on a particular *clipeus*.<sup>78</sup>

*Clipeus* is an interesting case because it is the only word in this category associated with the social status in early Rome that is a material good. However the same kind of appropriation that happened to *lucumo* and *celeres* also occurred for *clipeus*. None of the etymologies reference an Etruscan origin, but Breyer sees strong linguistic evidence indicating that it is apparently Etruscan. As it was part of the early Roman hoplite panoply, and these etymologists are writing from a period that is chronologically distant and never experienced early Roman military conventions first hand, it is safe to assume that much of their information regarding this word is either conjecture or constructed by them. Thus the etymologies constructed for this word obscure the Etruscan origin of this word, and potential Etruscan origin of the kind of shield itself.<sup>79</sup> Literary accounts associate the *clipeus* with heroism, and the shield itself was used only by the early Roman soldier, and the etymological accounts of later grammarians exploit this connection as a basis for *clipeus* not having an Etruscan origin. It can only be adopted as part of the Roman identity if it is itself a Roman convention. However, it also seems that having a Greek origin was also acceptable since several etymologists claim that this was the case for *clipeus*. However, the disregard for *clipeus*'s mediation through Etruscan shows either that this was forgotten by the time the grammarians were writing or it was intentionally obscured. This is also the case for *lucumo* and *celeres*, this attempt by etymologists to leave out an integral aspect of the origin of *clipeus* is a common feature shared by these three clearly Etruscan loanwords. Thus this shows that words associated with the earliest developments in the foundation of Rome as a political entity were deeply connected with the Roman cultural identity, and later writers sought to preserve this by overlooking Etruscan origins for at least these three words.



## 2.2. Etruscan Loanwords Associated with Low Social Status

### 2.2.1. *sculna*, -ae (*m*), “judge”

Latin *sculna* originates from the Etruscan stem *\*s(e)cul-*, *\*secula*. Evidence from inscriptions supports this, and three examples stand out: *scv-a* and *sceva* (CIE 917), *scvulna*.<sup>80</sup> The meaning of these words in Etruscan remains unknown.

Varro provides an etymology for *sculna* that associates it with the Latin *sequor*.<sup>81</sup> He claims that since these forms share phonological similarities with *sequi*, the perfect principal part of *sequor* “to follow”, then they are semantically related. This account is paraphrased in Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*. Gellius states:

Quid sit “sculnae” verbum positum apud M. Varronem.

P. Lavini liber est non incuriose factus. Is inscriptus est *De Verbis Sordidis*. In eo scripsit “sculnam” vulgo dicti, quasi “seculnam”; “quem qui elegantius,” inquit, “loquuntur 'sequestrem' appellant.” Utrumque vocabulum a sequendo factum est, quod eius qui electus sit utraque pars fidem sequatur. “Sculnam” autem scriptum esse in *Logistorico* M. Varronis, qui inscribitur *Catus*, idem Lavinius in eodem libro admonet. Sed quod apud sequestrem depositum erat, “sequestro positum” per adverbium dicebant. . . .

What “sculna” means in M. Varro.

The book of P. Lavinius was not written carelessly. It was entitled *On Vulgar Words*. In it he wrote that “sculna” was vulgarly said as if it were “seculna,” he said, “which those who speak more elegantly call “sequester.” Each term is derived from *sequor*, because both parties should follow the decision of the one who was chosen. Likewise Lavinius advises in the same book that *sculna* was written in M. Varro's *Logistoricus* which is entitled *Catus*. But for that which had been deposited with the mediator they used to say “deposited for arbitration” as an adverb.<sup>82</sup>

Varro's explanation associates *sculna* and *sequor* semantically because one is expected to follow a judge's orders or decision. Breyer uses this passage as a basis to explore *sculna*'s relationship with *sequor* since Varro confirms that they both share a similar meaning. It is telling that Varro claims that both *sculna* and *sequester* both signify the very same thing, a judge or mediator, and that they both may come from the same source, *sequor*. *Sculna*, however, is reserved for common or vulgar use whereas, as Varro explains above, *sequestrem* is the proper term for judge. Although the usage of *sculna* is not explicitly stated as negative, Varro's explanation implies that the use of *sculna* was reserved for a particular social class. This passage even comes from a book entitled *On Vulgar Words*, which examines words that common people used. This means that the use of *sculna* carries a social significance. It was a colloquial term, so this means that was associated with a lower social class. Also, because linguistic evidence provided by Breyer above shows that it likely had an Etruscan origin, then it is safe to assume that Etruscans were more familiar with this vocabulary word than other ethnicities or social classes would have been. Thus if this was a vulgar term characteristic of the Etruscan vocabulary, and it was a colloquial term, this linguistic evidence demonstrates that the Etruscans as a minority were perceived by the dominant social class as a low-ranked social class, at least in the political sphere.

### 2.2.2. *cacula*, -ae (*m*), “low-ranked soldier” and *metellus*, -i (*m*), “mercenary”

Etruscan origin is probable for *cacula* because it is a masculine noun ending in -a, and a number of Etruscan-Latin names are attested, such as *Cac(i)us*, *Cac(c)a*, *Cacilius*, *Cacelius*, and *Cacurius*. Other attested forms from inscriptions include *cacas* (SE 40, 444, n. 5), *caci* (SE 42, 248, n. 166), and *cacu* (SE 41, 322, n. 109). Related but contested forms such as the genitive *kacenas* (from *kacena*) (CIE 4967), *cacenei* (CIE 63), and feminine forms *caceinei* (CIE 3659) and *caceina* (CIE 214) also exist. The Etruscan reconstruction *\*cace*, the proposed origin of

*cacula*, is conjectured from these forms.<sup>83</sup>

Another explanation for the origin of *cacula* based on historical conjectures challenges the Etruscan origin despite the abundance of forms from inscriptions indicating otherwise. Breyer cites a case that posits *cacula* as derived from *cacus*, a Latinization of the Homeric Greek *kakoi*/. The *kakoi*/ in Greek warfare were low-ranking fighters subordinate in rank to the *i9ppei=j* and *pezoi*/ classes.<sup>84</sup> This shows a relationship between *cacula* and low status persists despite the etymology. It is the nature of this word, whether it comes from a Greek or Etruscan origin, to signify a subordinate role. This has implications for it being of Etruscan origin, and it demonstrates that the connotation of the word may not be related to its origin. However, this explanation may be a product of a miss-association of *cacula* with a similar sounding word that coincidentally has a strikingly similar denotation. It shows that the cultural perception of the *cacula* is so inextricably tied to its signified that this connotation precedes the phonological evidence and material evidence from inscriptions that prove an Etruscan origin makes more sense.

The evidence provided by Festus demonstrates that *cacula* was associated with low status within a military context. *Cacula* occurs twice in Festus, and he is the only grammarian to provide etymological evidence for it.<sup>85</sup> He does not claim Etruscan origin for *cacula*, but since contemporary linguistic evidence presented above shows that it has a probable Etruscan origin, Festus' account is useful because it demonstrates the cultural perception of *cacula* at the time he is writing. One instance occurs under the entry for *procalare*, which he indicates as the origin for *cacula*. He explains that *procalare* originates from the Greek *kalei=n* "to call, summon". From *procalare* come *kalends*, *calumnia* "charge, false accusation", *calones* "soldier's servant", *cacula*, and *calator* "personal attendant."<sup>86</sup> The relationship he constructs between three words in this group, *calones*, *cacula*, and *calator*, is important. Of all the words included in the group, they have the closest semantic relationship, each one denoting different kinds of servant roles. These are all occupations where a is a person called to attend to some higher ranking individual, thus its relationship with Greek *kalei=n* "to call, summon". Festus associates these three words with a servant or low-status role, and this may be due to the fact that they each, according to him, come from the same source. The meaning of the Greek word, *kalei=n* "to call, summon", which he explains as the origin for *procalare*, implies a subordinate relationship between the one being summoned and the one summoning. Clearly, the one being summoned is under the power of the summoner. Here the class relationship is apparent because the nature of this term is intrinsically related to power roles existent between two or more individuals.

Further, *Cacula* and *calones* appear together in Festus' entry for *metellus*, and this further reinforces the association between these two words denoting subservient roles and an Etruscan origin. *Metellus* "mercenary" is another supposed Etruscan loanword. The base form *meteli* (CIE 3717) is attested along with other forms, the genitive *metelial* (CIE 3542), genitive *meteliš* (CIE 3600), variant of a base form *metli* (TLE 888), base form *metlis* (CIE 5887). In addition, well known praenomina *Metelius* and *Metellus* are of Etruscan origin, further supporting the case for the noun *metellus*. It shares similarities in function with the term *lucumo* in being both a cognomen as well as noun, just as *rex* operates in Latin.<sup>87</sup>

Festus defines *metelli* as a synonym for *mercenarii*, or those who fight in the military for hire. He does not allude to an Etruscan origin, but its use alongside *cacula* proves that it shared a similar association with low status or subservient occupation.<sup>88</sup> Festus cites a short quote from the *Annals* of Accius to contextualize his definition, *metellus, calones famulique . . . ca<c>ulaque*, "servants and slaves . . . and low ranking soldiers"<sup>89</sup> Here *calones* signifies a camp servant, and *famuli* are a kind of slave or attendant. It is striking, however, that *metellus* and *cacula* exist in the same literary context because it suggests that Etruscans were associated with menial or servile jobs in Roman military. Conversely, its contextualization with Accius quote reveals a perception of these words that is similar to the case of *sculna*, which is its association with vulgarity or the customs of a low social class. Thus Festus' quote shows not only that *metellus* has a direct association with military terms, but it also reveals its association with social class. In addition to this, its close tie with *cacula* in this example reinforces its significance of having an Etruscan origin.

Aside from its use by Accius, *cacula* appears in the prologue of Plautus's *Pseudolus* also supports its association with low social class. He states, *Venientem caculam invortit symbolo/Dicens Syrum se Ballionis Pseudolus/Opemque erili ita tulit*, "[Pseudolus] intercepts the servant coming with the token/saying he Pseudolus himself is Syrus the slave of Ballio./and he thus brought the help of his master."<sup>90</sup> Its use by Plautus is thought provoking because the playwright often details mundane lives of common people, so this further establishes *cacula* as an aspect of the vocabulary commonly used in relation to this social sphere.

The evidence Festus provides concerning *cacula* and *metellus* show that these two words were perceived as words related to occupations reserved for individuals of a low social standing. Evidence from inscriptions indicate that

these words have a very probable Etruscan origin. This demonstrates that *cacula* and *metellus* as Etruscan loanwords in Latin were associated with occupations identified low-status. Along with *sculna*, this supports the notion that certain Etruscan loanwords were part of a vocabulary both used by and used to signify occupations of the common people or those of low social standing. Since the three words examined so far, *sculna*, *cacula*, and *metellus*, are part of the political and military vocabulary, they are intrinsically related to social standing. The analysis of these words in their literary and etymological contexts shows the Roman perspective of the usage of such terms, and the results indicate that there may be a connection between low social class and Etruscan language. The use of these Etruscan loanwords to refer to aspects of low social standing indicates that there may be a deeper connection for the Roman citizen between occupations of low class status and Etruscan culture.

## 2.3. Etruscan Loanwords Associated with High Social Standing

### 2.3.1. *trossuli* (m), “member of the cavalry”

Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* as a primary source provides the most detailed account of the early Roman cavalry. His account serves as the most complete source of information about the origins and etymologies of its earliest names, *celerēs*<sup>91</sup>, *flexuntae*<sup>92</sup>, and *trossuli*.<sup>93</sup> According to Pliny, each of these names originated around the time of Romulus, and they were in use throughout the entire monarchical period and were later replaced by *equites*. While Pliny devotes the majority of his explanation to the name *trossuli*, much less material from Roman writers exists covering the two earlier occurring names *celerēs* and *flexuntēs*. These two words are considered Etruscan because of their association with *trossuli* in Pliny's account. He explains that it takes its name from a certain Etruscan town nine miles from Volsinii where Roman forces won in a battle. It was a significant victory because the cavalry won with no assistance from the infantry.<sup>94</sup> Festus confirms this occurrence in his entry for *trossuli*, adding that the town's name was Trossulum.<sup>95</sup>

*Trossuli* takes on an extra dimension of cultural significance for the Romans because several instances in literature demonstrate that it had a negative or insulting connotation, usually referring to privileged youths.<sup>96</sup> Pliny's account states that *Quod ad equestrem ordinem attinet, antea trossulos vocabant, nunc equites vocant ideo, quia non intellegunt trossulos nomen quid valeat, multosque pudet eo nomine appellari*, “Concerning that which relates to the equestrian order, before they called them *trossuli*, for that reason they now call them *equites*, because they do not understand what the name *trossuli* means it shames many to be called by that name.”<sup>97</sup> Thus by the time *trossuli* fell out of use there was a stigma attached to it. Seneca the Younger uses *trossuli* colloquially, and it also refers to vain and self-absorbed youths or dandies.<sup>98</sup> The satirist Persius' use of it has the same connotations.<sup>99</sup> Both writers use *trossuli* in passages to express contempt for privileged and wealthy youths. Thus by at least when these three authors are active around the time of Nero, this archaic term had taken on strong negative connotations. Also, it is used to refer a particular type of individual within a high social class context associated with wealth, so its meaning had evolved from its earlier usage signifying a member of the cavalry. This may indicate that there was a negative perception of this wealthy class of individuals who were financially able to sustain themselves as members of the cavalry. Unlike *sculna*, *cacula*, and *metellus*, which have an association with a low social class standing, the negative perception of *trossuli* derives from its relationship with wealth and the elite class. Thus *trossuli* is another instance of an Etruscan loanword that has a connection to class status, however it differs from the words previously analyzed in the second section of this paper because it more strongly associates a negative perception with the upper class rather than the common people.

### 2.3.2. *balteus*, -ei (m), “belt”

Charisius and Varro provide etymologies associating *balteus*<sup>99</sup> with an Etruscan origin.<sup>100</sup> He states that Varro in *Scauro baltea dixit et Tuscum vocabulum ait esse*, “Varro in Scaurus mentioned the soldier's belt, and he said it is an Etruscan term.”<sup>101</sup> Varro also adds a descriptive explanation to his etymology of *balteus*. According to him, the *balteus* is a leather belt with a *bullatum*, or a metal amulet, attached to its strap.<sup>102</sup> Isidorus of Seville provides a similar explanation adding that the *bullatum* is the military insignia showing the number of men in the legion to which a soldier belongs, and he elaborates that *balteus* can also refer to the weapons hanging from the belt.<sup>103</sup>

The use of *balteus* in a variety of instances in literature indicate its relationship with wealth.<sup>104</sup> Seneca the

Younger explains that the worth of a *balteus* is not derived from its design or of its manufacture from fine materials, but it is worthy if it performs its function well.<sup>105</sup> Juvenal states that a soldier who is wealthy enough possess a *balteus* as part of his armor lives a luxurious life.<sup>106</sup> Pliny the Elder claims that a fine metal such as silver was used to make the *balteus*.<sup>107</sup> The satirist Persius refers to a *balteus* that is *lato . . . auro*, that it is broad and golden.<sup>108</sup> Each of these examples associate either implicitly and explicitly that the *balteus* signifies the social status of the wearer.

The materials from which it is made indicates not only a person's wealth but also their virtuosity or moral character. A wealthy person living a privileged life was less virtuous, and his material possessions show this. Propertius offers an example indicating a negative perception of a person whose *balteus* is too extravagant. He claims that a *balteus* made from leather and not made from a fine metal such as gold or silver signifies that its owner is virtuous.<sup>109</sup> In each of these instances, it seems that the *balteus* connotes wealth or a decorative set of arms that is not merely used functionally.

### 2.3.3. *laena*, -ae (*m*), “cloak”

Contemporary scholars, in addition to ancient testimonies, claim that *laena* has an Etruscan origin.<sup>110</sup> Festus reports that some consider it to be from an Etruscan word, while others believe that it originates from the Greek *xlani/da* “garment made of wool.”<sup>111</sup> Varro's etymology of *laena* makes no reference to an Etruscan origin, but he explains that this kind of overcoat has the name *laena* because it is made from wool, or *lana*.<sup>112</sup>

*Laenae* are the garments of priests, and they were typically worn over the *toga*, a garment with sociopolitical implications for the wearer usually denoting membership of a high social class.<sup>113</sup> Literary evidence supports the notion that the *laena* signifies a high social standing. Aeneas wears a Tyrian purple *laena* that was a gift from Dido, and Persius refers to a hyacinth colored *laena* worn by an extravagant but arrogant poet.<sup>114</sup> In these instances, the *laena* denotes lavish wealth that signifies in a moral weakness or lack of virtue. Cicero refers to it as a sacerdotal robe worn in the assembly.<sup>115</sup> This suggests that only individuals in socially and politically powerful positions wore the *laena*. Finally, Juvenal utilizes *laena* in a figurative context. He explains that a man who has weaknesses should not act on them, stating *plurima sunt quae non audent homines pertusa dicere laena*, “Many are many things which men do not dare to say in a cloak with holes.”<sup>116</sup> Martial's use of *laena* is the most ambiguous of all listed here. He states in a short epigram, *argentum atque aurum facilest laenamque togamque mittere; boletos mittere difficilest*, “It is easy to disregard silver and gold and a cloak and a toga; it is difficult to disregard the [best] mushrooms.”<sup>117</sup> Although the relationship between *boletus* “mushroom” and the *laena* is not readily apparent, he refers to both the *toga* and *laena* as associated with silver and gold, indicators of wealth.

It seems that there are negative perceptions concerning both *balteus* and *laena* because they were associated with wealth and luxury. Both words have a probable Etruscan origin, and this may be a contributing factor to the negative connotations of these two words as seen in the literary evidence above.

## 3. Conclusion

It is apparent that of my original list of thirteen Etruscan loanwords in Latin of the political and military sphere, nine have a strong connection with a sociopolitical feature of Roman society. Roman authors and etymologists recognize each of the three loanwords constituting the category I examine in the first section, *lucumo*, *celeres*, and *clipeus*, as historically connected to the foundational stories of the earliest political and social developments in Rome. Relying especially on the account of Livy, the evidence shows that historical events were regarded only as partly recounting factual events. Legend often constituted much of what is known of these early historical accounts. Ancient etymologies for these words indicate that their Etruscan origin was not an important aspect in their contribution to the building of a Roman identity, but that Roman etymologists appropriated and reconstituted their origins to align more closely with this constructed national identity.

This is especially true of *lucumo*, for example, where an Etruscan origin was undeniable but it was appropriated as part of Roman culture through its phonological similarity with the Italic *\*-louk* stem. In this way, *lucumo* bridges a cultural gap between Etruscans and Romans. In form it is clearly Etruscan, and Livy affirms that it is also directly linked to an Etruscan political institution, but etymologists contrived explanations to make it seem more closely

related to a Latin origin. In this way, literary evidence indicating positive associations with *lucumo* is the cause of the construction of its ancient etymologies. This is because these constructed etymologies convincingly displace the word from its original historical context and creates a new history for it within the wider Roman cultural narrative. This very process is also seen with respect to *celeres* and *clipeus*.

The final two categories I examined, loanwords associated with either low or high social standing, lack the cultural and historical significance for the Roman identity of those constituting the first section. However, the findings of each of these categories is significant for understanding the Roman perception of the Etruscan position in society by means of an analysis of the usage of Etruscan loanwords. *Sculna*, *cacula*, and *metellus* each denote an occupation and were associated with individuals of low social standing. *Sculna* stands apart from the latter two because does not refer to an occupation held by low status individuals, but it is a colloquial term probably used by low status individuals to refer to an occupation, that of a judge or mediator, that was most likely held by an individual of higher class status. *Cacula* and *metellus* both referred to low-ranking positions in the military. None of the three words seems to carry a positive or negative connotation in their usage, but it is clear that they are part of a register of vocabulary designated for a subordinate group of individuals. Since these words have an Etruscan origin and clearly possess phonological and morphological indicators characteristic of the Etruscan language, both of these terms refer to low class positions in the military, and no other terms designating solidier rank aside from those denoting cavalry (which have their own cultural implications), then it is clear that there is an association between low rank in the military and Etruscan social status. Further, since *sculna* is an Etruscan word and it is used in a vulgar context usually reserved for the common people or low class citizens, then this reinforces the association between Etruscan social status and a low social standing. The usage of these three terms correlates with low social standing because *sculna* was a term probably employed by Etruscan speaking individuals, and it is likely that Etruscans would have held low ranking military positions denoted by *cacula* and *metellus*. The fact that they originate from the Etruscan language reinforces this because it implies that Etruscan speakers, i.e. Etruscans themselves, would have been more familiar with these terms than Latin speakers. In this way, the intertwining of these two social spheres within the public and military domains allowed such loanwords to make their way into the political and military vocabulary for native Latin speakers.

The Etruscan associated with a high class social standing pose an entirely different challenge than those denoting aspects of low social status. This is because each of these terms, *trossuli*, *balteus*, and *laena*, are perceived negatively by Roman authors and etymologists. Thus this category of words displays an intersection between Etruscan origins, high social standing and wealth, and a negative perception in Roman culture. *Trossuli* is the only word in this category that denotes an actual social class, and Pliny the Elder explicitly claims that, at least by the time he is writing, there is a negative stigma attached to this term for a member of the cavalry. The latter two words *balteus* and *laena* are material artifacts of Roman culture. They signify wealth and status for their owners. The negative perception of these two words may be a product of the dominant view in Roman culture that wealth and luxury are parasitic upon good, righteous, and upstanding citizens. Thus this indicates that the perception of these artifacts may have been taken out of their Etruscan context and Latinized as they were adopted into Roman culture. This is because the objects themselves may be an aspect of Etruscan culture originally or introduced into Roman convention via the intervention of Etruscan culture. Thus the Roman's negative associations in this instance may not reflect their original status as objects or words denoting objects, but because of their appropriation of the terms from Etruscan culture.

For the group of Etruscan loanwords of the political and military sphere as a whole, there is no overarching positive or negative association that applies all this entire semantic group as a whole, but there seems to be a strong connection with identity and class status per the divisions of the words into subgroups as treated in this paper. Historical accounts, various other literary sources, and the ancient etymologies of these words provide evidence indicating this association. Ultimately, the Etruscan origins of these words may be a determining factor in the degree to which positive or negative associations are attributed to them by Roman culture as indicators of social status.

#### 4. Acknowledgements

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at the University of North Carolina at Asheville for offering their invaluable support during the writing process, especially Alyssa Horrocks and Kinsey Steere.

## 5. References

1. Rex E. Wallace, *Zikh Rasna: A Manual of the Etruscan Language and Inscriptions* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Beech Stave Press, 2008).
2. Margaret Watmough, *Studies in the Etruscan Loanwords in Latin*, Biblioteca di "Studi etrusci" 33, Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1997).
3. Gertraud Breyer, *Etruskisches Sprachgut im Lateinischen unter ausschluss des spezifisch onomastischen Bereiches*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 53, (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Department Oriëntalistiek, 1993).
4. Helmut Rix, "Il latino e l'etrusco." *Eutopia* 4.1. (1995): 73-88.
5. These words include *consul* "the consul", *guberno* "to lead", *latro* "mercenary", *praetor* "praetor; commander", *scaeptrum* "rod, scepter", *sociennus* "mate, ally", *tribus* "division of the Roman people for the purposes of tax collection and conscription; one-third of the Roman people", *tropaeum* "trophy, sign of victory", *lancea* "lance, spear," *cuneus*, "wedge-shaped battle formation", and *vagina* "scabbard". Either too little evidence presents itself to necessarily prove that such words have an Etruscan origin, or an Indo-European origin is apparent. Additionally, for words thought to be mediated from Greek on this list into Latin through Etruscan, such as *guberno*, *tropaeum*, *scaeptrum*, and *cuneus*, Breyer demonstrates that mediation was unnecessary (for *guberno*, Breyer, 1993: 209; for *tropaeum*, Ibid.: 235; for *scaeptrum*, Ibid.: 224). For example, linguistic evidence for *scaeptrum* shows a shift from Greek ska~ptron > Latin *scaeptrum/sceptrum*. Etruscan phonology could not have supported a vowel shift from Greek -ã- > Etruscan-Latin -ae/-e-. Thus, *scaeptrum* was borrowed directly from Greek into Latin (Ibid.: 224.). Further, the words *populus*, *populor*, *publicus*, and *caeremonia* have been exhaustively analyzed as Etruscan loanwords by Watmough, Breyer, and Rix, and I have no additional contributions to make to their claims. Watmough, 1997: 69-102, devotes an entire chapter of *Studies of the Etruscan Loanwords in Latin* to the analysis of *populus*, and she specifically addresses the political relationship between *populus*, *populor*, and *publicus* and other Roman military and governmental institutions in 75-81; Breyer, 1993: 281-284, 314-319; Rix, 1995: 82-83, he asserts that *populus* and words relating to it have an Indo-European origin, refuting Watmough's argument that they are Etruscan loanwords.
6. *Pulpitum* and *sacena* both appear to have a stronger connection with a religious semantic category, so I will exempt them from this study to focus more on words that have a distinctly military-political connotation. *Titulus* also lacks a strong enough semantic connection with with military-political, referring both to an inscription itself and honor in general. Finally, according to Rex Wallace, there is not enough support to show Etruscan mediation from a Greek origin for *triumphus*, so it will also be exempted (Wallace, 2008: 131).
7. Rix, 1995: 80; Breyer, 1993: 308-309.
8. Ibid.; Watmough, 1997: 65.
9. Breyer, 1993: 308.
10. Breyer, 1993: 309.
11. Breyer, 1993: 275.
12. Ibid.
13. Breyer, 1993: 247.
14. Breyer, 1993: 249.
15. Ibid.
16. Breyer, 1993: 362.
17. Ibid.
18. Breyer, 1993: 438.; Other words sharing semantic and morphological similarity but are probably not Etruscan loanwords include *miles*, *eques*, and *pedes*, although some argue that the -es nominative ending alone denotes and Etruscan origin.
19. Breyer, 1993: 290.
20. Breyer, 1993: 417, 418.
21. Ibid.
22. Breyer, 1993: 434.

23. Breyer, 1993: 429.
24. Ibid.
25. Breyer, 1993: 167.
26. Ibid.: 167-168.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.: 168.; although, Breyer notes that these phonological reconstructions may be questionable.
29. Rix, 1995, 78; Breyer, 1993: 169.
30. Breyer, 1993: 169
31. Ibid.
32. Breyer, 1993: 291.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Breyer, 1993: 296-297.
37. Ibid.: 297.
38. Breyer, 1993: 297.
39. H. H. Scullard, *A History of the Roman World: 753-146 BC* (London: Routledge, 1980), 50-51.
40. Wautmough: 1997, 65.
41. Breyer, 1993: 309.
42. Breyer, 1993: 308-309.
43. Ibid.
44. Rix, 1995: 90-91.
45. Festus p.106M.
46. Livy 1.34 contains the entire account of Priscus' history.
47. There are five occurrences within *Ab Urbe Condita* 1.34: "Anco regnante Lucumo, . . ." (1.34.1), "Nomina his Lucumo atque Arruns fuerunt." (1.34.2), "Lucumo superfuit patri bonorum omnium heres: . . ." (1.34.2), "Lucumoni contra omnium heredi bonorum cum divitiae iam animos facerent, . . ." (1.34.3), "Spermentibus Etruscis Lucumonem exsule advena ortum, . . ." (1.34.5)
48. Livy 1.34.10.
49. *de Lingua Latina* 5.55.
50. *de Republica* 2.14.
51. *Elegiae* 4.1.29.
52. *Serv.* 2.278.
53. p. 120M.
54. Ibid.
55. On p. 119M, Festus also offers a definition for *Lucereses et Luceres* which is quae pars tertia populi Romani est distributa a Tatius et Romulo, *appellati sunt a Lucero, Ardeae rege, qui auxilio fuit Romulo adversus Tatium bellanti*, "who are a third of the Roman people distributed by Tatius and Romulus, they are called from Lucrese, the king of Ardea, who opposing Tatius was to assist Romulus waging war.
56. Scullard, 1980: 50-51.
57. Livy 1.15.8.
58. Ibid 1.59.7.
59. See section on *lucumo* for further details.
60. Breyer, 1993: 290.
61. *Serv.* 11.603.
62. *Origines* 10.52.
63. Festus p.55M.
64. Scullard, 1980: 50-51.
65. *Clipeus* also refers to a shield as ornamental or a work of art, but this meaning is separate from it denoting a practical personal military implement. See Cicero, *Orator* 234; *Aeneid* 5.359; Livy 25.39.13, 34.52.7, 35.41.10; *Institutiones* 2.17.8; *Achilleis* 1.722; *Annales* 2.83; *de Lingua Latina* 7.40; Augustus, *Ancyranum* 34; *Naturalis Historia* 35.2, 35.12, 35.13, 35.14, 35.19.
66. Livy 8.8.3, 1.43.2, 9.19.7; *Historia Alexandri Magni* 6.1, 4.3, 4.6; *Instit.* 7.2.7.

67. *Aeneid* 12.89, 12.167, 12.377, 12.432, 12.541, 12.712, 12.724, 12.866, 12.925, 2.227, 2.389, 2.422, 2.442, 2.546, 2.671, 2.734, 9.270, 9.709, 9.733, 9.806; *Fasti* 3.1; *Thebaid* 10.929, 10.152, 10.280, 10.844, 7.134, 7.310, 7.648, 7.652, 7.680, 7.694; *Miles Gloriosus* 1; *Tristia* 1.3.35.
68. *Aeneid* 12.167, 12.712, 9.733, 2.734.
69. *Thebaid* 10.844, 7.694.
70. *Miles Gloriosus* 1-2.
71. Breyer, 1993: 291.
72. *Ibid.*: 292.
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Origines* 18.12.1.
75. *Ars Grammatica* 98.11 B.
76. *Vel.* 68.11.
77. *Serv.* 2.389.
78. *Festus* p. 56M
79. Or, rather this type of shield was mediated into Roman military convention from Greece via the Etruscans, who had contact with Greek culture far before the Romans. However, that is not to say that the exact form of shield denoted by *clipeus* was not affected by Etruscan culture or military conventions through this mediation.
80. Breyer, 1993: 274-275.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Noctes Atticae* XX.xi.2-9 (translation is my own).
83. Breyer, 1993: 247-249.
84. *Ibid.*
85. *Festus*, p. 225M, in his etymology for *cacula*, explains that *cacula* signifies a soldier's servant who carries wooden implements and works under a master or guardian. He explains that *cacula* comes from Greek to ka~lon "wood" because the *cacula* carries wooden weapons for his master. He also provides a quote from Plautus' *Trinummus* to show its usage in a literary context, see *Trin.* 721. I chose not to include this here because it is tangentially related to the argument for a relationship with social class which I am currently exploring, but a further and more in depth exploration into *cacula* considering the implications of this etymology would probably yield interesting finds.
86. *Festus* p. 224M.
87. Breyer, 1993: 362.
88. *Fest.* p. 146M.
89. *Acc.* 17.2. qtd. in *Fest.* p. 146M.
90. *Pseud.* 4.
91. I treat this word in more detail in the first section of this paper.
92. Breyer, 1993: 417-418. The linguistic features that indicates an Etruscan origin for *flexuntae* is that it is a masculine noun ending in -a/-ae. No plausible forms related to *flexuntae* exist in inscriptions because it is a rare word, but its association with *celeres* and *trossuli* in Pliny's account and its linguistic features indicate an Etruscan origin for it as well.
93. *Naturalis Historia* 33.35. Equitum quidem etiam nomen ipsum saepe variatum est, in iis quoque, qui id ab equitatu trahebant. celeres sub Romulo regibusque sunt appellati, deinde flexuntes, postea trossuli, cum oppidum in Tuscis citra Volsinios p. VIII sine ullo peditum adiumento cepissent eius vocabuli, idque duravit ultra C. Gracchum.
94. *Ibid.*
95. *Festus* p.376M.
96. Breyer, 1993: 290.
97. *Naturalis Historia* 33.35.
98. *Epistulae* 76.2.
99. *Saturae* 1.82.
100. The orthographic variant *balteum* also exists.
101. Breyer, 1993, 428-429 also provides evidence for an Etruscan origin because it is implausible that it has an Indo-European derivation. She bases her claim of an Etruscan origin from Varro's assertion that it is from the Etruscan vocabulary in addition to its ending in -eus/-eum following Ernout that is a morphological indicator of



Etruscan origin. Attempts at an Indo-European derivation remain unconvincing. Breyer cites have been made trying to connect it to Hittite *baltanaš* “arm, side”, Gothic *balps* “bold”, various Greek forms including analyzing it as a borrowing from the stem *palt-*, and Mycenaean *pa-ta-ja /paltaiā/* “missiles with a metal tip”, but none reveal a secure etymological basis for *balteus*. Since Varro provides the only explicit reference to an origin, it serves as the most clear evidence for an etymology for *balteus*.

102. *Ars Grammatica* , 97.20 B

103. *de Lingua Latina* , 5.116.

104. *Origines* , 19.33.2.

105. There are three instances where Cicero, Quintilian, and Tacitus do not associate the *balteus* with wealth, but give a descriptive account of the item, stating that it is an article of clothing that wraps around the midsection; *de Bello Gallico*, 5.44.7; *Inst.*, 11.3.140; *Hist.* 2.88.

106. *Epistulae* , 76.14.

107. *Satires* , 16.48.

108. *Saturae* , 4.44.

109. *Elegiae* , 4.10.22.

110. Rix, 1995: 78; Breyer, 1993: 169. Rix holds that *laena* is a product of the mediation of Greek *xlai=na* “cloak” through Etruscan as *laina*. It loses the initial /x/ in Etruscan, and its adoption into Latin changes *-ai-* > *-ae-*. Although no parallel exists for the complete loss of the initial aspirated velar consonant, Breyer suggests is drop with the aspirant remaining through its Etruscan mediation, resulting in *xlai=na* > *hlaina*. The aspirant disappears entirely in Latin, with the final result of *laena*.

111. Festus, p. 117M.

112. *de Lingua Latina* , 5.133.

113. Breyer, 1993: 169.

114. *Aeneid* , 4.262; *Satires*, 1.32.

115. *Brutus* , 56.

116. *Satires* , 5.131-132.

117. *Epigrammata* , 8.59.9-10.